

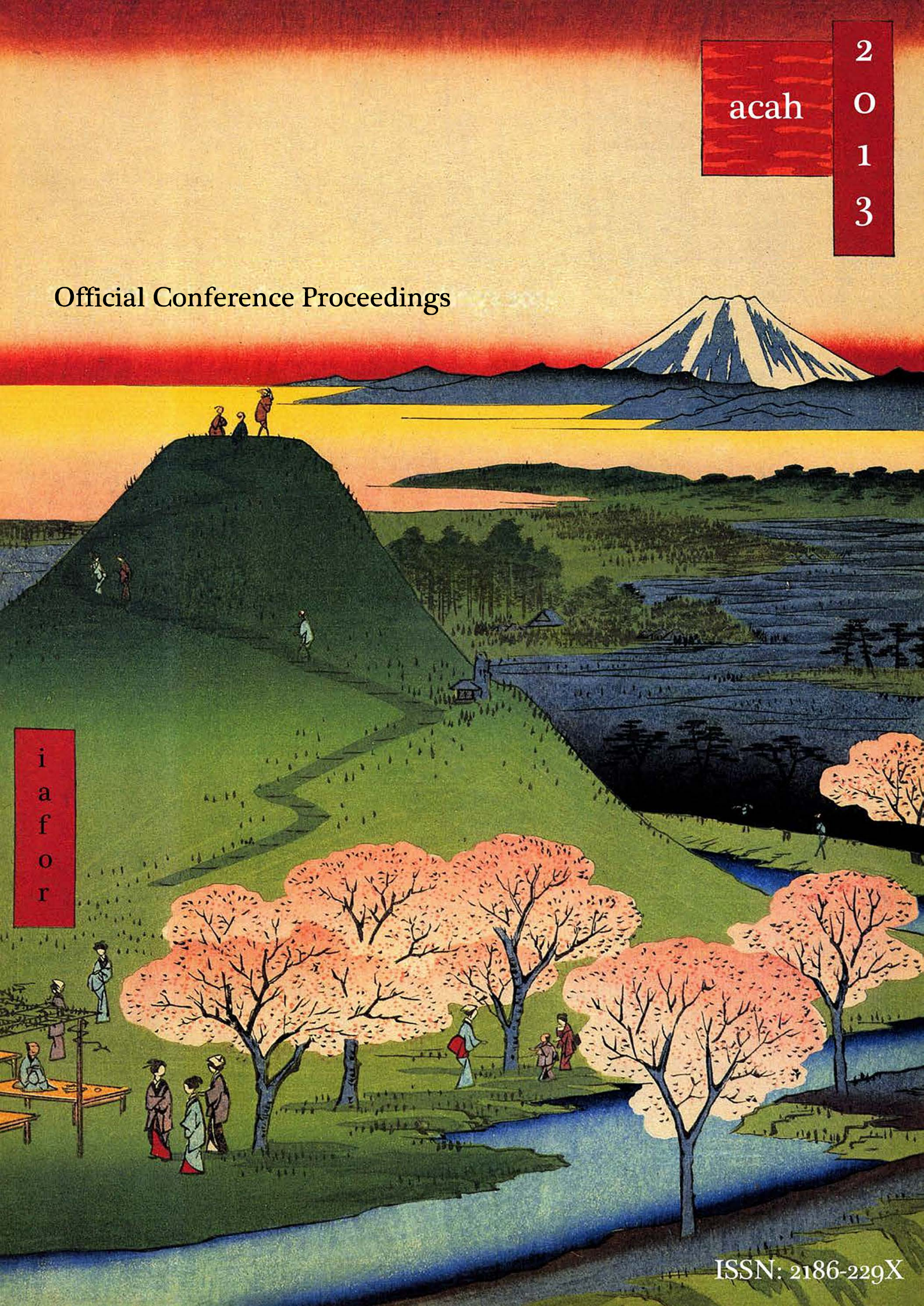
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Towards A More Effective Collaborative Learning Environment In East Asia

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0018

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Abstract

This study identifies student-based impediments to collaborative learning being encountered amongst students at the Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT). Collaborative learning has been found to increase mastery and understanding of subject material (Damon, 1984) while it can boost long-term retention of learning (Johnson, Johnson & Holubec, 1986) and with positive interdependence between group members, a collaborative approach may satisfy tacit learning objectives, such as teamwork and professional communications' abilities; career related aptitudes that are required in today's world. (Carol, 1988) It was therefore pleasing to see that 98.1% of this study's respondents encounter collaborative methodologies at a rate of 'continuously' but disconcerting that 42% of the year-two students testified to continuously facing progress hindering issues during group-based learning. In an effort to understand these hindrances, a questionnaire probed students' communication styles, pre-college and college-level teamwork experience and training, the subtleties of problematic cooperative interactions, as well as student perceptions on collective learning. The majority of the respondents expressed a tendency to avoid disagreeing and a preference for passively following other's guidance, leading to a supposition that an 'indirect' communication style, a communicative actuality in East Asia (Hofstede, 2003) on top of a low degree of teamwork experience and training may be at the root of a range of problematic group dynamics. Such findings are significant as many beneficial outcomes of collaborative pedagogy hinge on dynamic 'direct' interaction amongst teammates and passive communicative behaviors can be easily misdiagnosed and mistreated as a motivational issue, or in being language based. Practical implications brought up in this paper will provide rationale for decisions in collaborative learning pedagogy that will be tested with IFT students in an upcoming two hundred-level course on socio-cultural issues in tourism in attempt at seeing those involved get the most out of their collaborative learning efforts.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this was to identify student-based impediments to the collaborative learning process that first and second year tertiary-level students in East Asia, at Macau's Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT) are facing during their group-work situations. Findings and practical implications will be later used to enhance collaborative pedagogy within a mandatory two hundred-level course on socio-cultural issues in tourism. With an exploratory scope, this study then probes the perceptions, experiences, attitudes, abilities and relevant training a sample of IFT tourism and hospitality students have in regards to collaborative learning and all it entails, such as the communicative behaviors involved, collegial accountability and teamwork/leadership abilities.

At its onset, this study anticipated that local students may not be too experienced with what exemplary collaboration entails nor how to aptly conduct it, while seminal cultural orientations theory, by the likes of Geert Hofstede (2003), implies the students in East Asia may have been socialized within a somewhat 'high-context' culture where indirect communication styles are prevalent – adding another hurdle between the freshman and sophomore students and the career related benefits that collaborative learning can produce. For these reasons primarily, it was assumed that there may very well be room to enhance collaborative learning pedagogy with IFT students.

Enhancing collaborative learning practices is important for a number of reasons. When learning is truly 'collaborative' this method can boost long-term retention of learning (Johnson, Johnson and Holubec, 1986) while it may tap a range of career related aptitudes that revolve around teamwork and communication, which is precisely why Carol (1988) claims that the collaborative learning process promotes life skills required in today's world. While the development of such career related 'soft skills' amongst young adults is a universal aspiration, it is exceptionally important at IFT due to its vocational focus and its commitment to contributing to the region's internationalizing tourism and hospitality sector with competent professionals capable of reaching the upper echelons of their given fields. Therefore, if collaborative learning can be further tailored to help ensure that IFT students can reach their potential in regards to the tacit career related aims collaborative methodologies hold, then this initiative could be considered worthwhile and practical implications may be of value to other educators in East Asia.

LITERATURE

Collaborative learning puts small groups of students into an active mode with three main approaches. Johnson, Johnson and Smith (1991) describe these three 'collaborative' methods with the first being 'informal learning groups' which are less structured clusters of students over the duration of a class that are asked to discuss a reading, or a posed question. Second, are 'formal learning groups', which tackle a project such as a report or group presentation and these groups may be together until the task is complete and the third configuration, especially pertinent to this study, is the 'long-term group' or 'study teams' made up of the same members throughout the semester. In each structure, students discuss subject matter, help each other learn and

provide encouragement for each other (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1986) and it is the positive interdependence that leads towards many teamwork related, tacit learning objectives. The beneficial nuances of collaborative interaction are broken down by Slavin (1987) who credits the rewards structure as comprising the 'motivational theory' attached to collaborative learning as it promotes positive interdependence and the perception that personal success equates to group success and this motivates individuals to encourage one another and work closely together. The 'development theory' (Slavin, 1987) implies that groups of students interact around a certain task, which increases their mastery of the task (Damon, 1984) and as students share opinions and even debate conflictive angles with one another, the groups' general level of understanding develops. Explaining subject matter, a communicative behavior in true collaborative learning leads to consolidation and increased retention of learning (Johnson, Johnson and Holubec, 1986) and Slavin (1987) regards this as the 'elaboration theory' of collaborative learning.

While this study hopes to eventually assist in the sharpening of career related aptitudes through collaborative efforts there are also potential benefits to do with positive attitudes, depth of understanding and development of critical thinking skills. With regards to enjoyment of learning and overall satisfaction with the educational product, Johnson and Johnson (1989) found that the cooperative learning experience encourages positive attitudes toward learning over individualistic methodologies. Slavin (1991), on depth of understanding concluded that cooperative learning makes positive impacts on student success and retention of information while McKeachie (1986) points out that students will more effectively strengthen critical thinking skills through learning how to learn in collaborative situations than through listening to teacher talk.

The wide ranging benefits of collaborative learning are somewhat theoretical and not guaranteed by the process. There are both teacher and student-based impediments that can hinder the potential effectiveness of this teaching method. In regards to the student-based impediments, the focus of this stage of this initiative, a number of obstructions to the best practice of collaborative learning can emerge as Panitz (1996; Alderman, 2000, p.5) found after extensive discussions with a diversity of collaborative learning practitioners over several years. These included:

- preference for 'teacher expert' delivered content
- expectation that they would work alone
- objection to negotiating with others
- belief that collaborative work would not meet their individual standards
- previous 'bad experiences' with collaborative learning
- objection to 'freeloaders' believed to be inevitable in group learning
- objection to open-ended, conceptual learning without 'right answers'

As indicated by Damon (1984) in regards to the array of benefits aroused through the debate of viewpoints and when collectively brainstorming during collaboration, communications are fundamental to tapping the true potential of collaborative learning. As this is an anticipated barrier for some freshmen IFT students, related literature on culture and communication has been brought into this review and is part of this study's framework.

Hofstede (2003), whose seminal cultural orientations' theory is used extensively in International Business courses, concludes that the Cantonese speaking region of Hong Kong has a low Individualism (IDV) orientation as it ranked 37 out of 50 on his IDV scale. Hong Kong is used as an indicator for Macau when analyzing cross-cultural communications as Macau was not part of Hofstede's landmark study. Lower individualism (i.e. collectivistic) implies a high-context and thus indirect communication style where much of the message can be embedded in the situational context with low context communication, a hallmark of more individualistic regions being a direct style, which is far more to the point. (Hall, 1959; Dattner 2004) Iwao (1993) describes how individualists perceive silence in communication as uncomfortable while collectivists see silence as a signal of strength. Hofstede (2003) explains how collectivists avoid verbal directness in order to maintain harmony and preserve relations, where individualist engage in directness even if it risks damaging the relationship. It seems clear that low context verbal directness would lend itself nicely to collaborative learning methods.

Hofstede also found Hong Kong to be moderately high in the area of Power Distance (PD), which equates to a more hierarchical or stratified society. Hofstede (2003) describes how high PD classrooms will typically have a teacher dictating, little interaction and students who perceive the teacher as more of a master than as a facilitator. Throughout higher PD societies, according to Hofstede (2003) those who have less power tend not to speak up and new ideas and opinions from underlings are not overly valued. While this does not sound like an IFT classroom it could resemble learning environments from which local students have evolved through their formative high-school years and such socialization could influence group dynamics in and outside the classroom amongst freshmen and sophomore students at IFT in particular. Moderate PD and low individualistic orientation could very well lead to a general communication style amongst novice IFT students that could be a barrier to energetic collaboration.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study targeted vocationally minded tertiary students in their first two years of college-level study as ultimately the end goal is to help such students develop their teamwork and collaborative abilities early to apply and their internship experiences and further develop in their final years. Seventy-three students participated with sixty-two being local Macau students and eleven exchange students all from mainland China. When making queries on communication style only local Macau students were involved while all were tallied on questions to do with problematic group dynamics and general experiences. Of the local Macau students, thirty-one were year one tourism majors with an equal number of thirty-one hotel majors in year two.

A closed questionnaire was designed and conducted as the starting-point as they allow for insightful patterns to be observed and comparisons to be made (Oppenheim 1992). The questionnaire was designed to be brief with questions laid out with ample spacing giving the document a not too dense appearance. As the students were busy with seven classes it was felt that a dense, long survey would be repelling and would prompt some to tick without thought. Clarity was further bolstered through the use of graded language void of jargon as Bell (1987) comments that questions must

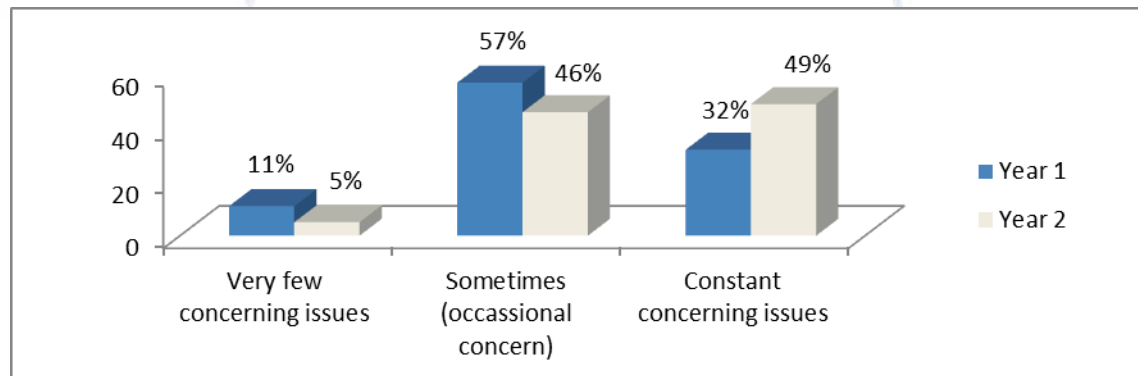
eliminate ambiguity so that respondents understand exactly what the questions are asking. The questionnaire had five distinct sections:

1. Respondent's details
2. Collaborative learning experience prior to college-level study
3. Experience with collaborative learning at the college-level
4. Attitude towards collaborative learning
5. Communicative behavior/style

DATA

Questionnaire data was analyzed through a number of cross tabulation queries using SPSS statistical software. The data has been set in a number of tables with significant findings analyzed and commented on in the Discussion section. Table 4.1 illustrates the sample's perceived frequency of impeding issues during collaborative work through the first two years of study.

Table 4.1 – The Rate of Problematic Issues during Collaborative Learning Situations
 Sample size 73 with Year 1 and 2 Comparison



Nine potential impediments to group-work with a blank for obscure barriers to be expressed have been compiled in Table 4.2. This data set depicts accountability and a lack of close communications through the collaborative process as major problems.

Table 4.2 – The Frequency of Response on Specific Issues Hindering Collaborative Group Project Progression amongst 73 First and Second Year IFT Students

Ques. No.	Potential issues hindering collaborative group project success	Frequency reported: sample size 74 students
1.	Group members not showing up to group meetings outside of class	71.6%
2.	A lack of close communication amongst all group members	60.8%
3.	Experience with a member(s) contributing very little	56.8%
4.	Evidence of poor attitude(s) towards a project itself	48.6%
5.	Evidence of poor attitudes towards others (other	33.8%

	members)	
6.	Group decisions not being made democratically	29.7%
7.	Group not using each member's strengths very well	40.5%
8.	Group not making a plan or goal setting (time management)	33.8%
9.	Group lacking a clear leader: evident in chairing meetings and directing progress	29.7%
10.	Other: four comments	
a.	The leader uses the poor person's work and then that makes everyone look like poor people	
b.	Students can spend time to meet and do project but they aren't hard working as they play games on iPhones when they should be working with the group.	
c.	Some kinds of people want to show himself/herself off and do not care about others	
d.	Time management is the serious problem	

The teamwork know-how and interpersonal skills developed in high-school was seen as a potential barrier to effective group-work in college. Cross tabulation data of local Macau students' perceived level of student interactivity in high school vs. the estimated class size is displayed in Table 4.4 and suggests fresh students could use some teamwork training.

Table 4.4 – The Degree of Teamwork Training in High School & College amongst 61 first & second year IFT students

1. Level of training in how to manage and conduct collaborative group work in High School		
a	“none” – no group work training was given in high school	34.9% agree
b	“some” – only tips on group work only in high school	52.3% agree
c	“ample” – training was provided on group work in high school	12.6% agree
2. Level of training in how to manage and conduct collaborative group work at College Level		
a	“none” – no group work training has been given at the college level so far	17.4% agree
b	“some” – only tips on group work have been given at the college level so far	49.2% agree
c	“ample” – training has been provided on group work at the college level	33.3% agree

Two questions designed to get a feel for local students' communication style elicited data that reflects Hofstede (2001) claims of East Asia being generally high context, indirect communicators. Table 4.6.A, displays results of a question posed to gauge the preference for active oral contribution vs. more silently following others while Table

4.7 focuses on students' feelings about disagreeing as this is a key communicative behavior upon which several benefits of the collaboration process are derived.

Table 4.6.A - Active Contribution: Directly (Leading) vs. Indirectly (Following)

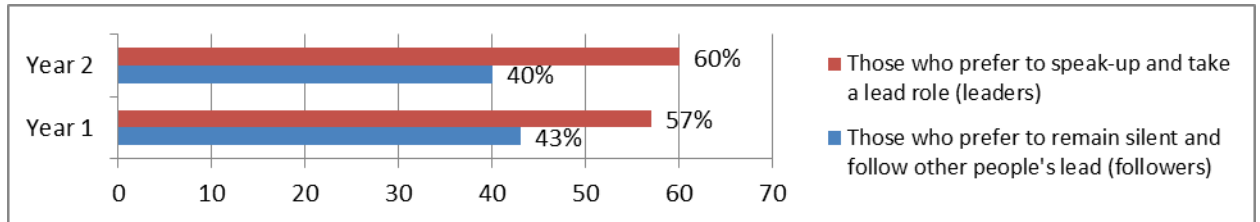
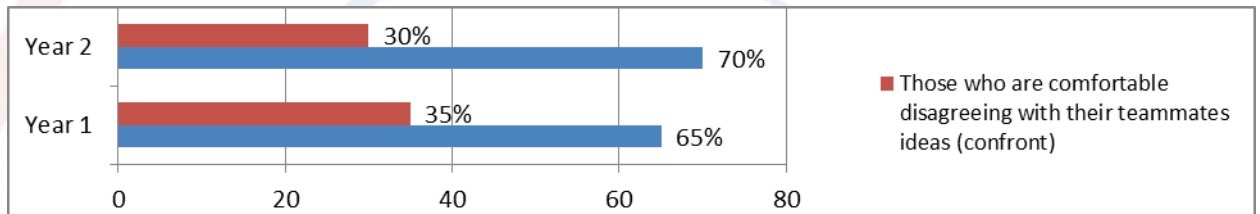


Table 4.6.B - Disagreeing with others Ideas: Directly (Confronting Issues) vs. Indirectly (Avoiding)



DISCUSSION

The frequency of student-based hindrances to the benefits of collaborative learning was greater than expected. The data (in Table 4.1) displays that the respondents are facing an array of problematic issues as 30% of year one students polled reported 'constantly' facing impediments with 49% reporting this most severe rate of occurrence in year two. This indicates there is room for pedagogical enhancement and substantiates this particular initiative and even suggests that the group dynamics may be getting worse in later years, which seemingly defies logic as one may assume that increased maturity, confidence, academic experience on top of familiarity with others would naturally facilitate improvements in group-work ability, meaning the rate of problematic occurrences should decline.

The survey confirmed a range of nine student-based impedances that typically occurs outside of the classroom during progress on major projects. The data in Table 4.2 illustrates that over 60% of the respondents experience team meetings with absentees with a similar frequency of students (at 56.8%) reporting that some teammates in attendance contribute very little. Close to 50% of all respondents experienced partners who have exhibited a poor attitude which has been seen to lower morale. Other issues, each with a significant rate of response at around thirty percent of the sample, include non-democratic decision-making, a lack of close communications throughout the learning process, poor attitudes to not only the project but other group members, a lack of leadership and of goal-setting with written comments regarding poor time-management and students on their smart-phones during meetings.

Data set in Table 4.4 (section one) indicates that at least half of the students are emerging from high schools where class size exceeded 40 students and that a great number of students feel the level of student interaction in their formative high school

experience was 'none'. In section two of Table 4.4 we see that close to 50% of IFT students surveyed feel they have revived some teamwork tips, which is encouraging but 17.4% still feel no group work training has been provided so far. These are noteworthy findings as they may explain inactive group dynamics that could easily be misperceived and mistreated as motivational or language based problems when many students simply do not fully understand what real teamwork entails and how to go about it.

Two key survey questions with results displayed in Tables 4.6.A and 4.6.B sought to confirm the possibility of a generally indirect communications' style, which is thought to be somewhat reflective of a regional low individualistic orientation. Data illustrated how 43% and 40% of first and second year local students respectively, expressed a preference to operate with a silent approach and follow others' leads while 65% of first year respondents and 70% of the year twos feel uncomfortable disagreeing with others in group-work situations. These results are indicative of an indirect communication style and this is seen as a major barrier to collaborative group-work amongst this sample. Both questions (4.6.A & B) illustrate that this communicative barrier is not diminishing into the second year of study and is a significant finding as this aspect of collaboration is what the development of desirable vocational communicative and teamwork abilities are based on.

IMPLICATIONS

This paper's findings lead to a range of practical implications for collaborative pedagogy with IFT students and perhaps in the wider East Asia teaching and learning context, where students are bringing very little real teamwork experience to the college level while being predisposed to an indirect communication style while also facing a range of somewhat universal barriers to the collaborate process.

Re: Grouping - For grouping students, this researcher has made an effort to create semester-long 'study teams' grouped on the results of a short personal reflection on communicative and teamwork abilities. The aim is to have a balance between those who are apt at directing a group and orally giving feedback with those who are clearly being quieted by tenancies to be indirect.

Re: Weight on the communicative process in class - Small group discussions, not related to the term project, but approached in the same semester-long 'study teams', have been concluded with efficient self-assessments on one's communicative behaviors through the given task - after clarification (early on in the semester) of what is expected in collaborative discussions. Weight toward the participation grade is put on this communicative process while marks for the product may go towards course work. In this particular course participation is a lofty 20% as well which seems to be assisting in adding some extrinsic motivation to small group discussions as well as to general attendance rates as there may be more at stake than 'an absent without note'.

Re: Weight on the communicative process outside of class - A similar approach will be taken to meetings regarding the term project which are held outside of class time, which have not been assessed historically (by the author) aside from feedback on a confidential peer assessment, which seems to have very little impact on facilitating 'professional' collaboration. Groups are expected to meet at least three times at

different stages with a general agenda for each stage. Meeting minutes will be collected after being modeled with guidelines of what is expected in terms of the process. It is hoped this amendment will increase the professionalism of meetings outside of class while helping to weed out those nine hindrances to group work displayed in table 4.2. The minutes and attendance will be weighted rather substantially as part of the projects overall score in conjunction with the confidential peer assessments.

Re: Beyond the course: Enhancement to collaborative pedagogy, in this initiative, is being made within a socio-cultural issues class where cross-cultural communication is a core unit. This means that teamwork and communicative training can naturally be included in the semester plan. This is, however, not something that can occur in other content courses and IFT students could use this insight prior to (in many cases) the spring semester of their second year of study. Perhaps it would make sense, given some insights learned in this study, for a mandatory one-hundred level English support course to include a unit on 'professional' communicative behavior and teamwork upon entering the institute where learning styles may juxtapose high school and some societal norms. In this case, students could effectively put sharpened abilities to use in all other courses through their first four semesters where collaboration is 'constant' and expected.

Re: Project Design: A final implication lays in overall term project design. Action resulting from this paper to date will see the standard group presentation replaced with a 'round-table' meeting where a group discussion, with prepared documents by the various participants with serve as former ppt visuals and will be circulated before the meeting attacks a set of agenda points – with all expected to contribute to the various agenda points that were once divvied up and presented on individually. It is hoped that graded meeting-discussion that resembles a team meeting in the 'real-world' will bring all group members in touch with the material and not only contribute to those career related soft-skills but facilitates deeper understanding and longer-term retention of course content.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this paper was to identify the impediments that a group of vocationally minded students in Macau at the Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT) are facing when working in collaborative situations. This is the first-step towards the enhancement of collaborative pedagogy, which will be put into place in an upcoming semester and within a mandatory two hundred-level course on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism at IFT. It is hoped that the efforts involved will lead to increased retention of learning, deeper understanding of core concepts, while effectively sharpening 'real-world' teamwork, leadership and communicative abilities that along with the core principles, will help IFT students reach their potential. The findings suggest that student-based hindrances to optimal collaboration are a lack of relevant experience prior to tertiary study as well as very little in the way of teamwork, or leadership training. Adding to this general reality was data reflective of an indirect communication style that is reported to be prevalent through East Asia. Culturally based communicative behavior may not be a major issue in highly individualistic, low power distance regions where communication is 'low context' and naturally direct, but when so many desirable outcomes of collaborative learning hinge upon vigorous

communication, the passive indirect style can be labeled as a barrier to exemplary collaborative learning. Adding to these more regional student-based impediments were a range of seemingly universal obstructions ranging from absentees, to morale deflating low contributors, lack of leadership, poor use of member's strengths, poor attitudes towards projects and other members and non-democratic decision making. The data leads to several practical implications for precise enhancements to be made to collaborative learning pedagogy with IFT students in upcoming semesters with some relevance to other educators in East Asia where students face similar impediments to model collaborative learning.

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The logo for the International Association for Educational Research (IAFOR) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, serif font. The text is surrounded by two large, overlapping, semi-transparent circular arcs. The upper arc is light blue and the lower arc is light red, creating a stylized, circular frame around the text.

iafor

*Americanism and Japanese Post-Colonial Influence on Taiwan: On Zhenho Wang's
"Portraits of Beauties/Americana (Mei Ren Tu)"*

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0019

The Asian Conference on Arts & Humanities 2013

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Abstract

Three years after U.S. switched diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to P.R.C. in 1979, Wang Zhenho's novel, *Portraits of Beauties/Americana (Mei Ren Tu)* was published in January 1982. In the twenty seven years under U.S. custody (1951 to 1978), the English language had attained the status of ideological supremacy--a cultural and social capital--through which and with which one can qualify as an elite member. Hence, the political severance between U.S. and Taiwan was a disillusionment of the American Dream and a segregation of the better other. Wang's novel was thus a satirical attempt to criticize this Americanized ideology. Wang declared --"*Mei Ren* (Beauties) means those Chinese who idolize *Mei Guo* (America),... and *Mei* (beautiful) is also the ironic antithesis of *Chou* (ugly), which describes those inhumane and profit-oriented people" (203). While Wang's theme in the novel is serious, his language is satirically bizarre, polyphonic, and laughter-bound. English words are thrown into Mandarin utterances of those who regard themselves as socially and culturally more prestigious. A name or noun in English that is neutral in meaning is purposefully geared toward derogative Mandarin characters bearing similar English sounds. Though Mandarin serves as the overall medium, one finds that Wang actually juxtaposes: 1) classical Mandarin and colloquial Mandarin; 2) many "mandarinized" terms of Taiwanese dialect that actually came from Japanese in colonization period; and 3) accented Mandarin(s)--with a Hong Kong tinge (Cantonese) or other local nuances from various provinces of mainland China. This critical trial aims to elucidate the ideological ruptures clashing among those different languages, which are interwoven into its plot, naming scheme, and characterization.

It must therefore take into account not only the direct producers of the work in its materiality (artist, writer, etc.), but also the ensemble of agents and institutions which participate in the production of the value of the work... (Bourdieu, 1996. p. 229).

Historical Context

Let me begin with March 18, 2011. On this day, former U.S. Secretary of State, Warren Christopher died at the age of eighty five. Thirty three years prior to his death when he was fifty two, Christopher experienced at Taipei a most horrible night of shock due to a vehement youth protest that surrounded his motorcade. The year was 1978 in Carter's Administration and the date was December 26. Christopher was dispatched to negotiate future modes of substantial cooperation between US and Taiwan after a decision had been made that US would switch diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to mainland China. In fact, the official breaking of the news had reached Taipei in the midnight of December 16, 1978. Christopher's arrival was ten days after that—a period of time enough to brew social frustration and desperation! On his way from the airport to Grand Hotel, Christopher's motorcade was surrounded by youths who "pasted mud, splashed paint, threw eggs, placed national flags on the limousines, stepped on the roofs and hoods of the cars, and broke the glass in several [cars]" (Fallows 2011). The aftermath was huge, as President Chiang Ching-kou later admitted:

If I were to say that the change has no damaging effect at all, that would be wrong.... The two weeks after Dec. 16 were the most unstable period. The stock market dropped, and the exchange rates between the U.S. dollar and the New Taiwan dollar on the black market rose to NT 43 to \$1. Domestic and foreign investors seemed to be reconsidering their investment (Jacobs, 1980, p.84).

This was the historical context from which Wang Zhenho's¹ *Portraits of*

¹ Mr. Wang romanized his own name as Zhenho. It should have been Zhenhe instead of Zhenho, according to pingyin system, which is the most widely used romanization system today—but for ideological reasons, not adopted by Taiwanese government in the past. Wang, hence, romanized his own name according to Wade-Giles system, which was back then also popular. My discussion adopts Ping-yin system (except Mr. Wang's name and the name of President Chiang Ching-kou—which should have been *Jiang Jing-guo* in Ping-yin).

Beauties/Americana (Mei Ren Tu) had sprung out. In the twenty seven years under US custody (1951 to 1978), the English language had attained the status of ideological supremacy--a cultural and social capital--through which and with which one can qualify as an elite member. Good English ushered in a better job with a higher pay and the likeliness to become an American in the long run.

Purpose and Plot

Hence, the political severance between U.S. and Taiwan was a disillusionment of the American Dream and a segregation of the better other. Wang was acute in sensing this ideological idolatry. In fact, he qualified as one of those elite members. But his conscience as a novelist put him to a broader social perspective. *Portraits of Beauties/Americana (Mei Ren Tu)* was first published in January 1982. Wang explained that²:

“Mei Ren (beauties)” means those Chinese who idolize Mei Guo (America) and regard themselves as more prestigious; on the other way around, “mei (beautiful)” is also the ironic antithesis of “chou (ugly),” which describes those inhumane and profit-oriented people (203).

Hence, mirror-like by way of reflection, Wang’s story is told through the perspective of one of the silent *people* in the majority (who are usually the neglected ones in lower social strata). The narrator is a country youth named Xiao-lin--though very often Wang’s narrative lapses into all-knowing omnipotence. This limited omnipotent viewpoint serves as a centrifugal force to counteract the centripetal vanities of inhuman wishes. Jean-Jacques Gautier once commented on Herb Gardner’s *A Thousand Clowns*, saying:

He [Herb Gardner] makes us laugh, he amuses us, he has wit, the gift of a repartee, a sense of farce; he cheers, he relieves, he enlightens, he enchants [...]; he clings to humor as the last weapon against conformity [...]; above all, he wants people who surround him *not to be ashamed of laughing in*

² My English translation is based on the 1982 edition (in Chinese) released by Hong Fan Publishing, Taipei. (Taipei should have been *Taipei* in pinyin system. However, for many set terms that have been steadily recognized, the norm in translation is to just to keep the way it is).

a world in which a laugh is the object of suspicion (1963 cited in Bourdieu, 1996, p.163).

What has been said about Herb Gardner is equally applicable to Zhenho Wang. Through farcical laughter pushed to the extreme, Wang is inviting his implied readers (in Wolfgang Iser's term) to reflect on the twisted reality. This novel contains two chapters. The time setting in chapter one is vaguely located in the summer of 1978 whereas in chapter two, the author clearly indicates that the time frame covers only two days—from June 20th (Wednesday) to June 21st (Thursday) in 1979. The narrator, Xiao-lin, comes to Taipei to attend night school (senior high) and works at an airline company in the day time. Chapter one unfurls between the juxtaposition of those caricatured women and men in the airline company and Xiao-lin's financial crisis in getting a loan to help his farmer brother get married. Chapter two, likewise, develops between two entwining themes: 1) a protest against Jimmy Carter by signing one's name on an already typed letter and 2) the sudden death of one good man and subsequent resignation of the other in the airline company— Xiao-kuang and Lao-zhang.

Naming Scheme

It is important now to delineate the linguistic scenario in Taiwan before English further diversified the already kaleidoscopic phenomenon. To begin with, Japanese as the official language in colonial time did not slip away. It had turned much of itself into the vocabulary of Taiwanese dialect (Min Nan Hua), which is a vernacular (marginal and dominated). In succession to Japanese, standard Mandarin became the official language after 1949--with accented provincial variations that came with KMT regime. Though English was never an official language in Taiwan, its ideological supremacy was (is) hegemonic enough to slip into the above languages and left a mark. While Wang's theme in the novel is serious, his language is satirically bizarre, polyphonic, and laughter-bound. English words are thrown into Mandarin utterances of those who regard themselves as socially and culturally more prestigious. To begin with, the abbreviated name of the Airline Company, UPT, bears similar sounds in Mandarin as "Liu Bi-ti" (Running Nose). Under this arching attempt, English names and nouns are purposefully rendered and twisted to pun with Mandarin in similar sounds with degrading meanings. For example, Dorothy is rendered into Mandarin as "Dao La-ji" (Dumping Trash). Her lover's name, Rocky Dong, is phonetically transcribed into Mandarin characters to mean "La-ji Tong" (Trash Bin). Other examples include: T.P. Gu (Ti Pi-gu) to mean *kicking the ass*; Douglas to mean

“Dao-guo-lai La-shi” (to go upside down in bowel movement); Nancy (Lan-shi) for *corrupted corpse*; Vincent (Wen-sheng) for *diseased student*; office (Ou-hui Shi) for *vomiting room*; English (Ying-Guo Li-xi) for *British interest*—in monetary sense; baby (Xiao Bei-bi) for *the contemptible little one*; Benz (Ben Si) for *stupid to death*. To be succinct, a chart is provided below.

English	Mandarin Romanization	Twisted Meaning in Mandarin
UPT (Airline)	Liu Bi-ti 流鼻涕	Running Nose
Dorothy	Dao La-ji 倒垃圾	Dumping Trash
Rocky Dong	La-ji Tong 垃圾桶	Trash Bin
T.P. Gu	Ti Pi-gu 踢屁股	<i>kicking the ass</i>
Douglas	Dao-guo-lai La-shi 倒過來拉屎	to go upside down in bowel movement
Nancy	Lan-shi 爛屍	<i>corrupted corpse</i>
Vincent	Wen-sheng 瘟生	<i>diseased student</i>
office	Ou-hui Shi 嘔穢室	<i>vomiting room</i>
English	Ying-Guo Li-xi 英國利息	<i>British interest</i> as in banking
baby	Xiao Bei-bi 小卑鄙	<i>the contemptible little one</i>
Benz	Ben Si 笨死	<i>stupid to death</i>

On the reverse, sometimes the punning goes from English as the source language to the target language. Instead of saying directly “Ta-ma-de (damn it)” when cursing in Mandarin, the employees would use English abbreviation--T.M.D. Furthermore, Japanese name is also included into the linguistic arena. One Japanese customer’s name is “江笠光比古” and Wang pokes fun at it, too:

As if he is kicked on the ass, T.P. Gu (Kicking the Ass) jumps up from his chair, slams on his desk with full force and says: “I’ll be damned! Of all the names to select, and this Japanese will have ‘江笠光比古’ as his name—‘Jiang-li Guang-pi-gu’ (encourage someone to bare one’s ass)!”

“Ya! This goes with the Japanese tradition!” Dan-Ni-Er (Daniel) bites on a ball pen as if he, too, is holding tight to a tradition and says, “Japanese women in the past did not used to wear underpants. With economy so slow everywhere in the world and everything is being cut down, to go without underwear might be just the thing to do” (1982, p. 8).

As is evident, Wang's satirical strategy is extreme. A name or noun in English that is neutral in meaning is purposefully geared toward derogative Mandarin characters bearing similar English sounds.

Characterization

In terms of characterization, the highbrows are depicted as either idolizing everything American or promiscuous, most of whom are both! One of the ladies is named Grace Hu.

In English, Grace denotes virtue and chastity but, this lady proves to be antithetical. Her given name in English is thus rendered as "Zhen-jie Hu" (Chaste Fox) in Mandarin. While "Zhen-jie" is a fair rendition, her family name, Hu (neutral in meaning when referring to a person's last name), is twisted to a different character bearing the same sound to mean *fox* with a cunning connotation. She takes birth control pills daily without fail, even when her husband is away in the States to qualify residency requirement for a green card. And she is not afraid to reveal it. She never wears bras and enjoys the ensuing attention and flirting. After Daniel finishes poking fun at the Kanji (Chinese characters) in the Japanese customer's name--江笠光比古 (Jiang-li Guang-pi-gu' /to encourage someone to bare one's ass), Grace is depicted as "giggling so hard with her free-flowing big tits coming out as in a homerun! Kicking-the-Ass (T.P. Gu) and Daniel's two pairs of eyes are out of control again, fixing on her running breasts in salutation" (1982, p. 12)! In a different passage, Xiao-lin remembers a comment from T.P. Gu (Kicking the Ass), who once made fun of the pair--Dorothy (Dumping Trash) and Rocky Dong (Trash Bin):

A guy from Reservation Division—T.P. Gu (Kicking the Ass) often teases the pair naughtily:

Well, who would have thought of that! 'Trash Bin (Rocky Dong)' has finally found someone

'Dumping Trash (Dorothy)! One is exerting his proper use as a thing and the other is performing

her rightful duty. What a perfect match (1982, p. 5)!

Many people in UPT Airline are eager to become Americans. For example, Douglas' family members are all in the States and need money from Taiwan every month. Since each remittance to the States would allow only a small sum, Douglas needs to

borrow I.D. cards for surrogate accounts, so that he can accumulate to the desired sum. By punning on the name of Douglas--“*Dao-guo-lai* La-shi” (to go *upside down* in bowel movement) , Wang is also satirizing the fact that now *Taiwan is assisting America*, which is the other way around in the time of U.S. custody when *America was assisting Taiwan*. In the past, the situation was “Mei-yuan” (America assisting); now it is “Yuan-mei” (assisting America).

In contrast to the above batch, the narrator, Xiao-lin is filial and hard-working; he comes from the country, the bottom social stratum, and strives to make his way through education system in Taipei. Because of not having enough family income, Xiao-lin’s oldest brother has to marry a girl under the condition that he would live with the wife’s family and have a future son or daughter bear the wife’s family name. The second brother wants to look for better opportunities in a big city, but their father wouldn’t allow since their family needs extra manpower for farming. The second brother thus stays and falls in love with a brothel girl, who promises to marry him but needs ransom money to dissolve her contract. The family had expected the money to come from papaya harvest that year. But, as luck would have it, the papaya trees all died of a contagious virus. This is the plight that Xiao-lin is caught; his father plans to take a train to Taipei and get whatever help Xiao-lin can possibly offer. Xiao-lin’s only hope is a loan from his roommate, Xiao-guo, who also comes from the same town but gives up early on the education system. He drops out after only one year in the night school (junior high) in their home town and comes to Taipei to learn Japanese so that he can work as a tour guide. Xiao-lin’s intention in asking for the loan undergoes an odyssey. He knows that Xiao-guo has his tricks in getting extra money from the tourists, but Xiao-guo is a spendthrift, who goes after all the fashions of Taipei that sometimes does not even pay the rental on time. After much ado, Xiao-lin gives all his savings to his dad and sees him off at the train station. That night Xiao-guo comes home late and sees Xiao-lin crying; he asks why and then takes out a check of twenty thousand N.T. dollars. This sum of money was originally intended for a second-handed car to be showy and fashionable, but Xiao-guo gives it all out to help his friend. In truth, this check was from a bi-sexual male deputy manager in Xiao-guo’s tourist company, whom he had played hard-to-get with for quite some time and had just slept with earlier that night. Xiao-lin’s stress is thus relieved—but at a cost too dear and satirically warm against a commoditizing urban locale.

Polyphonic Diction and Ideological Ruptures

At a closer scansion, one would find that Wang’s linguistic complexity extends even to his diction and syntax—not just naming. Though Mandarin serves as the overall medium, one finds that Wang actually juxtaposes: 1) classical Mandarin and colloquial Mandarin (with sub-cultural terms); 2) many “madarinized” terms of Taiwanese dialect that actually came from Japanese in colonization period; and 3) accented Mandarin(s)--with a Hong Kong tinge (Cantonese) or other local nuances from various provinces of mainland China. Before I proceed further to translate some selected passages for illustration, a disclaimer has to be placed first. Even for a trained Mandarin reader, the original Mandarin text is not readily accessible—if he or she does not speak or understand Min Nan dialect, not to speak of not having a sharp ear for Mandarin in different provincial accents. My English rendition is thus destined to lose some original nuances; it would be more or less like taking a picture of a sculpture, as it were.

After Xiao-guo shows up suddenly in UPT Airline to persuade Xiao-lin to be his roommate, Xiao-lin looks up, compares his own shabby outfit and Xiao-guo’s fancy attire, and feels ashamed. Wang depicts: *Sighting* Xiao-guo so *fatly geared*, Xiao-lin *precipitately* feels *himself so downright poor and rustic!* To be fair about translation, the Mandarin original is provided: 視小郭這款穿戴，小林忽地感到自己好生寒儉 (19)! In plain Mandarin, Wang could have said: **Seeing** Xiao-guo’s **fancy outfit like that**, Xiao-lin **suddenly** feels that **his own wearing is so shabby**. However, instead of “Kan-jian” (seeing), Wang adopts a verb of more ancient touch—“Shi” (sighting); in place of “Chuan-cheng Zhe-yang” (to wear fancy outfit like that), Wang uses “Zhe-kuan Chuan-dai” (so fatly geared); an adverb of archaic tinge, “Hu-di” (precipitately) replaces what could have been a more colloquial term--“Hu-ran” (suddenly). And finally, Wang writes “Zi-ji Hao-sheng Han-chuang” (himself so downright poor and rustic) to substitute “Chuan-de Hen Sui-bian” (his own wearing is so shabby). Hopefully the two different ways of English translation serve to elucidate Wang’s bizarre diction and syntax; it blends both archaic and colloquial modern usage. For brevity, please see the following chart.

Hybrid Style		Plain Style	
Mandarin	English	Mandarin	English
Shi	sighting	Kan-jian	seeing
Zhe-kuan Chuan-dai	so fatly geared	Chuan-cheng Zhe-yang	to wear fancy outfit like that

Hu-di	precipitately	Hu-ran	suddenly
Hao-sheng Han-chuang	so downright poor and rustic	Chuan-de Hen Sui-bian	his own wearing is so shabby
Sighting Xiao-guo so fatly geared, Xiao-lin precipi- tately feels himself so downright poor and rustic!		Seeing Xiao-guo's fancy outfit like that, Xiao-lin suddenly feels that his wear is so shabby!	

Secondly, I will give an example of where Japanese has come into play through Min Nan dialect, which is a spoken variation from standard Mandarin in writing, but is transcribed back to mimic the localized sound changes--with special nuances that de-familiarize and re-territorialize! For example, one night Xiao-guo returned from Bei-tou (a hot spring resort and red-light district in Taipei), where he took some senior male Japanese tourists for fun. Accidentally, he saw T.P. Gu (Kick the Ass) taking Grace Hu (Chaste Fox) to a hotel. Grace's swinging big tits suddenly became a scene as well as an object of both envy and desire. Xiao-guo reported to Xiao-lin:

Those gals for sale stared at Grace's big tits; everyone's eyes were reddened with envy, and wished that

they could take Grace all in with just one bite. Those "Ou-ji-shang" (おじいさん/old men), dame it,

all looked with mouths watering and kept repeating-- "A-nou-nie" (あのねえ/well), A-nou-nie" (あの

ねえ/well), Taiwanese "Weng-na" (おんな/woman), "Nang-ba-wan" (number one), "Nang-ba-wan"

(number one). The hell with it! Japanese English is damned stinky. What on earth is "Nang-ba-wan"

(wan in the 4th tone to mean No. 1)? If you ask me, "Lan-pa-wan" is more like it [a Taiwanese twist

with Lan-pa meaning *penis* and wan in the 2nd tone to mean *balls*] (25-26).

Thirdly, I will highlight Wang's play with accented Mandarin. The major example is Mandarin with a Cantonese tinge, largely through the depiction of Xiao-kuang, an overseas Chinese from Hong Kong for college education and stayed for work after graduation. In chapter two, the Deputy Executive, "Tie Guang-guang" (Eunuch Tie), wanted each of the UPT employees to sign on an already typed letter to protest against Carter Administration for discarding Taiwan. Xiao-kuang was quite reserved about this event:

“Did yao (you) shee (see) liz (this) letter closely?” Xiao-kuang looked up and glanced at everyone. His

elegant thin finger pointed at the letter on Chaste Fox’s (Grace Hu’s) desk.

“Liz (this) letter has a

problom (problem).”

“A problem?” Daniel bit on his ball pen and looked at Xiao-kuang curiously.

“A beg (big) problom (problem)!”

Taking the ball pen off his mouth, Daniel mimicked Xiao-kuang’s Cantonese Mandarin: “Has a beg (big) problom (problem)? Are yao (you) masdagen (mistaken)? Liz (this) letter is well worded just like a Newsweek article. I suppose it must have been drafted by a foreigner. A Chinese could never have written something so authentic” (121).

I tried to imitate the Cantonese sound changes in Mandarin by misspellings so as to foreignize the subtlety for English readers. Particularly, I want to point out that, by mimicking Cantonese accent in Mandarin, “Zhe” (which means *this*) is purposefully twisted to a different character with a similar sound—“Zei” to mean *thief*. In the English domain, the best I can manage is to use *liz* at where *this* should be. Next, in line with accented Mandarin, I will give another example, but it is not specific as to what provincial variation it is. After “Tie Guang-guang” (Eunuch Tie) had heard that Xiao-kuang was not willing to sign on the letter, he said:

“Xiao-kuang, yo (you) handsome boy, na (no) need to panic! Me, yours truly, ask all to sign on the

letters just to attract media attention, *just to make the papers, that’s all*. The message is that, as a

foreign [American] company, we also care about national event. *That’s all* [italics are English as it is

in the original Mandarin text] (123).

Please note that I have used *na* instead of *no* to reflect the Mandarin sound change from “Bu” (don’t) to “Ba” (stop)—from “**Bu**-yao Jin-zhang” to “**Ba**-yao Jin-zhang,” which means *no need to panic*.

In sum, let me focus on the ideological ruptures in the linguistic amalgam. Though Wang’s novel is narrated through Xiao-lin’s perspective, a careful reader shouldn’t miss the authorial intention. For one thing, the point of view often lapses from the

third person to an omnipotent one to show that, though Xiao-lin sees the world around him, he is only a helpless part of the engulfing whole. Next, the heteroglossic narration disrupts the distinction between domination and subordination in the ideological hierarchy—English being the top-notch; Mandarin (with accented provincial variations) being the middle; and Taiwanese dialect (with Japanese tinge) being the bottom. However, the life force comes most vividly in the reverse order. When Taiwanese dialect is brought in to describe Xiao-lin's poor family condition, it arouses pathos against the overall Mandarin background; when localized Japanese tinge comes with *mandarinized* Taiwanese dialect, it erupts with sexual connotations. The scene of those senior Japanese tourists going to Bei-tou for prostitution is exemplary, which further suggests that Taiwan was once a prostituted land under Japanese colonization. In terms of the archaic and colloquial style mix in Mandarin, it vaguely suggests a sense of nostalgia, which is reinforced when English is thrown in for punning. And finally, the recurrent sexual references of tits, balls, nakedness, homo-sexuality, and promiscuous relations are carnivalesque in a Bakhtinian sense to challenge the social, cultural, and political *nomos proper*.

Conclusion

In one place, Dorothy (Dumping Trash) who wears heavy make-up complains to Xiao-lin about how tired she is because of heavy work load—in fact, there isn't much to do! Wang describes her in the following manner: “These ladies are all of such sort—as if by nature, they love to put on make-ups, blackening their brows and reddening their lips, just to exaggerate the truth” (1982, p. 4). Regretfully, Wang seems to have shown himself as a chauvinist. But he might not have to be—if we understand that he is just demonstrating the lack of subjectivity of Taiwanese society as a result of successive dominations one after another. The oppressed *status quo* is re-presented in a patriarchal system, under which the female body has to put on make-up to cover the naked truth. The real authorial intention is a return to subjectivity. In a different context when Grace Hu (Chaste Fox) is flirting with her male colleagues, she refers to herself as a mother.

“‘Stop that smooth talking with me, **your mom!**’ she exhorts, but her voice sounds to mean just the

opposite: ‘It is O.K. Just pull it all out from your heart’” (1982, p.8)!

Please note that a mother role naturally engenders variegated social relations—not just a woman in the male/female dichotomy. In truth, what sounds to be the opposite

is not just the indication in Grace's voice. It is in the orchestrated multiple voices of Zhenho Wang. Or maybe I should reverse the order by addressing him as Wang Zhenho, which is the customary way when Chinese people are called in Mandarin—last name going first and first name going last! Yes, the first name is a *given* name, and it goes last in the Mandarin setting. Hail to thee with all due respect--Mr. Wang Zhenho!



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*Transfiguration of Space: Practice-Based Research in Painting and Digital Art by
Kong Ho*

Kong Ho

University of Brunei Darussalam, Brunei Darussalam

0033

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I. Timeless Moments

Transfiguration of Space, a multimedia studio-based art research project, is about new sensory experiences mingled with memories of familiar old one. It's about sharing the experience of transition, which is an experience that everyone is familiar with. In this paper I will examine the events of my latest solo exhibition at the National Institute of Education Art Gallery, May 2012, in Singapore. I consider this paper to be the final conclusion and reflection on a body of work built on the concept of spiritual and physical transitions. While my artwork for my exhibition took much of its cue from a sense of the bitter-sweet—of the time in-between—a feeling of the loss for the old environment in Pennsylvania, U.S.A. that I left behind, and the excitement of the new world when I came to Brunei Darussalam to start a new phase in my life in July 2011, other aspects of my work did not fully come to my mind until I wrote this paper.

As a teaching artist I try to be sensitive and “in-tune” with my environment. I remember the moment when I first truly began to internalize the special sense of place that is Brunei Darussalam. It happened on July 17, 2011, and as I was leaving the hotel apartments in Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam, the starting point of my new journey in life, and a place some 6,700 miles away from my hometown, Bradford, Pennsylvania. I noticed that while watching the golden-yellow sunset that I was encountering a moment of timeless being that came from feeling that I was a person of the world and a creature of nature. I share the idea of influence from nature towards the creation of a work of art with Jacquelynn Baas (2005) noted in her introduction in her book *Smile of the Buddha*:

Human beings are social animals, creatures of their culture as well as of their own histories. Works of art are complex products of complex minds, and this makes the search for the sources of inspiration that lie behind them cumulative and endless. (p. 9)

This is the kind of transcendental feeling that comes from feeling lost in the enormity of nature. According to Baas (2005), "Buddhism challenges thinking as a path to knowing. And what both the creation and the perception of art share with Buddhist mediation practice is that they allow us to forget ourselves and thus realize ourselves. They are parallel practices." (p. 11) This sort of experience has led me to try and capture the sublime and over-whelming nature of the elements that make up the patterns of nature unconsciously. Even though I have relocated to many places during the past 20 years: from humid Hong Kong to dry Texas; hot Texas to cold Pennsylvania; and from snowy Pennsylvania to sunny Brunei, the way the sky looks when the sun sets with its peaceful sunbeams, is the one thing that feels the same and familiar to me.

The golden-yellow clouds against the ultramarine blue backdrop of the sky, shown in Figure 1, on that particular evening might have been familiar; there were some aspects about it that were unique. I took several photographs of that unique moment with my cell phone camera. After that, I started taking photographs of the sky, beach, flowers, trees, landscape and cityscape around my new tropical environment seriously with my 10 megapixels digital camera. Later, I used imaging software, Adobe Photoshop, to merge and transform some of the Borneo images as well as the images I took displaying wooded scenery from around my home in Pennsylvania. In a further effort to fold and blend my old memories of "self" with who I was becoming in

Brunei, I also used cityscape images from my childhood in Hong Kong to work into digital art. Other types of digital images include panoramic photographs and dissolving motion videos. Looking back on the work that I produced for the exhibition along with works that I did not show, I can see that these digital images carry a common thread, a growing nostalgia for the past and/or a Romantic attitude toward life.

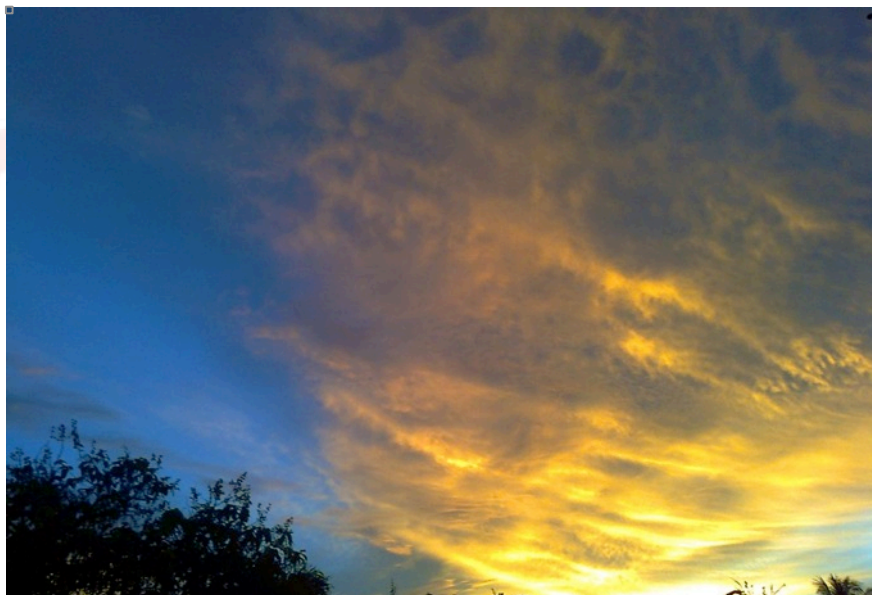


Figure 1: Kong Ho. *Bandar Seri Bagawan Sunset*, 2011. Digital print, 15"H x 20"W

The visually attractive golden sunset digital image resembles the "picturesque" style of the late eighteenth century's Romanticism, a carefully orchestrated casualness of composition. The colourful and sweet appearance of this golden cloud-spun photo is not the content of my art but instead it embodies the transitory nature of life revealed as an expression of nature. Two years ago, when I was fifty my life was impacted by more than the change in my teaching career and my relocation from West to East, it was also impacted by the loss of my mother in Hong Kong. The loss of my mother in November 2011 occurred after I had settled down in Brunei for five months. Further adding to my emotional milieu was my separation from my wife who only was able to join me as part of the Art and Creative Technology programme at UBD in July of 2012.

I believe that before I can make art, whether it is a photograph or a painting, that certain elements must present, including a good mix of emotions. According to the Taoist/Buddhist perspective, the transient nature of life can be seen in natural phenomena, such as cyclical nature of a rose or the night flight of a winged ant. The beauty of a short-lived sunset or flower evokes a melancholic sense of the transience of life. Those digital images taken in different places where I have lived before still feel timeless to me, but they take on a slightly intangible almost ethereal quality when I transfigure them.

II. **Stretching Out the Transient Experience or the "Moment-of-the-in-Between"**

When measured against the visual styles of my complex digital art series based on

spiraling forms, or the nostalgic quality of my "memoiristic" digital photographs or even the almost hyper-real quality of my temporal symbolic paintings that the Claude Monet's *Water Lilies*, an Impressionist masterwork depicting his water garden in Oregon in 1914, that my artwork would not have a lot in common except the depiction of a few water lilies. However, the poetic and time-shifting feeling of this painting as described by Baas (2005) echoes the qualities that I am seeking in my art:

The painting seems to contain a moment or—better—a totality of moments in deep summer, when the greens go dark and the water reflects a bottomless sky. The sensation of a moment I wasn't even aware of losing is suddenly mine again. Or maybe what the painting embodies is change itself, and the awareness is an awareness of time and the losses that time brings. (p. 19)

Psychologically, the motivation behind my transfigurations of digital image is to hold on to the essence of the transitional image, feeling, time and space of a fleeting moment. It may seem contradictory to try to rematerialize that which is already gone, but a part of the large historical list behind humankind's reasons for making art seems to gone into this endeavor. In my last solo exhibition brochure, I wrote: "Five months after the loss of my beloved mother I am amazed at how much I still miss her. I miss her a lot everyday. I would like to dedicate this exhibition brochure to my mother, Lau Mei Fong." (Ho, 2012, p. 1) The sadness of losing my dear mother who brought me into the world and stood by me in good times and bad will never disappear. While it is true to say that the passing of time may help to ease the pain, however the full sense of the loss remains and the nostalgia is always there. Human life is full of contradictions and so is art. I try to capture those timeless moments or impermanent endurances in my life through my art.

Because we are living in a globalized world where the notion of Pluralistic art has become the new mainstream norm, artists like myself who are not part of some specialized group must seek out their reasons and beliefs for making art that unless reported by the artist would perhaps go unnoticed in the competitive art world. For the several past decades I have been cultivating a relationship between the concepts of Zen Buddhism and my art. I transform my digital images using the motifs of flowers, leaves and seashells in a Zen Buddhist intuitive manner. This means that on some level, my complete understanding of how or why the final composition was arrived at. Sometimes I have to just let go and trust my instincts.

The process by which artworks are created along with the media used in the works is a very important part of the final statement or content of the work. For example, in my digital art pieces that rely on the spiral effect, I intend to articulate a meditative state of mind through the process of creating the image. Digital imaging can create layers, colors, textures, dimensions, repetitions, rotations and transformations, which are different from hand-painted or hand-drawn artworks. I cannot visualize the final images but they always remind me of my free-floating memory with no defined space or time. When I start out to make an image I know that I am only creating an illusion. Through the use of manipulated and often humble subjects like common seashells and skink lizards I begin to enhance that object's most outstanding feature. This coupled with my recollection of having found the seashell on a great day or spotted the skink on a special trip adds to my desire to work my subject into an image that can engage others into seeing the fabulous world around us. The composition of the work is created in a transcendental kind of space which may turn out to include spiral,

panoramic, elongated, or overlapping elements. The picture plane may end up resembling a place with no beginning or end, or it may be more like the interweaving of time and space. *Yellow Heliconia*, one of my digital photos generated by Adobe Photoshop, shown in Figure 2, reveals the transfiguration of a simple yellow Heliconia. Taken on UBD's campus, it expresses my passion with the nature and the Fibonacci Sequence and my delight with seeing one of Brunei's lovely flowers up close.



Figure 2: Kong Ho. *Yellow Heliconia*. 2012. Digital print, 16"H x 16"W

I am not too sure how to depict those timeless moments. However, repeatedly I transfigure those moments into digital images. In a way, the digital medium allows me the luxury of working in a manner that is not only original and bold in its outcome, but digital art is also practical because it is so transportable and printable. This new method of working has come to affect almost every aspect of my art and life. My latest work with focus on impermanence or timeless moments resonate the writing of French art historian Hippolyte Taine in his essay titled "Le Bouddhisme" published in 1865:

Nature is ... an infinite chain of causes from effects and effects from causes, an infinite progeny into the past and the future of decompositions and recompositions with no beginning and no end. Such is the view of the whole to which [Buddhists] are led, on the one hand, by their main theme of nothingness and, on the other, by the spectacle of things incessantly changing. Having suppressed fixed causes, there remains only the series of changing effects. Thereupon, the imagination comes alive. (Taine, 1886 [1865], p. 291)

My art is about the timeless moments I experience in my life and daily environment. *Muara Sunset*, falls into the category of an eternal moment photograph, shown in Figure 3. In this work I am presenting a very universal theme of a perfect vision of

one moment in a day. For me this image offers solace against the other realities of my daily life. It is very true that with the Internet connection, photographic images and human imagination, I can cognitively almost exist in several places at once. These places include my physical desk in my office in Brunei, and connections to virtual places too. I can even reach people in Pennsylvania through FaceTime or Skype. At the same time, my photographs, digital art and videos define not only the time and space which I have traveled but also myself and my psyche. My adoration of timeless moments also reveals itself through my Taoist/Buddhist contemplation: I pursue my existence through personal experience of forms, colours and space in my art.

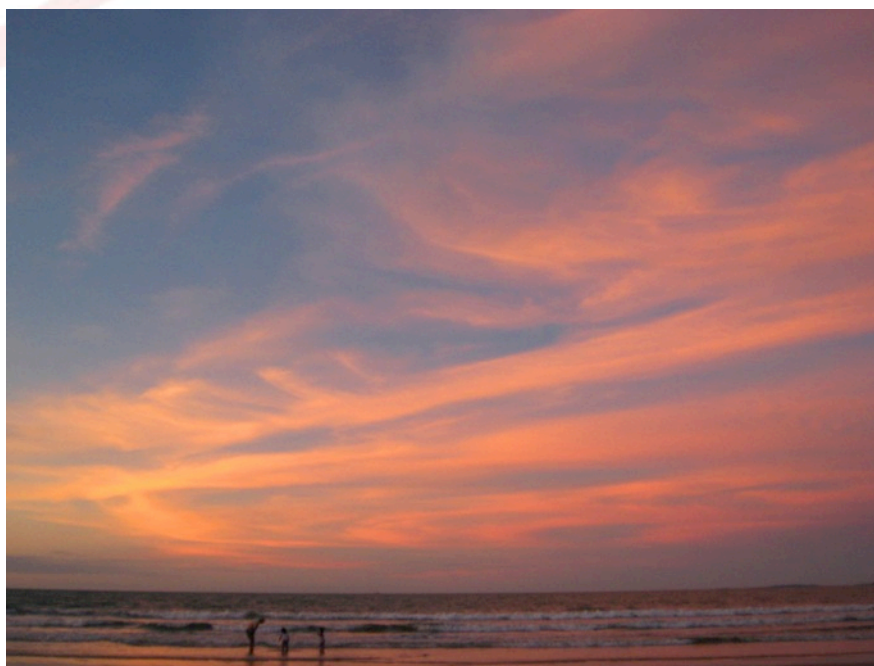


Figure 3: Kong Ho. *Muara Sunset*, 2012. Digital print, 15"H x 20"W

III. Infinite Space

In addition to my complex spiral digital art, memoiristic digital photographs and dissolving motion video installation, I also have continued to work on my paintings in my ongoing "Cycle Series". This series evolved out of my 2002 transitional painting entitled *Beauty of Complexity*, shown in Figure 4, which exemplifies the theme of the interconnectedness of nature. The work is painted in a semi-abstract symbolic style. Sumptuously painted in a technique consisting of painterly drips, splatters and collages held in check by subtly controlled washes of glaze and exacting trompe l'oeil objects, this painting shows the importance of the acrylic media as a means for exploring both concepts and process. The spiral compositions and imagery in this series of paintings are meant to not only be striking in their color schemes and textural interplay, but also to be practical in the sense that my imagery can help to guide me through my life experiences.



Figure 4: Kong Ho. *Beauty of Complexity*, 2002. Acrylic on canvas, 50"H x 50"W

Although I used the image of bisected nautilus shells with mathematical beauty, along with Chinese ancient jade discs with a Taoist sense of harmony in my early paintings, I have revived my use of these objects and given them a more contemporary feel though my use of a contrasting color schemes and the introduction of other symbolic images, such as Buddhist lotus and leaves, the scientific icon of DNA double helix, smiling Buddha faces, floating marbles, flying ribbons, burning flames, drifting clouds, and wafting, petal-like boat hulls, and Chinese numbers in a square format and dark shallow escaping holes. In my 2008 meditative symbolic painting, *Lapping Expansion of Blue Life*, shown in Figure 5, I intended to express my pursuit of impermanence and infinite space through the use of lotus flowers. These flowers are a Buddhist symbol of clarity and they express consciousness arising from the mud of ignorance. In a sense, lotus and other symbols enable me to create art that hopefully serves the dual purposes of assisting myself and the viewers to simultaneously better understand both the natural and human made world, and our position in it.



Figure 5: Kong Ho. *Lapping Expansion of Blue Life*, 2008. Acrylic on canvas, 30"H x 30"W

When I look at my work more deeply, I realize that I have internalized the influences of Chinese traditional art and the Taoist-Buddhist philosophy as a means for understanding the world around me. After I began my "Cycle Series," I became more comfortable about incorporating Chinese pictorial devices and Taoist-Buddhist symbols in my work. *Golden Nautilus Roams with Smiling Buddha*, one of my 2008 spiritual paintings, shown in Figure 6, represented a synthesis of three symbolic images, including a Buddha portrait, a bisected nautilus shell and a blossoming lotus. Interestingly, the use of these symbols has brought me tranquility while painting, and I think my calmer state of mind has helped me to create paintings that are very energetic in expression, but at the same time are also harmonious. The Buddha's smile revealed in this painting suggests a kind of self-awakening from our egotism. I share Robert Thurman's interpretation of Buddha's smile in his foreword of Baas's book *Smile of the Buddha*: "He cannot force us to awaken, or inject us with Buddhahood, so to speak; he can only stimulate our imagination so that we may become inspired to employ appropriate methods of wisdom and compassion to accelerate our evolution toward enlightenment." (Thurman, 2005, p. xiii)



Figure 6: Kong Ho. *Golden Nautilus Roams with Smiling Buddha*, 2008. Acrylic on canvas, 30"H x 30"W

Another feature of the "Cycle Series," are the works asymmetrical compositions. I have manipulated the composition by offsetting the symbolic motifs, including the bisected nautilus shell, the Chinese jade disc, the blossoming lotus and/or enlightening Buddha portrait against the angular edges of the squared off canvas. It is my intention to create some tension in my other wise harmonious work by playing contrasting forms against a rigid or formally balanced square format. It has long been recognized that culture influences the development of language, pattern recognition, and concept of numbers. The use of a square format in my recent work is meant to correspond to the notion of Chinese characters, which are square in structure. The Chinese characters appeared in my 2011 painting, *True Nature of Philosophy*, shown in Figure 7, symbolize the rational and intuitive understanding of the world around us. In any numerical order, there is always a constant pattern, which we can count on. We depend on our rational mind to explain natural phenomenon. However, nature is more than the sum of infinite causes and effects. Sometimes, there is a certain unknown order in chaos, which our rational minds cannot comprehend. At the same time, our intuitive minds can figure out the truth without conscious reasoning. The cyclic order of flux may not be obvious in the first gaze. However, if viewers contemplate my work as a whole, then they may be aware of the hidden pattern behind the complex pictorial space.



Figure 7: Kong Ho. *True Nature of Philosophy*, 2011. Acrylic & collage on canvas, 19.5"H x 19.5"W

Besides the Chinese numerical characters, I have also chosen the blossoming lotus as one of my significant symbols in my recent work because of its spectacular shape and color as well as its sophisticated symbolic meaning of purity and enlightenment in Buddhism. The beauty of a blossoming lotus has always been admired in Chinese culture and it is the most popular subject matter in traditional Chinese ink paintings. Its lustrous quality represents the striving and inspiring virtues of an individual away from the earthly environment, especially under the Confucian norms. I am attracted to blossoming lotus because of their unique aesthetic forms and association with Buddhist transcendental meaning. It brings beauty and pure out from the muddy darkness at the bottom of the pond. By merging the blossoming lotus with bisected nautilus shell, I create a unique form to reveal the essential subtlety of Chinese art as well as the transcendental thought of Taoist/Buddhist philosophy with a more contemporary context.

The Taoist principle of yin and yang and Buddhist eightfold path of wisdom may not be manifested in the surface of my work, and viewers without a Chinese background or Buddhist understanding may not understand the meaning of Chinese characters or Buddhist symbols in my work. However, the dissolving imagery of the bisected nautilus shell, blossoming lotus, Buddhist leaf and unknown Chinese characters always suggests the transitory nature and constant change within my work.

Further interest is added to the composition through the articulation of the segments of the bisected nautilus shell, the carving pattern of jade disc and/or the linear texture of lotus petals. Rhythmic movement is created from a simultaneous growth and dissolution of nautilus shell, jade disc and lotus with the background. A sense of fundamental transformation for which no beginning and end can be discovered

evolves from this body of work. Contrasting colors with spontaneous splashing marks and precisely rendered symbolic images or collages as well as improvised random patterns and orders, add to the feeling of engagement with, rather than separation from, my lived experience of Eastern and Western cultures and transcendental belief in Buddhist/Taoist thought.

IV. Conclusion

Just as with everything else in life, the images in my art appear to have fluid meanings and even to take on different physical characteristics when one looks carefully at the structure of the work and contemplates the image as a whole. *Transfigured Innocence*, one of my 2012 paintings, shown in Figure 8, reveals the synthesis of double Heliconias, bisected nautilus shell and a hidden map of Brunei. The new local typical floral image and map combined with my previous symbols, and bisected nautilus shell, provide a new dimension or meaning to my current living environment. On one level, my paintings, photographs, digital art and videos can also be considered as visual interpretations of the Taoist order of nature and Buddhist spiritual enlightenment because my art reflects the spirit or essence of the Buddhist/Taoist philosophy. This belief states that there exists a harmonious wholeness and eternal order that connects human beings to nature and to the Yin and Yang forces that govern the cosmos, which is beyond time and space.



Figure 8: Kong Ho. *Transfigured Innocence*, 2012. Acrylic & collage on canvas, 19.5"H x 19.5"W

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Rewriting the Signpost: Memories of Misdirection

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I. Introduction: Cultural Display in a Contact Zone Setting

When art exhibitions, especially those mounted by ex-patriots on foreign soil, are compared with Clifford's (1997) notion of how museums operate as contact zones, these exhibitions appear to match-up with his description of how a public site or location can serve as a contact zone. According to Clifford, a museum operates like an open market or other cultural site that attracts and admits culturally diverse groups and, as such is a contact zone or place where people meet and come together. Clifford explains that as a consequence of their social interaction at a given site, these cultural groups either wittingly or unwittingly vie amongst themselves for control of cultural information and positions of social dominance. Clifford's (1997) description of how museums appear to correspond to places where social interaction takes place can be equated with Pratt's (1992) definition of contact zones.¹ Clifford notes two similarities that each of these places possesses: first, both are places that contain a center point for gathering; and second, both have a periphery area that functions as a discovery zone. Since art exhibitions are mounted for the purpose of attracting parties that are interested in gathering new social information and experiencing social interactions, they too should be considered contact zones.

While it is the aim of this paper to deconstruct the meaning and visual content behind two primary pieces of work that I placed on display in the exhibition that I am about to discuss, it is important bear in mind that both the intent of the work and the circumstances under which it was created have a direct bearing on how the work's final structure and symbolism evolved. The content behind my sculptures *Sign-Out: Bradford, PA* (Figure 1) and *Sign-In: Brunei Darussalam* (Figure 2) was conceived of first and foremost to satisfy my desire to say something original and specific about my sense of identity and place as an artist moving to Brunei Darussalam for the purpose of teaching art as an assistant professor at the University of Brunei Darussalam. However, the content of my work as it pertains to memories and experiences from specific geographical regions of personal reference—Pennsylvania, Hong Kong and Brunei, were greatly influenced by the circumstances and requirements for producing sculptural work that could be included in a two-part, two-person exhibition to be held in Brunei during my first semester of teaching at UBD. Because the conceptual message and final visual design of my sculptures resulted from both controlled and uncontrolled influences brought on by the circumstances of my relocation and teaching assignments at UBD, this paper will serve as a kind of forum for my presentation on how my old internalized memories of a place just left behind became entwined with the newly formed memories and fresh experiences of displacement and desire. Furthermore, I will try to add to my reflection on these influences and factors of my relocation and reassigned role as ex-patriot, and by default of my position of elite power as a university professor at Brunei's national university, an imperialist foreigner.

¹ Clifford (1997) explains that he is building upon Pratt's (1992) definition of "Contact Zones."



Figure 1: Martie Geiger-Ho. *Sign-Out: Bradford, PA.* 2012. Driftwood sculpture, sculpture, 78”H x 28”W x 28”D



Figure 2: Martie Geiger-Ho. *Sign-In: Darussalam.* 2012. Driftwood sculpture, 84”H x 28”W x 26”D

II. Taking up Residence in Brunei Darussalam

I followed my husband, associate professor Kong Ho to Brunei after I accepted a position teaching art as faculty of Art and Creative Technology at UBD. Prior to his having joined the ranks of UBD's area of Art and Creative Technology one year before my arrival in July 2012, he had been full time faculty at the University of Pittsburgh at Bradford (UPB) where he worked for ten years. My husband's decision to leave was not made lightly. Even though I was not full-time, I enjoyed my employment at UPB as a visiting assistant professor because I was able to teach my favorite subject, ceramics, along with other related design and art related subjects such as world art history and occasionally drawing and painting. It was because of my teaching commitments along with my establishment in the community of Bradford that I did not relish the notion of changing jobs. However, my husband felt that in light of recent changes by the new university president, which included an aggressive policy that he and his administrators were promoting regarding the expendability of non-tenure contract faculty like himself, that he had no choice but to leave and look for a position where his contributions to the university would not go unacknowledged.

Kong had been working in Brunei Darussalam, for approximately six months when I traveled to Brunei in December of 2012 to visit and also apply for a position at the university. I remember a feeling of trepidation before my journey to Brunei. This was not because I had never traveled so far from home before—on the contrary, I had worked full-time in Hong Kong at the Hong Kong Baptist University, Academy of Visual Arts for two years (1997 to 1999), so that was certainly not the cause of my unease. I believe that while I wanted a position where I would be working with my husband, I was feeling apprehensive about leaving my home and starting over again in a place where I would once again be an ex-patriot. In Hong Kong I was able to live with Kong's mother and visit his family, and I knew that after finishing my two-year contract at the Hong Kong Baptist University, Academy of Visual Arts, that I would be returning to my home and my own basement studio where I could alternate my time between teaching at UPB and making one of a kind ceramic sculptures. Moreover, I would also be able to continue my gardening projects and enjoy the passing seasons that are a hallmark of Pennsylvania. Located near the beautiful Alleghany Forest, shown in Figure 3, our modest home also shares its surroundings with the depressed oil town of Bradford and the mushrooming fields of oil and natural gas that are enjoying a new boom due to the ever-widening energy crises.



Figure 3: Martie Geiger-Ho. *Sign-Out: Bradford, PA* (Detail view). 2012. Driftwood sculpture, 78”H x 28”W x 28”D

My interview for the art position at UBD went well and I felt confident that I would not have trouble teaching, or producing papers and attending conferences. I was keen on the idea of possibly receiving grants for participating in academic activities like conferences and research because I had never before received grants or recognition for undertaking these pursuits at UPB due to my part-time status, but something about the art program was not sitting right with me. The problem was the glaring need for a functioning ceramics and sculpture studio for teaching the courses that I would be responsible for. Although I had set-up the ceramic facilities from scratch at both HKBU, Academy of Visual Arts, and at UPB, I could see that no attention had been given to the art facilities at UBD for years. Furthermore, studio equipment, except for computers in the areas of new media and graphic design, were almost non-existent. When I brought the poor condition of the art studios to my husband’s attention he reassured me that there would be money and an opportunity for me to get everything fixed to operating standards early on in the semester. He also felt that the facility electricians would only need my direction and the submission of work orders to get a massive industrial looking electric kiln up and running in time for me to teach ceramics in the fall if all went well with the search committee and my job application.

In addition to interviewing on campus I also had the good fortune of being invited along with my husband on a three day, two night trip by the Brunei Nature Society to the Kuala Belalong Field Studies Centre (KBFSC) in the Temburong rainforest. The trip was incredible and I decided that the lushness of Borneo’s rainforests cancelled out the problems in the studio.

I was offered the position at UBD a couple of months after my interview. However, I had already been preparing for my transition to Brunei just in case the job offer came through. I used my remaining quiet time in Bradford to write my book *The Worship of Kiln Gods: From the Studios of Western Potters to the Temples of China*. I also taught myself how to work with silver clay and I put together a small body of work to take to Brunei because I knew that I would need some art for the two person exhibition that Kong and I had proposed as part of the larger mural project with the U.S. Embassy.

III. Transcending Culture and Space: A Community Art Project

Interviewing at UBD and having a bit of adventure in one of Brunei's wilderness areas was not the only activity that I pursued during my half month long visit to the tiny Sultanate. I also worked with Kong on an ambitious public mural proposal that he wanted to co-produce with me. Together, we approached the U.S. Embassy Brunei Darussalam to enquire about possible grants and other forms of support for Americans wishing to create public projects that would serve as a means for strengthening the ties between our two nations by gaining a better understanding of our shared and unique cultural identities. Kong submitted the grant application to the embassy after I returned to the U.S., and he continued to work on organizing the project in my absence after it was approved. By the time that I joined him in Brunei in July 2012, the community mural project and workshops were already underway.

Transcending Culture and Space: A Community Art Project, shown in Figure 4, was sponsored by the U.S. Department of State through the Overseas Federal Assistance Award and the U.S. Embassy Brunei Darussalam. Co-sponsors that provided workshop space and moral support but no monetary funds for the pilot scheme were; Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD), Pusat Belia Bandar Seri Begawan (Youth Centre) and Jerudong International School (JIS). This art project is a practice-based research in community art in Brunei. This community art project showcases the diverse and inclusive universal symbolism that is shared between the cultures of the United States of America and Brunei Darussalam. The thirty-foot long by six-foot high transportable mural was created by Bruneian youths, JIS students, UBD students, US Embassy staff, and the general public. Each time the mural was set up in a location both public and individual workshops were given on that site to help participants learn about mural painting.



Figure 4: *Transcending Cultural & Space Mural*. 2012. Acrylic on canvas, 6'H x 30'W, painted by 238 participants & collected by Universiti Brunei Darussalam, New Library Extension Building, Brunei Darussalam.

Activities for the overall program included: mural painting workshops, a traveling multimedia art installation and public gallery talks. Together, these events are estimated to have reached 2000 people. Venues include a local youth centre, the US Embassy, a well-visited mall, UBD art studio, JIS Art Gallery, UBD Student Centre and the U.S. Embassy's official 4th of July event at the Empire Hotel. The complete mural will become a permanent piece that will enliven the Student Centre of UBD. This community art project has aimed to encompass the most updated concepts about

community art through the social inclusion of Bruneians from all walks of life. This inclusion is illustrated in the types of participants that came to work on the mural, like people from diverse age groups, socio-economic strata and people with various abilities. By being inclusive, the project was in support of its objective of adding to the foundation of social enrichments that are being used to help the Bruneian society to build a strong and vibrant community that counts art and other art supporting facets of the creative industries as part of its infrastructure.

As a new faculty member at University of Brunei Darussalam, I wanted to create artworks that would address my eagerness to experience the culture and terrain of Brunei and would at the same time offer a chance for my ceramic/sculpture students to follow my ideas and to gain from the actual execution of the work. My concept for the two sculptures that I am discussing here, *Sign Out: Bradford, PA*, and *Sign In: Brunei Darussalam* served both of these criteria admirably. Although I did produce a number of mixed-media artworks for the exhibition, I believe that my two free-standing large pieces were among the most successful because of how they engaged viewers. Viewers particularly liked the small trinkets and details that were liberally placed throughout the work. Some of these items were “found objects” that viewers enjoyed “discovering” among the structure of each work’s carefully thought out 3-dimensional composition.

IV. Signs as Symbols for the Past, Present and Desired Future

The concept for this set of sculptures was based on change and ways of connecting with my shifting identity in Brunei through a sense of place. The actual realization of how to address my feelings about changing my work position from teaching at a regional campus in a small town in the US, to teaching at a major university in Brunei Darussalam came to me shortly after my arrival in Brunei. I was collecting driftwood and seashells on the Maura Beach when I realized that I could connect my last body of ceramic work with something new through the use of beach combed objects gathered from the South China Sea. Because my last body of work, *China from the South China Sea*, relied heavily on my use of shards (broken ceramics) that I routinely collected off of the coast of Hong Kong, I felt that if I could use the driftwood and washed up boards from buildings, found on Brunei’s South China Sea beaches, that a new series of artwork would begin to evolve. I quickly realized that if I could relate the wood to places in Brunei in a way that was similar to the means by which my conceptual ceramic pieces, made with found porcelain and stoneware shards, echoed back to China and its rich heritage of ceramics, that I would be able to make meaningful work that would help to ground me in my new location. The recent publication of my book *The Worship of Kiln Gods: From the Temples of China to the Studios of Western Potters*” (2012), in September of 2012, stirred my connection of beach combed artifacts found on South China Sea beaches in Hong Kong with artifacts and driftwood found on Brunei’s South China Sea beaches because I wrote about my previous body of work--shard infused ceramic sculptures, as part my introduction to Western concepts about kiln gods.

The notion for making a signpost came to mind when I began collecting flat pieces of wood in addition to more appealing ocean-scoured tree vines and other sinuous water-sculpted pieces of driftwood. I was immediately excited about this idea because, in addition to the free weathered boards, I thought that the possibilities of working with

names and places was very appealing. I knew that I wanted a simple but sturdy rustic wooden stand that I could mount my signs on, so I went to a local hardware store in Berakas and I ordered two to be built to my specifications. At first I thought that one signpost would be enough, but when I learned that the cost for nailing together the basic structure for my future sculpture only came to \$26.00 Brunei dollars, I ordered two rough sawn, raw wood structures. My decision turned out to be for the best because once I began to paint the posts with bright and wild abstract colors and splatters, I started to explore the idea of making one signpost loaded with various signs indicative of the general region of Pennsylvania, where I had just come from, leaving the other signpost to hold the names of places that evoke feelings and important memories for me from my experiences in Hong Kong and Brunei Darussalam. (Although I am new to Brunei, I already had a list of favorite places, which included rivers, beaches, rainforests, and other natural environments.)

As I began to paint the wood, the colors and textures of the salvaged planks began to suggest their own aesthetic appeal and character. I decided to listen to the underlying quality of each wooden slat and plank as I painted and stained the raw wood. The more I worked the more the planks and shattered bits of wood seemed to each remind me of a place, a saying, or a mood that I knew was representative of either Pennsylvania or Brunei with a little Hong Kong thrown in for good measure.

Not long after I had begun painting the stands and getting the base colors rubbed and brushed onto the slats of wood, Kong took notice of what I was doing and he offered to hand write the various signs according to my specifications. Kong's precise lettering lent still another dimension to the over-all cohesiveness of the two sculptures. Because he was using the same paints as I was, the colors and tonality of the signs matched up well. As I glued and nailed my sculptures together I began to spend more and more time making sure that they appeared interesting with just enough tension to make the lines, colors, words, and angles of the composition feel natural and not forced.

When I work with found and beach combed objects I like to work without restraint and to allow myself as much freedom as possible without compromising the integrity of my artwork's structure. Craftsmanship is important to me and I try to push my materials to the limit (whether wood or clay) to see if I can squeeze more visual interest out of them. I believe that the playful nature of the signpost sculptures invites viewers to spend time exploring the various elements and place names of each piece. The close proximity of the place names undoubtedly causes some conceptual mixing of memories and experiences in the minds of viewers, while other signs are meant to evoke a new sense of place. The fonts and colors of each sign as a sculptural piece or element was carefully planned so that the image of the sign as an artwork in and of itself helped to complete the mental connection to either a real or fictional site. Like the mural, *Transcending Culture and Space Mural*, my signpost sculptures also aim to transcend space and culture by shifting their place of representation through the relocation of their pinpoint memories in the viewer's mind.

V. Conclusion

Whether going to or coming from a destination, we count on signs to tell us what routes to take by following certain markers (including street signs, stop signs, and

even posted maps or directories) to get us there efficiently and safely. In today's digitally connected world we have GPS tracking devices for use in all of our vehicles and we can even use this technology in our smart-phones so that we can find our way through the mazes in our world. As useful and reassuring as today's technology is, sometimes nothing can replace the comfort of being in the presence of a tangible symbol or artifact that can make us feel as though we are wrapped in a familiar blanket of cultural memories. Creating artworks that would convey this latter sentiment was a priority for me when I began to plan the design or outward expression of my concepts.

Other motivating factors for using the format of a signposts capable of displaying a multitude of directions and references was my need to demonstrate to my students at the University at Brunei Darussalam that conceptually provocative and visually entertaining and playful sculpture could be executed in our studio/classroom using low-tech construction techniques and found materials such as driftwood planks and other beach-combed items. Furthermore, by using weathered wooden planks and other cast-offs that were found on Brunei's beaches, I was able to lend an air of authenticity of materials, and by association—place, to my sign-pole sculptures. Even my sculpture *Sign Out: Bradford, PA*, became imbued with a sense of authentic realism through the use of weathered wood that displayed names and sentiments from an almost lost nostalgic by-gone era. This sort of feeling in my signpost sculptures reflects the remarks by Heather Zeppel and C. Michael Hall (1992), "Culture, heritage and the arts have long contributed to the appeal of tourist destinations. However, in recent years 'culture' has been rediscovered as an important marketing tool to attract those travelers with special interests in heritage and the arts." (p. 47)

I believe that my signpost sculptures intrigue viewers and entice them to want to explore the details of the work further because the work is about places and activities that induce nostalgic memories and a desire to travel to these heritage sites. Finally, I do feel that the manner in which my signpost pieces operate as facilitators for unlocking nostalgic memories and causing people to want to experience other places that promise to deliver similar experiential references is similar to the kind of experiences and memories that a person would gain from participating in a trip based on heritage tourism. This is because my signposts and heritage tourism share similar philosophical underpinnings. Zeppel and Hall sum these philosophical concepts up when they state, "Heritage tourism is based on nostalgia for the past and the desire to experience diverse cultural landscapes and forms." (p. 47)

Even if my signpost sculptures cannot really transport a person to a heritage site full of places that promise sights and experiences that will lead to the formation of new memories, at least my colorful signposts can point potential travels in the right direction through words and images that conjure up a kind of nostalgic adventure that really only can exist through our fondest memories.

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The logo for the International Association for Cultural Heritage Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of two overlapping, thick, curved lines. The upper-left portion of the circle is a light red color, while the rest of the circle is a light blue color, matching the text.

*The Relationship of Accommodations Clustering and Tourism Development in Cing
Jing area of Taiwan*

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Abstract

This research, taking the example of Cing Jing area, examined the relationship analysis of accommodation units temporal-spatial clustering and Butler's TALC tourism development model. First, based on the time series data of the tourists' number of Cing Jing area, this research investigated to what degree of the TALC stage of tourism development in Cing-Jing area. Then, this research explored the temporal-spatial clustering of a set of accommodation units point locations using GIS spatial analysis method. Finally, a regression analysis of contrasting the growing extent of accommodation units and the tourism development of TALC model was conducted. Results of this research are as follow:

1. Although the curve of TALC model, instead of being approached to line segment, is not S-shaped, the TALC stage of tourism development of Cing Jing area, approximately accordance to Butler's TALC model, has experienced the exploration stage, the involvement stage and the development stage, among which the development stage is prolonging for attracting more and more tourists.
2. Using GIS standard deviational ellipses and buffer analysis, the accommodation units emerging from 1992 during the development stage of TALC were originally clustered in Youth District, as the increasing of tourists arrival then stretched to Song-Gang District along the main travel linkage-County Route No.14-A.
3. When a regression analysis based on the data type of the locations of accommodation units, the places with best of mountain views scored significantly higher than places with the top tourist spots. This suggested that the more grow of the tourism industry, the more accommodation facilities clustered at the places with the locations of being able to appreciate sea of clouds, snow scene, and cherry blossoms and enjoy serenity instead of noisy crowds.

Keywords: TALC, temporal-spatial clustering, GIS, accessibility, landscape, serenity

1. Introduction

1.1 TALC model

Johnston (2006) revised Butler's TALC model with S-shaped curve to line segment with obvious turning points in different stages. Furthermore, the y-axis variable of Butler's TALC model represents the number of tourist arrivals instead of the number of accommodation units available at the destination. The slope of any particular segment was to show a relative relationship of speeding up of accommodation units in different stages. To mark the turning points of sequence of stages, S-shaped curve is more difficult to distinguish than line segment, so in this research we use the latter for analysis the TALC model of Cing-Jing area.

1.2 industrial clustering and tourism development

Porter's Diamond Theory indicated that spatial cluster of geographical phenomenon refers to the geographic cluster of companies and institutions in certain industries which results in complementary production and excellent customer distribution channels. Many clustering regions, combining relevant government agencies such as universities and vocational training institutions, provide specialized training, education, information, research and technical support (Porter, 1998:78-79). Many scholars have mentioned that the clustering of tourism-related industries can promote the development of tourism. Pavlovich (2003) analyzed the tourism development of Waitomo Caves in New Zealand from the viewpoint of networks, and pointed out that Waitomo Caves, as a single destination, attracted tourists with its unique karst limestone terrain. In its early phase, visitors stayed for a relatively short period of time, but with the increase of free and independent travelers (FITs), local tourism-related industries began to develop so that Waitomo Caves became more attractive to tourists with its strong tie with a variety of industries. As a result, the tourism development system turns into an organic operation network. In its system, many related industries take up an organizational nodal position. That is, the interdependent network formed by tourism-related industries promotes the tourist development of the Waitomo Caves. Telfer (2000) also indicated that the cluster of related industries such as liquor and food industries serves as an important factor in promoting the tourism development in Nicaragua, Canada. According to Michael (2002), antiques retailing in Australian rural areas attracts visitors, promotes regional economic development and results in obvious regional location industrial clustering phenomenon. Different regions can generate different tourist niche markets to meet the local social and economic needs. Taking the three wine regions in New Zealand-- Central Otago, Hawkes Bay and Marlborough for example, Hall (2005) suggested that industrial clusters of intellectual property, network,

brand, and talent were an important factor in the development of food tourism, and also explored the formation of the cluster network.

Therefore, the concept of clustering can be analyzed from two dimensions-spatial level and organizational level. For the former, it is geographical proximity among different locations, and for the latter, it is how people shape cooperative relationships among industries by connected relationships in a certain region. So, this research explores the clustering concept based on the spatial clustering and industrial clustering of accommodations in Cing Jing area, and the research purposes are as follow:

1. To examine the spatial clustering pattern of accommodations in Cing Jing area.
2. To explore the locational characteristics of accommodations clustering in Cing Jing area.
3. To analyze the relationship between the spatial clustering of accommodations and tourism development in Cing Jing area.

2. Method

2.1 Data collection

The 100 legal accommodations related data in this research is provided by Nantou County Government, using these data which can be specified to X, Y coordinates of GPS locations of accommodations in TWD97 coordinate system so as to facilitate the GIS processing, and the analysis of spatial distribution and clustering pattern. In order to demonstrate the time series and locational conditions of accommodations clustering, a semi-structured questionnaire survey is adopted to conduct in-depth interviews with accommodations owners. The contents of in-depth interview include: 1. Time when accommodation owner began to run his accommodation 2. Relationship between accommodation owner and the nearby tourism-related industries 3. Reasons for accommodation to locate here.

2.2 Data analysis

In this research, the average nearest neighbor analysis is adopted to examine the spatial distribution pattern of accommodations. The average nearest neighbor analysis refers to statistical results of point to point distances, which provides the nearest neighbor index Z values indicating the clustering degree of points. If Z value >1 , it indicates that spatial clustering pattern reduces to dispersed distribution; if Z value <1 , it indicates that spatial clustering pattern reduces to clustering distribution; and if Z value approaches to 1, it means random distribution.

Point density analysis of GIS is an analysis tool based on the raster layer, according to which the number of points on each cell is presented as the cell value. In this research,

the cell size of 40 meters x 40 meters is adopted as the unit of analysis. The researcher calculates the cell value within a searching radius of 300 meters, and then classifies the cell value into five classes by means of the natural-break classification method. The bigger the cell value, the higher the degree of point density, that is, the clustering area of accommodations is demonstrated. This research also using buffer analysis tool analyzed the neighborhood of clustering area of accommodations within different ranges, for example, taking the Taiwan No. 14-A Highway as the butter center, comparing the percentages of accommodations within the range of 100 meters, 200 meters and 300 meters, respectively.

2.3 Study Area

Cing Jing area located between 4 km and 12.5 km along Taiwan No. 14-A Road, which covers an area of about eight hundred hectares and is divided into three districts- Song-Gang District, You-Shi District, and Cao-Yuan District. Cing Jing area was originally state-owned forest compartments and aboriginal reservations, with few privately-owned lands. After 2001, some of the lands have been converted into private ones for accommodations. The altitude of this area is between 1,600 to 2,100 meters, with beautiful scenery, fresh air and year-round fog. The tourist attractions include Livestock Center, Qing-Qing Grassland, Shou-Shan Park, Little Switzerland Garden, Maple Grove, Wu-Li-Po Viewing Platform, Butterfly Park, Guan-Shan Pastoral District, Xin-Cheng-Ze-Ling (Literally, as you wish) , Song-Gang Cultural Center, trekking walks, etc.

3. Results

3.1 Spatial distribution of accommodations development

There are 100 legitimate accommodations in total in Cing Jing area, with 43 in Song-Gang District, 53 in You-Shi District, 4 in Cao-Yuan District. According to Rogers classification, from 2000 to 2003, the cumulative percentage of accommodations in Cing Jing area reached 14% of the population, which can be defined as primary stage of accommodations increasing; from 2003 to 2005, the cumulative percentage of accommodations in Cing Jing area reached 56% of the population, which can be defined as development stage of accommodations increasing; from 2005 to 2011, the cumulative percentage of accommodations in Cing Jing area reached 100% of the population as maturity stage.

Table 1 Time series of accommodations in Cing Jing area

year	Accommodation facilities	Cumulative percentage
2000	2	2%
2001	6	6%
2002	8	8%
2003	14	14%
2004	36	36%
2005	56	56%
2006	74	74%
2007	89	89%
2008	97	97%
2009	99	99%
2010	100	100%
2011	100	100%

3.2 Primary stage of accommodations development (2000 to 2003)

During this period, there were a total of 14 legitimate accommodations in Cing Jing area, with the cumulative curve rising to a small extent. The earliest accommodations in Cing Jing area appeared in Bo-Ai New Village of Song-Gang District. Bo-Ai New Village is the most representative military dependents' village where the Minority Culture of Yunnan was also preserved. In the 1980s, privatization of land brought the opportunity for the development of accommodations. The landscape, environment and air in Cing Jing area, after being reported by the news media, e.g. the special report of "Migrate to Mountain areas" in Business Week, have attracted many people who are tired of urban life to settle down.

3.3 Development stage of accommodations development (2003 to 2005)

During this period, there were a total of 74 legitimate accommodations in Cing Jing area, and newly built accommodations were mainly distributed in You-Shi District. The increasing number of accommodations in You-Shi District was respectively not much as in Song-Gang area in primary stage because there was a large accommodation set up (National Hotel) by government departments available in 19990s to facilitate tourists. After the 2000s, many celebrations and festivals such as the Cing Jing Windmill Festival and Torch Festival were held by government departments in You-Shi District, attracting a large number of tourists. With the increase in the number of tourists in Cing Jing area, You-Shi District then witnessed the increase in numbers

of accommodations.

3.4 Saturation stage of accommodations development (2005 to 2011)

There were a total of 100 legitimate accommodations in 2011 of Cing Jing area, and it gradually entered the saturation stage. At this stage, newly built accommodations were mainly distributed in Song-Gang District, since there were no longer suitable lands in the lower Cing Jing area (You-Shi District) for construction. The accommodations in Cing Jing area mainly clustered in Song-Gang District and You-Shi District from primary stage to saturation stage, which respectively revealed different regional competitiveness along with the tourism development, so as to Song-Gang District the upper Cing Jing and You-Shi District the lower Cing Jing. With the altitude range of 500 meters between the upper and the lower Cing Jing area, the upper Cing Jing area featured snowing scenery in winter, while the low Cing Jing area which had been developed in the early times, boasted its special location characteristics-ethnic traditions, and a wide range of recreational facilities, catering services, the earliest and the nicest convenience stores and coffee chain shops, as well as National Hotel run by government departments. There was a large park lot and Swiss style garden in front of National Hotel, which were crisscrossed by many footpaths, by way of which you may walk around to enjoy the fresh air. Not far up, you would see the Qing-Qing Grassland, and along the way there were a lot of vendors and stores, where tourists could buy souvenirs or local agricultural products. Because of the limited land and water resources, Cing Jing area began to suffer negative impact at saturation stage, such as conflicts for insufficient water supply and the problem of soliciting customers among accommodations owners.

4. Conclusion and Discussion

This research using mean nearest neighbor analysis to examine the spatial distribution of accommodations in Cing Jing area is approaching to cluster pattern (Z value < 1), and in the processing of point density analysis defines two clustering areas of accommodations of Cing Jing area. This research also using mean center analysis examined the two clustering areas (Song-Gang District and You-Shi District), then along Taiwan No. 14-A Road for buffer analysis. In Song-Gang District, with Green Space Building as 500 meters buffer analysis center, there are 27 accommodations in buffer neighborhood, accounting for 23% of the total; while there are 46 accommodations for 1,000 meters buffer analysis, accounting for 40% of the total. In You-Shi District, with National Hotel as 500 meters buffer analysis center, there are 25 accommodations in buffer neighborhood, accounting for 22% of the total; while there are 53 accommodations for 1,000 meters buffer analysis, accounting for 46% of the total. The buffer analysis indicates that nearly half of the accommodations are

respectively distributed in the buffer neighborhood of 1,000 meters from the centers, Green Space Building and National Hotel. According to buffer analysis along Taiwan No. 14-A Road, 94% of the accommodations are mainly clustered in the buffer neighborhood of 200 meters. When overlay the layers of accommodations distribution, DTM layer, and river layer, this research defined the suitable location of accommodations clustering limited to be on the side of river valley with natural landscape, serenity and accessibility.

Table 2 Buffer analysis of accommodations in Cing Jing area

Buffer Center	Range(meter)	Cumulative Number	Total Number Percentage
Taiwan No. 14-A Road	100	96	83%
Taiwan No. 14-A Road	200	109	94%
Taiwan No. 14-A Road	300	110	95%
Green Space Building	500	27	23%
Green Space Building	1000	46	40%
National Hotel	500	25	22%
National Hotel	1000	53	46%

Figure 1. Buffer analysis of accommodations for 1000 meters

Figure 2. Overlay with accommodation layer, DTM layer and river layer

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Otherring the Malay in Malaysia: A Planned Consequence of Politics?

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Abstract

This paper examines the rise in the politicisation of Islam in Malaysia and links it to the othering of the Malaysian Malay. It is my argument that both were “conquering” tools of Malaysia’s “Father of Modernisation”, Mahathir Mohamad, devised to win the support of the Malay Muslim majority in Malaysia. The many awards bestowed on Mahathir obscure the fact that he was instrumental in the systematic erosion of the power and roles of state institutions, especially at the Federal government level. This includes the significant loss of the independence of the Malaysian judiciary. Whilst per capita income in Malaysia may well have increased eight times under his 22-year leadership, this paper asks why is it that the majority of the Malays remain the largest number among the poor and the more disenfranchised of ethnicities in the country? Why have Malay and Muslim women suffered such a rapid decreasing ability to access justice? This paper examines existing research on the social and political changes Malaysia has experienced with Islamisation and under Mahathir’s rule, as well as studies on Malayness, Malay nationalism and Muslim Malay identity formation. The paper elaborates the othering of a majority people, the Malays in Malaysia, and how this othering has brought forth a fast-growing political power in the name of a supremacist Islam, a puritanical Sunni and Malay Islam. Specific events in the rise and rule of Mahathir as Malaysia’s then Prime Minister are reviewed, such as the banning of *The Malay Dilemma*, and the split in the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) in 1987. Also examined is the varying emphasis between Muslim and race, and how during Mahathir’s rule, that strong misogynist and patriarchal attitudes took hold in Malay Muslim consciousness, a colonising consciousness that is othering the perceived cultural and genetic “impurities” within the Malay.

Keywords: othering, Malay, muslim identity, Islamisation, Mahathir, Malayness, political science, identity politics, social identity.

Introduction

The othering of the Malay Muslims in Malaysia has to be understood through the lens of identity politics and the preservation of their political dominance, underpinned by discrimination within a race based on class and phenotypical distinction (for examples of these forms of discrimination, see Lian 2006: 223-228; also Wain 2009: 6). Constitutionally, a Malaysian who is ethnically Malay but who is not Muslim is not considered a Malay. “Malay” and “Muslim” are synonymous (Gullick 1988: 139), and to undergo conversion in Islam in Malaysia is in fact to *masuk Melayu* or “to become Malay” (Roff 1980: 67).¹ Islam has therefore always been central to the identity of the politically dominant Malay Muslims in Malaysia, and in fact, it was the rise of Islamic consciousness that historically propelled the political consciousness and dominance of the Malay Muslims pre-independent Malaya (Riaz 2008: 22-23).

In today’s Malaysia, what has transpired are efforts to consolidate the political will and power of the Malay Muslim majority population and conditionally channel them through its “political” leaders, which includes both political and religious Malay Muslim elite. Othering is entrenched in Malaysian politics through the ethnic-based dominant political parties (Hussin 1990; Hwang 2003). The accepted narrative is that, this othering is positioned as the Malays othering the non-Malays, the latter constantly politically positioned as *pendatang* (immigrants). Such a narrative, however, fails to consider the risks of alienation for the Malay.

The purposeful process to secure the Malay Muslim identity, in particular “to repair and assert Muslim identity” (Riaz 2008: 1-2), and the Malay Muslims’ political supremacy became that much more apparent in the Islamic resurgence since the 1970s (see for example, the work of Kessler 1978; Nagata 1984; Zainah 1987; Hussin 1990; Verma 2002) and in a similar but more systemic parallel process of “othering of the Malays” by the Malay Muslim ruling elite (Hoffstaedter 2011: 27). Both embody relationships of “protector-subservient” with their political and religious leaders, sharing characteristics of a feudalistic system (Chandra 1979: 7-12). The two processes of othering inevitably met and intersected with each other, gaining institutionalised impetus with Mahathir’s successful wooing of Anwar Ibrahim into joining the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) in 1982. This impetus gained incredible strength in Mahathir’s political system “dominated by one”. The question then is, did Mahathir other the Malays, a race that he identified with so strongly? Foucault’s work suggests that this is possible.

Othering is a key element in the work of Foucault on those excluded from power. Othering has everything to do with knowledge, and power acting through knowledge to achieve a political agenda in its goal of domination. The political driven agenda for Malay Muslim supremacy and so, Malay Muslim political dominance, is understandable when juxtaposed with the fear of being “outsiders in their own country” and the risk of no longer belonging to *Tanah Melayu* (Malay Land). The othering of Malay Muslims by a fellow Malay Muslim is made that much more

¹ For the purposes of this paper, the terms “Malay” and “Malay Muslim” are used interchangeably to mean the same.

possible because the definition of the Malay Muslim identity in Malaysia is not narrowly understood to distinguishable elements of their identity—skin colour, ethnicity or religion. Instead, they embody their relationships as a people to their rulers (the sultanate); their leaders (religious and political); to their Malay language and customs; and finally, to their religion, Islam and Allah (see for example, the work of Chandra 1979: 7-12; Nagata 1984: 2; Milner 1995: 282-284).

Othering Mahathir, Othering the Malay Muslim

It is crucial to understand that “the fact that only little more than half of the country's population are ethnically Malay and Muslim, has at least since Malaysia's independence in 1957, been a matter of concern to the political leadership of the Malays” (Marcinkowski 2008; see also Abdul Rahman 2001: 59; Barr & Govindasamy 2010: 293; Malay Mail 2005). The precarious position of possibly becoming a minority existed before Malaya's independence from the British in 1957. The 1931 population census for example, reported 39 per cent Chinese to 44.7 per cent Malays (Verma 2002: 60). Although other ethnicities have existed in Malaya at least since 1871 as shown by Hirschman in his study of the ethnic classifications of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States (1987: 571), it was allegedly the rise in the number of immigrants, specifically the Chinese, that brought fears among some of the Malay Muslims to the surface and fuelled the political birth of UMNO and *ketuanan Melayu* or Malay (Muslim) supremacy² (Mahathir 1981: 25).

Historically, Malay Muslim supremacy has been secured through Malay Muslim leaders and others who follow (for example, see Musa 2003). The need to remain distinct, “to be set apart from the others” within Malaysia (Heidegger 1962, cited in Hoffstaedter 2011: 3) is strongly linked to the fear of becoming outsiders and a minority in their own country. The insistence on self-othering becomes more evident when viewed in conjunction with the rights and special privileges of the Malay Muslims that are protected within the Constitution, such as the Malay Muslim land reservations and the government's existing pro-Malay Muslim affirmative action policies, programmes and practices (for more information on these policies, see Cheong, Nagaraj & Lee 2009: 41-44).

When Mahathir first became Prime Minister in 1981, he was not seen as ethnically Malay by some quarters and his approach to politics too was considered “un-Malay” (Hussin 1990: 168).³ Constitutionally, however, Mahathir is Malay, his lineage often officially traced through his mother, with a possible reference to his father as “mixed

² According to Kua Kia Soong, the term “ketuanan Melayu” cannot be found in the 1957 Federal Constitution nor in the post-May 13 amendments to the constitution. Translated as “Malay dominance” and oftentimes by others as “Malay supremacy”, Kua contends that the term came into prominence after Abdullah Ahmad made his infamous assertions at the Institute of International Affairs in Singapore on 30 August 1986 (Kua 2013). Chandra (2011), however, contends that “ketuanan Melayu” is best translated as “Malay sovereignty”, for which the proper translation in the Malay language is “kedaulatan Melayu”.

³ One example is Mahathir's public affront to the authority of the sultans in Malaysia and the institution of the Monarchy in general, during the 1983–1984 constitutional crisis (Cheah 2002: 208–210; Hussin 1990: 167–168). The Malay culture had always historically and traditionally aligned with the Malay sultanates, a deference that he had praised in *The Malay Dilemma*.

Malay and South Indian” descent.⁴ Unlike his three predecessors, however, Mahathir’s otherness was inherited through his father who was of darker skin and who had no aristocratic ties (Wain 2009: 6; Mahathir 2011; for more information on phenotypical-based discrimination at the time, see Ong 1995: 159; Lian 2006: 223-228).⁵ Within the Malay race, Mahathir is not seen as a “pure-bred” Malay and he is frequently othered for his Indian-ness (Wain 2009: 4 & 6–7; see too Lian’s discussion on race and racialisation in Malaysia 2006: 219-228). To-date, many personal blogs continue to derogatorily refer to Mahathir as *mamak kutty*.

To other includes a mode of thinking that leads to people being regarded as different and inferior. In a number of ways, Mahathir’s own views of the Malay race differentiated himself from them, describing their “lack of knowledge of even petty trading as ‘pitiful’” (Wain 2009: 8) and them as having “. . . low average intelligence quotient” (Wain 2009: 13). In *The Malay Dilemma*, Mahathir (1981) pointed to heredity, as one of two causes for the Malays’ economic disadvantage, a “pure-bred” heredity that he does not share (Mahathir 1981: 2 & 29; see also Lian 2006: 222-223). Yet, Mahathir identifies as Malay.

Mahathir speaks of how he resents his successes as attributable only to his Indian origin and his failures only to his Malay origin (Wain 2009: 6; Mahathir 2011). Hardly any attribution is made to his mother for his business savvy and entrepreneurial skills. Even though this speaks of the problems of the masculinist biases of a patriarchal system where ancestry is traced only through the father, and power and success identified only as male and masculine traits, Mahathir did not identify this as an issue that needed address. Instead, armed with a fervent interest in politics, he politicised his identity as Malay by joining UMNO and through his leading involvement in the 13th May 1969 racial riots, aligned himself with two elites—his predecessor, Abdul Razak Hussein and Harun Idris, a prominent proponent of Malay supremacy. Through his penning of *The Malay Dilemma* in 1970, which remained banned until he became Prime Minister in 1981, Mahathir successfully set himself up as a “Malay ultra”, an ultimate defender of Malay rights and supremacy.

Many of the ideas for the New Economic Policy (NEP) implemented since 1971 during Abdul Razak’s administration were derived from *The Malay Dilemma* (1981: 103–153). The policy deployed affirmative action programmes and measures that favoured the Malays or the “sons of the soil” to eradicate poverty by 1990 (for more information on the NEP, see Lim 1985; Loh 2000). The NEP is still implemented, but as the National Development Plan since 1991 (Jayasankaran 1999). When Mahathir retired in 2003 after 22 years in public office, the persistence of poverty remained a

⁴ The definition of the Malaysian Malay is enshrined in Article 160(2) of the Constitution of Malaysia, which specifies that a Malay is a “person who professes the religion of Islam, habitually speaks the Malay language and conforms to the Malay custom [*adat*]” (Legal Research Board 2003).

⁵ Both marriage and birth (as in Mahathir’s case) are determining factors, especially for Malay Muslim women. In the eyes of the Malay Muslim society, who a Malay Muslim woman marries determines which rung of the social hierarchy she occupies. This view and “treatment” of Malay Muslim women is further exacerbated by “the discourses of the Islamic resurgents who depict Malay Muslim women as both the bearers of racial difference and the embodied markers of boundaries that ideally guard against the intrusions of other races” (Ong 1995: 159).

serious issue among rural Malays, a community whom Mahathir had earlier identified as “pure-bred” Malays from in-breeding, but who had long provided staunch support to UMNO. When Mahathir’s leadership and presidency in UMNO was opposed in the 1987 Annual General Assembly and triennial party election by his former Finance Minister, Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah whose “team” included the then Deputy Prime Minister, Musa Hitam, they argued on the failure of the NEP in benefitting the Malays and Mahathir’s unilateral leadership style and lack of consultation with the other leaders. By the mid-1990s, Malays in Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah, Perlis, Pahang and northern Perak had begun to question why affirmative action had not helped them (Gomez 2006: 75). During his last years in office, Mahathir continued to differentiate himself from the Malays. In 2001, Mahathir lamented that he did not manage to “change the culture of the Malays” and acknowledged that he had overdone the affirmative action programme in favour of the Malays, resulting in a “people who are rather laid-back and not willing to make efforts” (2002: 186).

Mahathir believes in the power and rule of the Malay Muslim majority in Malaysia, a dominant group to which he belongs and into which he firmly believes that his father completely assimilated himself (New Straits Times 2011; see also Annuar 2011: 6). He also believed, despite his authoritarian leadership style, he needed the support of the majority if he were to remain in power. In Mahathir’s words, “I care about what people think. If not, I won’t get anywhere” (Wong 2012). This belief is located within the preservation of the political dominance of Malay Muslims in Malaysia, “the true owners of Malaya”.

In a political system dominated by conflict between large Chinese and Indian minorities and the Malays as the “definitive people” majority (comprising a little over 50 per cent of the total population), it was only logical that Mahathir politically committed to Malay interests, and then to a Malay Islam—both of which have puritanical trends in Malaysia. For more than Malay, Mahathir identifies as Muslim, strongly evident in the way he constantly praised the Malay Muslims in *The Malay Dilemma* as “good Muslims”, “courteous” or “good mannered”, “full of nobility” and “self-effacing” (Mahathir 1981: 116); in the way he described himself in his memoirs, “I was born a Muslim and I was raised as a Muslim child” (Mahathir 2011: 477); in how he describes the Malays as more Muslim than the Arabs or any other race that embrace Islam (Mahathir’s speech in 1997, translated version in Hng 1998), as well as through his international politics and his Islamisation policy which he spearheaded soon after he became Prime Minister in 1981.

Throughout his 22-years as Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir’s Indian ancestry was in all likelihood never forgotten among the Malays, even if he may have been popular as “one of the very few Malay doctors”—a qualification he consciously pursued knowing that it would lend to his political credentials (Wain 2009: 4 & 10). If political popularity and political credentials have such significance for Mahathir, it may explain why he championed more pro-Malay policies than those advocated by his predecessors.

It is during Mahathir's rule that Islamisation, in the form of a supremacist Islam, became a tool for colonising the mind and spirit of the Malays. This othering set reasonably well within the self-othering of Malaysia's politically dominant group. However, arrogant, patriarchal, misogynist and puritanical attitudes of Malay Muslims (Riaz 2008: 49–54 & 286–287) have since manifested to other the perceived cultural and genetic "impurities" within the Malay, to "perfect the Muslim within [the Malays]" or to "Islamise" their Malayness (Norshahril 2012; see also Farish 2003: 197-198; Hooker 2004; Kuppusamy 2007). The fact is that this specific form of Islamic consciousness, a purist Sunni and Malay Islam, not only gained traction during the Mahathir regime, his Islamisation policy helped to further embed and institutionalise it within Malaysia (see Appendix 1 for a brief chronology of key developments that created and strengthened a large Islamic bureaucracy which undoubtedly has a vested interest in maintaining the comparatively fast-paced Islamisation process of Malaysia; see also elaborations on these developments by Liow 2007: 169; Riaz, 2008: 23). Mahathir after all held the view that, "Islam must be upheld and even further propagated if success is to be assured [for Malay progress]" (Mahathir 1981: 104–105), a view he held since he first wrote and published *The Malay Dilemma* in 1970.

The Malay Dilemma: Assimilation and Othering

Hussin (1990) contends that "[t]he Malays have never fully come to terms with this 'balance of power' between the two major reference points of their identity. More often than not, the Malays have tended to perceive the issue as one and the same instead of being dialectical in nature" (1990: 2; see also Funston 1980). The experiences of the *Orang Asli* (Malaysia's indigenous peoples) who have converted to Islam attest to this phenomenon. Once they embrace Islam and inter-marry with the Malay Muslims, the "culture" and "race" of the *Orang Asli* are presumed non-existent (Means 1985: 638 & 647; Nah 2003; Endicott & Dentan 2004: 24, 29 & 30; also, Aiken & Leigh 2011; Nah 2006; Nah 2008).

Intra-religious pluralism was something entirely foreign to the Malaysian Malay Muslims until they began to meet Muslims of ethnic Chinese and Indian origins (Osman 2003: 129; see also Riaz 2008: 22). At the same time, Islamic consciousness within Malay Muslims began to grow more prominent in their identity politics at every level of their public lives.⁶ The idea of a universal Islam, perpetuated through the Malaysian Youths Movement (ABIM) in the 1970s, became irreconcilable with the identity politics of a Malay Islam, and so there grew a Malay hegemony of "owners of Islam in Malaysia" (Hoffstaedter 2011: 56). For example, Chinese Muslims have been disallowed to build Chinese mosques in some Malaysian states (Hoffstaedter 2011: 54-56), and the practice of a more puritanical Sunni Islam

⁶ The rise of Islamic consciousness in Malayan society in fact began around the turn of the twentieth century, resulting in two distinctive movements known as Kaum Muda (the Young Group) and Kaum Tua (the Old Group) (Riaz 2008: 22-23). These distinctive movements which came about before the independence of Malaya gave rise to the political dominance of Malay Muslims through UMNO formed in 1946, and the Islamic party, *Parti al-Islam Se-Malaysia* (PAS) the breakaway faction of UMNO which was formed in 1951. Both political parties have persevered until today. Between the two, UMNO has been in power since Malaysia's independence in 1957 and PAS remains one of the main opposition political parties.

surfaced in Malaysia under the influence of Saudi Arabian-funded salafabism (Riaz 2008: 49–54 & 286–287).

Against a backdrop of continually needing to secure Sunni Malay Muslim political dominance, intolerance for other forms of Islam resulted in incidents like the 1985 Memali Incident (see for example, Analysis Malaysia 2002; New Straits Times 2002), the crackdown on Ayah Pin and his Sky Kingdom (BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific 2005; The Economist 2005; New Straits Times 2005; Rosli & Singh 2005; Rosli, Singh & Zarina 2005) and the raids by the Islamic religious departments on Shi'ite gatherings in Malaysia (Syed Mu'az 2010, Ng 2011, Lee 2012).⁷ Some have described this struggle against hybridity and in establishing an “authentic” and “pure” Muslim identity (in Malaysia’s case, a Sunni Malay Islam) as an echo of the global rise in fundamentalist Islamic movements (Riaz 2008: 99-100; see also Hussin 1990: 158; Hoffstaedter 2011). I argue that this struggle is quite distinct and locally rooted.

The quintessential characteristic of the Malay Muslim identity suffers a discord when “the other” within their identity is alienated, differentiated and reduced to inferiority—deprived of visibility, uniqueness and subjectivity (Riggins 1997; Lister 2004). In the othering of the Malay in Malaysia, “the Muslim” has been alleviated to “subject” and “the Malay” perceived as object “lacking in complexity, motivation, rationality and capabilities and who serve as the carriers of what is undesirable” in themselves (Kristeva 1991 and Pickering 2001, cited in Krumer-Nevo 2012:186). The dialectical coalescence of the Malay Muslim begun to surface when Malay Muslims became more consciously aware of the “onslaught of hybridity” among them. The subtext here is one of disciplining and perfecting, rather than an outright rejection.

Mahathir (1981) justified the complete assimilation of the other Malaysian races on the grounds that the Malays, not the *Orang Asli* (indigenous peoples), are the true *bumiputera* (sons of the soil) and so, “are the rightful owners of Malaya” (1981: 126). Mahathir is also convinced that his father, Mohamad Iskandar, had completely assimilated himself into the Malay race (Mahathir 2011), which others like Wain (2009: 5) questions. In *The Malay Dilemma*, Mahathir (1981) had conflated the concepts of “sons of the soil” (1981: 94) with “indigenous” (1981: 69 & 133) and “dominant” in the way he further contended that, “[t]o be truly indigenous one must belong to no other race but that truly identified with a given country” (Mahathir 1981: 133). To support his claim, he compares the assimilation of immigrant races in the USA and Australia where apparently “immigrants were forced to adopt the language and culture of the dominant group”.

The assimilation of the other races into learning and using the Malay language (the official language of Malaysia) and into Malay culture—systemically through conversion to Islam—has consequently brought to the surface insecurities in the identity politics of the Malay Muslims (Nagata 1980: 409; Nagata 1984: 234; Zainah

⁷ In 1996, the National Fatwa Council declared that Malaysian Muslims must only subscribe to Sunni teachings. The original text of the fatwa can be found at <http://www.e-fatwa.gov.my/fatwa-kebangsaan/syiah-di-malaysia>.

1987). These insecurities have deep historical roots that are projected through different versions of history around Malay political participation and the political participation of the other immigrant races, Malaysia's independence as well as the writing of the Federal Constitution. The different versions of Malaya's political history suggest that a process of othering (Said 1978) has occurred in the documentation of Malaysia's official history. "Knowledge" of what transpired between the races in Malaysia's history that has since been transmitted and inculcated among Malaysians, and propagated through mainstream institutional channels, is expressed through a singular world-view and a Malay Muslim supremacist discourse. A non-official version such as Fahmi Reza's 2007 research-based documentary, *Sepuluh Tahun Sebelum Merdeka* ("Ten Years before Independence"), depicted people from all quarters of society—the Malays, Chinese and Indians, as well as the youth, women and trade unions working together to propose "The Peoples Constitution" to the British, which guaranteed equal citizenship to all immigrant Chinese and Indians in the new Malaya. According to Fahmi's documentary, there was no issue for even the more successful and powerful Chinese in Malaya at that time against being a *Melayu* national under the new Malaya (see also Kua 2011). However, Khoo (2009), Mahathir (1981: 4-5) and Shamsul (2001: 364) disagree.

Mahathir insists that the complete assimilation of the other Malaysian races through the language and culture of the "definitive people", the Malays, is the solution to the formation of one nation and identity for Malaysia. "Culture" for Mahathir takes on an overt religious character, Islam (Mahathir 1981: 23; see too Nagata 1980: 409).⁸ However, there are signs that indicate the more vocal and purist of the Malay Muslim leaders, political and religious, are not ready for this assimilation. Wang Ma (2005), who studied the Chinese Muslims (Muslims from birth) in Malaysia and their "swift acculturation and assimilation" among Malay Muslims during British Malaya (2005: 95–96), paradoxically speaks of the perceived notions of impurity within Chinese Muslim converts by the Malay Muslim community, who associate "eating pork", drinking alcohol and gambling as inherently Chinese (2005: 103).

There are other tell-tale signs of rejection of a complete assimilation of other Malaysian races. In referring to the *dakwah* movement⁹ in the 1970s, Nagata (1984) asserts that, "it continues to be in large measure, a closing of ranks against the non-Malays . . . a nativistic affirmation of Malayness in a new form" (1984: 234). Zainah (1987) made a similar assertion, that Malay Muslim students seek ethnic validation through Islamic revivalism.

The insecurities of an eroding Malay Muslim identity is further fanned by alarmist-type claims and dissertations such as that of Nur Suriya (2008), who "warned" that apostasy among Muslims is rising in Malaysia even though the numbers recorded by

⁸ In *The Malay Dilemma*, Mahathir refers to the days of the Malacca Sultanate and says, "[e]ven when the Chinese adopted the language, dress and part of the customs of the Malays [possibly referring to the *Baba Nonya*, a Chinese-Malay sub-culture that is now nearly extinct], they were not acceptable because of religious differences. Inter-marriage between Malays and Chinese was extremely rare" (Mahathir 1981: 23).

⁹ Islamic resurgence, where the term *dakwah* literally means "to call" or "to respond to the call".

Islamic religious officials are small over a period of five years or more, and most were originally Muslim converts. This fear of apostasy where apostates have been equated to gangrene to the Malay Muslim community, is continuously inflamed by Islamic religious authorities like the Perak Mufti, Harussani Zakaria, by claims that Christians are converting Malay Muslims (New Straits Times 2006; see also Anis 2006). This fear of apostasy begins to make sense when juxtaposed against the simple majority of the Malay Muslims and their fear of losing political dominance within Malaysia.

The Unilateral Road Travelled from Secular to Islamic

To understand the position of Islam in Malaysia, it is important to return to the Federal Constitution of Malaysia. Many Malay Muslims see Islam as having a special place, as “the religion of the Federation”. Prior to the adoption of the constitution of Malaysia, making Islam the official religion of the Federation was particularly seen as trying to usurp the power of the sultans and Malay rulers (see Osman 2003: 130-131 138-139 for a further elaboration). For this reason, Malaysia’s first Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman consistently asserted the secular character of Malaysia, with only a ceremonial role for Islam as the official state religion. On independence from the British, an ethno-religious communal system of political representation was adopted by the young nation.

Mahathir, however, unilaterally declared Malaysia an Islamic State in September 2001 (Hoffstaedter 2011: 19; Osman 2003: 134). “Malaysia is not a moderate Islamic state but an Islamic fundamentalist state as its policy is to abide by the fundamental teachings of Islam.... Malaysia [is] not only an Islamic state as acknowledged by other countries but also a model Islamic state” (Ooi 2006; Riaz 2008). While Malaysia may have a majority Muslim population of 61 per cent, the 39 per cent who are non-Muslims can hardly be considered a negligible minority (EIU ViewsWire 2011). At the international level, Mahathir’s declaration went unquestioned. It not only secured Malaysia’s Islamic status and image internationally, Mahathir’s declaration located the country that much more strongly within the powerful economic and political Islamic bloc, Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC). In one singular intentional act, Mahathir undermined the secular character of Malaysia.

While Mahathir took the stance that Islamic laws are for Muslims and meant for their personal laws, he signaled to the Malay Muslim majority that the civil laws of the nation “can be used as long as they do not come into conflict with Islamic principles” (Osman 2003: 134). This has had significant impact on how increasingly influential Islamic institutions and Islamic religious authorities in the country are over the policies, procedures and practices of Ministries and State machineries, as well as the civil legal system. For example, the cases of Malaysian Indians, Revathi Masoosai and S. Shamala, have shown how difficult it has become in obtaining justice through the civil courts for ethnically non-Malays.¹⁰ Mahathir’s Islamisation policy and

¹⁰ Revathi Masoosai is ethnically Indian and was forcibly separated from her Hindu husband and 15-month-old baby girl on the grounds that she was born to Muslim parents though she professes Hinduism as her religion. In S. Shamala’s case, her husband converted to Islam and secretly converted their children to Islam, which surfaced racial and religious conflicts on the issues of custody and the conversion of minors.

expansion of the powers of the syariah legal system while simultaneously weakening the independence of federal institutions and the Malaysian judiciary, have in effect, institutionally secured the political dominance of Malay Muslims dispensing with the need to rely on being elected into power. There are already hints to this development. For example, after the general elections in 2008, there were arguments against the appointment of a non-Malay Muslim woman member of Parliament to head the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development on the basis that the Minister's portfolio would include matters pertaining to Muslim women, children and families. Currently, the Prime Minister himself is Minister for this ministry (Malaysia Chronicle 2012). Today, in Malaysia, due to the changes instituted by Mahathir Mohamad, there is no separation of power between the executive and the judiciary and Parliament, and key positions of power are secured for the Malay Muslims through the Islamic institutional establishments.

Where do these developments leave Malay Muslim women? Riaz's "Inside Muslim Minds" (2008) which included a survey of 804 respondents from Malaysia, describes the strong emphasis and widespread support for exclusionary practices with regard to women. "Women are viewed as sexually driven and lustful species and a potent source of *fitnah*¹¹ (civil disorder, trial, upheaval) and hence need to be segregated so that men can be protected from temptation" (Riaz 2008: 171). Yet, Prophet Muhammad during his time had introduced wide-ranging legal and religious enactments to improve the position and status of women in Arabian society and to protect them from male excesses, while recognising the equality of women to men (Riaz 2008: 172-173; and Fazlur 1966: 38, cited in Riaz 2008). The work of Sisters in Islam, a non-governmental organisation in Malaysia, shows that women whose husbands marry another wife without their permission—the conditions to practice polygamy were relaxed in 2003¹²—or who have chosen to divorce them, face a number of frustrating obstacles with the syariah courts in accessing justice (Sisters in Islam 2011).

Even if Mahathir was vastly different to his predecessors as a vocal advocate for women's equal opportunities in education and employment or entrepreneurship, the equality and rights Malay Muslim women enjoyed begun to deteriorate with his Islamisation policy and the expansion of the power of the syariah law and courts under Mahathir's rule (for a further elaboration on the measures taken to secure the position of the syariah law and courts, see Hamayotsu 2003: 59-62). The underlying values and principles that influence Malaysia's socio-political climate and governance during Mahathir's tenure to this day remain very much rooted in patriarchy and a masculinist bias.

Conclusion

¹¹ *Fitnah* means to wrongly accuse/ to slander and hence, can lead to civil disorder, personal trials and upheavals.

¹² See for example the presentation on the Islamic Family Law in Malaysia and the effect of its amendments on Muslim women in the country, by Ratna Osman, Executive Director of Sisters in Islam, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G3fLXSQNIKY> accessed on 28 March 2013.

Mahathir's shrewdness as a politician and a statesman is well-recognised (Cheah 2002: 185-228), and Islam may have been what he saw as the only stable "unifying" element in his "otheredness" as a Malay. His unilateral decision to declare Malaysia an Islamic State in 2001 sealed the support of a Malay Muslim majority who were at the same time seeking a validation in their identity politics through Islam, successfully ignited by Anwar Ibrahim as the then leader of ABIM, who is also not a "pure-bred" Malay. Mahathir reminded them of their weaknesses, first as Malays in *The Malay Dilemma* and then as Muslims in his definition of *Melayu Baru*—weaknesses which he felt he did not share as he saw himself as "learned", "courageous in facing challenges" and "whose faith in Islam is unflinching" (Singh 2000: 1) or one who "hold[s] strongly to Islam" (New Straits Times 2000: 12; see also Osman 2003: 14; Mauzy & Kline 1983; Norhashimah 1996).

Ketuanan Melayu (Malay supremacy) which has been core to the politics in Malaya and then Malaysia, remains part of the Malaysian political system today, but has been recast within the framework of a Malay Islam, a puritanical Sunni Islam. I have shown that preserving this Malay Muslim supremacy and political dominance was effectively institutionalised during Mahathir's reign as Prime Minister, as effectively as he had othered the Malay Muslims as his followers to his authoritarian rule. The Malay Muslims remain the largest number among the poor and the more disenfranchised of ethnicities in the country. Malay Muslim women are increasingly burdened by the injustices they experience as a result of the rise of a misogynist, arrogant, patriarchal, supremacist, puritanical Sunni Islam, which benefitted tremendously from the institutional and constitutional strengthening of Islamic establishments within the State's machinery.

The complexities of a hybrid and pluralistic Malay Muslim community has brought about challenges to both the ideology of Malay Muslim supremacism and the identity politics of the Malay Muslims, as well as to their constitutional special privileges. It appears that it is under the banner of a "Malay Islam", a puritanical Sunni Islam, that the political hopes of the current Malay Muslim ruling elite lie in maintaining their Malay Muslim supremacy and political dominance. Through conversions to Islam, be these willing, forced or unknowing, and through the fear tactics deployed to discourage apostasy, the majority of the Malaysian population at a little over 60 per cent are Muslims though only a simple majority are *Malay* Muslims. The insistence on a "Malay Islam" will continue to mean a purging of the cultural and genetic "impurities" from within the Malay Muslims, a continued systemic othering of the Malay Muslims in Malaysia through Islamic institutions and mechanisms established and strengthened during Mahathir's rule.

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¹³ Authors who have Malay names are listed by their first names, and their families'/fathers' names as initials, as it is culturally more appropriate to refer to their given name(s).

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Appendix 1

Chronology of Key Developments in the Islamisation of Malaysia during Mahathir's Tenure as Prime Minister

Year	Events/Developments
1982	Mahathir's cooption of Anwar Ibrahim into joining UMNO, bringing the <i>dakwah</i> movements directly under its wings.
	An Islamic Centre, headed by a full-fledged Cabinet Minister, was set up inside the Prime Minister's Department to promote Islamic missionary activities.
1983	Establishment of the International Islamic University of Malaysia. Mahathir's public affront with the monarchy of Malaysia in 1983-1984 to undermine their constitutional power and to ensure that they could not be in a position to challenge the power of the Prime Minister or Parliament (Hussin 1990).
1984	Establishment of the Islamic Bank and Islamic banking within the Malaysian banking system.
1985	Establishment of the Islamic Development Foundation
1987	Split in UMNO where one faction opposed Mahathir's leadership and led to a failed lawsuit to declare the Annual General Assembly and the party elections null and void (for a further elaboration, see Means 1991). <i>Operasi Lalang</i> in October 1987 and the use of the draconian Internal Security Act (ISA) which although targetted all ethnicities (including members of other political parties and activists), it was believed to have meant to look even-handed but at the same time, to effectively strike considerable fear within UMNO (Hwang 2003: 143-208; Wain 2009: 66-69).
1988	A series of events perceived as challenging Mahathir's leadership and power, led to his submitting several constitutional amendments to Parliament which sealed the loss of an independent judiciary in Malaysia (Hwang, 2002; Milne & Mauzy, 1999; Salleh, 1989; Salleh & Das, 1989). The Federal Constitution was amended to divest the courts of the "judicial power of the Federation", granting them instead such judicial powers as Parliament might grant them.
1988	The Federal Constitution was amended in order to raise the status of the syariah courts. Article 121(1A) reads, "The [civil courts] shall have no jurisdiction in respect of any matter within the jurisdiction of the Syariah courts" (Legal Research Board 2003: 103; for a further discussion and elaboration on the stages of implementation, see Barr & Govindasamy 2010: 297-299). "This amendment in effect made the syariah courts

Year	Events/Developments
	parallel with, rather than being subordinate to, the civil courts” (Neoh 2008).
1997	Islam was emphasised by Mahathir in his speech at UMNO’s 40 th General Assembly as central to the Malay Muslim identity, describing Malays as more Muslim “than the Arabs or other races which embraced Islam” (translated version in Hng 1998).
2001	Mahathir unilaterally declared Malaysia an Islamic State in September 2001 (Hoffstaedter 2011: 19; Osman 2003: 134).

The logo for 'iafor' is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several large, thin, curved lines in shades of light blue and light red, which form a circular, abstract shape around the text.

*Challenges and Benefits of Learning a New Language for the Business Professional
Visiting another Country*

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Abstract

The word language can be traced back to its Latin origin *lingua*, which means tongue. Hence, quite appropriately, it is often referred to as a tongue. The ability to communicate in the mother tongue can be easily taken for granted until one is in a situation to choose or have to use another language.

A new language can certainly provide new dimensions and outlook on life and allow one to tap into different parts of the brain. It can help an individual to understand others and oneself better; and expand the boundaries of their actual and virtual worlds. In addition, using even the very basics of a new language can establish a closer connection with the native speaker of that language. This initiative can send positive signals of acceptance, trust and interest to the native speakers. A Business professional can certainly benefit from establishment of such a positive relationship.

This paper explores why and how, in particular, a Business professional should go about learning a new language. It establishes connections between language and culture. It presents innovative methods of learning a new language using the latest technologies, learning ideas and approaches. The use of emerging technologies such as those used in speech recognition are also discussed.

The use of multimedia language learning environments, which encourage creativity and right brain functions are presented and recommended.

Key words: Language, Learning, Business

Introduction and Purpose

All languages stem from the same origin – that is the human thought. With the eye and ear of our mind we see images and hear sounds of actions and events. We can, without any conscious effort, store these thought-based clips for future reference or turn into actions. If we wish to share our thought-based information with others then we will have to carry out some form of conversion process. Unfortunately, we have not achieved that level of sophistication to convey our thoughts directly to another human being. Although symbolic representation is still a very effective way, language-based communication is perhaps the most commonly used method. For example, this paper is relying on the use of a language to share the author's ideas with others.

Fuller (1987) suggests that learning a different language enables us to operate in a world much bigger than the one provided by our mother tongue. This is a valid point as a new language allows us to assume or at least imitate a different personality than the one we are accustomed to in our mother tongue. For example, the sense of humour, the manner of requesting (direct/indirect), the form of verbal protest, showing courtesy, voice-volume and intonation used are some of the examples. Take English and German, which are both sub-branches of the Indo-European languages group. Despite the similarities between English and German (as opposed to a Romance language such as Portuguese), one needs to adjust his/her personality according to the language (English/German) spoken. Some of the cleverly chosen ambiguous and double-meaning dialogue used in English (similar to those heard in the classic British comedies) may not sound funny at all in German even if they are translated well. Cursing a friend to show sincerity in one language may be interpreted as an insult in another. To sound polite when asking a favour in a language such as Farsi relies on the intonation of our voice and it makes the use of politeness indicators such as please and thank you redundant. If the intonation is not used correctly, it can become offensive. Speaking loudly is quite acceptable in one language but it can sound aggressive in another. So, we embark on a journey and cross many different boundaries when we choose a different language. This experience can make us appreciate and understand our mother tongue in a different way.

This paper aims to explore the benefits of having some knowledge of a different language when a Business person visits another country. The abilities can be even limited to very basic conversational skills. These skills can certainly help the Business professionals to feel welcomed and be accepted more quickly by their hosts in social and professional situations.

Research Framework

English has become the international language of communication in formal and informal situations. Its uses have even extended to situations when people from different linguistic backgrounds choose it as their common language for communicating with each other. This global popularity is not just attributed to the fact that English is the language of a number of highly industrial and powerful nations in the world. It is also due to the fact that English is a very rich language. This richness is a result of marriage between Latin-based and Germanic Anglo Saxon languages. The English people became bilingual for a few hundred years after the

French invasion. The French vocabulary gradually influenced English and converted it to a rich language. The modern English vocabulary contains around sixty percent of words of Latin origin. It is interesting to note that this combination has made English an ideal base language for learning other Indo-European languages used in Europe.

It would be reasonable to note that the language richness and the barrier-free way of conversation have certainly contributed to making English the preferred language of governments, businesspeople, movies, music, the Internet and of course education.

Hence, should a native English speaker learn another language and use it when visiting the country where it is spoken?

It should be noted that often language and culture are interrelated as one influences the other. Culture's roots are deeply established in the years of tradition and history.

In order to establish the benefits of learning another language, the relationship between language and culture should be investigated. As an example, an investigation by Nooriafshar and Vibert (2012) has utilised the data collected from eleven different case studies based on Japan. Each case study deals with issues and challenges facing the western expatriates residing in Japan for the purposes of business or education. The case studies were analysed separately and then the commonalities in issues were identified.

Companies or organisations sampled in this study included those associated with mining, higher education, language school, technology training, educational event management, investments, multinational technology company, a chamber of commerce, automotive manufacturer, management consultant and news reporting. Four organisations were large with global operations and while the remainder would be characterized as SMEs. In total 4 of the organizations were headquartered outside of Japan if one includes the Canadian Chamber of Commerce among that set. Three of the interviewees were female and eight were male. Six of the interviewees were business owners.

The video interviews are hosted on the Acadia Multimedia Case Management System (AMCMS). This system is a web-based, password protected, scalable platform designed for higher education business students and the corporate training market.

Although Japan is regarded as one of the main democracies of the world, one must remember that it is a society in which people are ranked according to their social status or position at work. Hence, a totally different kind of relationships between people should be expected. As pointed out by Hofstede (1980), the fact that not all individuals in societies are equal expresses the attitude of the culture towards these inequalities amongst us. Hofstede (1993) also suggests that Japan is a hierarchical society. The hierarchical feature of the Japanese society does not imply inequity. Japan is a free country with its strong beliefs in their traditions and religions of mainly Buddhism and Shintoism. With regard to their traditional beliefs, one may refer to the Bushido concept which contains egalitarian principles that have allowed wealth to trickle down to the vast majority in Japanese society (Fujimura, 2011). The traditional religions have also had similar effects on the Japanese attitude in terms of

equity and equality of human beings in their society. According to Taka et al (1994), “In the case of Buddhism, every living creature is said to have an equal Buddhahood, a Buddhahood which is very similar with the idea of numen and micro- cosm.”

Respect for others, in particular, people who are older or have a higher status in the society or the organisation is definitely observed in Japan. Respecting the superiors is extremely important. For instance, the person in charge in Japan would practically decide how the subordinates should behave or even appear in their presence. Unlike the western societies, the superior can even charge the subordinates with various tasks outside the written duties of the position. One must remember that this kind of general attitude should not be perceived in a negative manner as it certainly functions well and effectively for Japan. Perhaps, some of the other societies may start learning how to re-introduce this important attitude which is unfortunately being gradually phased out. One must accept the fact that unlike Australia and Canada, Japan is not regarded as a universalist, rule based society but it is classed as a particularist society. For further reading refer to Trompenaars (1994).

Insight from the interviews suggested that a lack of knowledge of the Japanese language can create a solitary situation for the Westerner who is trying to become part of the society. A former executive of a multinational information technology put it as follows.

“Most people coming to Tokyo nowadays particularly on an expat assignment have difficulty finding the survival skills needed to really learn Japanese and I think maybe that’s the most difficult thing. You get to a stage where you have little bits and pieces but you can’t really have a conversation with anyone so you either kind of get siloed into the foreign community and you don’t really interface with the Japanese community or some people do make a little effort but for people here on shorter term very often they live on a little microcosm of the world in Japan.”

Hence, an attempt to learn the basics of the language and using it in every opportunity would allow the person to progress and ultimately hold basic conversation with the locals. This approach will contribute to creation of better links and relationships with the Japanese people socially and professionally in different countries.

Although the writing system can be quite overwhelming, specially, with its different types of (Kanji, Hiragana and Katakana), the Japanese languages was a spoken language long before it had any writing (Gilhooly, 2010). Hence, acquiring some basic conversational skills in Japanese should not pose a great challenge for a western person. Especially, in the case of a person from the English speaking background, the learning process in terms of speed and enjoyment should be reasonably high. Firstly, the Japanese language does not have many hard -to pronounce or very specific phonemes as in the Romance and other Indo-European languages. One can very easily imitate the basic sounds used in Japanese. Secondly, the Japanese grammar is straight forward and very logical. Unlike a Latin based language such as French, or even a Germanic language such as German, Japanese has rather a simple way of conjugation.

It should be noted that every aspect of life in Japan is different from the cultures closely associated with the English speaking societies. Fully understanding and appreciating the Japanese language and culture can be rather challenging. Accepting the differences and adapting attitudes to suit the Japanese environment are essential in overcoming the obstacles.

Different languages have different ways of expressing a thought or emotion. Often, these expressions cannot be easily translated into English. For instance, the expression “Gute Malzeit” said to the German hosts before eating with them would certainly signal politeness and an appreciation of the local culture. Except in certain parts of Paris where international tourists with good/some English speaking abilities roam around, initiating conversation in French would definitely establish a better rapport with the locals. One can then, if needed, switch to English. Approaching French people and having a cold start by communicating in English may not be appreciated by them. Despite the acceptance of English as a universal language, depending on the country and circumstances, the locals can be very proud of their language and culture. Some knowledge of the language can act as a key to opening the treasure chest of customs and culture and understanding them in different countries.

The development of languages and their evolution has been very much influenced by the culture, customs and the geographical location of their people. Hence, different languages have different ways of pronouncing and producing sounds. For instance the position of the tongue and the shape of the lips contribute to the basic sounds produced. In a language, we use these basic sound units (phonemes) to build words and put these words together according to some rules specific to that language to make phrases. So, both sounding out the words and sequencing them cause the variations in different languages. As a result of these differences, we have ended up with different ways of expressing and conveying the same thought, which is, probably created and processed in the same or very similar manner.

Although a basic knowledge of grammar is helpful in understanding and using any language more effectively, it is not essential in learning it. As a child, we learn our mother tongue mainly by association. In other words, we associate words and phrases with situations, sounds and visions. For instance, take the example of a child attempting to touch a hot surface and hearing a word(s) in a special tone from his/her mother. This child will always associate avoiding excessive heat or danger with the words heard. If we analyse this basic but practical example, we would realize that a language learning process is being taken place in a natural manner. Incidentally, domestic animals also learn in a similar fashion.

A practical tip in learning a language is to try and imitate the words like the natives pronounce. Many Indo-European languages share similar words, which are pronounced in different ways. Usually, these differences are minor with only a change of position for the accent. This is quite apparent when we listen to people with different mother tongues pronouncing words in our language. For non-academic learning purposes, we do not have to be 100% accurate in using the “the” equivalent. Instead, an effort to imitate the sounds as the locals do would be more useful. For instance, if we say *shaavesh* to a hotel receptionist in Portugal, he/she will know that we are asking for our keys (in Portuguese: *chaves*). If we pronounce the word as *chaves* (*ch* as in change) even in a complete sentence, they will not understand what

we are trying to say. The next section provides how the latest technologies can be adopted in learning languages.

Approach to Learning Languages and the Use of the Latest Technologies

Using multimedia system, learners are able to learn a foreign word or phrase by seeing how it is written, how it sound sounds and what object or situation it refers to. For instance, if they wish to learn how to say “Where is the taxi station please” in Spanish, they can read the phrase and listen to its recording. Obviously they can repeat the phrase too if they wish. There is no doubt that this way of learning is far more effective than the old-fashioned text only approach. Research findings have shown that students prefer and benefit from visually rich methods of teaching. For details see Nooriafshar et al (2004); and Nooriafshar and Todhunter (2004).

It might have sounded far-fetched or a technological prediction if a few years ago, we had claimed that one-day we would be able to convert our language or dialect to any language or dialect via a machine.

The introductions of Apple’s ios5 in 2011 and the latest hardware and software available on iPhone 4s and higher, have certainly added another dimension to learning. We can mention Apple iPhone's intelligent personal assistant SIRI as a specific example of innovation which can have amazing potential uses in education. This system has been introduced and promoted as an intelligent personal assistant which allows the user to set alarms, organize meetings, search the web and display the emails. Its, very applications can certainly go beyond those features. It can enable the user to hold an almost meaningful dialogue (not just commands) with the system. The developers are continuously enhancing the abilities and performance of the system. Hence, having conversation with an “intelligent” and knowledgeable machine is not a science fiction any longer. The system has a great potential for a variety uses including education.

The author has experimented with SIRI for language learning purposes by switching the language option of SIRI from English to French and German. The author, as an experiment, tried pronouncing “Que pouvez-vous faire pour moi” (What can you do for me). It was a pleasant surprise when the system responded by displaying all possible options in French. The author then asked, in French, “What is the temperature in Paris” (Quelle est la température à Paris en ce moment)? The system responded in French what exactly the temperature was for that time in Paris.

After a few more attempts, it was realised that the system could only comprehend the exact pronunciation as by the native speakers of French. This was in fact a positive challenge. It forced the author to try and experiment with different ways of pronouncing certain words. For instance the inflections were altered. After several attempts, the system could understand many words and phrases uttered by the author. The author has also tested and tried the Japanese option of SIRI. It was very encouraging to note that it understood and responded to questions such “kyo wa tenki wa do desu ka” (Today, how is the weather) by talking back and displaying both text and charts. This kind of conversation can be a very effective way of practising conversation and pronunciation.

The advantage of all this is that the system responds to the question or statement. A relevant response by the system is, perhaps, the best instant reward which provides a satisfying sense of achievement for the learner. Hence, one can establish a limited but quite natural conversation with the system. The experiment with German was also very similar. It should be noted that the future for the educational applications of this kind of technology is certainly very promising.

Another very promising technology for language learning is the SmartPen by LiveScribe. These pens can record text and audio simultaneously and associate what is written by the pen with the relevant audio. The paper used for this pen appears just like a normal sheet of paper but a closer look reveals tiny dots on it. These dots are used in identifying the locations of the text/drawings. Hence, in the playback mode, the user can touch a piece of text or drawing and hear the audio associated with it. The pen can, potentially, be used for various educational purposes. The author has been experimenting and using the pen for learning/improving French, German and Japanese over the past two years. The results have been very satisfying as a method of marrying traditional ways with the latest technology has been established. Using this method, the author writes the vocabulary or phrase in the target language and then associates an audio of the correct pronunciation and the meaning (in English) with it. Descriptive images, sometimes, include too. Hence, in the review mode, the author sees the word in the target language and listens to its pronunciation and meaning. This way of learning incorporates the visual, audio, text and kinaesthetic modes of learning. It also allows learning by association to be a part of the process.

Other technologies such as Virtual Reality (VR) will allow the learners to be a part of the learning materials and play a key role in the learning process.

Let us investigate how a VR multimedia can be implemented and used in language education. The learners will be provided with VR goggles, gloves and shoes. The gloves and shoes can be in the form of micro-sensors placed in appropriate body parts for input/output and interaction purposes. After wearing and attaching the goggles and the sensors, the learners will visualise, feel and hear themselves in an actual location. For instance, they can, virtually, be in front of the *Plaza de toros* in Madrid. They can physically (in a virtual manner) approach a virtual local and virtually ask by moving their hands and arms and their usual facial expression (smile, worried and desperate) *Dónde está la Stacion de taxis por favor?* The local pedestrian will smile back in recognition and encourage a foreigner trying to speak their language and point to the right corner. This scenario can be extended into a see, hear, touch and walk adventure too. Imagine entering a virtual shop and virtually touching and picking an object and asking *Cuánto cuesta* (How much)?

The future technologies will enable us to interact with computers in a less formal manner. In other words, we will not have to sit in front of a computer, switch it on and then start typing and mouse-clicking. The main computer will be able to receive commands and requests remotely and produce output to various locations around us. The output will be in the form of holographic images and sound. The speech will be controlled by the user. Hence, the user can choose any language for input or output. The user will be able to interact with the output in a natural manner by touching, separating, lifting and moving parts. Hence, a true virtual reality situation will be created.

Conclusions and Main Findings

Every new language will teach us how to use different parts of our brain, which we have not explored before. Adopting well established concepts and approaches allow the learning process to become both efficient and enjoyable. Learning by association and creating opportunities to use the right brain through visually rich multimedia systems are some examples. Therefore, learning a new language can no longer be a frustrating process for the learner.

One can also move away from the sequential learning and adopt more creative methods. By adopting the latest technologies available through Apple's SIRI and Google's "Google Glass", learning a new language can be approached in a more natural manner.

Finally, as was demonstrated, speaking the local language (at any level) can contribute to creating better opportunities of connecting, accepting and being accepted for the Business professional.

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*The Content Analysis of Sex, Violence, and the Use of Language in Television
Programs Rated as G (General): For All Ages*

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Introduction

With an increasing number of TV channels and programs, it is hard for parents to monitor what their children are watching. Many parents are concerned about their young children watching programs with content that is more suitable for older children or adults. In recent decades, the television industry in Thailand has been facing controversies on media violence. There have been movements from many groups of parents, educators, media professionals and scholars to urge the government to legislate rules to control the suitability of television program for viewers. In 2006, the Television Rating System or "the TV Parental Guidelines," was officially used in Thailand. It was designed to give parents more information about the content and age-appropriateness of TV programs.

The Television Rating System was used as an effective tool to control the quality of the Television program in many countries for decades, such as the United States of America, United Kingdom and Canada. Those countries have their own television rating system and each country's rating process may differ due to local factors. Programs are rated by either the organization that manages the system, the broadcasters or by the content producers themselves. In Thailand, television programs are rated by the National broadcasters: Channel 3, Channel 5(Royal Thai Army Radio and Television), Channel 7, Modern 9 TV, and Channel 11(National Broadcasting Services of Thailand). The Guidelines appear on the screen at the beginning of TV shows, and in the lower left corner of the TV screen during the show, and appear again after commercials.

The television rating symbols in Thailand are as the as following:



This program is designed to be appropriate for children aged 3-5 years old. This program is not expected to frighten young children.



This program is designed to be appropriate for children aged 6-12 years old.



General viewing for all ages. It can be shown anytime on all channels. It contains little or no violence, no strong language and little or no sexual dialogue or situations. Air time: All day



PG-13+ Parental guidance suggested for children under 13 years of age. The content may call for parental guidance. The program contains one or more of the following: moderate violence, some sexual situations and some suggestive dialogue. Air time 9.00am-4.00 pm



PG-18 + Parental guidance suggested for children under 18 years of age. The content may call for parental guidance. The program contains one or more of the following: intense violence ,some sexual situations and some intensely suggestive dialogue.



This program is specifically designed to be viewed by adults.

Although the television rating system has been used in Thailand for 6 years, the effectiveness is still being questioned. The research focuses only on the G :General viewing for all ages. The Program contains little or no violence, no strong language and little or no sexual dialogue or situations. As the G Program can be shown “anytime” on all channels, not like PG 13 which can aired only during 9.00 am-4.00 pm, the G-Rated programs can open the window for inappropriate content which is not rated properly to be put in prime –time. From the observation, there are many G-rated programs that are full of moderate to intense violence and strong suggestive dialogues. The research aims to find the information to develop the effective system and protect the children from the inappropriate content.

Research Questions

- RQ1.How much content of sex, violence, and the use of inappropriate language contained in G (General): for all ages television programs?
- RQ2. What are the differences of the content of sex, violence, and the use of inappropriate language in G (General): for all ages television programs among different channels, program genres, and air time?

Research Objectives

1. To study the content analysis of sex, violence, and the use of inappropriate language in television programs rated as G (General): for all ages.
2. To study the differentiation of the contents of sex, violence, and the use of language rated as G (General): for all ages in television programs among different channels, program genres, and air time.

Conceptual Framework

Television programs aired on six free-to-air national television stations in Thailand ; Channel 3 , Channel 5(Royal Thai Army Radio and Television), Channel 7, Modern 9 TV, Channel 11(National Broadcasting Services of Thailand) and Thai PBS (Thai Public Broadcasting Service) .	S- Sex L-Language V-Violence
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Scope of the Study

The sample comprises of 52 G-rated television programs aired on six free-to-air national television stations in Thailand ; Channel 3 , Channel 5 (Royal Thai Army Radio and Television), Channel 7, Modern 9 TV, Channel 11(National Broadcasting Services of Thailand) and Thai PBS (Thai Public Broadcasting Service) in 6 days on March 2010.

Definition of Terms

1. "G-rated program" is General viewing for all ages with little or no violence, no strong language and little or no sexual dialogue or situations.
2. S-Sex content is defined as the following expressions:
 - 2.1 Inappropriate sexual expression
 - 2.2 Inappropriate clothing the expresses sexuality
 - 2.3 Inappropriate sexuality
 - 2.4 Inappropriate sexual relationship
 - 2.5 Sexual discrimination
 - 2.6 Sexual harassment
3. L-Language is defined as the following expressions:
 - 3.1 Incorrect use of Thai language
 - 3.2 Use of aggressive language
 - 3.3 Use of derogatory language
 - 3.4 Use of vulgar language
4. V-Violence is defined as the following expressions:
 - 4.1 Violence to self
 - 4.2 Violence to others
 - 4.3 Violence to objects
 - 4.4 Psychological violence

Expected benefits

1. The research is expected to find patterns and quantity of the content analysis of sex, violence, and the use of inappropriate language in television programs rated as G (General): for all ages.
2. This research is expected to find the difference in quantity of the contents of sex, violence, and the use of inappropriate language rated as G (General): for all ages show in television programs different channels, program genres, and air time.

Literature review

Using content analysis, Lucksamee Konglarp (2009) found that the 54.95 percent of programs contains the violence contents. Those programs are cartoons and drama series. The violence is both physical and psychological.

Aut Kupongsak (2010) studied Free-to-Air Television programs in Thailand and found that nighttime drama series in Thailand, called "After- News Drama Series," are the main source of income for stations. The programs in prime time are produced for entertainment purpose only. These series are found to be full of violence, fiction, fantasy, melodrama, and sex issues. Sponsorship in television industry significantly affect the content of the programs.

The Television Rating System was used as an effective tool to control the quality of the Television program in many countries for decades, such as the United States of America, United Kingdom and Canada. Those countries have their own television rating system and each country's rating process may differ due to local priorities. Programs are rated by either the organization that manages the system, the broadcaster or by the content producers themselves. About the Television Rating System, in the United States of America, the guidelines indicate the contents as followings (<http://www.tvguidelines.org/ratings.htm>):



This program is designed to be appropriate for all children. Whether animated or live-action, the themes and elements in this program are specifically designed for a very young audience, including children from ages 2 - 6. This program is not expected to frighten younger children.

Directed to Older Children



This program is designed for children age 7 and above. It may be more appropriate for children who have acquired the developmental skills needed to distinguish between make-believe and reality. Themes and elements in this program may include mild fantasy violence or comedic violence, or may frighten children under the age of 7. Therefore, parents may wish to consider the suitability of this program for their very young children.



Directed to Older Children - Fantasy Violence

For those programs where fantasy violence may be more intense or more combative than other programs in this category, such programs will be designated TV-Y7-FV.

General Audience



Most parents would find this program suitable for all ages. Although this rating does not signify a program designed specifically for children, most parents may let younger children watch this program unattended. It contains little or no violence, no strong language and little or no sexual dialogue or situations.

Parental Guidance Suggested



This program contains material that parents may find unsuitable for younger children. Many parents may want to watch it with their younger children. The theme itself may call for parental guidance and/or the program contains one or more of the following: moderate violence (V), some sexual situations (S), infrequent coarse language (L), or some suggestive dialogue (D).

Parents Strongly Cautioned



This program contains some material that many parents would find unsuitable for children under 14 years of age. Parents are strongly urged to exercise greater care in monitoring this program and are cautioned against letting children under the age of 14 watch unattended. This program contains one or more of the following: intense violence (V), intense sexual situations

(S), strong coarse language (L), or intensely suggestive dialogue (D).

Mature Audience Only



This program is specifically designed to be viewed by adults and therefore may be unsuitable for children under 17. This program contains one or more of the following: graphic violence (V), explicit sexual activity (S), or crude indecent language (L).

Type of research

This study, titled “The content analysis of sex, violence, and the use of language in television programs rated as G (General): for all ages” is a content analysis research that analyzes inappropriate expression in the content of television programs rated as “G (General) : for all ages” in three dimensions : sex, language, and violence.

Population and sample

The sample comprises of 52 G-rated television programs aired on six free-to-air national television stations in Thailand ; Channel 3 , Channel 5(Royal Thai Army Radio and Television), Channel 7, Modern 9 TV, Channel 11(National Broadcasting Services of Thailand) and Thai PBS (Thai Public Broadcasting Service) in 6 days on March 2010.

Sampling method

To get the best and evenly distributed sample, the researcher design sampling method that can acquire television programs from all of the stations. The sample comprised of television programs aired in March 2010, through simple random sampling method, using www.randomizer.org. However, on March 15th 2010, there was no G-rated program on the government’s channel 11 due to the special coverage regarding political turmoil that happened that day, which continued for several months further. Therefore, the researcher decided to collect the missing data on the same date one year later, March 15th, 2011, to minimize bias. In total, fifty-two G-rated programs have been analyzed.

Research findings

The study found that the “G-rated” programs still contained inappropriate expression for children on the average of 2.63 times per program. The program genre that contains most inappropriate expressions was found to be entertainment series, both drama and comedy series, which were aired during prime time period (7.00-10.30 P.M.). Entertainment oriented programs of channel 3 and 7 contain more amount of the inappropriate content than other stations, while public-interest oriented programs of Thai Public Broadcasting Service (Thai PBS), and the National Broadcasting service of Thailand (channel 11) contain least amount of inappropriate expression. Finally, it is concluded that even G-rated programs still contain inappropriate expression for children, indicating ineffective rating system for some of the stations, resulting in incongruent designation of the program’s symbol and the content it contains.

The study found that TV programs with “G General” classification which general viewers know that “it is appropriate for audience of all ages” and “without” inappropriate contents in term of sex, language or violence have shown approximately 2.63 times per program or 3.82 times per hour. In this scenario, there are programs

which have inappropriate contents about 20 out of 52 “G General” programs or 38.46 percent. For those 20 programs only, the average in the contents will be increased from 2.63 times to 6.85 times per program and 3.82 times per hour to 10.27. From the result, it has shown that even though rating level which does not indicate the sign for parents to give “guidance” in viewing as the rating level beginning with “Parental Guidance”, the children can be exposed to inappropriate contents if they watch “G General” programs without parents’ guidance.

Compared among three dimensions of contents which have shown in TV programs with “G General” classification such as sex, language and violence, the dimension of content which is the most inappropriate one is the violence. Its average is 1.46 times per program or 55.47 percent of the total expression. The most common violence is the violence to the others, which makes up 42.33 of inappropriate contents as a whole. Drama series and movies are main sources of violence in television, with 80.26 percent of the total violent expression. As such, the parents can apply these data to keep their children informed about the violence in their real world situations and help boosting the positive attitude for them.

The second content which has “G General” is the content with inappropriate language. It is 31.38 percent of the total expression. Instead of being the vulgar language, it is the insulting language which is most often found. It is 37.20 percent of the total inappropriate language found. The vulgar language come second with 34.88 percent. In term of sexual content, there is only 13.13 percent. The most part is about the inappropriate behavior which is not compatible with the gender of that particular person. Generally speaking, sexuality is not too worrisome as the other two dimensions of television content.

From comparison among the television stations, we will see that Channel 3 has more violent content and inappropriate language than other channels. It is 55.74 percent of total contents. Channel 3 also has higher inappropriate contents than other channels or 60 percent of all “G General” programs broadcasted by the channel. Channel 3 comes first with the average of inappropriateness at 7.60 times per program. Channel 7 comes second at 3.86 times per program which is almost half of Channel 3. The total of both channels is 75.17 percent. That is because those two channels have more G-rated dramas and movies than other channels or 85.71 percent totally. They are the group of programs that shows more inappropriateness than other groups of programs.

TV station which show least inappropriate contents is ThaiPBS. It has only one time from nine programs or 0.11 time per program. In addition, its proportion of inappropriateness is lower than any station or 11.11 percent of “G General” programs broadcast. Next to ThaiPBS is Channel 11 which has 3 times from 6 programs or 0.50 time per program. The main reason is because of their policy of programming, which contain no drama series.

The findings are in accordance with the studies of Surapong Sothanasathien (2008) and Aut Kupongsak (2010) which revealed that structures and policies of the TV stations have influence on program scheduling. For example, Channel 3 and Channel 7 which are operated by private companies emphasize the entertainment as the biggest source of income. That is why they have more inappropriate contents than other

channels. Comparing to ThaiPBS, it does not emphasize the entertainment but instead focusing on news programs.

When comparing about the contents categorized by the air-time, it shows that the period between 19:00 to 22:30 p.m. or prime time is the duration which inappropriateness are often found the most as it can attract more viewers than any other periods including the children. The average of expression is 5.20 times per program or 37.95 percent of the total expressions. The time period with second highest inappropriate content is between 6:00 to 16:00 p.m. at an average of 3.21 per program as it is also the duration that the children can view during their school holidays or public holidays. On the contrary, "G General" programs which contain less inappropriateness have been allocated in the period with least viewers, which is between 24:00 to 6:00 a.m. or an average 0.60 time per program. It is close to the fourth period between 22:30 to 24:00 p.m. or an average of 0.85 time per program. Both are durations which there are not many children to view as other periods.

When comparing by categorizing according to group of programs, it is found that the group which shows the inappropriateness most often is the group of dramas and movies with an average of 14.29 time per program, or once every 3 minutes. The violent behavior is the most often found with an average of 8.71 times per program. It is double of the inappropriateness language whose average is 4.43 times per program.

Interestingly, the group that comes second in the number of time on the total expression of inappropriateness is the program for children, with an average of 2.80 times per program. Almost all programs expresses violence even though its number is 5 times lower than the dramas and movies group. Most of them are the violence toward other people and the inappropriate sex. So it shows that even though it is a program for children, it does not mean that there is no inappropriateness. From the survey, it is interesting that the programs for children are the categories with more inappropriate sexual expressions than any other programs including dramas. It is also the genre with third most violence. Another interesting program is religion program, with the inappropriate expressions at an average of 2.33 times per program. It is also the program that contain more erroneous language usage than any other programs at an average of 1.67 times per program.

From the analysis, the conclusion is that "G General" programs still have the inappropriate contents especially drama and comedy categories. During prime time which Channel 3 and Channel 7 broadcast by emphasizing the entertainment, there are inappropriate expressions the most. Stations with less inappropriate content are ThaiPBS and Channel 11 whose policies emphasize public interests. As the inappropriateness are still present in "G General" programs, it reflects that the rating system is not suitable. So the data from this study can be used to support and to make the rating system more suitable. Related individuals such as academics, parents and children organizations can also use these data to improve the suitability for children media.

Recommendations

1. Rating system related bodies such as Ministry of Culture, the Office of Prime Minister or children and education related agencies such as the Thailand's Health Foundation or Children Media Foundation should set up the activities or

campaigns to encourage parents to take care their children while viewing television programs. Every program should be treated equally because even the "G General" programs still have inappropriateness due to the incompatibility between rating and contents, the business reason or the interpretation of rating manager of each station.

2. Related agencies mentioned earlier can propose these data to every station to enhance compatibility between rating and contents.
3. As of now, the station controls what goes on air and what rate each program get. As a result, the rating system doesn't work in reality. To get G rating means that the program is free to air on any time slot, including prime time. This study finds that a large proportion of prime time programs are G-rated programs, which contain violent content in varying degrees. The rating system in Thailand should be reconsidered because there is no clear guideline. In practice, there is little difference between a rated and an unrated program, and many programs are found to be having inappropriate rating, whether due to business reason or lack of understanding. The government must initiate positive policies to promote constructive and beneficial programs, such as tax relief for stations with good programs, or funding new production companies with good intention to enhance their capacity to produce positive programs.
4. The skill crucial for the audience is media literacy, which should be included in every level of formal education. Related parties, including the Ministry of Culture, Office of the Prime Minister, Thailand's Health Foundation, and Children Media Foundation should actively promote parents to take care of young audience, no matter what rate the program they are watching, since this study finds that many of the G-rated programs contain inappropriate content for young audience. Furthermore, the findings of this study support that idea that the rating system should be reconstructed to get a more practical system that really reflect the content it contains.

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Politics of Asian Welfare Marketing Campaigns: Is Thailand following the Footstep of Euro Fiscal Breakdown?

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Abstract

In trend with its neighbor Southeast Asian countries, the current welfare marketing campaigns in Thailand's political arena call for a thorough analysis and debate over the political gains in the short-run against the costs to the country's social and fiscal burden in the long-run. At the first sight, it may be viewed that political campaigns are short-term ad-hoc spending, not leading to prolonged fiscal burdens happening in many EU states. However, this paper points out from the country's historical perspectives that once the campaigns had started, the successive governments tend to continue to offer similar or larger provisions with a slight change only in the names of the schemes. Thailand's public finance has experienced continuing fiscal deficit since 2004. More seriously, since the start of the 21st century, quasi-fiscal tool has become favorable for various governments owing to the country's relatively loose legal framework for monitoring and surveillance of its usage. Constrained by the budgetary gridlocks and the pressure endorsed by the welfare marketing campaigns that would affect the next election, quasi-fiscal policies tend to become very customary for all future governments. This urgently calls for a more comprehensive legal framework, particularly for off-budget expenditure process, and fiscal disciplines in the current welfare-promoting era.

1. Introduction

One of the headline issues of avoidance in politics is the question of how public finance (and the costs to taxpayers) would be affected by the generous welfare provision offers that had been promised before the election. Once these provisions are implemented, international experiences had shown that no future governments would have the courage to remove or terminate them.

On one hand, an attempt to expand social provision and social protection in Thailand can reflect an increase in the public awareness for social well-being. This is in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), irrespective of whether it is for the good causes (altruism) or for political interests (populism). This also represents one form of the redistributive role of fiscal policy, particularly in building and expanding the social safety net to include wider range of the population. It reflects a different picture from the past. In the past, political dominance of business interests has resulted in little political support for redistribution, while growth and macroeconomic stability were the nation's top priority.

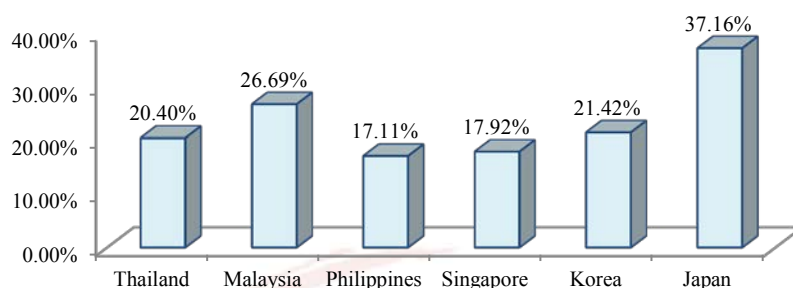
On the other hand, the design of an appropriate social protection system that is fiscally tolerable and stable in the short-run (and sustainable in the long-run) for the country's public finance requires much more comprehensive studies and debates. Even a well-developed system of state provisions in several developed European Union (EU) nations has resulted in high public debt and tremendous fiscal burdens during the past few years. Other undesirable direct and indirect consequences include riots and political unrests. Such outcomes had not been well reflected in good times during which the fiscal foundation were seen to be strong. However, through world trade paradigm shifts accompanied by several crises, shocks, and a depreciation of Euros and Dollars, the EU's public finance status had significantly been shaken. Particularly most welfare states are in a dilemma between continuing the existing provision and maintaining their fiscal stability.

The current welfare marketing campaign in Thailand's political arena, therefore, calls for a more thorough analysis and debate over the political gains in the short-run against the costs of the country's social and fiscal burden in the long-run. The analysis considers both the expenditure and the revenue-side performance by the government starting from the post-1997 crisis recovery. The next section portrays a comparative overview of Thailand's public sector among selected Asian countries. The third section discusses the country's post-1997 crisis expenditure pattern. The fourth section displays the revenue structure of Thailand during the same period. The fifth section analyzes the future trend of the role of state, political marketing campaign and fiscal policy. To this end, the paper offers concrete and rigorous indications for Thailand's and emerging Asian countries' "giving-away" policy precautions in this welfare-promoting era.

2. Comparative Overview of Budget Appropriation among Selected Asian countries

Figure 1 presents an overview of expenditure per GDP of selected countries in Asia. Overall, Thailand's expenditure can be considered somewhat in the middle level. There is no theory indicating the optimal size of expenditure for the public sector. This depends on the norms and values in each society. Such value judgment can partly be reflected by the expenditure categorized into different activities.

Figure 1 Percentage of Government Expenditure over GDP in some Asian Countries



Source: *Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific 2011*, Asian Development Bank

Note: Japan's and Singapore's figures are in 2009 while other countries' are in 2010.

Table 1 Comparison of Government Expenditure by Activities in some Asian Countries (as Percentage of Total Expenditure)

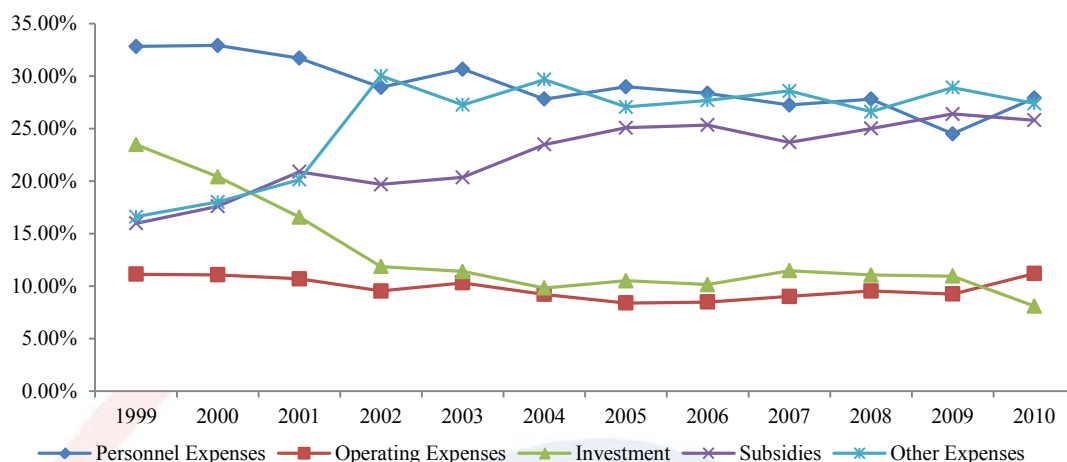
Activities	Thailand	Malaysia	Philippines	Singapore	Korea	Japan
General Public Services	26.68%	8.13%	18.54%	12.49%	10.31%	5.30%
Defense	14.00%	11.08%	4.76%	23.82%	11.06%	6.10%
Education	20.55%	24.39%	15.62%	18.33%	15.00%	10.74%
Health	9.70%	8.07%	2.60%	7.72%	1.18%	22.61%
Social Security and Welfare	7.35%	4.76%	6.72%	12.49%	22.44%	39.47%
Housing and Community	2.07%	1.20%	0.36%	6.76%	4.91%	1.13%
Economic Activities	18.44%	19.88%	25.89%	16.31%	18.96%	10.43%
Others	1.20%	22.48%	25.52%	2.08%	16.15%	4.22%

Source: *Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific 2011*, Asian Development Bank

Note: Japan's and Singapore's figures are in 2009 while other countries' are in 2010.

From Table 1, it can be observed that Thailand has the highest proportion of expenditure on general public services. This has increased from 19 percent to 27 percent of total expenditure in 2010 (Figure 2). For education, it has the second highest proportion after Malaysia. However, it cannot imply about the quality of the education because such budget allocation goes to the Ministry of Education and related institutions; hence, the macro data cannot portray the detail of how this is utilized in each accounting items. Regarding health and social security and welfare, it can be observed that developed countries such as Japan and Korea have higher proportion, followed by Singapore. For Thailand, the country has higher proportion of expenditure on welfare than Malaysia and Philippines. In terms of housing and community, Singapore has the highest proportion, while the other Asian countries have relatively similar proportion. Referring to Figure 2, in relative terms, it can be said that Thailand is striving to exert more resources towards welfare improvement. From such information, it reflects the value judgment of the country to some extent. This is because the formal budget design has to pass through the cabinet which, de jure, represents the country's majority of the population through the process of democratic election.

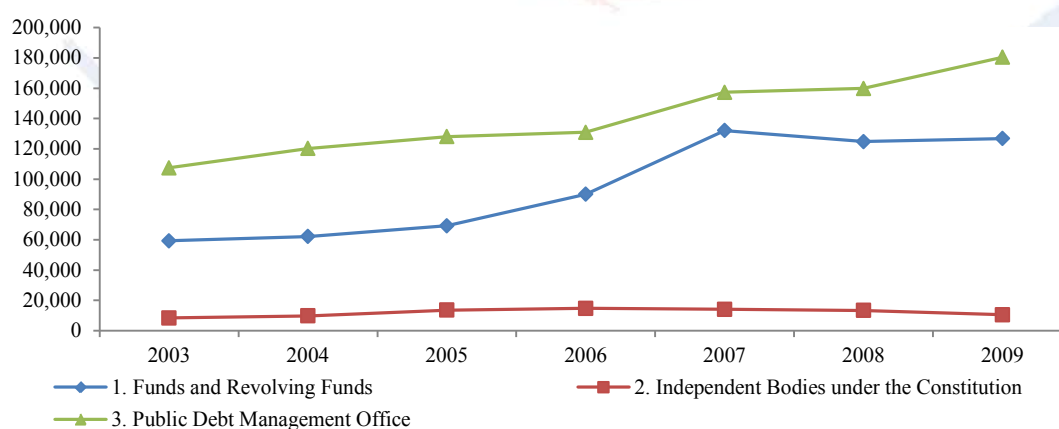
Figure 2 Thailand's Budget Appropriation by Type of Expenses as Percentage of Total Expenses during 1999- 2010



Source: *Thailand's Budget in Brief*, Bureau of the Budget of Thailand

According to Figure 2, the most significant expenditure is the subsidies which have increasing trends due to the allocation to the local administrative bodies since the beginning of the last decade. This also reflects the increasing trend of decentralization in the country's administration. Meanwhile, expenditure on investment has seen a declining trend from 23.47 percent of total expenditure in 1999 to 10.96 percent in 2010. One of the reasons for movement in the opposite direction of the two types of expenditure is that at present, the responsibilities of the central administration have been transferred to local administrative bodies. Hence, the increased in subsidies has the component of investment. As for the personnel expenses, which is the main expense during the past decade, has a declining trend due to the adjustment in civil servant structure which brings in higher utilization of technology.

Figure 3 Other Major Expenses Appropriation by Organization during 2003-2009 (in million Baht)



Source: *Thailand's Budget in Brief*, Bureau of the Budget of Thailand

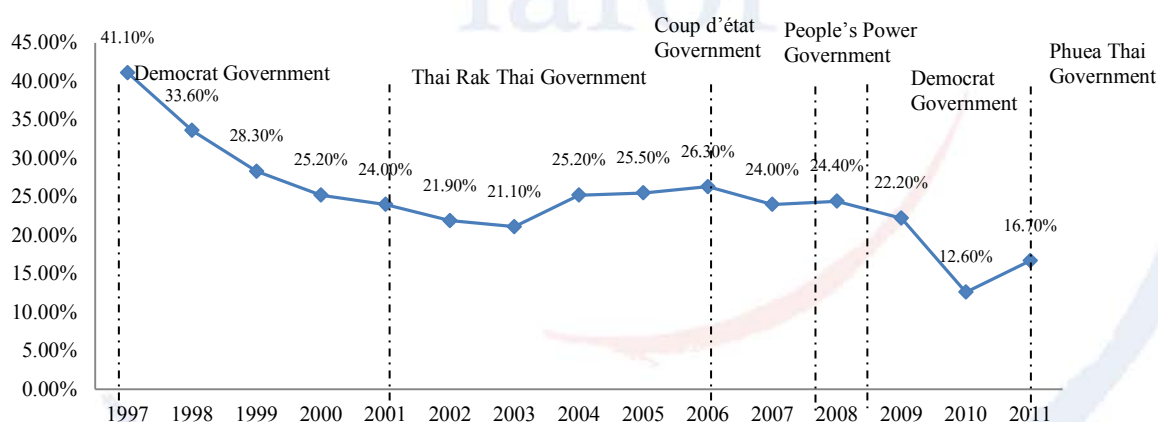
Figure 3 shows that other types of expenditure increased significantly while those allocated to independent bodies remain relatively constant. Public debt expenditure managed by Public

Debt Management Office (PDMO) for repayment of debt principal plus interest has the highest proportion followed by expenditure on funds and revolving funds. The expenditure on funds and revolving funds are related to the off-budget expenditure which will further be discussed in the next section. On average, the annual expenditure on public debt and revolving funds are approximately 36 percent and 24 percent, respectively, of all the “other expenses” category. These two items significantly impact the overall expenditure.

3. Thailand’s Post-1997 Crisis Government Spending Pattern

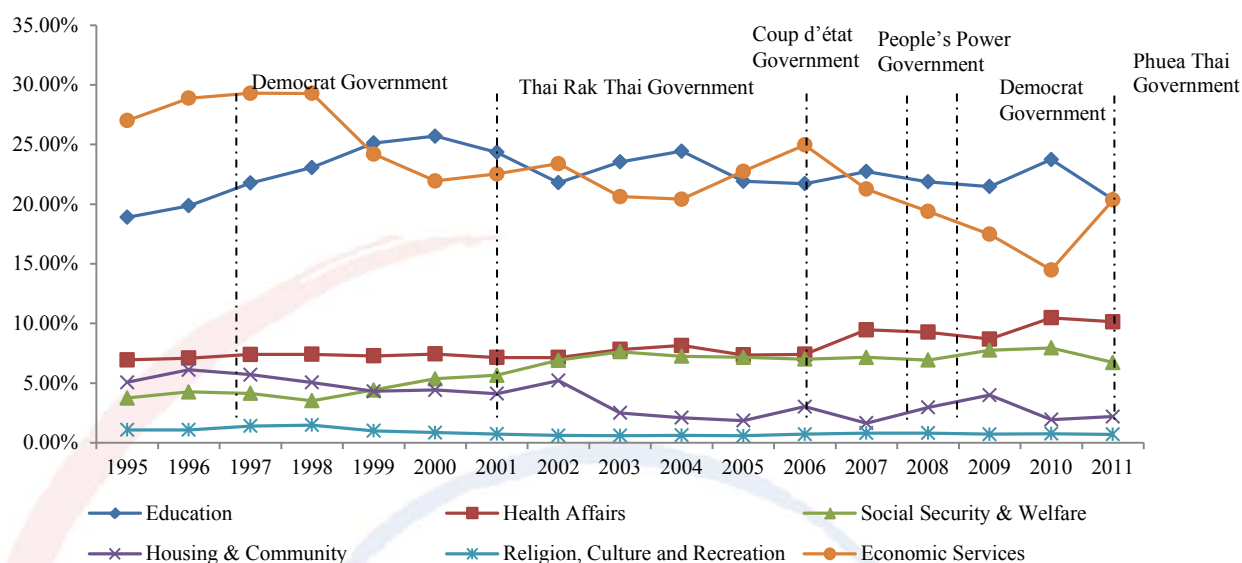
After receiving assistance from the IMF, the government imposed strict policies in compliance with the IMF conditions. The government conducted a austere fiscal policy and aimed at achieving budget surplus during certain period. Alongside, the government improved the budgetary process to increase efficiency. For instance, it was required that all government agencies must increase the frequency of payment (Asadornsak, 2008). However, it can be observed that after the economic crisis, capital expenditure has decreased significantly during 2001-2003. Notably, during the Democrat government, capital expenditure dropped from 33.6 percent of total expenditure in 2001 to 28.3 percent and 25.2 percent in 2002 and 2003, respectively. The percentage decreased to the lowest point of 12.6 percent of total expenditure in 2010 (Figure 4). The reason for low capital expenditure was due to the ease of cutting off this part of the budget compared with the current expenditure part which includes obligatory payment for personnel salaries and other processing utilities.

Figure 4 Percentage of Capital Expenditure over Total Expenditure during 1997-2011



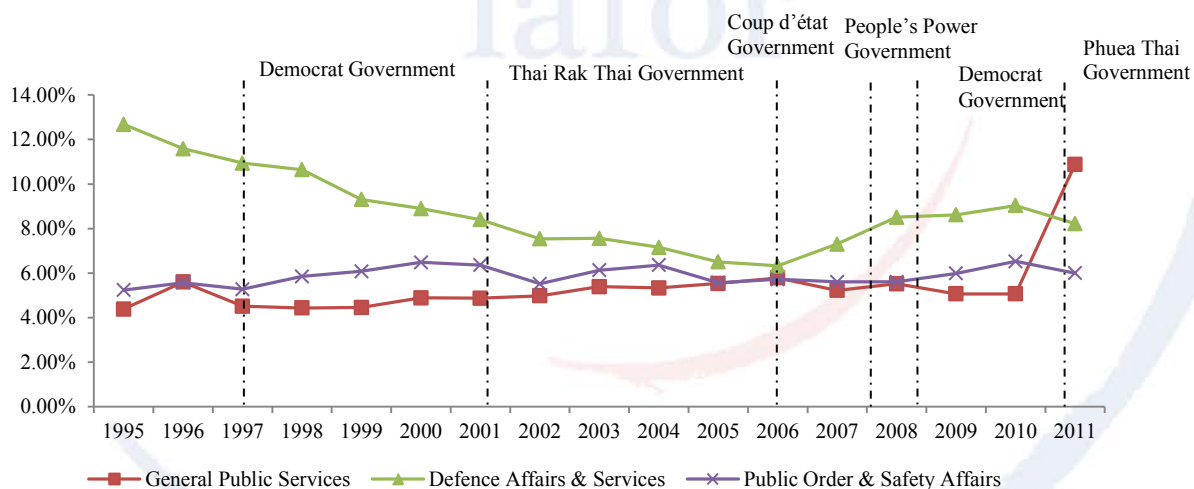
Source: *Thailand’s Budget in Brief*, Bureau of the Budget of Thailand

Figure 5 Percentage of Productive Expenditure over Total Expenditure during 1995-2011



Source: *Thailand's Budget in Brief*, Bureau of the Budget of Thailand

Figure 6 Percentages of Unproductive Expenditures over Total Expenditure during 1995 - 2011



Source: *Thailand's Budget in Brief*, Bureau of the Budget of Thailand

When considering about the efficiency of expenditure in terms of human resource development, the financial crisis had important impacts on altering the budget allocated to these activities. Conventionally, in such case, the reduction in expenditure should focus on those activities that do not yield economic productivity, particularly defence affairs and services. At the same time, the 8th National Economic and Development Plan came effective during the period. It focused on 12-year compulsory education attainment and the rights to access standardized-quality health care and services. The focus was based on the 1997 Constitution. This promoted a significant increase in the proportion of expenditure related to human resources (Pinto et al., 2007). From Figures 6 and 7, the productive expenditure has higher proportion than other expenditures which were considered “unproductive”. The

unproductive expenditure has a declining trend until 2006. After the coup d'état in 2006, the expenditures on defense affairs and public order and safety affairs had rebounded since.

Moreover, the government's finance had depended more on external borrowings and off-budget expenditure. For example, the loans for investment through Miyazawa Plan had the objective of alleviating unemployment during economic recession. However, there were skeptics about the efficiency of the management and expenditure of such plan. One incidence was that a huge amount of budget was used only for public relations of the policy. Overall, the whole activity did not yield productive results (Thanapornpun, 2002). More seriously, the loans under Miyazawa plan did not pass through the normal evaluation and assessment process as in line with other government projects. While the project did not alleviate in economic recovery, such loan plans had created public debates over the corruptions within the project. However, the government did not take any action to clarify the case and bring about those who were involved in such corruption cases. This was one of the cases of debt creation lacking efficiency and transparency.

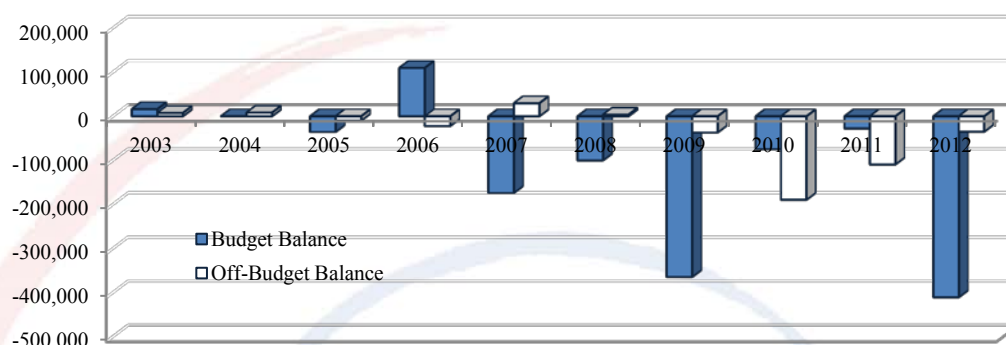
When the Thai Rak Thai Party took over the government, the policies to accommodate the poor and the people in the informal sector were prioritized. The government pursued budget deficit to boost domestic demand in the country during the economic recovery. In its budget design, current expenditure continued to increase similarly to that of the previous governments. However, this may coincidentally be the results of the adjustment of the civil salary structure, the education reform of 12-year compulsory education, the government precautionary budget allocation for reserves in case of economic urgency, the 30-Baht-for-All health policy to enable all Thai people to have access to medication at low costs and; most importantly, the one-village-one million fund financed by government's borrowing from the Government Savings Bank (Rattakul, 2006). While capital expenditure for investments remains relatively constant in the beginning, it foresaw an increasing trend because of the policy to develop tourism sites and renovation of the cultural heritage. It can be observed in Figure 4 that capital expenditure increased drastically since 2001. In the year 2006, the government has mega project covering 7 sectors, totaling 65 projects such as purchasing new airplanes for Thai Airways, road and bridges construction, and 250,000 computers for schools. These projects cost 289,928 million baht in total.

Aside from having started many projects, the government at that time re-engineered the budgeting process, partly to comply with the international standard and partly to accommodate its new policies. The first part was the application of the national strategy-based budgeting starting in the year 2003. This created transparency in the expenditure to achieve the government objectives. However, the objectives may not be explicitly defined since the strategy was very broad. Second, the budgeting process was adjusted to be result-based to achieve the national strategy. The result-based budgeting required all the ministries to work together in determining a project. This was based on Public Service Agreement (PSA) concept. Third, the accounting system adjusted to Government Financial Management Information Systems (GFMS), based on international standard, beginning in the year 2004 (Jitsuchon, 2006).

Another notable fiscal innovation in the mid-2000 in Thailand's political arena was the wide spread usage of quasi fiscal policy. Quasi fiscal policy refers to the policy that is initiated by the government but is not financed by the fiscal budget and do not have the pass through the approval of the parliament. Due to the effects of the world economic recession and the pressure endorsed by populist policies and welfare marketing campaigns, higher expenditure

was inevitable. Prolonged budget deficit usually has been the outcome. Therefore, off-budget expenditure was said to provide some leeway and flexibility for the government. Thailand's government had been increasingly relying more on such options since 2000s onwards (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Budget and Off-Budget Balance during 2003-2012 (in million Baht)



Source: Bank of Thailand

In principle, on-budget expenditure refers to the budget that has passed through the budgetary process by members of the parliament and the cabinet each year under the Budgetary Procedure Act BE 2502. Off-budget refers to the budget that did not pass through the parliament and, thus, not very transparent to the public. The off-budget expenditures are under the responsibility of certain institution delegated by the government on a case-by-case basis. Examples of off-budget expenditures include the local government administration's budget, funds, revolving funds, external borrowings, subsidies on education and health institutions, etc. In Thailand, off-budget procedure is under some legislative acts, namely Treasury Reserves Act BE 2491, Budgetary Procedure Act BE2502 and other case-related Acts such as Social Security Act or by the Cabinet Council's Conclusion.

Unlike the on-budget case, government institutions working on off-budget revenue and expenditure do not have to return excess revenues to the treasury reserves. Hence, the employment of off-budget expenditure is not subject to the law regarding the approval of payment from the annual budget. The decision on using off-budget expenditure depends solely on the government executives and does not have to go through the other pillars of governance, namely the legislative and judiciary bodies. This lacks counter-balancing of the control. Despite that in many OECD countries, off-budget payment has been commonly used; it has to go through the parliamentary process. This has not been the case in Thailand partly due to the fact that off-budget tool has not been used by the Thai government in the past until 2001 when the Thai Rak Thai Party won the election. Since then, off-budget became another convenient fiscal tool to alleviate the constraints in the fiscal budget.

In implementing various policies through quasi-fiscal options, the government appointed financial institutions under its control to provide special loans to private financial institutions. In the beginning, the Thai Rak Thai's policy for debt release for the farmers for 3 years had been conducted through the Bank for Agriculture and Agricultural Co-operatives. This was discretionary, unlike the fiscal budget that must be approved by the parliament. Other highlighted policy includes the "Baan Uea Athorn" (Compassionate) Housing Project for the poor. This was financed by the government banking institution in the same way as the debt release policy and other welfare-related policies.

At the later stage, quasi fiscal policy has been further modified to support Small Medium Enterprises (SMSs), individual loans and loans for housing through special financial institutions under the government, including the SME Bank, Export Import (EXIM) Bank, Government Savings Bank (GSB), Bank of Agricultural and Agricultural Co-operatives (BAAC) and Government Housing Bank (GHB) (Jitsuchon, 2006). Nevertheless, the quasi fiscal policy has two main advantages, namely direct transfers to the focus group and lower tendency for corruption. However, the major problem was high risks for bad debts due to the fact that there were no collateral while the interest rates were very low. Despite other concerns over their feasibility and sustainability, these policies received wide acceptance from the majority of the population in the upcountry.

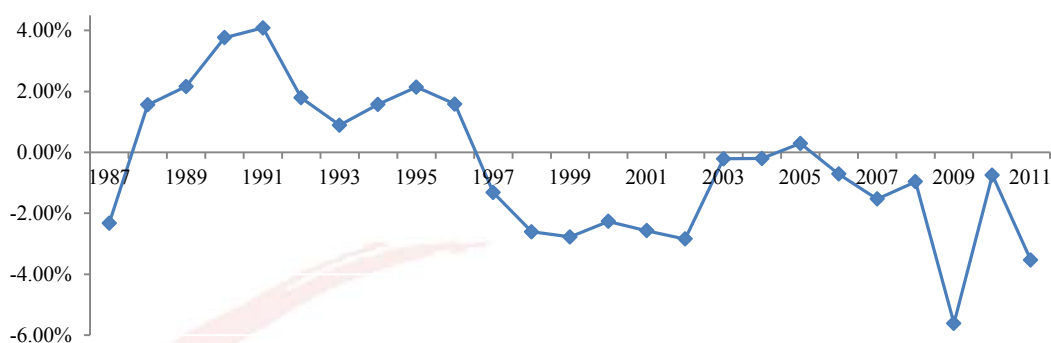
After the coup d'état, the government under General Surayut Julanonda was in charge of the country for about a year starting from the end of 2006. The year 2007 was the start of the 10th National Economic and Development Plan which focused on quality and moral to attain "Peaceful Society" based on the "Sufficiency" economy philosophy of the King of Thailand. To achieve such objectives, the government intended to increase expenditure on welfare. For example, the government continued the earlier compassionate projects and renamed it "Rath Eua Athorn" (the State compassionately assisting citizens), providing housing for the people, building public parks and sport facilities for the community. Moreover, the government attempted to improve state enterprises as opposed to the Thai Rak Thai Party aiming at privatizing state enterprises.

Although General Surayut Julanonda's government publicly announced that it was not to pursue populist policies, in practice the policies did not change significantly. The government continued to use quasi fiscal policy. Expenditure increased but the direction of the policy remained indefinite of how they were ready to deal with future economic crises (Norathat, 2008). One ironic observation was that while the government strived for a peaceful society, the government invested more than 6,000 million baht in buying arm weapons (see defense affairs expenditure in Figure 6 during 2006-2007).

When Thailand was hit by external economic crisis in 2008, the country was under People's Power Party, a transformed version of the Thai Rak Thai Party, of which Samak Sundaravej was the prime minister. The government announced explicit policies to help the low-income called the "6-Months-6 policies" program to subsidize living costs. These policies include:

1. Reduction of excise tax on gasohol 91 and 95 from 3.30 Baht per liter to 0.0165 baht per liter; and reduction of excise tax from diesel from 2.30 baht per liter to 0.005 baht per liter
2. Postponement of the increase in household cooking gas price
3. Reduction of water supply fee through government subsidy for households consuming 0 - 50 cubic liter of water per month
4. Reduction to electricity charges for households consuming 80-150 units per month through government subsidy of half the expenditure
5. Free bus services for 800 buses running 73 routes
6. Free train services for the people

Figure 8 Fiscal Balance as Percentage of GDP during 1987-2011



Source: Bank of Thailand

Beginning 2009, Thailand was affected by a another worldwide economic crisis. The Democrat Government employed expansionary fiscal policy to boost the economy. The government faced budget deficit of 364,574 million Baht (Figure 8). This was considered to be the highest deficit in the history. The sources of funds came from various fiscal tools. The policies were to promote economic recovery through the government's plans. These plans were (1) public confidence recovery (2) income structure, quality of life and social safety nets improvement; (3) measures to prepare for emergency cases and (4) expenditure to repay the treasury reserves that was used to finance the fiscal deficits (Chatameena, 2009).

In 2010, fiscal deficit still continued along with the on-going phase 2 of the plan for economic recovery (2010-2012) that had been approved by the cabinet. This plan was known as the "Thai Kem Kang" (Strong Thai) Strategic Plan for generating jobs and income. It was expected that public investment will increase competitiveness for the country and encourage private investments. The plan was categorized into 13 major sectors with total approved budget of approximately 1.4 trillion Baht (Table 2).

Table 2 "Thai Kem Kang" Strategic Plan and Approved Budget (in Million Baht)

Plan-Project	Approved Budget
1. Water management	238,515
2. Transportation	571,523
3. Energy	205,805
4. Communication	24,811
5. Basic Infrastructure for Tourism	10,031
6. Education	137,975
7. Health	99,399
8. Basic Infrastructure for Well-being of the population	8,482
9. Basic Infrastructure for Science and Technology	12,130
10. Basic Infrastructure for Natural Resources and Environment	4,860
11. Tourism Development	8,506
12. Creative Economy	17,585
13. Community-level Investment	91,708
Total	1,431,330

Source: Chatameena (2009; 30-32)

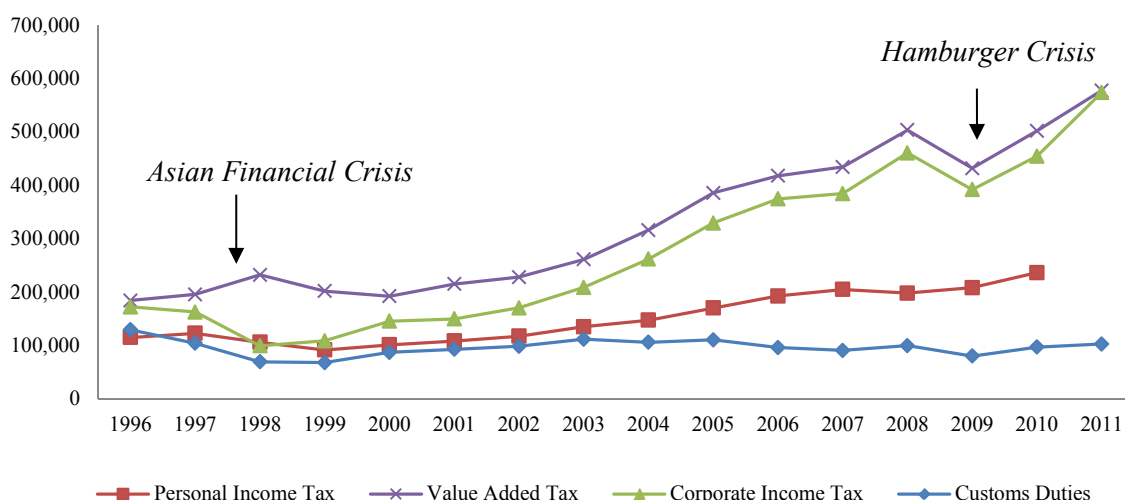
The Thai Kem Kang Plan had received mixed opinions from the public. Generally, this plan only temporarily boosted the economy while it did not solve problems in terms of infrastructure because there was no long-term plan. Moreover, these plans only concentrated on helping people in the urban areas. There were also concerns over the increase in public debt burden and interest payments which will cause the fiscal system to be unsustainable in the long-run. In fact, once the economy was able to recover, the government should reduce its role as a player in the economy and turn to become a moderator. The investment from the public sector should not crowd out private investment, but instead, should promote growth, increase transparency and improve efficiency of public finance in the long-run.

4. Thailand's Post-1997 Crisis Government Revenue Structure

In 1998, Thailand's government revenue dropped significantly, causing fiscal deficit. The government must employ treasury reserves for expenditure to subsidize such deficit. The main reason for revenue reduction was the lower tax revenue from corporate income tax and import duties (Figure 9). This was the result of economic decline, lowering corporate profits. Additionally, the depreciation of Thai Baht resulted in lower value of imports. Considering the tax revenue structure in Thailand, it can be observed that most of the revenue came from value-added tax (VAT) and corporate tax. These two taxes are volatile depending on the economic situation at certain period of time. As a result, the tax revenue will fluctuate along with external economy.

From historical records, the government has the tendency to employ tax tools to boost the economy. The most common incidence was the reduction of VAT from 10 percent to 7 percent in the year 1999 to promote consumer spending. VAT revenue had reduced in 1999 and 2000 while the economy began to recover from the crisis. The IMF had proposed that the country should raise VAT rate to 10 percent to increase revenue and to achieve balanced budget (Kasikorn Research Centre, 2002). However, the government did not increase the VAT rate until the present day. Another external factor is that as the country becomes more open with the reduction of customs duties under Free Trade Areas (FTAs), the importance of revenue from import taxes had reduced.

Figure 9 Revenues from Personal Income Tax, Corporate Income Tax, Customs Duties and Value-Added Tax during 1996-2011 (in Million Baht)



Source: Fiscal Policy Office

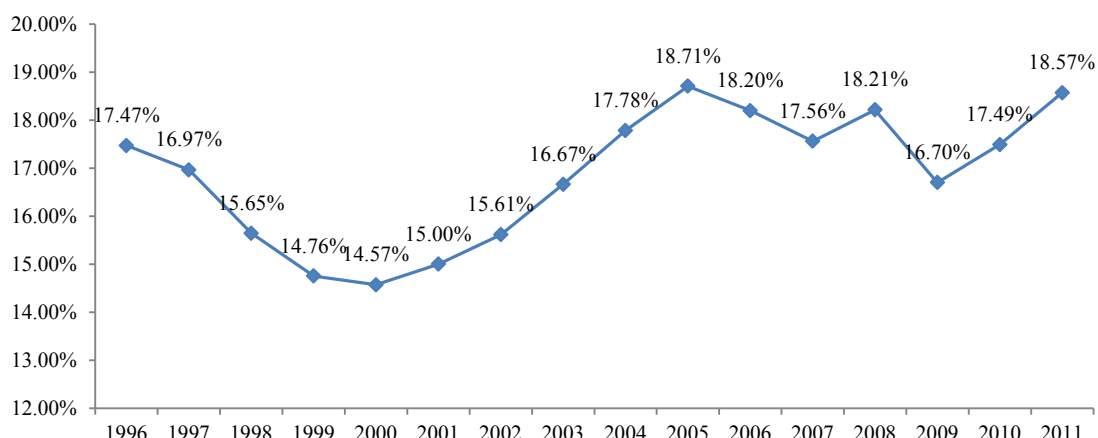
Later on in 2001, the government was able to continuously collect higher tax revenue, particularly from the personal income tax, corporate income tax, VAT and import duties. There were efforts to expand tax bases to increase the number of personal income tax payers. The Revenue Department imposed stricter regulations on taxpayers and provided convenient tax-paying facilities. Moreover, the Department also imposed tax exemptions. From Table 3, it can be observed that the number of tax payers had increased continuously until 2005 and 2006. During 2005, the government had released a measure allowing those above 65 years old with income less than 380,000 Baht to be exempted from paying tax, causing the total number of taxpayers to reduce. Another factor was the increase in household credit card debts, causing a group of workforce to avoid paying debts by moving to informal sector. Due to these two major factors, tax bases had reduced in size from 7.3 million people in 2004 to 5.7 million people in 2006. At the same time, the government aimed at increasing the number of corporate in the database to boost corporate tax revenue.

Table 3 Number of Taxpayers in Thailand 2001-2006

Type of Taxes	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Personal Income Tax						
Percentage of Taxpayers over Total Workforce	18%	18%	20%	21%	19%	16%
Percentage of Tax Exemptions over Taxable Income	20%	19%	19%	19%	18%	23%
Corporate Income Tax						
Percentage of Corporate paying tax over Total registered corporate	23%	23%	28%	28%	30%	n.a.

Source: Pinto et al (2007)

Figure 10 Percentage of Total Tax Revenue over GDP during 1996-2001



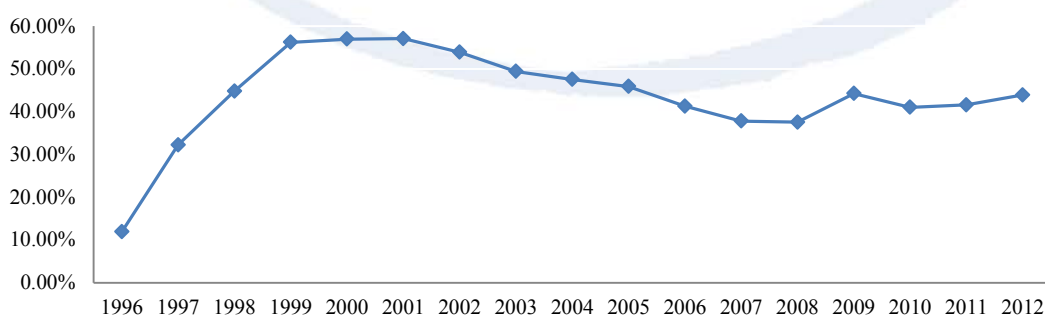
Source: Fiscal Policy Office

In 2007, the government was able to collect slightly higher tax revenue than 2006 due to the economic expansion. There was also a small change in tax rates, for example, increase in alcohol and tobacco taxes, which are considered sin taxes on goods which are harmful to health; and excise taxes on telecommunication industry. However, these policies did not have important implications on the total tax revenue (Figure 10). With an abrupt increase in government expenditure, while revenue increases by just a relatively small portion, from 2006 until the present, it is inevitable that the government will continue to face both the on-budget and the off-budget deficits as well as accruing debt burden.

5. Politics and Prospects of Thailand's Public Finance: Is Thailand following the Footstep of Euro Breakdown?

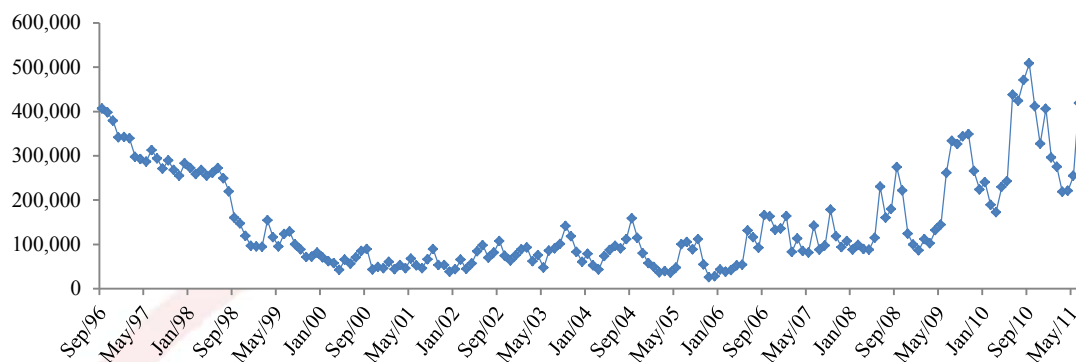
Considering fiscal disciplines at the macro level, Thailand has achieved balanced budget for a decade before the financial crisis in 1997 (Figure 8). Hence, it can be said that the problem of financial crisis did not arise from the fiscal side. Thailand had maintained its fiscal disciplines in the past. This can be reflected by very low level of public debt (Figure 11) and high treasury reserves (Figure 12) before 1997. The high treasury reserves were able to finance the budget deficit of the country during the crisis.

Figure 11 Percentage of Public Debt over GDP during 1996-2012



Source: Public Debt Management Office, Ministry of Finance

Figure 12 Fiscal Reserves during 1996- 2011 (in million Baht)



Source: *Thailand's Budget in Brief*, Bureau of the Budget of Thailand and *Monetary Authority Survey*, Bank of Thailand

On the contrary, if Thailand's fiscal position before the crisis were weak, characterized by high deficit and high public debt, it would have been much more difficult to overcome the debt crisis. Fiscal policy would not be able to help sustain the financial sector where there was a loss of confidence and scarcity of capital in the credit system. Therefore, it is important that a country maintains its fiscal disciplines and transparency. At the same time, it is also important to maintain a good counter-balance between fiscal and monetary policies. Thailand survived the past crises owing to its modest fiscal policies in the past. However, should the expenditure pattern continue to be the way it had been since early 2000s onwards and welfare-related, non-contributory provisions keep expanding in spite of the low revenue increase, it can be plausible that Thailand will be following the footsteps of Euro breakdown in a few decades. Although it may be argued that currently the institutionalized (formal) welfare provisions (mainly, different pillars of healthcare and old-age provisions) constitute only approximately 15 percent of the total expenditure, which is very small compared with OECD countries, the non-institutionalized political marketing campaigns, such as the recent rice pledging schemes, or the debt relief schemes, that had been discussed in the earlier section of this paper, constitute a large part of the unseen off-budget expenditure and public debts. At the first sight, it may be viewed that political welfare campaigns are short-term ad-hoc spending, not leading to prolonged fiscal burdens as in those of many EU states. However, this paper points out from the country's historical records that once the campaigns had started, the successive governments tend to continue to offer similar or larger provisions with a slight change only in the names of the schemes.

Since the economic crisis in 1997, the government had conducted fiscal deficit for 8 years since 2004. In 2005 and 2006, there was temporary balanced budget and then there had been deficit again in 2007 until the present. The fiscal problems that arise from the so-called welfare marketing campaigns and other populist policies should be alleviated by at least having all the projects passing through the approval of the parliament and the people. The expenditure of the central budget by the cabinet should also be carefully monitored and made accessible to the public. Currently, the expenditures financed by quasi-fiscal tools remain without proper monitoring and surveillance system. Should the government get involved in the economy, they should focus on long-term investment which aims at improving the basic infrastructure, such as education, particularly vocational trainings, research and development and transportation. Moreover, the government should consider restructuring the tax system in

the midst of the world competition and integration; and increasing efficiency of the public sector as well as solving income inequality problems in the long-run.

Despite the fact that off-budget expenditure cannot be widely observed by the public, the result of employing such a large sum of resources without proper monitoring and surveillance will impact debt situation for the Thai people in the near future. This is by far no less severe than the case of on-budget expenditure. For the case of Thailand, the civil process had, to some extent, imposed contingencies on the utilization of the off-budget expenditure. However, if from now on, it would become customary that the government tends to favor off-budget expenditure to pursue what it had promised before the election, the legislative and judiciary pillars as well as related authorities should proceed to construct a more comprehensive legal framework for higher degree of transparency and fiscal disciplines. More importantly, the public should be aware and have access to such information.

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Who Control Radio Listening in Cars?

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Abstract

Despite much research on media consumption in the domestic sphere, few studies have been conducted on the context of commuting. Based on the author's research paper titled "In-vehicle radio listening patterns of Bangkokians" which collected data from a sample of 438 drivers using questionnaires and conducted in-depth interviews of 19 drivers as well as 13 driver companions, "Who controls radio listening in cars?" will explore the connection of power relations to radio listening while driving. In the domestic sphere, masculinity seems to control media program choices; in the context of driving, the power to choose radio programs is normally under the drivers' control. However, drivers do not have a monopoly on program choices. The intimate and hierarchical relationships between companions and drivers affect the control over radio programs in cars. Drivers usually indulge children, lovers, and bosses in order to strengthen relationships between them and their companions. This implies that drivers feel obligated to them, or want to drive peacefully, so they defer to their companions' preferences.

Additionally, a sense of car ownership plays an important role in the exercise of power. If drivers do not drive their own cars, they will lose or lessen power and control over car radio choices.

Keywords: Radio listening, Power relations, Car

1. INTRODUCTION

Listening to the radio is a habitual activity of drivers. Based on the author's research titled "In-vehicle radio listening patterns of Bangkokians" (Sarakornborrirak, 2011), which collected data from 438 drivers in Bangkok and interviewed 19 drivers and 13 companions, the results showed that 89.7 percent of drivers listened to their car radios, with nearly half of the total (46.3 percent) turning on their car radios every time they drove. Most of them (38.6 percent) listened to the car radio 1-2 hours per day (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.74-75).

The major reasons for this are the existence and availability of the radio in the car, the characteristic which allows drivers to listen to it while driving, the various contents of radio programs, and the sense of media ownership in the car (Sarakornborrirak, 2012 p.62-63).

Moreover, it has been found that driver's companions affect the listening patterns of drivers (Sarakornborrirak, 2012 p.63). Thus, in this article, I will explore radio use in cars with companions and discuss who controls the radio listening choices in various relationships in order to further understand the power relations of radio use in the context of the car.

2. POWER AND MEDIA CONTROL IN THE DOMESTIC AND COMMUTING CONTEXT

Many researchers have explored media use in the domestic sphere and have explored the issue of power and media control (e.g., Hinviman, 1998; Hobson, 1989; Morley, 1992; Moores, 1988; Winocur, 2005). For example, when radio was first introduced to families, they could only be listened to with headphones. Therefore, it played the role of a toy for men but was considered an "ugly box" by women as women were excluded from listening to it (Moores, 1988 p.120). However, the radio set was later improved enabling a group of people to listen to it; therefore, women had a chance to listen to the radio and were appreciated the media as its characteristics served their domestic routines (Winocur, 2005 p.323).

Regarding television, men were often the gender who had power to control television use in the domestic sphere. Fathers, husbands and sons controlled television program choices (Morley, 1992 P. 147; Hinviman, 1998 P.150).

However, Morley (1992 p. 148) has pointed out that power did not absolutely depend on the physical power of masculinity. If the man was unemployed, he would often lose his power in controlling the television choices at home.

In the Thai context, observing TV soap opera viewing in the domestic space, Hinviman (1998) found that a remote control device, a preferred seat in the living room and a power to control television program choices are related to age and gender. He also stated that male and young family members dominated television watching in most households (Hinviman, 1998, 150-153). However, a degree of this domination over the domestic terrain varies according to various styles of household life.

In the context of driving, Walsh (2010) studied music listening in cars and found that drivers could state their needs clearly about what they wanted to listen to and ignored the needs of others (p. 211). In the case of public transport, Winocur (2005 p.322)

found that a bus driver turned the volume up not to entertain the passengers, but to establish the driver's boundaries and to listen to the radio clearly among various noises, including passenger noise. Accordingly, the power of controlling the radio is normally reserved for the driver.

Nevertheless, the power over a car radio does not exactly depend on the driver. The author has found that companions affect drivers' control over their car radio choices.

3. LISTENING TO THE CAR RADIO WITH COMPANIONS

The car radio listening patterns of drivers vary according to the relationships between the drivers and companions. Statistics revealed that driving with different companions affects the driver's control over radio program choices in different degrees, especially when driving with children, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Respondents and the percentage of control over car radio choices
when commuting with different companions

Control over a car radio	Commuting with									
	Spouse		Children		Girl/boyfriend		Friends		Others	
	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage
You (Driver)	63	55.8	28	29.2	32	41.0	81	57.0	8	47.0
Companion	14	12.4	36	37.5	13	16.7	11	7.7	2	11.7
Both	15	13.3	15	15.6	22	28.2	20	14.4	1	5.8
Depends on the situation	21	18.6	17	17.7	11	14.1	30	21.1	6	34.6
Total	113	100.0	96	100.0	78	100.0	142	100.0	17	100.0

Source: Sarakornborrirak (2011, P. 215-216)

Listening to car radios with family members

Though Morley (1992) found that a man in a family home has power to control a TV remote control, in the context of a car, the driver who is the owner of the car has the most power to control car radio choices, when commuting with their spouse. Most drivers (55.8%) control the car radio choices by themselves. However, a male driver seems to let his spouse control the car radio choices more than female drivers, as is seen in Table 2.

Table 2
Respondents and the percentage of control over car radio choices
when commuting with a spouse, by gender

Control over a car radio when commuting with a spouse	Male		Female		Total	
	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage
You (Driver)	31	52.5	32	59.3	63	55.8
Companion	10	16.9	4	7.4	14	12.4
Both	7	11.9	8	14.8	15	13.3
Depends on the situation	11	18.6	10	18.5	21	18.6
Total	59	100.0	54	100.0	113	100.0

Source: Sarakornborrirak (2011, p. 215)

One of respondents stated that if she was the companion and her husband was the driver, she usually controlled the radio choices.

Paranee (Female, age 37): “If I am with my husband and he is listening to the news program, I will let him listen until the end of the program. We have the same taste in listening to news programs. But if we want to listen to music, he will ask me to choose any channel I prefer. I will turn the button. Sometimes he is listening to music but I want to listen to another song, so I will change the station immediately, and not ask him, which shows poor etiquette. And he doesn’t say anything” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.317).

Nevertheless, when they were interviewed, drivers who were addicted to news programs had to listen to their favorite programs every morning; they would not let their spouses or children change the radio station. Interestingly, there were then compromises to let their spouses and children select program choices in the evening or after the end of the program.

Weerachai (Male, age 37): “I choose (the radio program). We listen to the news program, 91 MHz together every morning as a routine. I don’t want to listen to other stations ... My wife and my children sometimes ask to change the station but they know that they can ask at the end of the program” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.318).

Chongchana (Male, age 41): “Every morning, I am the one who selects the station.

They all know that I listen to news programs. My wife will not change the station in the morning but in the evening I will let her change stations. She gets tired from work. She wants to listen to music” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.318).

This implies that though the power to control over media choices in cars is usually with drivers, there are concessions for family members.

When commuting with children, most drivers (37.5%) indulged their children and let them select radio program choices; especially male drivers, who seemed to indulge their children, more than female drivers, as is shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Respondents and the percentage of control over car radio program choices
when commuting with children, by gender

Control over a car radio when commuting with children	Male		Female		Total	
	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage
You (Driver)	8	18.6	20	37.7	28	29.2
Companion	20	46.5	16	30.2	36	37.5
Both	7	16.3	8	15.1	15	15.6
Depends on the situation	8	18.6	9	17.0	17	17.7
Total	43	100.0	53	100.0	96	100.0

Source: Sarakornborrirak (2011, p. 215)

The power of control over a car radio choice does not shift from drivers to children, but the driver themselves let the children do what they want, in order to drive peacefully in their cars.

Pradit (Male, age 74): “My nephew likes to turn buttons. He doesn’t want to change radio stations, but he wants to know the functions of each button. It makes me lose concentration while driving because I have to look at what he has done. Anyway, I have just moved him to sit in the back so he can eat snacks or sleep” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.327).

Pornsuree (Female, age 40): “If I am with my nephew, I will allow him to do anything he wants, otherwise he will cry” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.327).

Tik (Female, age 39): “If children come with me, my listening behaviors will change.

Children are naughty, and they want to do something all the time. If I want them to be quiet, I have to let them do what they want. Once I had a child come with me, and he sprayed sugar all around my car” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.328).

Not only did drivers want to have peace while driving but they also indulged children to strengthen relationships. One of respondents said that she chose the children’s radio program for her children in order to listen together, leading to a dialogue about the program.

Paranee (Female, age 37): “I listen to kid’s programs because of my children. When I drive them to their school, there is a program by Aunt Nid and Mr. Preeda Punyachan. The children really love the program. They like listening to kid’s stories and there is only one channel that has children’s programs ... I talk with my children about the program, especially when the program has just begun. Sometimes they tell a story that is too short. I was so surprised. My children felt surprised too. They should be longer. We looked at each other and commented about the program together” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.274-275).

Listening to car radios with non-family members

When the companion is a boyfriend, female drivers control the car radio choices. In contrast, male drivers seem to indulge their lovers more than female drivers, as can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4
Respondents and the percentage of control over car radio program choices
when commuting with a girl/boyfriend, by gender

Control over a car radio when commuting with a girl/boyfriend	Male		Female		Total	
	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage	Respondents	Percentage
You (Driver)	13	31.0	19	52.8	32	41.0
Companion	10	23.8	3	8.3	13	16.7
Both	14	33.3	8	22.2	22	28.2
Depends on the situation	5	11.9	6	16.7	11	14.1
Total	42	100.0	36	100.0	78	100.0

Source: Sarakornborrirak (2011, p. 216)

The results from interviews also show that male drivers indulge their girlfriends and let them preset radio stations, change stations, and turn off or turn down the volume of their car radios.

Nirut (Male, age 30): “I preset 5 radio stations and my girlfriend, Miss G, presets 7 stations. If Miss G comes with me, she will choose her favorite program. Anyway, I can ask if I really want to listen to any program. I think that a girlfriend affects my listening behaviors. Normally, I listen to news programs while my girlfriend always listens to music programs” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.322).

Miss G (Female, age 26 -Nirut’s girlfriend): “Normally, I control the car radio but if he wants to listen to any program I will let him listen to it. If we talk seriously, or one of us has a call, I will turn down the volume. If I come across my favorite song or an interesting story, I will turn the volume up” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.322).

Nawachai (Male, age 26): “I always control the car radio except when I go with my girlfriend. She sometimes tells me to change the radio stations to music stations. Then, I say OK! If a friend tells me this, I will tell them “just a moment.” But if my girlfriend says this, I change the station immediately” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.322).

Pongsathon (Male, age 21): “We love to listen to FAT radio. We have the same taste. Sometimes she turns down the volume but she has never changed the station” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.322).

When traveling with friends and colleagues, most drivers, either male or female, control the car radio choices. One respondent, Chakarin, showed that a sense of car ownership played an important role in controlling the radio choices in a car.

Chakarin (Male, age 32): “I choose because I am the driver. They (friends) will not interfere with my radio. What I want to listen to ... they have to listen to it with me” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.323).

The degree of intimacy also affects car radio listening behaviors. If the relationship is not close, the driver will control the car radio choices. If drivers are with their close friends, their close friends may negotiate for their preferences.

Suchitra (Female, age 38): “No one interferes with my car radio. I don’t have intimate friendships with my colleagues so they have no influence on my listening behaviors. Anyway, I usually turn off the radio when I have companions” (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.324).

Tisaporn (Female, age 20): “One of my friends doesn’t like K-Pop. If I listen to K-

Pop, she will change the station. Nat (Tisaporn's close friend) sometimes changes the station. I usually listen to 95.5 MHz or 102.5 MHz but she likes Chill 89 MHz. She likes easy listening music" (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.323).

Hierarchical relationships like superior-subordinate relationships affect radio listening behaviors in cars. When they were interviewed, some female respondents said that if they had a chance to drive for their bosses, they usually turned off the radio or tried to select the programs which suited their bosses. They also said that they would turn back to their favorite stations when their bosses got out of the car.

Kanokorn (Female, age 25, who drove a company's car for her boss): "It's just a short period when I had to be a driver for my boss, around 2 months. I was not happy at all. It isn't like driving with my friends. My listening behavior changed a lot. When I drove down to the building to pick my boss up, I listened to my favorite station, 106.5 MHz, and sang loudly. When he got in the car, I turned off the radio. After we reached the destination and the boss got out, I would turn on the radio again and waited inside the car, listening to the radio. When he got back in, I turned off the radio again. Sometimes my boss had CDs with him, so I had to play those for him. Normally, he doesn't listen to the radio" (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.325).

Kanokorn lost her power in controlling the use of her radio in the car not only because of the hierarchical relationship but also because of the sense of car ownership. As she drove the company's car, she had a sense of no power to control radio choices. However, Nun, who drove her own car, felt that she did not lose her power when driving with her boss.

Nun (Female, age 41): "If my boss or my elder colleagues come with me, I will not listen to modern music radio programs. I will choose old music CDs for their generation. But when they get out, I will turn the radio to my GET radio 102.5 MHz immediately. In fact, they don't request old songs but I think that it's good etiquette. Nobody has told me to change the radio stations but I know the nature of each companion. I think that it is good manners to select music that companions can listen together to. They never interfere with my car radio but I know, for example, that my boss doesn't like Thai country music. If I get in the car and turn the radio to Thai country music, I know that she will suddenly interfere with my radio. I can listen to many styles of music. So when she gets in, and hears old music, she will be happy and not ask me to change stations. But when she gets off, I will suddenly turn the radio to my favorite program" (Sarakornborrirak, 2011 p.325).

Female drivers pay a lot attention to "etiquette in listening to the car radio." They said that when they had companions, drivers should turn off or turn down the radio, especially when there is a person who uses a mobile phone in a car. Also, they stated that drivers should select a radio station which companions can listen to together.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Driving alone allows drivers to indulge themselves and choose radio programs that they like. When driving with companions, normally, drivers have power to control the use of the radio in cars. However, if drivers do not own the cars, they will lose or face a lessening of their power in choosing the radio programs.

The degree of intimacy between drivers and companions also plays an important role in controlling radio choices. If they are close, companions sometimes control the use of the radio in cars.

Though it seems that the power in controlling a car radio is normally with the drivers, drivers will decide to yield to others in order to maintain the relationship between them and their companions. For example, Nirut and Nawachai indulged their girlfriends and let them control the radio in their cars, while Nun selected old music for her boss and Pornsuree and Tik let the children control the car radios in order to have peace while driving.

In summary, drivers have power in controlling their radio choices in cars because of a sense of car ownership. They will exercise their power through controlling the radio choices in their cars. They sometimes let their companions control the radio if their relationships are very intimate. Additionally, sometimes drivers indulge their companions to strengthen the relationship, especially when commuting with a child, a girlfriend, and their boss.

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Generational or Technological? The Gaps within the Modern South Korean Society

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Abstract

The modern South Korean society, having its cultural roots in Joseon-period (1392 – 1910) orthodox interpretation of Neo-Confucianism, naturally displays a high degree of hierarchism. The socio-economic transformation, brought by the end of feudalism during Japanese occupation period (1910 – 1945) and the post-World War II period, caused the re-alignment of the traditional social setting. Furthermore, the quick urbanization transformed Korea from a predominantly agricultural society into a technology-based one, which not only resulted in the typical city – village antinomy, but also became the main factor contributing to new types of social divisions. In the 1970s it was apparent that the elderly people living in rural areas – many of them direct descendants of the former Yangban (scholar – nobility) clans – could not keep with the rapidly changing world and processes of globalization, compared to the younger generations living in urban areas, who not only had access to newest technologies, but in fact were the main driving force behind democratization of the state and toppling of authoritarian rule of Park Chung-Hee and his followers. In the latter 1990s, it were young Koreans who spread the popular culture of their country worldwide and started utilizing internet technologies to form communities. Meanwhile, both the elderly living in rural areas and the former employees of the Chaebol conglomerates, many of them lacking sufficient education and economic funds, were often displaced in the new socio-economic system. This situation was influenced by two important factors – underdeveloped national pension system and the gradual downfall of the system of extended families, which stripped the elderly from the traditional support of their descendants. The aim of this paper is to examine and outline the differences between mindsets and lifestyles of Korean young and elderly as well as pinpoint the main reasons for these differences, with additional focus being set on the gender and educational issues, in order to confirm or disprove existence of certain divisions and conflicts within South Korean society.

I. Introduction

The notions of putting interest of a group and well-being of the elderly ahead of the needs of an individual are thought to be among the central aspects of Korean form of Neo-Confucianism. Combination of folk culture and Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy has not only contributed to the emphasis of authority and respect in daily life, but also to prevalence of “manicheistic” outlook in daily life, from Goryeo-Choson times into modernity (Kim Jae-Un 1991: 61 – 63). This dichotomy, deeply connected to such concepts as yin-yang or “five traditional relationships, is typically embodied in the ethnolinguistic opposition between old and young, privileged and underprivileged, male and female, or higher and lower. However, with the rise of popularity of western lifestyle and global culture in South Korea, new and significant changes can be noticed within the society. These new processes create new dynamics within conservative Neo-Confucian kinship politics and public structures modeled after these familial patterns. The goal of this text is not to analyze the complexity of these developments in its entirety, but rather to examine new aspects of social authority in the rapidly-growing Republic of Korea, with emphasis set on the alienating effect these changes have on the opposing, yet formerly interdependent groups.

II. The basic image of modern social changes in South Korea

One of the basic contemporary tendencies in South Korea is the gradual dissolution of extended family structures in favor of nuclear families, which is a result of rapid urbanization coupled with popularization of western model of life. The consequences of this change are far-reaching; however, the most prominent effect is the departure from Confucian idea of support of the elderly by younger generations. Despite the fact that Confucian values, such as filial piety or stress on self-cultivation, have influenced development of the state (Slote & De Vos [eds.] 1998: 250), it may be argued that the ritualistic aspect of the doctrine has largely disappeared from life of South Koreans, or became a “wagon” of the modern pop-cultural communication and mechanisms of economic development (Nelson 2000: 111 - 112). In this setting, the elderly cannot expect to receive sufficient financial support from the young, nor can they serve the role of focal points of family any longer because of the rising prominence of nuclear family model, in which grandparents are often being treated instrumentally, rather than with traditional respect (Kim Choong Soon 2007: 131 - 132). Aside of the cultural changes, the economic and educational factors are important as well in the process of rift-creation; for instance, it is due to the largely underdeveloped system of corporal retirement that the pensions for the elderly are low, and as such they typically must depend on their long-time savings. While there are certainly rising job opportunities for them (<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/13/world/asia/13silver.html>, accessed March 4, 2013), it is because of their often low academic qualifications (with notable exception of those elderly who belong to conglomerate-managing clans) that they cannot sufficiently compete with young graduates of modern Korean universities in terms of employment. The rural communities are particularly estranged in this respect, as the downfall of the system of extended families has caused the rapid flow of intellectual and working human resources to the quickly developing cities (DeVos & Lee 1993: 377 - 393); the elderly were deeply affected and isolated by

these changes. However, in order to understand roots of these changes, the recent history of Korean Peninsula must be briefly described.

III. Korean War and its Consequences

The Korean War of 1950 – 1953 was, in a purely sociological context, essentially a continuation of the processes of nation-building, initiated at the end of XIXth century and during Japanese occupation (Seth 2011: 297, 308 – 323). Plans and visions of Kim Il Sung and Rhee Syngman, while officially encapsulated within doctrines of Communism and Capitalist Nationalism, may in fact be interpreted as embodiments of two fundamental impulses of Korean society – the sense of belonging within a communitarian structure (stemming from the mixture of pure Korean traditions and Confucian thought) and the ideology of individualism related to anti-feudalism and the Christian idea of salvation (introduced and absorbed in Korea firstly in the XIXth century); the South Korean form of communitarianism had eventually taken a form of anti-government movements, such as the Kwangju uprising (Han 2010: 121 - 144). The partition of Korea into two radically different states, despite being to a certain degree influenced by foreign powers, in fact divided the Peninsula roughly according to ideological preferences not only of the leaders, but also of the society (Stueck 1995: 15 - 16). The consequences of this division were much more long-term, however. In the case of South Korea (which will remain the main point of focus in this article), the complete breakdown of many kinship structures and separation of families were factors initiating the displacement of the elderly, while the education system of that time, centered on instillation of patriotic values and creation of the student/worker amalgamate cadre possessing abilities useful for the state, was gradually becoming less accessible and affordable for those living in the countryside, which – as the study of Chang Kung-Sup states - eventually contributed to creation of a social stratum consisting of, employment-wise, deeply dissatisfied and disadvantaged elderly (Chang Kyung-Sup 2010). Furthermore, as Hee-Yeon Cho says, “In such an anticommunist regimented society we can see a great imbalance between both the state and civil society and between capital and labor, facilitating both statist mobilization and authoritarian integration” (Cho Hee-Yeon 2013: 1 - 17). Indeed, the authoritarianism and anticommunism as the key values promoted by governments of Rhee Syngman, Park Chung-Hee and their successors, on one hand promoting the economic development of the country, in effect have closed the society within the specific form of national organization. It was only in the beginning of the 1990s that Koreans, motivated by the processes of democratization and the fall of authoritarianism, have set their sights on different cultural impulses, for the first time allowing globalization and all elements associated with it to influence their lives for the first time.

IV. The socio-political and technological revolution of the 80s/90s

Political change coupled with processes of globalization were not only the dominant causes for the popularization of Korean culture worldwide in the form of so-called “Han Wave”, but have also triggered new developments within South Korea’s internal socio-cultural reality. The shift from heavy industry and agriculture into high-tech

devices and machine components brought economic diversity, allowing new media to flourish. Awareness of the western models of social communication became higher due to rising presence of non-Korean movies and TV programs, while the South Korean products – such as k-pop music genre and TV serialized dramas – caused popularity of the country to surge worldwide. However, significant social problems relevant to the issue of social inequality have surfaced as well. The aforementioned urbanization of the country and concentration of the population in larger agglomerations were at their peak in the 1990s, and, in addition to the increasing popularity of the nuclear family model, have further caused the deterioration of the livelihood of the elderly. The National Pension System is underdeveloped and has not brought so far (especially in the 1990s) full benefits to the retired employees – most of whom used to work either in agriculture or one of the Chaebol (major conglomerates) – were no longer under the “paternalistic” protection exerted by their companies during the period of authoritarianism (http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/070321_gai_agingkorea_eng.pdf, accessed March 1, 2013), and their own children, following the “syndrome of the wild goose” are no longer obliged to stay close to their parents and support them, the almost absolute point of focus being education of their own offspring. As evidenced by the latest research (ibid.) the percentage of the elderly living with their children has fallen from 81 in 1980 to 44 in 2004, which further signifies the problematic situation. The academic deficiencies among the elderly are also common, and this, along with their conservative mindsets, brings forward the question: in what ways do the young Koreans represent the image of the new South Korea?

V. Educational pressure and globalized mindsets as the key defining factors of Korean youth:

The educational drive present within all socio-economic classes of South Korea may be perceived as a reformed version of the exam- and bureaucracy-centered mentality of the former Yangban (scholar-nobility) families of the Joseon period (Seth 2005: 3 - 15). In that setting, achievement of the specific scholarly or official rank was directly tied to the genealogical status of the kinship group, and therefore was placed among the highest duties of Yangban children. With the advent of modernity and the downfall of feudal system, the pressure has remained, and even though parents can no longer be assured that their children will repay the favor by the means of a lifelong financial support, there is still an overwhelming sense of obligation and gratitude among students and graduates towards their families (<http://edition.cnn.com/2011/11/10/world/asia/south-korea-exams>, accessed March 7, 2013). South Korean education with all of its economic burdens and memorization-based studying is straining both to the younger and older generations, and the course of career is largely pre-determined due to peer-pressure and media emphasizing the reputation of the so-called “SKY” Universities (Seoul, Goryo, Yonsei) as the institutions graduates of which are hired by various Chaebol conglomerates most frequently. Parents, in order for their children to pass the strenuous examinations, sacrifice much of their financial resources and personal time for seeking appropriate cram schools – the so-called “hagwon” - while encouraging hard studying and respect towards authoritative teachers (Hwang 2001: 609 – 618). Those examinees who do not acquire the number of points required for entry not only must seek alternative,

less-recognized academic institutions, but also face a deep sense of shame of not fulfilling the expectations placed on them. However, the harsh reality of cram schools and endless memorization does not form the entirety of Korean students' lives anymore. Online games such as Starcraft are starting to be perceived as a form of career and even as credible sources of income to the dedicated players (<http://www.dailyfinance.com/2010/08/28/starcraft-pro-lives-off-game>, accessed March 1, 2013). Furthermore, another embodiment of globalized mindset among Koreans is the rising popularity of overseas education, perceived as less restrictive than its counterpart in Republic of Korea. Regardless of location, older generations still typically pay large sums of money for education of their children, and their frustrations on these issues are very apparent by the results of the recent research; the reformative attempts aiming at lowering both the costs and stress of schooling have not reached satisfactory conclusion as well (Chang S. J. 2008: 157 - 177). The uncertainty concerning careers of Korean youth as well as the future of their parents is further increased by new types of communication media, which may eventually override the traditional, Confucianism-influenced way of life.

VI. High technologies – increasing awareness or creating rifts between traditional elders and pop-cultural youth?

Online games represent only one side of the deep-reaching influence high technologies exerted on modern South Korea. Confucianism, a system for hundreds of years serving as a justification for Korean hierarchism, has been – at least to a certain extent – visibly shaken by the non-hierarchic online forums and instant communicators, where the speech levels do not matter. This phenomenon may be interpreted as a form of escapism into a “neutral ground” by young and old alike. Games, instant communicators and information media being accessible on mobile devices is a further sign of change in South Korean society, as the quicker dissemination of information potentially increases awareness of the world among traditionally conservative elderly and provides new platform for political discourse (Lee Jinsun 2013: 123 – 142); this revolution was helped by the abolition of censorship in the beginning of 1990s. Use of internet, however, may be restricted by such factors as lack of technical knowledge frequently exhibited by the elderly, or the unwillingness of younger generations or official institutions towards organizing courses in computer science for the aforementioned underprivileged groups. The harsh reality of Confucian social communication has even caused, especially in recent times, when far more specialized online games and communities emerged, a creation of bonds online. There has been a notable case in the recent years (<http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/asiapcf/03/05/korea.baby.starved/index.html>, accessed March 4, 2013) in which a married couple was so involved in controlling matters of its online game counterpart that they neglected the well-being of their infant child. However, this issue is certainly multidimensional and cannot be easily assigned positive or negative connotations. As one of the many agents of change in South Korea, internet and new media provide new opportunities of development as well as the new forms of expression, but cannot fully undermine the traditional Confucian culture, as it was internalized as a type of underlying, non-political mentality some time after Korean War; the subsequent influences of globalization amount to modifications within the system, and not of its complete abrogation in

favor of purely western products and thought, which is further supported by the words of Samuel Huntington concerning cultural identity

(<http://www2.kenyon.edu/Depts/Religion/Fac/Adler/Politics/Huntington-Clash.html>, accessed February 28, 2013). Still, in the domain of patriarchy and group-thinking, one part of society does not need internet applications to show its new impulses and changing image – and about this group, Korean women, requires much analysis.

VII. Changing role of women

Women' position in South Korean society is largely determined by two factors: legislation aiming at creation of full equality of rights between genders, and the changing opinions on the role of "...the patrilinear family as the basic unit of the nation" (Cho Uhn 2013: 19 – 27). While the percentage of women employed in various economic sectors has been steadily rising since 1980s, there is still much to be done by the government in this respect, since, by extension, the difficulties of working in a company (especially the typically high levels of male favoritism) and the financial uncertainty cause women – especially single ones – to be reluctant towards creating a family structure of their own (Kee 2008: 9 - 20). On the other hand the Neo-Confucian terminology – especially concerning the concept of „gi”, or „material force” – is still frequently being used as a justification of preference of companies towards male workers, who are perceived as more productive and less burdened by issues of the body (such as menstruation, pregnancy, etc) than women (Cho Uhn 2013: 19 - 27). The birth ratio has been indirectly influenced by the fact that Korean society has always traditionally favored boys, and while the obligations of male descendants in regards to performance of ancestral rites have largely diminished (Yi 2003: 79 - 117) their key role in familial structure has been preserved, girls being considered much less important to the well-being and honor of the family. The abolition of the so-called “Hojuje” household management system, in which only male siblings of a woman or her spouse could have full legal rights of a familial authority head, is an issue widely discussed in South Korea to this day (Lee Mary 2008: 56 – 85). This and other examples of patriarchalism and patrilineality in Korean tradition and Confucian doctrine make it even more difficult for retired and unemployed women to seek financial and developmental opportunities, already highly limited due to the aforementioned changes regarding structure of Korean family.

VIII. Conclusion:

The goal of this article was not to give detailed data concerning employment of Korean men, women, university graduates, the elderly, women and other relevant groups. Instead, the point of focus was on the rapid transformative processes initiated by the divisive Korean War, which, aside of political effects, has laid bare the ideological differences within Korean nation, formerly united in feudalism. As one can see, the age, social standing and family relations have remained the main factors defining interpersonal relations in Korea, but, on the other hand, the processes of modernization and the increasingly high level of presence of advanced technologies have provided both new types of social bonds and created new divisions.

These developments, treated collectively, were made possible only after the fall of authoritarian dictatorship. The persons living alone without any form external help, such as estranged elderly, laid-off workers and even some high school students, who disappointed their parents all represent the harsh reality of South Korean society, have all exhibited varying outlooks towards their past social standings, the significance of politics in their lives and the changes the future may bring. Conflicts may therefore be treated as something natural in this environment – however, the question as to how these divisions can be resolved still stands. One possible solution may lie in the hands of South Korean government, which, besides alleviating the aforementioned financial difficulties of the elderly, should also ease the access to internet services, making them more user-friendly to frequently disadvantaged representatives of this social stratum. While at present it is the youth that is the most proficient in computer sciences and internet, the activities of the government and such organizations as The University of the Third Age may help the nation in the long-term perspective by opening new educational possibilities to everyone, gradually making the financial, generational and career divisions disappear. Furthermore, the transformation of Confucian mentality resulting from the contact with the western modes of thought may also bring positive consequences, rather than exclusively negative ones – perhaps in the future the group-thinking may give way to individualism, lessening the number of social divisions on the Peninsula. Women, who still face many dilemmas due to their frequent employment-related difficulties, are especially relevant in this regard, as their traditionally low hierarchic position is still prominent in modern South Korean society despite many legal attempts aiming at the change of this situation. Confucianism cannot and should not completely disappear from Korean ethnolinguistic reality; it must instead be further harmonized with modernity in order to bring more comfort and freedom to daily lives of Koreans, and to eliminate the detrimental gaps between all social strata.

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Facebook : Communication Behavior of Thai Teenagers in the Public Sphere

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Introduction

Facebook: The New and Highly Popular Social Networking Site

Nowadays, an important internet phenomenon is the expansion of Social Networking Sites (SNS) such as Facebook. When considering the usage of Facebook in a Thai context, the study found that Facebook's popularity has grown significantly to the top ranking of the world. Statistical information about the usage of Facebook in Thailand mentioned in the article "Top 10 Biggest Facebook Cities", which was published on June 14, 2012 in Social Bakers, the famous marketing website, says that Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand, had become the city with the most Facebook users in the world, with about 8 million users, followed by Jakarta, Indonesia and Istanbul, and Turkey. The information on overall Facebook usage in Thailand displayed in table 1 shows that the country has over 18 million users, which makes it the thirteenth-ranked country in terms of the number of Facebook users in the world.

Table 1: List of countries on Facebook (January 2013)

Rank	Name	Rank	Name	Rank	Name
1	United States	6	United Kingdom	11	Italy
2	Brazil	7	Turkey	12	Argentina
3	India	8	Philippines	*13	<u>Thailand</u> Population: 67,089,500 FB.Users: 18,325,500
4	Indonesia	9	France	14	Canada
5	Mexico	10	Germany	15	Colombia

Source :<http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-statistics/>

Teenagers and Facebook

Data for the Thai social context in Figure 1 (see below) on Facebook users for the year 2013 shows that the ages range from 13-65 years old. The study found that people in the age group of 18-24 years use Facebook the most, which can be calculated as 35 percent of all users. If generational cohorts criteria are applied with this age group, it can be seen that the largest quantity of Facebook users are from Generation Z and Y. Gen Z contains people born in the years 1994-2011; they grew up with modern technology and are thus sometimes called Generation I, the Internet Generation, Generation Text, Generation @, or Digital Native. Gen Y or Why Generation contains people born in the years 1980-1990; they are early working age people who are familiar with new technology and able to use modern devices skillfully (Samkoses, 2011).

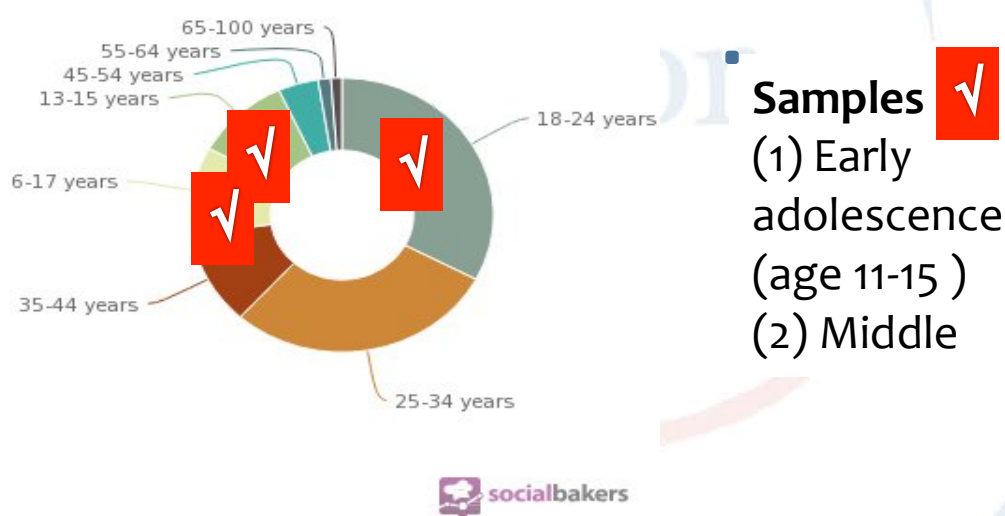


Figure 1: Thailand Facebook Statistics

Source: <http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-statistics/thailand>

The book "eYouth Balancing Between Opportunities and Risks" mentioned that Social Networking Sites (SNS) have become the major space that teenagers use to contact each other, as both receivers (downloading data) and senders (uploading data). Not only do they share their basic interests among their peers, they also use the space to create content that reflects their identity through the online public sphere. The

reason teenagers choose online communication is that it is easy to access. It can also be a channel to contact people around the world. This method of communication makes teenagers feel they have power; therefore, many of them decide to express themselves with text messages, photographs, video clips, or presenting their point of view and interests in online social networks in order to establish their identity, which they expect to be accepted by others (Walrave, 2012, pp.80-85).

This information moved the researcher to question how Thai adolescents use Facebook, especially as a public sphere.

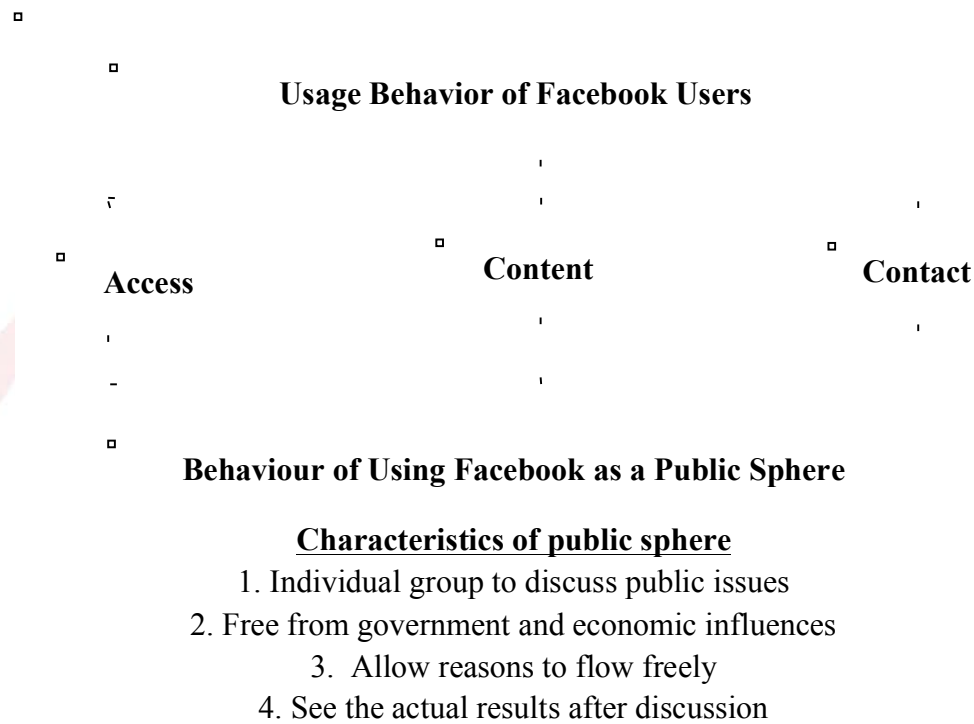
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Public Sphere

Jürgen Habermas envisioned a place where community members could collectively form public opinions in an environment removed from the government or economy. Moreover, he defined this public sphere as a place that mediates between society and state, in which the public organizes itself through public opinion in accordance with the principle of the public sphere – the principle of public information that has made possible the democratic control of state activities. In addition, Habermas's public sphere model specifically focuses on psychical space and political topics (Habermas, 1974, pp.49-55).

Nowadays, social networking sites have expanded the realm of the public sphere from a physical sphere to a visual sphere. Public issues do not only include political topics; other topics such as social topics and cultural topics have also assumed prominence (Keawthep, 2008).

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework



Methodology

This research collected data from informal interviews with 65 Facebook users, in-depth interviews and non-participant observations of a sample group of 15 persons, and document analysis. The researcher used the data to answer the research questions employing the analytical methods shown in table 2

Table 2: Research Questions Theories Concepts and Methodologies

Research Questions	Theories and Concepts	Technical Approach
(1) how teenagers communicate through online social networks such as Facebook	(1) New Media (2) Computer Mediated Communication (3) Social Media (4) Adolescence	(1) Informal Interviews with 65 Facebook users (2) Documentary Analysis
(2) how teenagers communicate through online social networks such as Facebook as a public sphere.	(1) New Media (2) Computer Mediated Communication (3) Social Media (4) Adolescence (5) Public Sphere	(1) In-depth interviews with 15 Facebook users (2) Non-participant Observation (3) Documentary Analysis

Findings

Facebook usage behavior of Thai teenagers

The results from the study on the usage behavior of Facebook users in the representative sample group has shown that they are heavy users in terms of both frequency and duration, which means that the majority of teenagers in the representative sample of all age groups log onto Facebook everyday for more than one hour per time and they mostly use it between 6.01 pm. – 00.00 am.

However, it is interesting to note that when the researcher compared the generational cohorts with the ages of the members of the sample groups, it included Generation Y (17-25 years old) and Generation Z (11-16 years old). The outstanding media in generation Y is electronic media such as radio and television, which is the first step of the internet. However, the outstanding media of Generation Z is the internet. Therefore, when considering the data from the sample, the researcher found that both

generations are able to use new media such as the internet: however, Generation Y uses other media apart from the internet, while Generation Z mainly uses the internet.

The researcher also discovered that the sample group performs many tasks at the same time since teenagers have been raised with the new communication technology that allows them to receive information through many media channels. Thus, the line between personal and business issues and leisure time and working time has become blurred. Many respondents use Facebook to discuss homework with their friends while chatting and posting songs or private pictures. Not only is the line between working time and personal time becoming unclear, the line between the usage area of the public sphere and the personal sphere of the representative sample is also vague. In other words, Facebook is an online social network where users can set their own private or public policy. According to the study, users broadcast their private issues such as daily routines or love in the public sphere, i.e., posting on message boards and allowing more than one person to see it. On the other hand, some discuss public issues such as politics via the chat box, which is the private sphere where users can choose or specify the recipients. The results from the non-participant observations and in-depth interviews with 15 members of the sample group show that they more often communicate by posting personal issues on message boards, which is considered a public sphere, than public issues.

Therefore, the researcher can summarize the usage behavior in the Facebook space of the sample group as follows:

(1) Rapprochement

In reality, people are connected by many kinds of relationships, both genetic relationships (father, mother, child and relatives) and social relationships (employer and employee or friend); however, in Facebook, people are linked with only one relationship called “friend”. Friendships in Facebook can be made, expanded, and ended easily.

It is interesting that some in the sample group had hundreds of friends in their network but they choose to communicate with only a few people. This can be explained by the notion that acceptance is what teenagers desire, and the number of friends shown in the friend list reflects social acceptance concretely. Therefore, users

may have a large quantity of friends and not focus on the quality of friends. It can be concluded that friendship in Facebook will not be long lasting without support from relationships in reality. Moreover, the system itself is conducive to breaking off relations easily. Users can always click to cancel friendships or “unfriend” people in the system. Furthermore, Facebook allows users to create fictitious relations; the system offers an opportunity for users to specify relationships with someone in particular and display to the public or people in their network such as being in relationship or a relative with someone. To specify the relations, both users must click confirm before the status will be displayed. The interesting aspect about this relationship is that sometimes it is unreal. For instance, a female in late adolescence specified that she is engaged in her profile, but in reality, she is not; she is just dating.

(2) Source of Entertainment

There are many applications in Facebook which users can use to entertain themselves including chat boxes, games, and picture or video uploads; these allow users to be both the sender and recipient. The study also found that the most entertaining aspect of Facebook for the sample group is its function as a center of communication between friends.

(3) Source of Public Information

Facebook contains a wide range of information, i.e., private information, which comes from text postings by one user, and public information, in the form of fanpages. The system divides data into categories so users can click the button “like” in order to check on updated news occasionally, or they can click “like” and click “subscribe” to follow the movement of fanpages they are interested in. These are the main advantages of the public sphere in Facebook compared to the public sphere in the real world. In terms of physical space, the public sphere in Facebook is convenient, rapid, and easy to access; there are no limitations in terms of time and space and the information is more various than the public sphere in the real world. People just sit in front of their computers or mobile phones, from which they can frequently get involved or receive public information from the various sources of information around the world.

(4) Communication Channel for Sensitive Topics

From the non-participant observations together with the in-depth interviews, the researcher found that the members of the representative sample used Facebook as a communication channel for sensitive topics in two ways:

(4.1) Private Issue

The 15 members of the sample group in early, middle, and late adolescence used Facebook as a space to reveal their emotions and feelings or their dislike of people who have higher status in the real world such as teachers or parents. This is because they cannot express their opinion directly in reality. For instance, a male aged 16 showed his resentment and questioned the teaching and learning methods as well as the homework assignments of his teachers.

In addition, member of the sample, especially those in early and middle adolescence, use Facebook as a space to reveal their attraction to the opposite gender since they cannot express this in reality due to the Thai cultural framework. Often they do not dare to express their attraction to a person directly as it is very sensitive; for example, a 14-year-old female described her one-sided love of a friend of the opposite gender.

(4.2) Public Issues

According to the data gathered from the representative sample group, some topics that are forbidden in the real world are discussed as public issues on Facebook. Based on the interviews and non-participant observations, 2 of 15 in the representative sample post on their status as a means to criticize or satirize the following political issues that cannot be spoken of or communicated about directly in the real world or by the mainstream media.

(4.2.1) Criticizing the management of the Governor of Bangkok

(4.2.2) Criticizing the content of the censure debate

(4.2.3) Criticizing political rallies

(4.2.4) Discussing attitudes towards President Obama's visits to Thailand and Burma.

(5) Social Monitoring, Social Criticizing, and Complaint Center

According to the content that appears on the Facebook page of the members of the representative sample and the pages that they join, the study found that a female aged 24 holding a bachelor's degree and working as a radio program creative uses Facebook as a channel to give early warning information, and to criticize news or events that take place in society. For example, she updates her status to criticize the performance of politicians, policies of the government, and to complain about the impolite and dangerous manner in which public vehicles, such as buses or ambulances, are driven.

(6) Reflection of the True Identity of Each Individual

According to the non-participant observations together with the interviews, the study showed that the majority in the representative sample (9 people out of 15 people) use Facebook to reflect their real identity via applications such as their profile, status on their message board, photo uploading, checking in where they are, and clicking like for fanpages. These Facebook functions allow them to express themselves to the public easily.

The information from the pages of the representative sample group showed that most of them use real photos and names to identify themselves to others. Moreover, some use the space in the profile section to specify their attitudes including mottos or their political point of view.

(7) Creating what users want to be and want others to know

(7.1) Creating what users want to be

According to the non-participant observations together with the interviews, the study found that six members of the representative sample group out of 15 had created a new identity in the profile section that did not match with reality and they do not care whether other people believe that information. Their objective is only to communicate or express what they want to be since, in reality, when filling in forms such as birth certificates, medical records, educational records, etc., people are required to give true details. However, Facebook allows teenagers to create information that will show the exact identity they desire in regard to their past, present, and future. The details of the information that the members of the representative sample changed to create new identities include:

“Name” – Some decided not to use their real names in the profile section as, in reality, nobody can choose their names, which, despite the fact that it reflects the basic identity of humans, are chosen by parents, relatives, monks, or even fortune tellers. After growing up and gaining more life experience, some in the sample did not want to be what others want them to; on the contrary, they want others to accept their own choice of identity.

According to the non-participant observations together with the in-depth interviews, the researcher discovered that some members of the representative sample use their real names and surnames when they first sign up, and subsequently change them to other names. For instance, Puifai (alias), a 20-year-old female states her Facebook name as Ayumi Nimana. Benjaporn Kumsupa, an 18-year-old female, chose Sung Eunra (Eunhae) as her Facebook name.

“Self-Explanation” – In the Facebook profile section, users can write a self- description. According to the research, some in the representative sample invent information about themselves in their status description. For example, Thidarat Sakeaw, 15 years old, is a student of Satri Sirikes School in the real world, but on Facebook, she identifies herself as a magic teacher of Hogwarts School.

“Address” – In reality, Bonus, a 17-year-old female, is originally from Surin, Thailand. On Facebook, she is in Seoul, Korea. Anongnat Sutapan, a 13-year-old, is from Srisaket, Thailand, but on Facebook, she specifies that she is in Seola Beach, Washington.

“Education” - Thanetpol Pramote uses Facebook to create the educational background he wants to have in the future. In other words, he is 16 years old and he is studying in a secondary school in Chonburi province, but for his education he writes on Facebook that he studies electrical engineering in a university because he dreams that he will study in this faculty in the future.

(7.2) Creating an identity users want other to recognize

The widely held notion about the needs of adolescents is that teenagers need friendship, notoriety, and acceptance from friends and society. Facebook spaces can fulfill these needs as its functions allow users to communicate with a lot of people

and they can concretely see the reactions and interest from others towards the content they post from the amount of comments or likes. These reactions make teenagers feel that they are significant and accepted.

According to the study, many users tend to choose and reuse similar information or patterns to get interest from others; for example, using programs to edit pictures before uploading to make them look brighter or selecting photos with similar postures that people previously complimented. They also choose photos about their daily life that others accept, such as uploading pictures of food that they do not eat as regular meals.

Some in the representative sample group adjust their level of language to be more polite when they communicate in the space when more than one friend in the system is able to see, such as friends, friend of friends, and public settings including communication in fanpage groups. This adjustment of the language level uses the same criteria as in the real world, which means that when communicating with people they are not familiar with, with the public, or with someone superior, the sender will use a communication method suitable to the recipient. Even though everyone on Facebook is linked together under the status of “friend”, people have different levels of relationships in reality. Some users add teachers, or elder relatives as their friends. Also, one characteristic of this form of media is that recipients cannot see non-verbal communication or hear the tone of voice, which affects interpretation. Therefore, some decide to adjust the language they use in updating their status or expressing their opinions on message boards in instances where more than one user is allowed to see.

Facebook and the Reflection and Creation of Teenager’s Identity

The results indicate that Thai teenagers are highly interested in forming their identity or self via Facebook as, in the real world, their identity is influenced by the dominant culture; in contrast, on Facebook, teenagers are a part of their own subculture and are able to freely create and customize their unique identity.

Early adolescents in the representative sample aged 11-15 years and middle adolescents aged 16-18 years are more likely to evidence collective identity formation than the late adolescence group aged 19-25 years. It can be seen from the results that

the early and middle adolescence groups have the most fanpage users and participate in a regular manner, which constitutes reading information, looking at photos, and commenting on an ongoing basis. Moreover, the results of the study regarding fanpage selection show that the members of the sample group are interested in and join the fanpages of good-looking people. This is because teenagers are interested in the opposite sex. It is noticeable that a person who is liked, no matter if he/she is an artist, an actor, an athlete, or an ordinary person, is usually a member of the opposite sex with a good personality or someone with a unique personality that can draw attention from the public. This is consistent with the psychological needs of adolescents aged 10-12 years and 13-18 years, who are interested in gatherings, the opposite sex, and seeking ideal role models (Konglarb, 2008).

The late adolescents in the sample aged 19-25 years have more developed individual identity formation than the early and middle adolescence group. The results show that they use profile pages to create their identity via status updates and photos of their preferred activities such as photos of their favorite books. They use fanpages to follow the news as irregular followers, which means that they read the information or look at pictures occasionally. The behavior of the late adolescents in the representative sample is different from the early and middle adolescents because this age group has better analytical skills and a clearer identity. Therefore, they usually present who they really are on Facebook.

Discussion: Thai Teenagers and the Usage of Facebook as a Public Sphere

When considering the usage of Facebook space by members of the representative sample, an extension of the public issue from the mainstream politics is seen, which is the main public issue that Habermas has framed in regard to daily political and social issues. These public issues differ from the original definition.

The behavior of using Facebook on a daily basis by the representative sample does not move to the absolute public sphere, which means that they use Facebook to raise public issues that can lead to opinion exchange. However, the opinions flowing in the system are not supported with reasons or grounded in facts; they are mostly parody or

satire, which is ineffective in practical terms as the purpose of this research was to study the use of Facebook on a daily basis. However, the researcher noticed signs of movement to a higher level of involvement compared to earlier studies of new media in a Thai context; for example, in the research of Penpan Rawichotikul(2011), an analysis of the discourse on the Internet bulletin board of the website called Pantip; meanwhile, the study of Rattनावalee Kaittiniyomsak(2009) about on the public sphere of computer-mediated communication: a case study of www.pantip.com and www.sanook.com, found that the public sphere today is not used to express individual opinions but instead to show the various opinions of each group of people in society. Users are not concerned about the true content; they just browse for entertainment.

From the additional survey of the Facebook behavior of Thai teenagers, the results show that Facebook is used as a medium of the social movement in many groups, such as TU cute dog, which is a fanpage of Thammasat University students who created a group to take care of the dogs on campus. They place donation boxes around campus and ask for donations through Facebook to be used to spay and neuter dogs. Also, during a crisis situation such as a flood or an unusual political situation, we can see that some Thai teenagers use Facebook as a forum to exchange ideas and help society in practical ways. Therefore, future research about Facebook behavior in regard to the social integration of teenagers, especially in regard to fanpages, will be interesting to undertake.

In conclusion, being considered a public sphere not only depends on the physical space, but also on the users as mentioned by Mike Westling(2007) in the summary of the article, “Expanding the Public Sphere: The Impact of Facebook on Political Communication”. The researcher stated that there is a positive direction of communicating political issues via Facebook, which is different from television, newspaper, or websites that restrict access to information. While these media do not allow users to participate, Facebook enables users to select message or content to receive, including creating groups and inviting others to join. This fact is mentioned by Adam Collins (Westling, 2007), who stated that the value of Facebook depends on the power of users, who can create and react to public issues from their own perspective. If there is encouragement and support of political issue communication

on Facebook, in the future it can become the center of public issue discussion as Habermas expects to happen.

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A Simple Glimpse of the Present Times Hand in Hand with Dao De Jing

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INTRODUCTION

Chinese philosophy highlights human being's experiences and diversity, enriched by their historical consciousness. Truth attained through practical reason and real experiences result in practical wisdom as foundation of human dignity and morality. Human beings are integral part of a society; hence, social and political morality is crucial to Chinese philosophy which philosophical task is to solve the problem on how to make human beings *humane*. It answers the question "what am I?" Indian Philosophy answers the question "who am I?" and Greek philosophy answers the question "where am I?"

The present "*now*" is a huge interest of Chinese philosophy. Advanced science and technology pervade the present world which is a very common experience. How about the future? How are the notions of the *present* advanced science and technology, future, and the *return* intertwined? How can Dao's Way apply the "return?" Is it possible to reconcile Dao De Jing with the present which displays amazing novel creations, inventions, and discoveries?

Lao Zi and Dao De Jing

Lao Zi translates as *Old Master*; the author of Dao De Jing which is the first philosophical work of ancient China. Dao De Jing is believed to be a product of many minds, however, Lao Zi, the man, a native from Cho in Honan is considered as the author and regarded as the greatest philosophical myth in China. Nonetheless, Lao Zi is recognized as the Father of Dao Jia that exalts respectability and social duties. Dao De Jing is very difficult to understand and ranks as second among the most translated and celebrated books on earth, next to the Holy Bible.

Daoism has three phases. *First*, is the preservation of life and avoidance of injury. Yang Chu proposes cultivation of personal life which is intimately an inner private experience: a search for personal happiness known as "each one for itself." Life is short; personal cravings of good food, love, pleasure, clothes, beautiful music, success, fulfillment, etc. must not be suppressed. Human being deserves to reap the fruits of his/her labor and to experience peace, contentment, and gratification. Greatest failure for Yang Chu is when potency collapses prior to its satisfaction.

Secondly, it attempts to discover and understand laws underlying changes of things in life, society, nature, and the universe which turn out to be advantageous contrary to artificial and unnatural conventions of culture. *Second phase* of Daoism highlights the principles of Lao Zi, laws that pervade nature, social laws, and moral laws.

Lastly, the *third phase* is expressed in Chuang Zi that maintains the possibility of being injured, to feel pain, and to suffer which also entails futuristic vision. To shun from this human beings must view things from a higher level of consciousness that transcends contradictory realities. Supplementary and complementary opposites are balanced and operationalized in existence. Harmony can be experienced amidst contradictions and extremes.

Significant Terms in Dao De Jing

Dao, De, Wei-Wu-Wei, Tze Ran, Po, Wu Ming, Ai, Sheng Ren and T'ien, are significant terms. *Dao* is the *nameless* Absolute. The unnamable, can never be known, described, predicated, articulated, and named. *Unnamable* Dao, the source of the universe is the *basis of mysticism* in Chinese philosophy. The *Nameable* Dao is the origin of all things, known as *describable Dao* which has a name; the source of experienced *mysteries*.

Processes and multiple realities have gradations, categories, and varying properties and proportions. Existing things have verifiable sources. Dao De Jing emphasizes that realities emerge from the Originator of all things which is nameable, predicated, and articulated by different languages (Cf. DDJ Ch. 1, 143). Language that articulates things represents thought. Thinking is a human experience known as the act of consciousness/mind (Cf. Villaba, 1996, 187).

Dao's way includes the truth of the mind's activity and language. Laws of morality are derived from human being's material experiences and immaterial experiences of the consciousness/mind. Dao is considered as a structure of moral truth which is the *Way to the Absolute* (Human Being's way) towards the *Way of the Absolute* (Nature's way).

Dao has categories: the mythical unnamable Dao; the nameable Dao, the source of all things; and Dao that concerns human being's ways; the origin of language; and the cause of a higher level of consciousness that results in common senses, human morality and values, known as *De*. *De* the second term, signifies "going straight to one's heart." Multiple emotions trigger an experience towards a higher/degree/level/category of the mind, which is uniquely *human nature's way*.

Third is, *Wei-Wu-Wei*. *Wei* is *to do, to be, and to act*. *Wu* counters *Wei*; it is *not to do, not to be, and not to act*. *Wei-Wu-Wei* translates as *to do by not doing, to be by not being, and to act by not acting*. Human beings naturally think and feel which are considered *not doing*. A swimming fish does not do and act at all because a fish naturally swims. Human beings' *acts and works* are human nature's ways. Human work is not doing work because it is innately human nature (Cf. DDJ Ch. 2, 143), which is considered as doing and not doing at the same time. Human beings survive through being *not "unhuman."*

Wei-Wu-Wei leads us to better understand the fourth term, *Tze Ran* which means *naturally, spontaneously, and of itself* that *abides* with Nature (Dao) and human nature: When human nature spontaneously flow without obstacles: human life will not be laden with complications.

The fifth symbol *Po* means "a virgin block." The uncarved block signifies potentialities and possibilities of things of nature and human nature. *Nature's Way* flows where anything and everything emerge. *Human's nature* is to think, feel, and work that relates with diverse *nature of things*. The outcomes are discoveries, inventions, and creations of novel realities intended to function when operationalized (e.g., advanced science and technology, advanced information technology, advanced machines and medicines, advanced transportation, advanced scientific knowledge and

research, etc.) which are manifestations of the richness of the nature of things intertwined with the depths of human being's intelligence, capabilities, and skills in diverse ways. Human work's creations are devices and tools for useful and relevant purposes for daily necessities and human relations.

Wu Ming, the sixth symbol means, "namelessness." Human experiences are bases of the emergence of language that provides *names*, *words*, and *symbols*. Language corresponds with the nature of things that serve as *articulation* of realities. The unknowable, boundless, and limitless reality can never be experienced, where language fails; hence, Dao is *unnamable*.

Ai, the seventh term is *to covet*, *to want for oneself*, or *to be stingy*. Human beings think, feel, and work. Human prudence and cautiousness effect, which logically, to covet. To desire for food, sex, love, and belongingness fall within the first phase of Daoism. Yang Chu explains that human beings have inner personal private experience; hence, human beings search for the cultivation of personal happiness based upon human consciousness, human emotions, human responsibility and work, including human relations. Inclinations for a long meaningful and peaceful life together with love ones are practical Chinese pursuits. They work hard; save for the future; prolong life; and as much as possible, avoid early death. As a result, they become stingy and hardworkers. Prominent Chinese billionaires underwent processes of hard work and "stinginess."

The eighth symbol is, *Sheng Ren*: the *enlightened* wise man and Daoist Sage. Sheng Ren listens and open. He learns as well as unlearns, in this way, he knows more and gains wisdom. To be enlightened, diverse realities (similar, different, multiple, categorical, and extreme, among others) that human beings experience are understood and harmonized, through a higher level of consciousness/mind where extremes and/or contradictions are balanced.

Lastly, is *T'ien* which means Sky, Heaven, or Great/Supreme Ancestors. Chinese people respect and venerate the memory of their loved ones. They apply wisdom taught by their ancestors. (Cf. Co 2002, 130-32)

Limitations of Human Being's Experiences

Human beings cannot categorize nor articulate the *not experienced Dao*, Nameless, Absolute Being, and Non-being; however it "functions through its nothingness...I do not know who created it. But it is likely that it existed prior to God" (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 4). *God* is a name that corresponds with experienced wonders and mysteries of nature. Words and language cannot qualify to define the *Unnamable Dao*, because it is never experienced. Human beings try to articulate the unnamable, however, when human beings articulate it; it remains within the category of the nameable Dao. *God*, the nameable is predicated, which accomplishes all things in its natural complementary and supplementary ways within spontaneous processes. *Nameable Dao*, originator of all things is experienced in existence.

One great value of Dao is the reconciliation of extremes through the function of *non-being* which is an *experience of consciousness/mind*. Balance and harmony are achieved; enlightenment results. Wang Pi₁₄₅, Lao Zi's commentator says that the

experience of *non-being* (mind: essence of simplicity); the capability to reconcile opposites, and to achieve harmony and balance in life, is a human endeavor that results to an enlightened Daoist, a *Sheng Ren*.

To live naturally is in accordance with Nature's way (Dao) which comprises the nature of nature, and human being's nature. *Unnatural ways* are rules and regulations, prohibitions, and artificial laws emerging from the prevalent totalizing culture that are blindly followed by the people. Lao Zi's says that these are against nature.

Sheng Ren is wise and righteous. He is doing and not doing at the same time. The *nature of Sheng Ren* naturally flows; he is the best ruler. "The wise knows how to rescue men, hence, no one is excluded. He also knows how to rescue things, hence, nothing is excluded" (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 27). His judgment is appropriated with the peculiar nature of the case. Lao Zi addresses and emphasizes on prohibitions and artificial rules that exclude. The *Sheng Ren* judges cases in diverse ways because "[t]he wise is not benevolent. He treats men differently" (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 5). Human being's circumstances are diverse which must be categorized differently. Judgment cannot be based within an artificial rule that *excludes*.

The best way to rule is to be a *Sheng Ren* who acts and do not act at the same time. He acts because he bestows righteous judgment in accordance with the peculiar reality/situation/event. However, *Sheng Ren*'s judgment is considered *non-action* because that is *expected* of him. Lao Zi's concept of government has a pure, simple, and plain mission, where the natural self appears and original simple views are brought back and operationalized in real life experience.

UNDERSTANDING DAO DE JING HAND IN HAND WITH THE PRESENT TIMES: CUTTING EDGE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Dao De Jing states that, "[f]rom ancient times until the present, the name Tao has never ceased to exist" (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 21). Likewise, the *future* is important to Chinese philosophy. "To understand reality is to be enlightened. Not to understand it and to act wrongly, *leads to disaster*" (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 16, Par. 10) (italics supplied). This implies that the *future* is crucially contemplated upon by Lao Zi, and future generations will continue to worship Dao (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 54).

Inventions of cutting edge technology pervade the world that relates with the assembled *spokes and a hub* (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 11). Wheels and vessels epitomize advanced progress and development. Constructions, inventions, and continuous discoveries are useful tools. New realities are created and "they give rise to *functions*" (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 11) (italics supplied). "If, in the process of transmutation, *intention* emerges" (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 37) (italics supplied). Ancient technology evolved into postmodern advanced science, technology, and research. These are created *intentionally* which are relevantly *functional* and *purposeful*. Knowledge progressed along with intentions to ease burdens of hard work, to cure and avoid diseases, and to prolong life.

Postmodern science, technology, and research are manifestations of possibilities and potentialities of the “uncarved block.” “Once the block is carved, there are names...The Tao, is unnamable...by which the nameable comes to be” (Cf. Villaba 1996, 187). The cyber world is invented. Advanced transportation, information, research, etc., are invented; hence, they have names. When these creations are not invented yet, they are unnamable.

“Tao is real, yet unnamable” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 32). However, real experiential things are part of Dao, which are nameable. From thousands of years ago, the “uncarved block” of nature and human nature are continuously discovered, until cutting edge technology emerges which evolves very fast. Most recent models change easily; a natural trend in the present world.

Inventions and discoveries are “[t]hings [that] are *shaped* according to their nature. *Relational* conditions fulfill them” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 51) (italics supplied). Postmodern creations are juxtaposed with human intentions *in relation* to relevant necessity that extends towards awareness, programs, and information drives, such as; lessen the burden of work and save time; fight diseases; save mother Earth; save the future life; plant trees; help avoid and stop crime; no to over population; promote equality and justice; no to nuclear energy, wars, and weapons; develop alternative energies from solar, wind, water, geothermal, and bio-fuel; go green; gender equality and development; multiculturalism; and stop bullying; among others.

Advanced science and technology becomes a major condition in human history that results in postmodern movement: a broader movement compared to modernism that celebrates fragmentation of existence (Demeterio 2006, 226). Postmodernism presents diverse and splintered realities; goes beyond borders of culture and ethnicity; and, it does *not exclude*.

During the modern era consumption and production (agricultural and industrial) are salient to economy and politics. In the second half of the 20th century, there was decline of manufacturing/industrial business economy. Consequently, post-industrial society emerges. The economic structural framework of the post-industrial society is founded upon the economic boom delivered by the multi-billion dollar businesses brought by advanced science and technology through the cyber space. Innovations on advanced information, finance, and services become major businesses. Production and consumption (capitalism) are no longer the major businesses. As manufacturing declined, advanced science and technology, advanced information technology, and globalization created jobs. (e.g., call centers, consultants, analysts, information technologists, computer mechanics, insurance services, financial services, and diverse fields of researches from diverse disciplines, among others). Researches and their scopes (in the fields of science, sociology, aesthetic surgery, space, genetic engineering, aeronautics, sea explorations, agriculture, aquaculture, environment/ecology, postmodern philosophy, animal preservation, and anthropology, etc.) are widened and enhanced. Knowledge production resulted in increased advanced knowledge which heightens and maintains stability of economy, preservation of diverse lives and cultures, and mother earth. Cyberspace triggered superindustrialization/supercapitalism which finally invades borders of nationalism.

Global information technology has a distinct character that goes beyond the nature of the modern; which gears towards a *digital society* that produces high-technological societies and new lifestyles; it develops *advanced knowledge*, and built a framework of novel actions and interactions in the local and international community that result in global culture change. Postmodernism modifies ways of life. People's mobility increased in terms of economy, politics, transportation, advance research and knowledge, etc. In the last quarter of the 20th century, *superindustrialized economic states prefer non-capitalist models of development* that created an argument that *capitalism must no longer be considered as the real world system*. (Wikipedia "Capitalism," 2010). Superindustrialization shifts to alternative energy (wind, solar, water, algae, and bio-fuel, etc.). Incessant information exchange through cutting edge technology establishes global network via the web/internet. Postmodern knowledge brought by advanced scientific research and technology remarkably become significant due to massive expansion and rise of diverse research proliferating from multiple fields of interests/knowledge/disciplines that address concerns in life, environment, world, and the future.

Postmodern approaches and mechanisms are operationalized that save humankind/environment/animals/mother earth. These are futuristic and encompassing, which go beyond borders and races. Walls of nationalism crumbled. Cultural boundaries collapsed, due to transcontinental air transit, cyber space communication aided by advanced information and technology, and multiculturalism that strengthen global village phenomena. Various movements such as feminism, environmentalism, anti-war activism and gay rights, etc., proliferated. Likewise, postmodernism emphasizes on the awareness of gender equality, anti-bullying, and advocacy of "listening" to unheard voices.

THE POSTMODERN EXPERIENCE AND THE ANCIENT CHINESE EXPERIENCE

Postmodernism's tenet is its *role as a critique* to modern totalizing principles embodied as universal dogmas and modern theories; likewise, known as *absolute truth*. Postmodernism *critiques* itself and claims that there is no *absolute truth*. On this basis, there emerges an overwhelming negative reaction that accuses postmodernism as totally void/meaningless.

Postmodern as a critique of the modern "traces its roots from *logic* and not metaphysics" (Gripaldo 2006, 3). Analogous to this is, "in China...*practically...everyone* is preoccupied with learning how to live meaningfully...*common sense...conveniently ...reflect[s] [their]...actual life encounters*" (Co 2002, 24). The principal approach in the present postmodern times is *deconstruction* that originates from *common sense* applied to actual experiences./

Arising from *logical practical thinking*, postmodernists put into question "modernism's...claims...*'to judge the good, the true, or the beautiful'*" (Ozmon and Craver 2003, 338) that totalize. Modernism's *judgment* is based upon the true, the good, and the beautiful, which to postmodern is not a correct manner of judging. Totalizing modern principles emerge from reason: that locate the *absolute truth* at the

center, which holds full authority and power over modern humanity's intellectual collective subconscious.

Clarification on the postmodern claim that there is no "*absolute truth*," requires tracing back the "*meaning*" of *absolute truth*. *Absolute truth* is the modern totalizing metaphysical/universal/ principles that relate with "the good, the true, and the beautiful," as bases for judgment. Modern principles hold full power over modern humanity. Likewise, modern knowledge and theories are at the center that totalize knowledge (e.g., modern physics and modern mathematics), known also as *absolute truth*.

Postmodernists claim that there is no absolute truth, which renders it worthless and empty of meaning. It reiterates that the true, the good, and/or the beautiful as criteria for judgment are not just which promote inequality. Postmodernism applies *the method of deconstruction* that advocates real justice and equality where the *excluded, marginalized, and prejudiced* are presented. Likewise, *postmodern political project* deconstructs the modern theoretical sciences.

To judge correctly, deconstruction is utilized as the principal approach of postmodernism that decenters the true, the good, and the beautiful including modern theoretical sciences. A "postmodern method of analysis; its goal is to undo all constructions it tears a text apart and reveals its contradictions and assumptions; its intent, however, is not to improve, revise, or offer a better version of the text" (Rosenau 1993, xii). A *text* can be a postmodern individual, an event/situation, a written piece, a field of discipline, etc. "Decentering is the absence of anything at the center or any over-riding truth" (Rosenau 1993, xii) that *includes*. Inclusions of novel fields of discipline/knowledge are similarly relevant and important. Prejudiced, peculiar, marginalized, different, and small voices are included; which necessitates *differance*. *Differance* shows peculiarity and significance of things, events, reality, circumstances, etc. Deconstruction disintegrates the strongly constructed absolute truth and theories of the modern.

In *deconstruction, differance, and decentering* nothing is considered superior or inferior. *Everything* is presented *equally*. Postmodernism advocates fairness; it promotes real *equality* and real *justice*. Interpretations differ and each interpretation must be respected. Diversity of properties and peculiarity of facts/situations that give rise to the presentation of multiple realities and fragments, are celebrated.

Jean François Lyotard, "argues that art, morality and science (the beautiful, the good, and the true) have become separated and autonomous" (Sarup 1992, 163). Real life involves human evils and natural phenomena that bring pain and suffering. Death, diseases, and old age are experiences which are *unpresentable*. These are presented by Gautama Buddha, the first known deconstructionist in Indian pre-modern world (Zweig 1995, 145). By doing so he deconstructed the "good, the true and the beautiful" similar with postmodernism that deconstructs. Its intention is not to annihilate the modern principles; which are regarded as *legacy*.

Jacques Derrida admits that there is *misunderstanding* on deconstructionism; He (1991, xviii) clarifies [that there is] a "sort of logocentric confusion that 'deconstruction' has made apparent." Deconstruction applies to real experience that

includes the marginalized, peculiar, prejudiced and/or *the different*, as well as, novel scientific disciplines which are useful and relevant (e.g., alternative energy, stem cell, DNA, cyber-engineering, etc.). *All realities must equally be presented by deconstructing the old legacy.* Realities excluded in the old legacy are finally included. In postmodernism nothing is excluded and unrepresented.

Dao De Jing states that “[t]he wise knows how to rescue men, hence, no one is excluded. He also knows how to rescue things, hence, nothing is excluded” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 27). During Lao Zi’s time he already knew exclusion and marginalization due to artificial rules and laws imposed by prevalent politics and culture. He emphasizes that “[t]he wise is not benevolent. He treats men differently” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 5). Real justice and equality are applied by Sheng Ren because he acknowledges that circumstances and situations are diversified. Similarly, postmodernism celebrates and presents splintered realities. Cultural artificial rules that Lao Zi critiques do not include diverse and multiple realities. Lao Zi critiques artificiality of culture that brings about customs and norms followed blindly by the society. Some customs and traditions are wrong however, the society does not regard them as such. During Lao Zi’s time ancient Chinese customs and traditions are totalitarian taken in similar context with the /bourgeois/Eurocentric/modern culture which is considered as the supreme culture that dictates rules, norms, and customs which are blindly followed by the society. The bourgeois culture is very authoritative. Postmodernism critiques the bourgeois culture the way Lao Zi critiques the pervasive ancient Chinese culture during his time.

In Dao De Jing, “[s]pokes are joined at the hub...[wherein there] arises the function of the wheel...Lumps of clay are shaped...[wherein there] arises the function of the vessel...[these are] useful materials...[that] function (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 11). Time goes along with inevitable changes. From ancient China to the postmodern times advanced science, technology, and research are limitlessly enhanced and developed.

Sheng Ren is open and he listens to voices; hence, he is filled with wisdom. When one is open and she/he listens; learns better and knows more. To be enlightened, these splintered realities (similar, multiple, diverse, different, categorical, and extreme) that human being experiences and understands make him/her reach a higher level of consciousness which is the basis of correct and righteous judgments similar to the wisdom of a Sheng Ren. Postmodernism’s emphasis on the *significance of listening* to “voices,” even the familiar ones, may have various new meanings applied to changing and developing times. *Listening and communication* are best approaches to liberate the prejudiced unheard/little voices. An effective postmodern approach to end suppression, dehumanization, and marginalization. Absolutely, this is a postmodern wisdom which is also ancient China’s.

Abovementioned reality of postmodernism is a simple glimpse of its positive features. Is this not the way of Dao? Dao De Jing deals with the ancient times towards the present, including the necessity to avoid disasters; which translates futuristic endeavors. Incessant struggles bring advanced postmodern knowledge, advanced information, advanced science and technology, and postmodern advanced researches. These function purposefully for nature and life’s relevance which includes the future.

Notably, cutting edge technology has positive and negative effects. However, postmodernism does not only critique the modern, it critiques itself; since, there are

negative postmodern elements. Postmodernism opposes *cyber-ism*, *hyperrealism*, *narcissism*, and nuclear energy, weapons, and wars which is similar with the principles of Dao De Jing: that “[a]rms are implements of ill omen which are abhorred by men. One uses them only when one cannot avoid it” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 31). Arms are for defensive purposes only and no to offensive acts. There is goodness in advanced science and technology, however, Dao De Jing states that; [g]oodness often turns out to be evil. This has long confused the people. Thus, when the wise deals with things he is firm in his principles” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 59). Postmodern critiques are crucial moral requirements that reveal negative postmodern realities which must be addressed and given appropriate attention/awareness/action. Dao De Jing states that “[h]e also knows how to *rescue* things, hence *nothing is excluded*” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 27) (italics supplied). To critique is to be open which intends to correct, solve, and avoid negative realities in the present times that visualizes the future. *To rescue* things equates to postmodern moral imperatives which are firmly based upon justice and equality, perpetuation and preservation of human life, nature, and the world which is similar with Dao De Jing’s *avoidance of disaster* and promotion of good life in the present and future to come. In the same context, Postmodernism intends to *rescue nature*; the future of the world and life: which *includes all of humanity*.

CONCLUSION

Nameable Dao is the source of all things in the past, in the present, and in future generations. Cutting edge advanced science and technology, advanced information, advanced scientific knowledge and researches are everyday experiences that originate from Dao’s “uncarved block.” Change is a natural way of Dao brought by the nature of the human mind, human work, human relations, and nature of things. Postmodern advanced realities are intended to operate due to relevance, functionality, and usefulness in relation to human being’s conditions and needs. The necessity to perpetuate life is a struggle because death will surely come. Death is a natural experience in life.

The cultivation of equality and justice; to save life, nature and the world; and to be ready with the future are the basic intentions of inventions and discoveries. Humanity must be safe. It takes courage and struggle to fulfill one’s responsibility as a mechanism to attain safe/and content life. Pressing problems in life can be solved through cutting edge technology when utilized in positive ways. Stress and anxiety are lessened. Dao de Jing states that “[w]hen people are free from fear; they experience basic dread...because they are at peace with their lives... [through] courageousness...one’s life is saved...success comes by itself...[then] men are no longer afraid to *die*” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 72, 73, and 74). Death is significantly addressed and Chinese intends to prolong and save life while living courageously, peacefully, and freely.

True reality in the present world is not advanced science and technology alone. Human work that creates is a means to explore the richness of things in nature; to better appreciate the greatness of the amazing world and life. Advanced postmodern realities include awareness; researching, planning, and programming: to avoid death of nature, death of diverse lives, and death of the future. Postmodernism looks

forward to *the destiny of reality*, and developed functional approaches, operationalized in real experiences. The question “In these days is there a natural movement of Dao that leads to the reality towards the *return*?”

“Things are unceasingly moving and restless. Yet, each one is proceeding back to the origin...*to return to the destiny of being...*[which] is *reality*. To understand reality is to be enlightened...*to act wrongly leads to disaster*” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 16) (italics supplied). The future must be contemplated upon so that humanity will continue to enjoy the gifts of Dao, to avoid adverse catastrophe hand in hand with the preservation of nature, life, and the world.

Inevitably, from the ancient past to the present postmodern life there is process in reality that naturally goes back to nature. After the exploration of the richness of the nature of things hand in hand with human work; humanity prioritizes to preserve the world and life. Human beings return to reality and simplicity: a *reality* which is the preservation of nature and human life. *Simplicity* is comparable with the intention to ease the burdens of life by inventing and discovering advanced knowledge and research, advanced machines, and medicines: to cure, avoid diseases, avoid crimes, prolong life, avoid early death, and save the future. Advanced information technology and advanced transportation make the world small. Multiculturalism advances and understanding others' lives is better enhanced. Marginalizing and prejudicing are continuously minimized. Indeed, humanity is humanizing itself globally.

The *simple intention* to perpetuate and preserve nature and life is basically going back to *reality*, going back to *nature*, as well as, going back to Dao. There is a movement which is the *reversal*; after immeasurable accounts of things are created; after all the display of amazing human intelligence, human work, and skills; after all the phenomena of destruction and construction that happened in the past, happening in the present, and the preparation for the future world/life; there is no other recourse, other than “human nature goes back to reality.” Postmodern humanity is going back to *reality* that guarantees the *most promising destiny* that human nature can offer. Finally, the saying, “[r]everse is the movement of Tao” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 40), is brought into the open. Indeed, “[g]reat capacity is successful in later days...Tao furnishes all things and fulfills them” (Cf. DDJ, Ch. 41).

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*Study of Health Practice of Postpartum Women Living in Urban
of Nakhonratchasima and Nearby Who Received Family Health Service by Nursing
Students During Year 2005 to 2009*

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Abstract

This research study the behaviors of postpartum women composed of antenatal care, using folk-postpartum medicine, newborn feeding, and family planning. Data collection was retrospective method which operated from the registration books of maternal and newborn services belonging to department of family and community nursing. The books were used to record learning activities of third-year nursing students who gave home visits to partum women in urban and nearby area of Amphoe Mueang Nakhonratchasima between the years 2005 to 2009. These activities are a part of The Practical Family and Community Health Nursing part 1 under the bachelor of nursing. The results showed as follows,

1. The average age of postpartum women from year 2005 to 2009 was very similar. The overall 5-year average age was 27.21 years.
2. Postpartum women aged 20-25 years are most at 27.64 percent, followed by the 26-30 year age group at 27.29 and found that postpartum women younger than 20 years to 15.21 percent and more than 35 years of age up to 11.75 percent.
3. Average gestational age at first antenatal care during five years was 14.78 weeks and found to be similar each year.
4. Postpartum women used folk medicine or alcoholic herb or "Yadong" similar average 5 years as 12.64 percent and found annual rate of not less than 10 percent.
5. Rate of breastfeeding was 68.79 percent, infant formula milk was 9.47 percent for five-year average and both together was 21.74 percent and using just infant formula milk continuous decrease of 11.30 percent in year 2005 to 7.53 percent in 2008 and only 6.74 percent in 2009.
6. Contraceptive methods, through 5 year, popular methods were contraceptive injection and pills with similar using rate in each year including other methods.

Keyword : postpartum , health behavior.

Introduction

Mothers and children are susceptible to health problems. Good practices that are required to prevent such problems. Health personnel should have an understanding of the situation of mothers and children in the own service area. By practice training of nursing students, they providing home visits to postpartum women. The nursing students found characteristics

of postpartum women who make an impact on their health and the baby. The researcher would like to understand the behavior of postpartum woman for find ways to improve service and learning process of nurse.

Aims of research

To study the practice of postpartum women about gestational age at first antenatal care, using alcoholic herb, breast feeding and family planning.

Method

This research studies the behaviors of postpartum women composed of age, antenatal care, using folk alcoholic medicine , newborn feeding, and family planning. Data collection was

retrospective method which operated from the registration books of maternal and newborn services belonging to department of family and community nursing. The books were used to record behaviors of postpartum women by nursing students who gave home visits to partum women in urban and nearby area of Amphoe Mueang Nakhonratchasima since the years 2005 to 2009. This activity is a part of The Practice Family and Community Health Nursing part 1 under the bachelor of nursing.

Collecting Data

Researcher get data from post visited registered books which nursing students have record when they finished first time visited postpartum women at home. The books include characteristic of postpartum women.

Data Analysis.

Data were analyzed by using Microsoft Excel to calculate the average, the standard deviation and the percentage.

1. Maternal age and gestational age at first antenatal care calculate the mean and standard deviation.
2. What type of milk used to feed infants, drug postpartum women and contraceptive methods calculate the percentage.

Result

1. The average age of postpartum women from year 2005 to 2009 was very similar. The overall 5-year average age was 27.21 years and percentage of postpartum women under 20 years (14-19) more than 10 percent and five-year overall considering the high rate of 15.21 percent, which is higher than the threshold set by the WHO at 10 percent. Postpartum women aged 20-25 years are most at 27.64 percent, followed by the 26-30 year age group and found the postpartum women younger than 20 years to 15.21 percent and more than 35 years of age up to 11.75 percent. as shown in table 1.

Tables 1 The percentage and standard deviation of age of postpartum women (n = 1069).

Year	Percentage						Average	SD
	14-19 ys	20-25 ys	26-30 ys	31-3 ys	36-40 ys	>40 ys		
2548	11.3	26.96	25.22	18.26	14.78	3.48	27.67	6.70
2549	17.2	22.93	31.21	17.83	8.28	2.55	28.36	6.94
2550	14.44	24.81	28.89	17.78	11.11	2.96	27.60	6.81
2551	15.12	31.62	26.46	18.9	6.53	1.37	26.48	6.17
2552	17.99	31.88	24.68	17.74	5.91	1.8	25.95	6.44
Overall	15.21	27.64	27.29	18.10	9.32	2.43	27.21	7.21

2. The gestational age at first antenatal care was similar in each year at around 15 weeks and overall 5 years at 14.78 weeks as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 The average, maximum, minimum, and standard deviation of the gestational age at first antenatal care (n = 996).

Year	Average	Maximum	Minimum	SD
2548	14.24	35	4	6.71
2549	15.58	34	4	7.27
2550	15.36	34	4	7.35
2551	14.24	38	3	7.28
2552	14.46	39	4	7.42
Overall	14.78	39	3	7.21

3. Postpartum women used folk medicine which maybe contains alcoholic herb or “Yadong” similar average 5 years as 12.64 percent and found annual rate of not less than 10 percent, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3 The number and percentage of postpartum women using folk alcoholic herb (n = 1,069).

Year	All	Use	Percentage
2548	115	18	15.65
2549	156	16	10.26
2550	137	17	12.41
2551	278	30	10.79
2552	383	53	13.84
Overall	1,069	134	12.54

4. Rate of breastfeeding was 68.79 percent, infant formula milk was 9.47 percent for overall year and both together was 21.74 percent and using just infant formula milk continuous decrease of 11.30 percent in year 2005 to 7.53 percent in 2008 and only 6.74 percent in 2009 , as shown in table 4.

Table 4 : The number and percentage of infants classified by type of feeding (n = 1,069).

Year	Breast feeding		Infant Formular		Both	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
2548	77	66.96	13	11.30	25	21.74
2549	107	68.59	17	10.90	32	20.51
2550	94	68.70	15	10.88	28	20.42
2551	194	69.90	21	7.53	63	22.57
2552	267	69.81	26	6.74	90	23.45
Overall	739	68.79	92	9.47	238	21.74

5. Contraceptive methods, through 5 year, popular methods were contraceptive injection and pills with similar using rate in each year including other methods as shown in table 5.

Table 5 The percentage of postpartum women classifies by contraceptive method (n = 1069).

Year	Not sure	Pill	DMPA	IUD	Female ligation	implants	Condom	Other
2548	10.43	20.87	29.57	0.87	27.83	3.48	3.48	3.48
2549	12.74	22.93	32.48	0.64	26.11	0.64	3.18	1.27
2550	14.60	21.90	32.12	0.73	27.00	0.00	0.73	2.92
2551	6.87	29.40	33.52	0.55	25.27	1.92	1.92	0.55
2552	1.56	40.08	24.90	0.00	26.46	1.95	3.89	1.17
Overall	9.24	27.04	30.52	0.56	26.53	1.60	2.64	1.88

Discussion

Rate of teenage pregnancy in Nakhonratchasima higher than Thailand average in 2009 and slightly higher than the standards set by the WHO. Thailand ranked first in the top 5 countries with the most teen mothers in the year 2010. It was the problem we must try to study and solve it. Average gestational age at first antenatal care was 14.78 weeks and there was some of them has first antenatal care after 12 weeks of gestational age. The delay may lead to health problems of mothers and children in the future. More than 10 percent of postpartum women used folk medicine which maybe contains alcoholic herb or "Yadong." The affect by "Yadong" was excessive uterus bleeding to postpartum hemorrhage. Moreover alcohol passes into milk which feed the baby that affect the infant brain from birth. Alcohol could cause the baby's liver malfunction in producing blood clotting factor.

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Comparing Tourist Destination Images between Pre-trip and Post-trip

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Abstract

There are several studies identified tourism destination image to three types-original image, reduced image, and complex image based on before and after traveler's itinerary. However, the dimension of comparing the transformation of these three types in different formation stages is not emphasized. This research aims to explore the transformation of the organic image before the trip and the complex image after the trip based on the traveler's experiences, and then further approach to the important forces which influence images development.

This research identified four major dimensions-nature ecology, religious culture, leisure activity, and travel atmosphere to analyze the tourism destination image through literature reviews. Using these four dimensions extended to design 24 image items as the measuring determinants of the reduced images and the complex images of the travelers.

We conducted to 400 questionnaires for two categories travelers-with the travel experience (after the trip) and without the travel experience (before the trip) by cluster sampling way. The 24 image items were factor analyzed using *t* test and principal component analysis with a varimax rotation procedure to examine whether the reduced image and the complex image transformed or not, and the influences of stimulus factors and personal factors to destination image development.

There were two study findings in this research. First, the reduced image and the complex image transformed with significance, especially identified in dimensions on nature ecology and travel atmosphere of the reduced images, and on religious culture and leisure activity of the complex images. Secondly, from the 16 items distinguished based on $p < 0.05$ significance level, the stimulus factors than personal factors played more important role to the development of destination image.

Keywords: Tourism destination image, Organic image, Complex image

1. Introduction

Numerous studies have used cognitive and affective image components to measure destination image (Walmsley & Jenkins 1992; Baloglu & Brinberg 1997; Baloglu 2001; Chen 2001; Wang & Hsu 2010; Kim & Perdue 2011). The cognitive image, also defined as an evaluative image, is referred to beliefs and knowledge about the physical attributes of a destination and the way people evaluate places (Crompton 1979). Alternatively, the affective image is referred to the emotional feelings about the destination attributes and its surrounding environment (Baloglu & McCleary 1999). Several studies tested and validated the scale measuring the affective image construct by using four semantic differential scales, such as arousing–sleepy, pleasant–unpleasant, exciting–gloomy and relaxing–distressing (Walmsley & Jenkins 1992; Hanyu 1993; Baloglu & Brinberg 1997; Martinez & Alvarez 2010; Kim & Perdue 2011).

Investigating the influence of image on destination choice has been a popular research topic (e.g. Gartner 1989; Bigné *et al.* 2001; Ramkissoon *et al.* 2011). These studies concluded that destination image creates pre-trip expectations that influence visitor decision-making (Gartner 1989; Woodside & Lysonski 1989; Fakeye & Crompton 1991; Papadimitriou & Gibson 2008) during and after-trip evaluations as well as their future intentions to revisit a destination (Wang & Hsu 2010; Ramkissoon *et al.* 2011). Crompton (1992) enunciated that any pre-travel negative or indifferent images of the destination may encourage visitors to remove the region from the set of awareness choices. As a result, the suggestion was made to treat the concept of destination image as consisting of different components. The two major dimensions of destination image that are widely accepted are cognitive and affective components (Baloglu & McCleary 1999; Wang & Hsu 2010; Kim & Perdue 2011).

Mayo & Jarvis (1981) indicated positive tourist perceptions enhance decision-making for travelling. Many researches present the more positive impression of tourist destination image (TDI) is, the more travel motive (Um & Crompton, 1990; Rittichainuwat, *et al.*, 2001; O'Leary & Deegan, 2005; Prayag, 2007; Kim & Perdue, 2011). It is becoming increasingly important to identify different elements of destination image in order to promote marketing and maintain competitiveness (Konecnik, 2002; Prayag, 2010). There are many literatures discussing about that destination image changes according to different tourist attributes (Lai & Li 2012) and destination attributes such as core area or periphery area exists in the structures of tourist destination images (Lai & Li 2012). To provide a more comprehensive concept of TDI, a designed model to distinguish the structure of TDI in different shaping

stages was developed based on previous literature review.

Tourist destination image is composed of cognitive imagery and emotional imagery. Cognitive imagery refers to travelers' consciousness towards tangible characteristics of the environment, which focuses on the real properties of the tourist destination; emotional imagery refers to travelers' emotions to the tourist destination, which centers on the abstract properties (Baloglu Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu & McCleary, 1999a). The formation of the tourist destination image is influenced by personal factors and stimulus factors. Personal factors include cognitive, emotional and demographic attributes in the psychological level such as travel motivation. Stimulus factors include tangible things, past experiences, sources of information, etc. (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999b; Beerli & Martin, 2004).

Fakeye and Crompton (1991) divided the tourist destination image into three types - organic image, induced image and complex image. Original image refers to the information that is casual and obtained through non-active search, the source of which is not dominated by tourism professionals, rather, comes from newspaper reports, magazine articles, news coverage, videos, geography or history books. Induced image refers to the information dominated by tourism professionals, e.g. advertisements on sightseeing, tourist information publications and cyberspace set up by tourism professionals, which are mainly marketing and promotion practices carried out by tourism professionals for publicity. Complex image refers to tourists' actual travel experience after reaching the tourist destinations, which will later affect their willingness to revisit the place after reassessment.

Fakeye and Crompton suggest that the tourist destination image can be divided into three types - organic image, induced image and complex image. However, the researcher believes that before their arrival, it is difficult for tourists to identify whether a variety of information they have received is dominated by tourism professionals or not. Thus, in this research, tourist destination image can only be divided into two types - organic image and complex image.

Tourist destination image is complex and multi-faceted, involving tourists' subjectivity and various travel behaviors. The tourist destination image before tourists' arrival is the important factor in tourists' choice of future tourist destinations (Gunn, 1972). Gunn (1988) points out that tourists' formation of the tourist destination image is a series of processes, which can be divided into seven stages.

Tourist destination image is composed of cognitive imagery and emotional imagery. Cognitive imagery refers to travelers' consciousness towards tangible characteristics of the environment, which focuses on the real properties of the tourist destination;

emotional imagery refers to travelers' emotions to the tourist destination, which centers on the abstract properties (Baloglu Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu & McCleary, 1999a). The formation of tourist destination image is influenced by personal factors and stimulus factors. Personal factors include cognitive, emotional and demographic attributes in the psychological level such as travel motivation. Stimulus factors include tangible things, past experiences, sources of information, etc. (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999b; Beerli & Martin, 2004).

Study Area

Song-Bo-Keng area, located on Ba-qua-shan platform with altitude for 500 meters, includes unique resorts, bike lanes with beautiful landscapes, hiking trails with a lot of tea farms, and pilgrim places. In Taiwan, this recreation area is famous for tea production, with platform terrain, climate, soil conditions suitable for tea cultivating.

Table 1 Tourist spots of Songboling recreation area

Resorts	Bike Lanes
1. Heng-Shan Butastur indicus -view terrace	1.Evergreen Bike Lane
2.Chi-Shui-Qi Park	2.Yong-Xing Bike Lane
3. Tian-Zhong Forest Park	3.Chi-Shui Bike Lane
4. Osmanthus Forest Park	4.Er-Shui Bike Lane
5.Army Base Park	
6. Feng-Bo Plaza	
7.Ba-Bao-Jun Park	
8.Formosan rock-monkey Preservation Area	
9. Cha-Mi-Xiang Recreational Farm	
Hiking Trails	Pilgrim Places
1.Deng-Miao Trail	1. Imperial Lord Temple
2. Heng-Shan Butastur indicus view Trail	2.Qing-Shui-Yan Temple
3.Wooden Plank Road	3.Lin-Xian-Sheng Temple
4.Tea Fragrance Trail	
5.Eighteen Curve Ancient Trail	

2. Methodology

2.1 Data Collection

This research examined the difference dimension between tourists' organic image (tourists who have not visited the place) and their complex image (tourists who have visited the place) in Song-Bo-Keng area. The samples subjects are divided to two group, those tourists who have visited Song-Bo-Keng area and those who have not, and different tourist destination images are probed into. The research hypothesis is as follows:

Research Hypothesis 1: The tourist destination image of tourists who have not visited Song-Bo-Keng area is organic image.

Research Hypothesis 2: The tourist destination image of tourists who have visited Song-Bo-Keng area is complex image.

As for target people of the questionnaire survey, analysis is conducted on the complex image of tourists at Song-Bo-Keng area through convenience sampling. Then the organic image of tourists who have not visited Song-Bo-Keng area (Riyuetan Pool which receives the largest number of tourists among all tourist attractions in 2010 is selected) is analyzed through the questionnaire survey and purposive sampling.

To ensure the content validity of the questionnaire, researcher's scale is revised based on the expert validity assessment. As for the scoring of the questionnaire, Likert's five-level rank scale is adopted, ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" at two ends, which are respectively corresponding to 5 points, 4 points, 3 points, 2 points and 1 point.

2.2 Data Analysis

In this research, simple descriptive statistics, such as the mean, standard deviation and percentage, are applied to the analysis of the demographic attributes of tourists, while reliability test is adopted to analyze the reliability of the questionnaire items. Cronbach's α reliability coefficient is employed to analyze the consistency and reliability of the questionnaire results, in which, the greater the Cronbach's α value, the greater the correlation between each item, and the higher the internal consistency; independent samples T-test is used to identify whether there is significant difference between each statistical variables of visitors who have visited the place and those who have not; Pearson Product-moment Correlation is applied to find out whether there is a positive correlation between the organic image and complex image of the two

groups of visitors, and further explain the positive or negative correlation, if there is any, or absence of correlation.

3. Result

3.1 TDIs in different stages

(I) Complex image: the survey made of tourists with the complex image of the Song-Bo-Keng area reveals that among the 24 tourist destination images, the top ten relevant ones are successively: 1. No communication problems during travel in Song-Bo-Keng area. 2. Trekking paths available for fitness and sightseeing in Song-Bo-Keng area. 3. Refreshing tea garden scenery in Song-Bo-Keng area. 4. Beautiful natural landscape in Song-Bo-Keng area. 5. Quiet and peaceful atmosphere in Song-Bo-Keng area. 6. Comfortable and pleasant climate in Song-Bo-Keng area. 7. Educational functions of natural ecology in Song-Bo-Keng area. 8. Distinctive rural landscape in Song-Bo-Keng area. 9. Sports and leisure facilities available along the cycling lanes in Song-Bo-Keng area. 10. Song-Bo-Keng area is a resort for relaxation.

(II) Organic image: the top ten least different items during the two stages are: 1. Unique folklore in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.0368 2. A large number of cultural relics and exhibits in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.0543. 3. Song-Bo-Keng area is not an overcrowded scenic area, with an average disparity of 0.0617. 4. A variety of outdoor recreation activities available in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.1485. 5. Easy access to relevant tourist information in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.1856. 6. Clean environment in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.2025. 7. Song-Bo-Keng area is a famous and reputable tourist attraction, with an average disparity of 0.2438. 8. Sports and leisure facilities available along the cycling lanes in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.2652. 9. Representative cultural landscape in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.2715 10. Friendly local residents in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.2742.

(III) Difference between the two stages: through investigation and analysis, tourists in the two stages show difference in their cognition, and the top ten most different items are: 1. No communication problems during travel in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.5469. 2. Religious and cultural heritage in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.4739. 3. Quiet and peaceful atmosphere in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.4651 4. Beautiful landscape in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.4331. 5. Educational functions of natural ecology in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.4129. 6.

Refreshing tea garden scenery in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.4078. 7. Comfortable and pleasant climate in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.3965. 8. Easy access to Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.3947. 9. Song-Bo-Keng area is a resort for relaxation, with an average disparity of 0.3902 10. Distinctive rural landscape in Song-Bo-Keng area, with an average disparity of 0.3688.

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*Ethnic Relations in Transnational Context : The Case Study of Chinese Indonesians -
Indonesians Relations in Medan after Suharto*

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Abstract

The relations between Chinese and '*Pribumi*' Indonesians are unequivocally complicated, and vary according to global & local contexts. For decades, Chinese-*Pribumi* Indonesians relations have been very fragile. Ethnic tension had evidently reached its peak in 1998 and soon after that, many anti-Chinese riots took place in several cities, including Medan. This incident has unquestionably given an indelible memory of trauma and instability to Chinese Indonesians. In the Post-Suharto, the reformation government endorses the policy of multiculturalism and allows international observers to critique on the issue of Chinese-*Pribumi* protection and ethnic equality. These have certainly given rise to ethnic freedom as well as Chinese identity to re-emerge. Particularly in Medan, the Medan Chinese identity and community are well-built transnationally. And yet, they are less assimilated and integrated into local society. The research hence critically consider on the changes of the interethnic relations between Medan Chinese-*Pribumi* Indonesians after 1998 and aims to describe and analyze the considerable challenges in their relations, namely a strong ethnic-line, class differences and lacking of participation in civic life.

Significance of the Problem

Virtually every nation-state on the planet encompasses differing ethnic groups and cultural norms. As such, ethnic relations between varied groups are a crucial issue. There are several factors explaining why ethnic conflicts often occur and social harmony remains a rarity. Indonesia, in keeping with other multi-cultural and multi-ethnic states, has inevitably born witness to ethnic and cultural conflict. For decades, social harmony has been impeded by numerous ethnically driven disturbances. Episodes of anti-Chinese violence are an essential part of this infamous chaos. In particular, the May incident in 1998 marked the most infamous anti-Chinese riot in the history of the country. The events of that year have unquestionably left an indelible memory of trauma, impairing ethnic relations between the Chinese Indonesians and '*pribumi*' (local) Indonesians. Since then, Indonesian society has been left socially and politically fragile. Although the new regime has applied a democratic system and inclusive multi-cultural policy, ethnic relations among differing groups have not been significantly improved. Ethnic conflict and tension remains, to differing degrees, in the post-Suharto era. The case study of relations between Chinese Indonesians and '*pribumi*' Indonesians in Medan gives a clearer picture of the present state of ethnic relations within three different levels; local, national and global. This research critically considers changes in inter-ethnic relations between Medan Chinese and '*pribumi*' Indonesians in the reformation era as well as illustrating the considerable challenges in their relations.

Ethnic relations between Chinese Indonesians and Indonesians are deeply rooted in generations of conflict. The notion of a 'Chinese Problem' was intentionally introduced by the New Order regime as a means of strengthening support for the rigidity of the Indonesian nation in tackling the problem of the ethnic 'outsider.' Chinese Indonesians at that time faced steep obstacles to social progress as they were intentionally marginalized and discriminated against by the government. Outward forms of Chinese expression (for example, language, religion, tradition and organization) were denied and banned, with various negative Chinese Indonesian discourses fashioned and propagated by the state and the media. Yet, the discrimination policy proved to be ironic. While state policies culturally and socially discriminated against the Chinese Indonesians, Chinese Indonesian 'tycoons' enjoyed privileges and played important roles in the Indonesian national economy, where they were highly recognized. This set of circumstances left many Chinese Indonesians in a very difficult situation. As a consequence, hatred and pressure continued to rise, further complicating ethnic relations. Tensions eventually reached a peak in 1998. Soon after, the notorious May violence took place in several cities, including Medan. During the period of turbulence and instability, many Chinese Indonesians became the target of considerable hostility. Chinese businesses were looted and Chinese women were raped in many parts of the country. (Hoon, 2006; Purdey, 2003). These burdens made it exceedingly difficult for some Chinese Indonesians to continue the living inside the country as the riots granted them the new idea of being Chinese in Indonesia rather than 'Chinese Indonesians.'

However, the end of the May incidents coincided with the downfall of President Suharto, paving the way toward some degree of democratization and multiculturalism. Democracy became a significant tool in re-building the country, as well as accommodating ethnic and cultural differences in a similar way to the country's

ideology of 'unity in diversity.' The consequences of these reforms contributed to the activation of transnational Chinese networks and facilitated the re-emergence of a distinctive Chinese identity. Ethnic Chinese culture, religion, language, and media were extensively revitalized. (Dawis, 2008; Hoon, 2010; Surdiyananta, 2008). While Chinese Indonesians are no longer forced to be assimilated; a certain degree of prejudice and unfairness remains (Winarta, 2008, p. 65). Ethnic distrust and tension continues in certain areas. While ethnic relations are perceived as having slightly improved, this is largely dependent on the varied local contexts and the nature of differing social actors in deferent levels. For these reasons, the disruption has subsequently been brought to consideration in Chinese Indonesian studies as well as transnational studies.

Research Question

Why do ethnic relations between the Medan Chinese and the Indonesians in Medan remain strained despite efforts to encourage multiculturalism and democracy?

Methodology

The research employs qualitative methodologies through the application of primary and secondary sources. The qualitative methodology is advantageous for giving in-depth examination of certain phenomena. Fieldwork research helps one access primary sources, which reveals the studied subjects and collects new information at the place of study. Primary sources come via information obtained from interviews with groups and persons concerned: Chinese Indonesians in Medan who were victims of the 1998 riots. In this process, the collection of data is based on in-depth interviews with Medan Chinese. The author is also gravely aware of certain ethical issues. The informant's rights, as well as their privacy and the sensitivity of issues, will be protected. Moreover, secondary sources, which include academic works such as books, academic research, articles and reliable media sources, are also utilized in the study.

Scope

It is essential to study the trajectory of Chinese Indonesians between 1998 and the present year of 2012. The 1998 riots mark a critical juncture in Indonesian history, with the most infamous Chinese riots taking place all over Indonesia at that time, including in Medan. These events coincided with the closing stages of the Suharto presidency, the final period before the reformation era authoritatively emerged. This juncture altered the Chinese Indonesian circumstances in a positive way. Several assimilation and discriminatory regulations were removed, while globalization processes increasingly connected Indonesia to the outside world. Democracy and multiculturalism values increasingly predominated, becoming a more integral part of the country's re-building and paving the way toward Chinese Indonesian freedom in the political, cultural and economic arenas. Changes in Indonesian society also bolstered transnational economic activities and facilitated transnational Chinese networks. Medan provides a good example of the fragile ethnic relations between

Medan Chinese and Indonesians. While the riots have ended, ethnic conflict continues to plague the region. This is different from other locations in Indonesia, such as Java Island and Bali, where Chinese Indonesian - Indonesian relations are more peaceful and Chinese community is more integrated into local society. Moreover, the geography of Medan has its own unique and attractive features for study. The city is highly multicultural. It possesses a significant number of ethnic Chinese. Moreover, the Medan Chinese is very distinctive. Medan Chinese is highly preserved to continue to keep their Chinese traditions and language, *Hokkien* (Buiskool, 2009, p. 124). In contrast, the Chinese Indonesians in Java Island and Bali have become Indonesianized (Sidharta, 2004, p. 80). Lastly, Medan is a coastal city, providing the main gateway for foreigners to enter Sumatra Island. As it is located on the Melaka Strait, near Singapore and across from Penang, trans-border activities take place readily.

Main Argument and Hypothesis

Democracy and Multiculturalism opens space for ethnic freedom as well as tolerance towards differences. However, democracy alone cannot maintain peace at the local level. Sometimes, the democratization process paves the way toward certain tensions among ethnicities, especially when there is intervening factors such as business quarrels or religious strife. Ethnic conflicts tend to emerge at the place where civic life does not robustly exist in the democratic sphere.

Literature Review

Many studies have tried to figure out the problem over the sense of belonging among the Chinese Indonesians and how 'the Chinese problem' arose. Most studies point to the impact of Dutch colonial segregation policies. '*Divide et Imperia*' are held responsible for ethnic Chinese exclusion from Indonesian society (Hoon, 2010; Somers, 1965; Suryadunata, 1992; Lembong, 2008). Thus, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Chinese Indonesians found assimilation into native society to be largely impracticable. Although the ethnic Chinese who settled in the archipelago were heterogeneous, they were frequently ignored. The *Peranakan*, who were mostly absorbed into the local society, and the new Chinese migrants, the *totoks*, were categorized into one racial group, the Foreign Orientals. With different legal rights and privileges, they were divided through a division of labor. The Dutch were in the wholesale business, the Chinese were involved in the intermediary trade, and the indigenous populations were mostly farmers and small traders (Lambong, 2008, p.49; Wertheim, 1964, p. 211-37). Accordingly, a pyramid hierarchy was intentionally built. Europeans were put on the top, the Chinese (as well as Arabian) merchants were put in the middle, and the natives were put at the bottom. Under these conditions, separated residences and differencing types of economic activity eventually lead to different social status and classes. At this stage, for the Chinese to assimilate into indigenous society, it would have meant a drop in social status and loss of privilege (Hoon, 2010). These conditions intensified the Indonesian perception that most Chinese Indonesians were outsiders, Dutch subject, *orang asing* (aliens), non-Indonesians, and not 'real Indonesias' (asli) no matter *Peranakan* or *totok*.

After independence, the situation of Chinese Indonesians became more complicated. In the midst of the Cold War, most Chinese Indonesians were accused of being communists. Chinese identity and cultural differences became a crucial part of

Indonesian politics at that time. Integration and assimilation approaches became significant debates in the country. Many Chinese Indonesians and Indonesians took different views in their views toward either integration or assimilation. It is implied that Chinese Indonesians tried to engage with the Indonesian nation and tackle national identity problems. Nonetheless, they still had their roles in the political sphere (Coppel, 1976; Somers, 1964). However, some regulations were introduced to discriminate against Chinese Indonesians, mostly in the economic arena.

However, Chinese Indonesians were clearly seen as a problem during the time of the Suharto presidency. As per state policy under Suharto, the Chinese Indonesians needed to be totally assimilated into local society (Lembong, 2008; Suryadinata, 2004; Copel, 2004). The removal of President Sukarno in 1965, and the beginning of the New Order, resulted in the victory of assimilationist ideology and the overthrow of both the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) and of the Baperki, a prominent Chinese organization (Lembong, 2008, Suryadinata, 1992). Total assimilation was introduced as a matter of official government policy. The state sought to do away with the three pillars of Chinese culture (Chinese school, Chinese organization and Chinese mass Media), while also maintaining ethnic Chinese economic standing within Indonesian society. In fact Suharto's system of crony capitalism strengthened ethnic Chinese economic status and prosperity. These outcomes often generated jealousy and opened the door for further ethnic tension. Following the 1997 economic crisis in Southeast Asia, anti-Chinese riots occurred in the major cities of Indonesia, from Jakarta, to Solo, to Medan, in May 1998. The violence seen in 1998 was certainly due to political motivations and linked to economic power struggles (Purdey, 2003). This unquestionably impacted Chinese Indonesian – Indonesian relations.

After Indonesia broke away from the period marked by the infamous riots, the regime changed. This coincided with rising levels of economic interconnectedness via continued momentum in the globalization process. Ethnic reconciliation seemingly helped resolve 'the Chinese problem' through democratic means, utilizing an emphasis on multiculturalism in order to re-unite the nation. Numerous studies have paid attention to Indonesian society after the incident, confirming the theory that democracy is a means to integrate Chinese Indonesians into multicultural Indonesian society. The Chinese Indonesians were given freedom and basic rights as Indonesian citizen (Dawis, 2008; Koning, 2011; Ong, 2008; Post, 2011; Tan, 2003; Winarta, 2008), with no more cultural restrictions. The Chinese Indonesians were also allowed greater opportunities to pursue and promote their unique cultural norms. Chinese religion, media, and language were not only supported by government, but also via the expanded footprint of international organizations from external Chinese communities, such as Hong Kong, Malaysia and Taiwan. Given the Chinese Indonesian connection with Chinese around the world, the constructing of Chinese solidarity and re-sinicization of Indonesian Chinese inevitably occurred. Despite the seemingly positive signs today, evidence of broken ethnic relations is continually witnessed. Ethnic tension and discrimination in the country is far from over.

Studies after 1998 show the Chinese Indonesians in Java and Bali are more integrated into local society because of several factors. (Tong, 2010; Sidharta, 2004; Susanto, 2008). Myra Sidharta and Andres Susanto argue the Chinese in Yogyakarta and Bali, for example, became more Indonesianized. The assimilation process successfully worked for long time ago in Java Island and Bali. In Yogyakarta (a place without anti-

Chinese riots in 1998), the Chinese Indonesians were generally accepted by the indigenous society under the special relationship of the Sultan. However, living under the respect and loyalty for Sultan can be seen as dilemma. Chinese Indonesians in Yogyakarta were subsequently reluctant to express their freedom and their desire for Chinese culture. They also were hesitant to over-react to their “Chineseness”(Susanto, 2008, p. 169-173).

In Medan, the city is noted as a diverse and cosmopolitan city, where several ethnic and religious groups reside together. Most of the Medan Chinese were transnational migrants from Penang (Buiskool, 2009). This implies the existence of extensive family and business ties between the two cities. Moreover, the Chinese character of both cities has inevitably influenced one another, as the communities speak the same *Hokkien* dialect. Unsurprisingly, Medan Chinese often utilize trans-border activities such as schooling, shopping, and hospitalizing in Penang. This indicates a social and economic status that is often seen as 'better' than local Indonesians. As a result, the Medan Chinese tend to act as a closed group, following their social status and language. The politics of segregations continues in the city.

While ethnic relations improved within the context of both the new political atmosphere and increased transnational links, which increased humanitarian innovation from both Chinese and Indonesian initiatives (Nagata, 2010), it has been argued that the Medan Chinese community is being set permanently apart from '*pribumi*' majority. The state of fragile ethnic relations is confirmed by Yen-ling Tsai, as she illustrates ethnic relations through the symbolic importance of wall making after the riot. She argues Chinese exclusiveness and closeness is verified through the high security of gate and wall. They reinforce a sense of security, space for privacy and desire to segregate. Yet, paradoxically, it shows how Chinese Indonesians are now dependent on Indonesians guards or *joki* to ensure their personal safety (Tsai, 2012). These intimacy interactions are similarly found in the work of Nagata. Judith Nagata applies the case study of an educational institution (Yayasan Perguruan Sultan Iskandar Muda) and a heritage trust (Badan Warisan Sumatera Utara) to show the connection of various groups to promoting the issues of citizenship and human rights by leaving assimilation or ethnic interest alone (Nagata, 2010). However, the Chinese and non-Chinese tensions still exist, since separated settlements, social institution and lack of social interactions are presented. From these studies, one can conclude that the ethnic relations among Indonesians - mainly between Chinese Indonesians and other ethnics - are still very sensitive. And the research shows the extent of ethnic conflict in Medan, confirming the lack of 'civic life' in the society, which stayed behind ethnic tension and conflict.

The literature on ethnic Chinese and Indonesian relations in Medan remain is relatively rare. None of literature has yet illustrated how the ethnic conflict between Medan Chinese and Indonesians after 1998 within the democratic sphere plays out. They have not explained how tensions arise after democracy and multiculturalism paved the way to greater personal and ethnic freedom. Moreover, past studies have neglected the effects of transnationalism in explaining present circumstances. No studies have linked together how transnational Chinese networks that strengthen Chinese ethnic identity and social status in turn fuel segregation of different ethnic communities. The research thus sheds an analytical light on the nature of Chinese Indonesian – Indonesian relations in a transnational context, linking it to the question

over why ethnic ties remain strained in Medan, even with the encouraging developments of a greater democratic and multicultural space.

Theoretical Framework

Intensive scholarly work has been done examining ethnic relations and ethnic conflict. Several works have shown ethnic conflict mostly occurs in ethnically heterogeneous societies, where ethnic differences have continued to contribute to tension and strain. According to some scholars (Lijphat, 1999; Prazauskas, 1991; Dixon, 1994; Reilly, 2001 Pfetsch, 2006; Guelke, 2004), it is generally accepted that democratic regimes applying multicultural policies in such societies are a main key for resolution and preventing ethnic conflict. The research also agrees that democracy and multiculturalism play important roles for peace management. Yet, the research illustrates that democracy and multiculturalism is not sufficient to restraint ethnic conflict, particularly in the case study of Chinese Indonesian – Indonesian social dynamics in Medan. The case study illustrates that ethnic conflicts between Chinese Indonesians – Indonesians tends to occur on account of the absence of intensive civic engagement and the inter-ethnic interaction between different ethnic communities in both formal and informal forms. This is otherwise termed as ‘civic life.’ If this is robust, the degree of ethnic tension and conflict tends to reduce. In this case study, the research argues that civic life is the missing variable in Medan’s democratic and multicultural sphere. So as to understand the research, the theoretical framework here is to exemplify the definition of ethnic conflict, causes of ethnic conflict, the relationship between democracy and peace, and lastly the role of civic life in managing peace and conflict.

In point of fact, ethnic conflict definition has often overlapped closely with ethnic violence, and several academic works have not made a distinction between them. The research finds that it is significant to differentiate between them and apply them with more understanding. By and large, ethnic conflict and ethnic violence are clashes between ethnic groups. However, conflict and violence has shown different forms. Although most of the time ethnic conflict inevitably results in violence, not every conflict becomes violent. This conflict shows the form of disagreement that illustrates the expression of irritation and tension, which is show in the form of a group demonstration, and/or debates in public sphere. However, these events do not apply aggressive methods and do not cause large casualties and destruction of groups like ethnic violence. Ashutosh Varshney explains ethnic conflict is very much dependent on situation, and can be shown in many forms such as the ethnic protest through institutions, assemblies, or on streets. In contrast, ethnic violence is likely to show violent forms such as riots, civil wars, and pogroms against some ethnic groups (Varshney, 2001, p. 366). In this case study, the research shows ethnic conflict between Chinese Indonesians – Indonesians in Medan, which confirms long contested territorial rivalries between Chinese and non-Chinese in the form of tension, small quarrels, and disputes between groups that have a possibility to result in violence if the conflict and tension cannot be managed.

Instrumentalist views inter-ethnic hostilities as an outcome of competition for resources and power. It shows elites frequently organize mass support by using the emotional appeal of ethnic identity in competition for state power, resources, and

economic interests. This is extended to ethnic conflicts and violence, since it often pits the interests of one group against that of another. Thus, being disadvantaged or discriminated against generates ethnic grievances and increases the possibility of ethnic conflict (Eriten and Romine, 2008, p. 4). This approach helps explain anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia. The hatred and anger directed against ethnic Chinese has been manipulated by radical Muslim Indonesian leaders on many occasions. Also, the recent episode of protestation against the Medan Chinese business over the relocation of the Mosque Islamic Raudhatul for residential development at Emerald Garden hotel is explained by the instrumentalist perspective that Muslim leaders in Medan used their cultural groups as sites of mass mobilization against Medan Chinese business. It was not only religious issue, but it is a constituency in their competition for social, political and economic power in the society. At that time, anti-Chinese sentiment and stereotypes were brought back as a means to gather and mobilize Muslims in Medan for a certain cause. However, the research argues that the instrumentalist approach cannot be fully used to explain ethnic conflict in Medan in the post Suharto period. In certain instances, mobilization along ethnic lines is not caused by elites rallying followers' interests. There are also other factors explaining why the masses follow the manipulations of those leaders.

Furthermore, some scholars (Durkhiem, 1933; Newman, 1991, Gellner, 1983, Deutsch, 1953) argue that ethnic conflict is a product of the modernization process. Inequality and changes in the social fabric help causing ethnic conflicts. Inequalities and uneven benefits often elevate social strain and give rise to ethnic movements. In this case, when local Indonesians found themselves being disadvantaged on account of Chinese Indonesians monopolizing Indonesian business, it produced an ethnic backlash. Society has increasingly discriminated outsiders along ethnic and cultural lines, as well as begun to mobilize political movements. However, modernization cannot completely explain the result of ethnic conflict, since other political variables have to be engaged in such movements. Moreover, in some places where there exists large gaps income and wealth equality, there are little, if any, conflicts.

Further explanation over what causes ethnic conflict is via the institutionalism perspective. Institutionalists argue that there are links between political institutions on the one hand, and ethnic conflict or peace on the other hand (Horowitz, 1998; Blagojevic, 2009). In this framework, ethnic conflict does matter whether multi-ethnic societies have liberal democracy, consociational democracy, authoritarianism, or federalism. Each of these institutional alternatives can be shown to be linked to ethnic peace or violence. For example, in authoritarian regimes, the state lacks open spaces for differences and ethnic intolerance inevitably takes place. In this kind of society, some ethnics become targets of violence and discrimination. This was clearly evident in Suharto's authoritarian regime, where Chinese Indonesians were being discriminated against legally. Institutionalists believe conflict and violence can be managed through suitable institutions. For this reason, democracy is generally recommended by institutionalists as the better means than the various political alternatives in managing conflicts. However, the research raises questions as to why ethnic strains remain, even when regime changes lead to the development of democracy. Thus, it is significant to see debates over the relationships between democracy and peace. There are several studies explaining how democracy has given hopes that states will be stabilized and thus able to solve both international and national conflicts. Some scholars strongly believe democracy is a way of resolving

and/or managing conflict, creating peace at both the international and national levels. Some scholars (Rummel, 1983; Chan, 1984; Doyle, 1986; Weede, 1984) argue that democracy paves the way toward international peace, since wars between states have dramatically decreased after 1945. While, at the national level, democratic systems are perceived as acceptable and legitimate in managing intra-state conflict. The studies (Auvinen, 1997; Gurr, 1993; Rummel, 1995) point out that more fully democratic states would be less likely to experience high levels of conflict and violence.

On the contrary, democracy has its limitation to manage conflict. Several scholars believe democracy hardly works in divided societies (Horowitz, 1994; Huntington, 1997; Linz and Lipset, 1995) since the regular feature of ethnically plural democracies leaves room for freedom of expression of political and cultural demand and gives full equality to all individuals regardless of race, ethnicity, gender or religion. All individuals are ensured of their freedom to participate in any political and social activities. Nevertheless, the democratic system sometimes proves unable to accommodate political or social movements that have been stimulated via ethnic mobilization and social fragmentation. These are likely to reinforce political competition and ethnic conflict.

Accordingly, the research certainly agrees that democracy is a suitable system for maintaining peace in society, but it raises the question as to why, in some cases, conflict and social strains have not been solved within democracy states. In this research, ethnic strains are still an active part of Medan's multicultural and democratic atmosphere. This brings to the fore questions as to what accounts for ethnic conflict between the Chinese Indonesians and Indonesians in Medan? And what is the variable which proves to be the missing piece in the city in the midst of democracy and multiculturalism?

Obviously, the ethnic conflicts in Indonesia today are more complex than can be encompassed and explained via a single perspective. These perspectives inevitably avoid the present condition of globalization. Globalization is responsible for transnational activities and has changed inter-ethnic relations at the local, national and global level. It encourages fragmented identities as well as cultural formation (such as Islamification or sinification) which generates multiculturalism and democracy. Moreover, these social changes have contributed to new forms of identity and hybridity for individual experiences. This situation does not always mean ethnic groups and people tend to return to a primordial sense. This in fact implies the possibility of higher ethnic fragmentation in the midst of democracy, multiculturalism and globalization. This subsequently results in creating a sense of exclusion within separated communities.

In this case study of anti-Chinese conflict, the conflict in Medan continues to persevere. The case study of Medan thus becomes an illustrative example of the missing variable for the democratic system and multiculturalism. It shows that requiring some conditions are required to encourage peacefulness and mitigate tension in the society. And here, it is essential to focus on inter-ethnic relations.

Varshney argues civic life is a key to resolving ethnic conflicts and violence. He urges inter-ethnic networks in order to build bridges and manage tensions, eventually

motivating the pursuit of social peace (Varshney, 2001; 2002). If civic links are sufficiently robust, such networks of engagement can manage tensions and conflicts. Without those networks, communal identities can often lead to terrible violence (Vaesheny, 2002, p. 9). He also distinguishes civic engagement as having two parts: associational and quotidian. The former, associational, encompasses forms such as business associations, reading clubs, hospitality clubs, and trade unions. The latter is composed of *everyday* forms of interactions among different communities, such as visiting each other's houses, having intermingling between children who play with each other in mixed neighborhoods, and joint participation in festivals (Varshney, 2002, p. 3). These imply that there is a link between civic life, institution and ethnic conflicts.

In view of that, the research argues that civic life is the key missing variable in the post-Suharto era. The ethnic conflict between Medan Chinese and Indonesians is an important example of ethnic strain that occurs when there is a lack of social interactions and when there are intervening factors such as crime and cultural mistreatment in the city. The form of protest, small fights as well as anxiety, tend to occur in the democratic and multicultural sphere.

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The logo for the International Association of Arts and Humanities (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a large, faint, light blue circular arc that is partially obscured by a red and white curved graphic element on the left side of the page.

Is the Transportation Revolution Accelerating the Marginalization at Regional Level?

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Abstract

This research aims to illuminate the core is emerging, and the periphery is undergoing marginalization on geography proximity through the spatial competition process of tourism development, using the indexes of traveler's number of tourist spots and typical itineraries of travelers to explore how marginalization after transportation revolution tourism development.

In order to clarify the relationships of spatial completion among the travel nodes at the regional level along National Highway 6 of Taiwan, this research used convenient random sampling way to collect data based on distributing 300 questionnaires in central Taiwan, and adopted SPSS statics description, GIS mapping analysis way to examine core-periphery relationship among the travel nodes before and after the transportation revolution. The results are as below:

1. Before the transportation revolution, the primary destinations of the travelers to Cing Jing Farm or Sun Moon Lake almost visited Guo-Shing as secondary destination by the way, while after the transportation revolution due to locate on the branch way Guo-Shing destination turned to be periphery travel node, when contrasting to Pu-li destination, this neighboring core travel node with more and more drawing attractions.
2. This research corresponded to the conception of transportation revolution promote core-periphery phenomenon through the spatial competition, in other words, when the travel nodes have the same level of transportation accessibility at regional level, the more attractions there is, the more tourist competitiveness it possesses.

Keywords: transportation revolution, marginalization, core travel node, periphery travel node

1. Introduction

Is transportation revolution available to promote local tourism development? This research focus on National No.6 Highway in central Taiwan area to explore the accessibility by transportation innovation promotes tourism or not. This research, using the indexes of traveler's number of tourist spots and typical itineraries of travelers, aims to illuminate the core is emerging due to geography proximity, and the periphery is undergoing marginalization in the spatial competition process of tourism development. Finally, we explored how marginalization is going underway after transportation revolution, and approached to that the more tourism attractions of tourist spots are, the more tourism development maintain.

For the topic of tourism and transportation, previous studies prefer to discuss and analyze from the perspective of accessibility. Most studies point out that transportation revolution promote tourism development due to more accessible for tourists (Dickman,1994 ; Prideaux,2000a ; Su&Wall,2009 ; Khadaroo & Seetana, 2008). Schiefelbusch (2007) also indicated that transportation revolution might link the primary, secondary and tertiary nodes together, resulting in a travel chain in terms of tourist spatial structure. Masson (2009) indicated, using Perpignan of France and Barcelona of Spain as examples, that although transportation is available in the both places, a lot of tourist activities mainly take place in Barcelona. Comparing with Barcelona, Perpignan is less attractive because there are fewer tourist activities than in Barcelona, and tourists tend to choose Barcelona to visit. Therefore, Masson proposed transportation revolution push tourism development, but this can also intensify a spatial competition between tourist places, resulting in a core-peripheral phenomenon in terms of tourist spatial structure.

Based on the perspective of tourism and transportation revolution, this research aims to analyze the influence of transportation revolution to the tourism development on the way to Sun Moon Lake or Cing Jing Farm after availability of National Highway 6. The objects of this research are to discuss whether the availability of National Highway 6 will transform the role of travel nodes or not.

2. Method

2.1 Data collection

This research, using the random convenient sampling method, conducted a survey on 300 individual tourists in the hot tourist spots of Cao Tun Township, Guo Shing Township, Pu Li Township, Yu Chih Township, and Ren Ai Township along the National Highway 6 from December 2011 to December 2012. Questionnaires were distributed to individual tourists in areas such as Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village,

Chung Tai Chan Monastery, Tau Mi Community, Pu Li winery as most of the tourists prefer to go these places and convenient to conduct questionnaire survey.

In this research, the content of the questionnaire survey is composed of two parts: one part includes tourists' personal attributes and motives such as how they got together, where they are from, how long they will stay; the other part includes the arrangements of traveling routes, and ranks of traveling nodes. It is designed to explore the tourists' primary nodes, secondary nodes and tertiary nodes after the availability of National Highway 6. Then the personal information will be used to analyze what the obvious changes were in the tourist node features in Puli area or if new tourist places will be built after the availability of National Highway 6.

2.2 Data analysis

In order to clarify the relationships of spatial completion among the travel nodes at the regional level along National Highway 6 of Taiwan, this research used convenient random sampling way to collect data based on distributing 300 questionnaires in central Taiwan, and adopted SPSS statics description, GIS mapping analysis way to examine core-periphery relationship among the travel nodes before and after the transportation revolution.

3. Result and Discussion

1. Before the transportation revolution, the primary destinations of the travelers to Cing Jing Farm or Sun Moon Lake almost visited Guo-Shing as secondary destination by the way, while after the transportation revolution due to locate on the branch way Guo-Shing destination turned to be periphery travel node, when contrasting to Pu-li destination, this neighboring core travel node with more and more drawing attractions.

Table 1 The spatial competitiveness in the process of tourism development

Township	Before transportation revolution			After transportation revolution		
	Primary Node	Secondary Node	Tertiary Node	Primary Node	Secondary Node	Tertiary Node
Cao Tun	2	15	0	10	8	0
Guo Shing	23	43	3	1	1	1
Pu Li	23	95	14	147	237	72
Yu Chih	140	61	0	94	46	4
Ren Ai	112	69	0	48	17	1

Source: Questionnaire survey, 2012

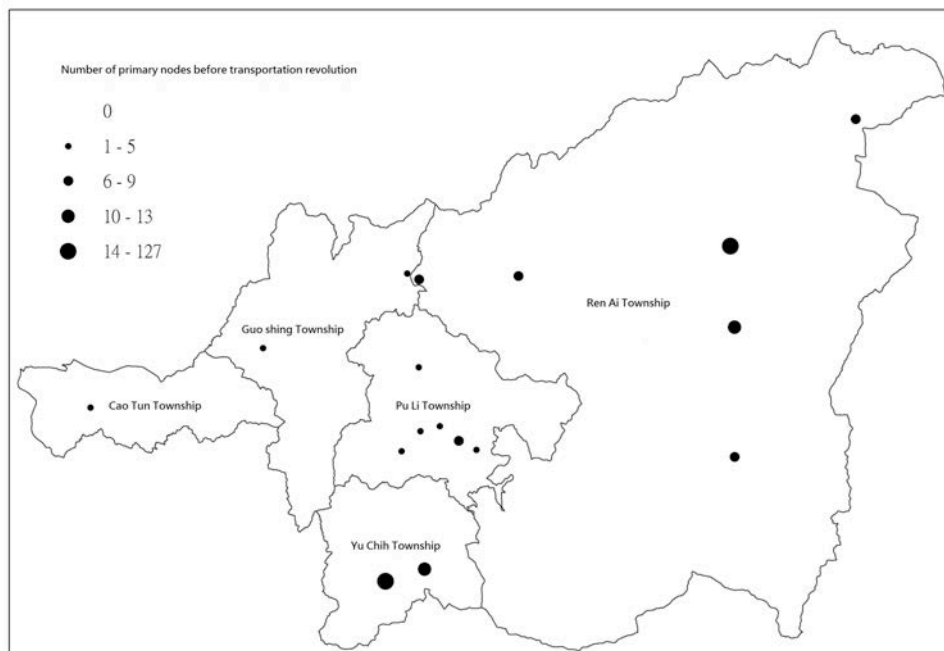


Figure 1 Number of primary nodes in townships before transportation revolution

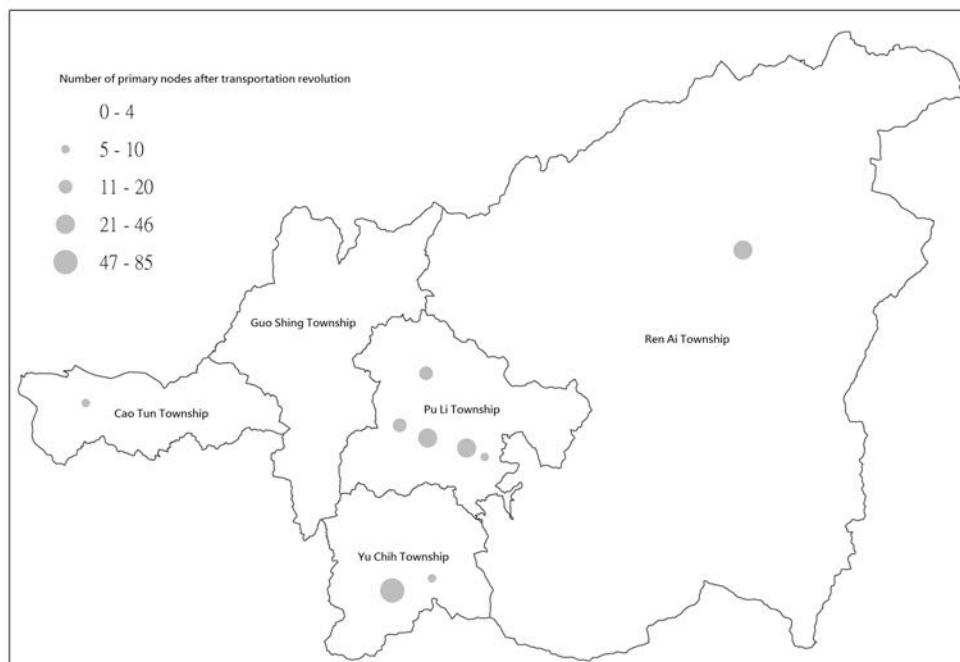


Figure 2 Number of primary nodes in townships after transportation revolution

2. This research corresponded to the conception of transportation revolution promote core-periphery phenomenon through the spatial competition, in other words, when the travel nodes have the same level of transportation accessibility at regional level, the more attractions there is, the more tourist competitiveness it possesses.

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The logo for the International Association for Cultural and Heritage Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of two overlapping, thick, curved lines. The upper line is light blue and the lower line is light red, creating a sense of motion or a stylized 'O' shape around the text.

Meaning Construction of Modern Women in Weight-loss Coffee Advertisements

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Abstract

The objective of this research is to study symbolic meanings of modern women in weight-loss coffee advertisements, popular drinks among Thai working women. This qualitative research had been conducted based on textual analysis of weight-loss coffee advertisements that had been broadcasted through varieties of advertising channels during 2008-2012. Research results had been found that weight-loss coffee advertisements constructed to represent many symbolic meanings including the symbolic meanings of healthy women, slender women, beautiful women, confident women, successful women and attractive women. Moreover, advertising channel is a method to construct and reconstruct meaning and identity to control as well as dominate women. The weight-loss coffee companies try to relate between consumption and identity, for example, the company constructed symbolic meaning of confident and successful women when drinking weight-loss coffee through selecting advertising strategies. Besides that, appeals had also been parts of selecting advertising strategies, such as sex appeal, anxiety appeal, and humor appeal while usage of factual message, comparison and binary opposition as well as presenter had also been utilized.

Consequently, it is important for advertising, one of the powerful mass media, to define the symbolic and cultural meaning and construct woman image in consumer society. Unsurprisingly, women became victims of consumer culture.

Keywords : meaning construction, femininity, weight-loss coffee advertisements

Introduction

‘One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman’. This is a statement of Simone de Beauvoir who wrote in her book, *The Second Sex*, in 1949. The statement reflected the difference between sex and gender; sex is understood to be the invariant, anatomically distinct, and factic aspects of the female body, whereas gender is the cultural meaning and form that body acquires, the variable modes of that body’s acculturation. (Butler, 1986)

For gender, cultural meaning has been constructed through a variety of socially institutions such as family institutions, religion institutions, education institutions, politics and government institutions, medical institutions, economic institutions as well as media institution.

In terms of communication, media might be considered as social institutions and it might construct one’s meaning and identity. As we know, media is powerful institution to define, construct and distribute meaning to publics especially if media has a potential to communicate, the meaning will be produced and reproduced again and again. Therefore, media play an important role to control and dominate people through meaning that it constructed.

World Health Organization (WHO, 2012) revealed overweight and obesity are the fifth leading risk for global deaths. At least 2.8 million adults die each year as a result of being overweight or obese. In addition, 44% of the diabetes burden, 23% of the ischemic heart disease burden and between 7% and 41% of certain cancer burdens are attributable to overweight and obesity. Some WHO global estimates from 2008 that more than 1.4 billion adults, 20 and older, were overweight and of these overweight adults, over 200 million men and nearly 300 million women were obese. Overall, more than one in ten of the world’s adult population was obese.

Over the last decade, excess body weight has become a global public health epidemic. One billion seven-hundred million individuals were estimated to be overweight in 2005. and being overweight was the eighth most important risk factor contributing to the total global burden of disease in 2001. The epidemic is occurring across the globe with growing prevalence in the developing world, due largely to the rapid changes in behavior and lifestyle, such as diet and physical activity, which have accompanied economic development. In Thailand, overweight and obesity have become increasingly prominent public health priorities, with non-communicable disease and risk factors playing a growing role as the country moves through the epidemiological transition from infectious to predominantly chronic diseases. In 1999, obesity was the seventh ranked risk factor in men (2.4% of all disability-adjusted life years in men) and the second ranked risk factor in women (6.1% of all disability-adjusted life years in women) (Aekplakorn et al, 2007)

Nutrition Association of Thailand (2010) revealed the prevalence of overweight and obesity had been increased in all age since 1986. In 2003-2004, the obesity of women is higher than men (34.4% to 22.5%) as well as in 2008-2009; women are overweight and obesity than men (40.7% to 28.4). Moreover, Ministry of Public Health indicated that for the past six years, women faced with the obesity especially working age population.

In terms of meaning construction of modern women through media, it is a crucial issue to concern especially when business sectors use advertising channels to promote their products and services because not only selling product but also constructing meaning together with products.

As mentioned above, nowadays, Thai women encounter with obesity and most of them want to lose their weight in order to get a desired body. An important problem for Thai women is that have no time because of their working lifestyle, Therefore, this is a golden opportunity for weight-loss coffee company to promote products to their target groups through advertising channels. Apart from selling product which is company's ultimate goal, weight-loss coffee company also construct meanings of modern women that control and dominate women to be feminine identity. Like Kellner (2001 cited in Damean, 2006) said in the contemporary society, identity is strongly mediated by images provided by the mass culture, offering ideals for modeling one's personal identity. For instance, advertising, fashion or television constantly reconstruct the identity, producing a more fluid and changing one.

This is a reason why this research focused on meaning construction of modern women in weight-loss coffee advertisements.

Research Objective

To study symbolic meanings of modern women in weight-loss coffee advertisements.

Research Methodology

The research tool for this study was the textual analysis of weight-loss coffee television commercials that were broadcasted through varieties of advertising channels during 2008-2012.

Research Results

Research results found that weight-loss coffee companies used advertising channels to construct many symbolic meanings including the symbolic meanings of healthy women, slender women, beautiful women, confident women, successful women and attractive women.

In terms of meaning of healthy women, research found that weight-loss coffee advertisement tried to construct modern women must be healthy. Therefore, weight-

loss coffee companies used advertising channels to promote their products, weight-loss coffee, with many healthy ingredients, for example, fibers, vitamins, minerals and ginseng extracts, chromium, collagen, l-carnitine, white kidney beans and etc. These ingredients help women to be healthy without exercising.

As shown in Figure 1, Nescafe Protect Pro Slim Coffee, one of the popular weight-loss coffee companies in Thailand, used the television commercial to inform consumers that Nescafe Protect Pro Slim ingredients consisted of healthy ingredients.

Figure 1 : Nescafe Protect Pro Slim advertisement showed many healthy ingredients in weight-loss coffee.



For meaning of slender women, research showed all of weight-loss coffee advertisements constructed the meaning of slender women which dominate women to control their weight. The weight-loss coffee advertisements used presenters, such as Thai superstars and supermodels, to represent modern women with slim body [Figure 2]. The story telling in advertisements also indicated that only women with slim body attract men.

Figure 2 : Fitne coffee advertisement using Thai superstar with slim body.



The research also found that weight-loss coffee companies used advertising strategies to support the symbolic meaning construction, for example; binary opposition, factual message, sexual-appeal, unique selling proposition, slice of life, anxiety ads, humor appeal.

As shown in Figure 3, Buddy Dean Slim Slen Coffee used advertising strategy, binary opposition, to compare between fat woman and slender woman. Meanwhile, Preaw Coffee used slice of life strategy to show that modern women faced with a difficult problem to lose their weight so the weight-loss coffee was an easy solution. [Figure 4]

Figure 3 : Binary opposition strategy in Buddy Dean Slim Slen Coffee advertisement.



Figure 4 : Slice of life strategy in Preaw Coffee.



Besides that, research found the weight-loss coffee companies used advertising channels to construct the meaning of beautiful women and this meaning came with the meaning of slender women. The advertisements presented beautiful image of modern women and of course this beauty image is meaning of social norm. Moreover, the advertisements also said 'Women, do not stop the beauty' that meant modern women must take care of themselves. The beauty meaning supported the patriarchy ideology to dominate women under the myth of beauty. Moreover, another symbolic meaning that showed in the weight-loss coffee advertisements is the meaning of attractive women. The advertisements tried to make a story that only beautiful women will attract men like women with slim body.

For meaning of confident women, research found not only healthy, slender and beautiful meaning, but the advertisements constructed meaning of confident for modern women. Women felt confident if they were healthy, slender and beautiful. Whereas the meaning construction of successful women came to support all of the meanings because if women are healthy, slender, attractive and beautiful, they will be successful in their life.

Conclusions

Damean (2006) wrote media representations of femininity have a strong impact on women and on the shaping of their identities. In the postmodern culture of image, the scenes, the stories and the cultural texts provided by the media are meant to offer the individuals a variety of attitudes that can shape their personality. These images provide social role models, appropriate and inappropriate patterns of behavior, style and fashion and a subtle impulse of imitating and identifying with certain identities. Women are supposed to have a variety of models to choose from when constructing

their image and assuming their roles, but the truth is that their options are quite limited and induced by the media. While Wolf (1991) wrote in 'The Beauty Myth' those women must want to embody it and men want to possess women who embody it. This embodiment is imperative for women and not for men, which situation is necessary and natural because it is biological, sexual, and evolutionary: Strong men battle for beautiful women, and beautiful women are more reproductively successful. Women's beauty must correlate to their fertility, and since this system is based on sexual selection, it is inevitable and changeless.

According to this research, the results indicated that advertising channel, one of the powerful media, became an important tools for weight-loss coffee companies to construct a variety of symbolic meanings to control and dominate modern women under patriarchy ideology. Unsurprisingly, modern women became victims of patriarchy ideology and consumer culture.

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Kuki Shūzō's Temporal Aesthetics: Finding Japanese Identity in Art and Literature

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In this paper we will deal with Kuki's *Propor sur le temps* and *Metaphysics of Literature* aiming to define the notion of Aesthetics in Kuki's thought. The structure of the present paper will be: firstly, we will analyze Kuki's text *Propor sur le temps*, focusing mainly in the oriental time that he characterizes as transmigration and how such a temporality is expressed by Japanese art; following, we will deal with his *Metaphysics of Literature* where his constant concern is to support a conception of literature as a pure intuition of the present.

A time of transmigration; an art of the infinite

Before talking about time, Kuki has to come all the way back to the origin of time, just then start to talk about the oriental time. His presupposition is that time is will, thus consciousness. The discussion that posits will as the origin of time is quite recent inside Western Philosophy, since from Aristotle's definition of time as the measure of movement, Philosophy seeks for a transpersonal and objective concept of time, a time to which all nature is subjected to. For instance, when was said that the time/duration of one day is the Sun's trajectory in the sky.

I believe that the will that Kuki talks about as the origin of time is this individual subject that lives and encounter others in the present temporality of contingency.

In this way, the oriental time is the time of transmigration. "Transmigration is the indefinite reborn, the everlasting repetition of the will, the endless return of time. Or, the most remarkable and impressive that we can conceive about transmigration is that the man become the same man in everlasting repetition." (KSZ:I, pp.294) Such a notion of time, necessarily, raises the question of identity. We know that the well-know idea of Karma works by causality: good deeds lead to a good Karma that will make this same person to reborn as a human, evil deeds lead to a rebirth in the form of an animal or even an insect. How it is possible to sustain the same identity if someone reborn as an animal or insect? Kuki's answer is that if someone reborn as an insect, in her previous life she already lived an inner life of an insect. In this way, nothing is more consequent that this same person reborn as an insect that was already her inner life. The identity is sustained, since the continuity of the same identity is the general case, the contrary is just the exception. This is the case because the maintenance of identity as the touchstone of the temporality of transmigration goes all the way beyond the individuals to the world. In other words, one will reborn as the same in a world that is the same, because this world is ruled by a periodic time.

We can conceive imagetically the temporality that Kuki describes as a standing spring of which the ends are connected. Each circle of this spring is identical to the other ones and since they are all connected, including the one in the bottom and the other on the top, we cannot tell apart neither the first one nor the last one in the succession. Here, Kuki distinguishes in a very compelling way to the discussion the occidental and the oriental notions of time. In the occident we have three kinds of temporality: past, present and future, they succeed horizontally progressing from the past through the present in direction to the future. According to Kuki this is the phenomenological temporality. Whereas, the oriental time of transmigration, here called mystic, is vertical meaning that each present, even in the past or future, has an infinite deepness. Once again using the image of the spring, we can just imagine a vertical line passing through all the circles at the same point, these points are identical in every circle and

designate the same present that repeats itself indefinitely. Bearing these characteristics in mind, we can trace the differences between the mystical and the phenomenological time. The last one is continuous, whereas the first one is discontinuous. Moreover, the phenomenological time is a pure heterogeneously, thus irreversible, while the mystic time is a pure homogeneity and reversible. "Assuming these essential differences, we can say: the horizontal plane represents the ontological-phenomenological ecstasy, the vertical plane the metaphysical-mystic ecstasy." (KSZ:I, pp.291)

Both notions of time have direct consequences to the understanding of identity. Kuki claims that the will is the origin of time. A will that produces the occidental horizontal temporality resolves the temporal question of identity by means of continuity. There is no doubt that the person who desire, i.e., the willing person is the "I", in a similar way this "I" that produces time insofar he desires, he desires along time. Thus, we are led to conclude that if the will of this I changes through the time, the I also change, however we have the clear conscience that we are the same, our identity is hold together even in the ever-changing streams of time. In a heterogeneous temporality, the beginning (past) and the end (future) are clearly delimited, since time is irreversible, as far its continuity maintain a successive chain. By this, an identity is a question of the chain that initiates in past, works in present and ends in future.

On the other hand, in a metaphysical-mystic temporality the identity is sustained in another way. Given the periodicity of time, it is impossible to distinguish a before and an after, i.e., a past and a future, the instant is all that exist and, beyond that the instant is the same instant that repeats itself once more, eternally. Therefore, the will that produces time is condemn to desire always the same, it is an "instant that possess a deep and infinite thickness"¹. The world identity that constructs itself through endless repetition of the Great Year, get mixed up with the identity of the individual subjected to transmigration. "A continuity of the self exists here only in an imaginary way it is a continuity which reveals itself only in mystical moments, the profound moments of a 'profound enlightenment,' moments in which the self takes recognition of itself with an astonishing shudder. 'The self exists' at the same time that the 'self does not exist'." (LIGHT, pp.48/KSZ:I, pp.288). That is the reason why together with the metaphysical-mystic we have the question of the liberation from time that Kuki identifies in two forms: the transcendental, intellectual liberation and the immanent voluntarist liberation.

The transcendental, intellectual is about a negation of the will by intellectual means, through knowledge. Kuki identifies such way of liberation in Buddhism, in which the nirvana is the abolition of any will and any desire. Recognizing the self, the source of will, as an illusion, this self is abolished with the will that is produced by it, time is also negated, since is the will that produces time.

The immanent voluntarist liberation is born from the *Bushidō* as an affirmation of the will, i.e., the negation of the negation. Even so this will is fated to always been disillusioned, always failing, the eternal repetition of the same is taken as a good. *Bushidō* pursues the ideal of the will, and even that this ideal is impossible to reach; the eternal and repeated attempt to reach it has an absolute value. "Pursue perfection while maintaining a clear consciousness as to its 'deception.'" Live in perpetual time,

¹ See Dōgen's formulation of "existential instant".

in *Endlosigkeit*, to use Hegel's terms. Find *Unendlichkeit* in *Endlosigkeit*, *infinity* in the *indefinite*, *eternity* in *succession without end*. " (LIGHT, pp.49/KSZ:I, pp.286)

Japanese art also would have its ground on this temporal experience marked by the attempt of liberation from both time and space. The Japanese *Bushidō*, Kuki claims, received a double influence and was configured by Indian Buddhism as a religion, what Kuki calls mysticism, and the Chinese philosophy of Daoism which is defined as pantheism. Kuki doesn't go beyond in explaining the mysticism in Buddhism as the search for the ideal of Nirvana, in the same way, the pantheism inherent to Daoism is explained through the understanding of Dao as the essence and beginning of all things.

The *Bushidō* would harmonize with these two traditions, deepening them regarding art. As we've saw above, *Bushidō* seeks the affirmation of the will until its absolutization, hence in art instance, Kuki will interpret this as a search to express the infinity in the finite. In the same way that a purely Buddhist art would search for liberation from time, and a Daoist art would seek for an expression of the Dao, Japanese art's claim is to express the ideal of infinity in the individual and finite artworks.

We see here Kuki conceiving art as a form of expression of a spiritual reality. This is the point we should stress if our aim is to grasp Kuki's concept of aesthetics. Then, art is pervaded with meaning without which it is hard to understand it in a correct way², such meaning, however, is not inputted on the artwork by its creator like we should expect from a Romantic Aesthetics of the genius. Quite the opposite, it is given from culture. We can clearly notice a certain Hegelian influence for whom art is an already overcome expression of the Spirit. Spirit seems like to be understood by Kuki as culture or, if we wish a closest designation, as a world-view. It is not a coincidence that Kuki claims, following closely Okakura Tenshin, that it is the Japanese art that deepen the Oriental ideal of art. "Its [*Bushidō*'s] ideal consists only in living and dying as the 'cherry blossom, exhaling its perfume in the morning light.' It is from this triple source that the 'inward art' of Yamato is born. It is in this spiritual atmosphere that it attains its full flowering."(LIGHT, pp.52 / KSZ:I, pp.282).

If our interpretation is correct, inasmuch we grasp *Bushidō* as a world-view, it becomes the very essence of the culture in which it was born, in other words, *Bushidō* becomes the essence of Japanese culture. Kuki's philosophy, then incur in two problems: 1) the correctness of the concept of *Bushidō* we find in Kuki's thought; and 2) if it is possible to attribute to just one trait all the essence of the art of a specific culture.

² Kuki stresses very strongly this point as we can notice in the following statement. "It is from this triple source that the "inward art" of Yamato is born. It is in this spiritual atmosphere that it attains its full flowering. Consequently, without knowing something of these conceptions of life and world it becomes almost impossible to understand Japanese art. Its meaning, the idealist expression of the infinite in the finite, will go unexplained. Therefore, there are in Europe very few people who truly understand Japanese art. Does not Japanese art for most Europeans consist in woodblock prints of women and landscapes, or in the tea ceremony with its multicolored porcelain. Yet for the most part these things are rather insignificant. The truly great works of art habitually remain unknown". (KSZ:I, pp287 / LIGHT, pp.52)

Kuki Shuzo's Aesthetics

As we saw above Kuki's aesthetics is based on the expression of a cultural essence through art. Japanese art expresses the temporality of transmigration that, through *Bushidō*, earns the character of the infinity expressed in a finite artwork. The reason being is the affirmation of the will, this one is a continuous effort toward the ideal which in turn would ever be archived. In a temporality which its features are reversibility and verticality it is impossible to put apart past from future, leaving just a present in an everlasting repetition, which means that this present has an infinite deep. It is in the creation technique we observe in Japanese art where Kuki finds the expression of this infinite present.

In painting, Kuki will first of all analyze the perspective. While in Occidental art we find a geometric perspective, in Oriental art we encounter a perspective that destroys a spatial perspective, replacing it with a spiritual perspective in which it's measures are left for the one before the painting to decide. This perspective is called Metaphysical. The second aspect is an arbitrary composition. The represented in the paint is left incomplete and, hence, according to Kuki, alive, a kind of "form for the form's sake." Such a kind of arbitrary composition, again leave to the spirit of the gazer the task of exercising her spirit to follow the suggestive values there represented, suggestive value that come to replace the aesthetical value. The next point is the line. We are aware that calligraphy became a form of art in the Orient, this because the line, per se, can express movement. According to Kuki, the absolute is dynamic, because what moves do this movement in the present, in a present that doesn't fade away inasmuch there is movement. The forth feature is color. In Oriental art, especially in the ink painting (*Sumie*) tradition we find the black and white, here what Kuki emphasizes is the simplicity and fluidity came "from the nostalgia of the infinity and from the effort to exclude the differences in time" (KSZ:I, pp.279). Hisamatsu Shin'ichi in his study on *Zen and Fine arts* also stresses the dynamics between color and simplicity (this last one he calls No Complexity): "While No Form is thus the simplest form, no color is, likewise, the simplest color; an what is simple in the sense of having no color cannot be anything else but the Formless Self" (HISAMATSU, pp.55). Kuki concludes with considerations about the subject in painting. Beauty is painting's main motif, whereas the infinity pervades all that exists, without any exception, and it is the beauty. It is art that expresses and teaches us to see such beauty in that of most "aesthetical" and even in what is morally reprehensible³.

Kuki classifies Japanese poetry as a temporal art, thus, distinguishing itself from spatial arts like painting and architecture. Temporal arts have the aim to release not from space, instead to release from time. To argue in favor of this interpretation, Kuki lists seven characteristics of Japanese poetry that provides liberation from time. The

³ It is noteworthy to point out here that Kuki borrows from Aristotle's philosophy his claim that regarding painting mimesis cannot be condemn, by the contrary, it is admirable, since we humans are beings that take pleasure from knowledge we can learn something from an art that mimics something abominable that normally we cannot look at. However, through the mimesis performed by painting this same thing became somewhat pleasant and by looking at it we can learn something about the theme represented. In a similar line of argumentation, the "art for the art's sake" theory claims that art should not be morally or legally condemned, because what is there represented should be aesthetically judge, a sphere apart from moral and law. Following this, Kuki will affirm, in a very enigmatic fashion that "the art for the art's sake theory is a theory of the absolute idealism in art." (KSZ:I, pp.278)

smallest thing as well the biggest one contains the infinity. This is the first trace described by Kuki concerning Japanese poetry, here referring to the traditional forms of the Tanka and Haiku. The second one is said from the asymmetric character we find in these poetic forms, since, according to Kuki, the absolute would be impossible to be contained in a rigid form, only in "a form for the form's sake." Turning again to Tanka and Haiku, Kuki emphasizes the first one five-seven-five-seven-seven's and the last one five-seven-five, syllabic structure. Suggestion is the third trace. Japanese poetry leave something of vague about its whereabouts, just suggesting its meaning, "keeping in silence, a silence more eloquent than eloquence itself." We could also add to Japanese poetry suggestive feature its poetical techniques as *makura-kotoba* (pillow word) and *kire* (cut). The fourth one is "the pantheist thought (Daoism), the idea that the essence of Totality is identical." Kuki identifies this in Basho's Haiku. What is said here is that two distinct poetical images reflect each other, one is identified with the small and daily, the other one with the immensurable and transcendent, however both of it ends up mixing themselves in one and same image⁴. The fifth feature reflects the simplicity of color and theme, which is the same case we have saw before when dealing with painting. Such simplicity intermingles with the infinity overcoming multiplicity. The sixth one talks about the negative aspect that is transformed into a positive one, since, like the case of painting, Daoism's pantheism see Dao in everything that exists. Finally, the last one deals with the repetition of time. Clearly, Kuki alludes to the representation of the instant, with which we are used to face when we read a Haiku. Kuki interprets the instant as the temporality of contingency, of the chance or failure, an encounter that constitutes the only real time: the present time.

Literature; an art of the present

The temporality of art as the present that repeats itself eternally and vertically reappears in the moment Kuki deals exclusively with Literature from a metaphysical point of view. Kuki understand metaphysics by a mere contraposition to aesthetics, which means, a search for Literature's philosophical meaning beyond its aesthetical value. It behooves us to ask if he really accomplished his intention.

Following the same line of argumentation that we have saw in the previous section, Kuki attributes to art in general the temporality of present, whereas "When we ask what kind of temporal quality art possess, we can say that so long as it takes intuition as its specific character, art holds a temporal place in the present" (ML, pp. 175). We find here a clear reference to the intuition described by Bergson. In spite of in his philosophy the privileged temporality be the past, Kuki uses Bergson's intuition concept focusing in the idea of inner continuity. Basing his aesthetic in the notion of expression, Kuki cannot avoid giving a place in his thought to the one to whom expression is directed to: the receiver. Art expresses a world-view, the artist seeks to express the infinite in its purest form, insofar the receiver internalizes such expression and elevates her spirit until the point of a liberation of time and/or space⁵. Such

⁴ The most paradigmatic of Basho's Haiku is an example of this:

An octopus pot –
inside, a short-lived dream
under the summer moon
(Trans. Ueda)

⁵ "Doubtless it is his divine hand which unveils eternal beauty and, thereby, gives the spectators vertigo, but the task of the spectators remains intact: it is incumbent upon them to make the great leap, to enter into depthless

spiritualization of art expression in the form of a liberation from time or space it is only possible if art has the temporal quality of intuition as Bergson describes it: "The intuition we are talking about bears, before all, the inner duration [...] Intuition means firstly consciousness, but immediate consciousness, vision that scarcely distinguishes itself from the object saw, knowledge which is contact and even coincidence. [...] The intuition is that that reaches the spirit, the duration and the pure changing" (PM, pp.1272-1274/27-29).

Using Bergson's quotation as a basis, we can claim that the present Kuki affirms we find in Literature is not the present of a dot, rather the present understood as duration and extension. In other words, the present of qualitative time. Kuki proves his point taking as an example the syllabic cut in poetry, unit of metrical verse and rhyme, all of them, rather than implying homogeneity similar to that of the quantitative time of the clock, implies a particular fluidity hold by each poem. The poetical accent and rhyme create in the verse a changing and unpredictable temporal impression, howsoever we can count the cuts, poetic syllables and identifies the rhymes, this always happens at a particular duration imposed by the poem's own structure.

To admit that Literature possesses a qualitative temporality implies distinguishes it from music, another art in which the qualitative time is evident. Kuki distinguishes them through a classification that places literature as a linguistic art and music as an acoustic art. Which means that the realm of music is the sound: a musical piece is represented in a given duration, which is, by turn, filled entirely by its own temporality. However, in the case of literature, because its realm is imagination and representation, besides filling the duration of the reading of a poem or a romance, for example, it also creates another conceptual temporality. We could read a poem about the entire spring just in thirty seconds, in the same way, take us three days to read a romance about an entire life. The conceptual and meaningful character of language adds to literature's perceptive temporality (i.e., the duration of reading) another temporal layer that Kuki calls conceptual temporality. Thus, literature as a linguistic art's temporality is found in the fact that it possesses a multilayered temporality. Music holds a one-layered qualitative temporality, while literature holds a multilayered qualitative temporality; this is the main distinction between these two forms of art.

We need to make a last observation concerning the division of styles in literature: prose, drama and poetry⁶. Here we will deal only with poetry because it is paradigmatic inside Kuki's aesthetics. Poetry's temporal nature is the present. Thus, by being a form of art its temporality belongs to present, as a linguistic art it also possesses a multilayered temporality and, finally, for being poetry it also has a tendency to present. This happens, because it concentrates in itself the same feature in

metaphysical abysses and to be overwhelmed there. Thus, twice is art liberated from time: once in the artist who creates infinity, once in the spectators who participate, as it were, in this creation by their contemplation of works of art" (LIGHT, pp. 62-63).

⁶ Kuki classifies the literary forms of prose, drama and poetry regarding the temporal tendency that each one of them possesses. Prose would have a tendency towards past, because Kuki conceives it based in the Japanese term *Monogatari*. *Kataru*, to talk, evokes *noberu*, to tell, that in turn is homophonic with another verb, *noberu*, to stretch. Therefore, to tell a story is to stretch it from its beginning, from the past. In the case of drama, the fact that it is played puts in play human actions. These actions are directed by will, will that is always directed to a future purpose. The most appropriate examples are comedy and tragedy, these classified due the ending that each plot incurs; comedy an unusual ending and tragedy a regrettable ending. In this way, Kuki comes to the conclusion that drama possesses an orientation toward future.

two ways: as expression of feelings and intuitions of the present⁷ and using its poetical techniques. In short, both the meaningful content as well as the form conducts poetry toward the present. The intensity of feelings with which we are used before the reading of a poem and its short form, almost momentary, like the repetition of the form in rhymes and the alliteration are emphasized by Kuki to prove his argumentation that poetry is an "eternal now." This strengthens Kuki's definition of the temporality of Japanese art and enlarges it to all poetic forms⁸.

In this way, Kuki's aesthetics consists of the presupposition that the temporality of art is the present; it acquires the form of an eternal present or a deep present through the repetitions we find in poetical techniques. "For this he [Don Juan, the paradigmatic esthete] has no time; for him everything is merely an affair of the moment. In a certain sense it can be said of psychical love that to see her and to love her are the same, but this only suggests a beginning. [...] To see her and to love her are the same; this is in the moment. In the same moment everything is over, and the same thing repeats itself indefinitely". (KIERKEGAARD, *Either/Or*, I, pp. 94-95)

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⁷ Here, Kuki evokes Motoori Norinaga's *mono no aware* theory. (ML, pp.203)

⁸ We have to make a remark, albeit Kuki talks about poetry in general, all of his examples that he uses to base his theory came from Japanese literature, with one exception; to illustrate alliteration in thyme Kuki uses a poem from the Wei dynasty's Emperor Wen.

Meta-Research on Public Broadcasting: Case Study of European Union and Thailand

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Public service broadcasting (PSB) is considered an alternative type of broadcasting in addition to commercial broadcasting. AIBD (Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development) defined PSB as “a meeting place where all citizens are welcome and considered equals”—a forum where information and education are transmitted to all people of any social and economic status, aiming particularly for information and cultural development. PSB, in this regard, is allowed to “appeal to imagination, and entertain...[but] with a concern for quality that distinguishes it from commercial broadcasting” (UNESCO, 2005, as cited in AIBD Website)

The legendary and renowned PSB organizations are BBC of the United Kingdom and NHK of Japan. Some other countries around that world also support the implementation of PSB—in Asia (e.g. Hong Kong, India, Korea), North America (Canada & USA), Oceania (Australia & New Zealand), and South America (e.g. Argentina, Chile). Some countries where PSB has not yet been practically implemented also stated their attempt and effort to establish a PSB organization, e.g. Turkey (Vural, 2011), Arab countries (Ayish, 2010), and Zimbabwe (Masuku, 2011).

In Thailand, public service broadcasting was founded in 2008 as the Thai Public Broadcasting Service (Thai PBS). The organization stated as its mission to “enlightening members of the society with its diverse educational and entertainment programs while strictly abiding by the code of ethics that ensures fair, balanced and impartial news coverage” (Thai PBS website). So far, Thai PBS has received a high acclaim from the public concerning its fast, thorough, and fair news coverage (Thai PBS Facebook)

As a newly-found PSB organization, Thai PBS has a lot to learn from its counterparts around the world, especially BBC and NHK, so as to serve the public with multi-needs and interests, and to gear its operations in a proper way of idealized public service broadcasting. Therefore, Thai PBS needs to gather information generated from a number of researches conducted about public service broadcasting in various countries.

Although BBC & NHK are the ideal public service broadcasting organizations, their long history and operations may set the path for Thai PBS to follow in the future, but may not serve the purpose at hand. The European Union, in particular, consists of member countries of multi-cultural and development aspects. The PSB operation in those countries may serve better as an exemplar for Thai PBS during its endeavor to gain acceptance and understanding among Thai audience.

The European Union has clearly declared as its principle to support public service broadcasting among its member countries. In this case, the member countries were encouraged to establish and fully support public service broadcasting so as to compete with commercial televisions, to provide alternative information to the public, to unite multi-ethnic groups, and to guarantee public participation in the democratic society. France, Spain, and Germany, for example, fully support the operations of public service broadcasting.

This paper, therefore, provides a comparative analysis of public service broadcasting in the EU countries and Thailand, regarding organizational structure, audience, effects, relationship, and programs & contents. This paper is a meta-research on public broadcasting, aiming to gather related information for further investigation to develop roadmaps and strategies for Thai PBS in the future. The narrative review approach was selected as a method to synthesize research papers in this field.

Analysis of Public Service Broadcasting

Public service broadcasting (PSB) and commercial broadcasting are distinctively different regarding broadcasting goal, program quality and focus, content and financial independence, and audience participation (AIBD website), aiming particularly at creativity, learning, and citizenship (McCulloch, 2001). Their operations, however, are basically similar as a media organization. In this regard, McQuail (2010)'s analytical framework of a television organization is applicable.

According to McQuail (2010), a television organization can be analyzed in five aspects:

1. Organization analysis—analyzing organizational structure, administrators, roles and operations, budget, personnel, as well as organizational culture and goals.
2. Relationship analysis between the organization and its stakeholders—analyzing the relationship with society, audience, producers, community, as well as other public and private organizations.
3. Program and content analysis—analyzing program types and objectives, content formats, language, presentation and presenters.
4. Audience analysis—analyzing audience in terms of demographics, psychographics, media usage, lifestyles, cultures & values, opinions & needs & expectation, as well as satisfaction.
5. Effect analysis—analyzing in both macro & micro levels. Micro level means the effects of television broadcasting on individuals (knowledge & understanding, attitude, desirable behavior, development of constructive viewpoints and quality lifestyles, etc.), while macro level means its effects on society (cultural change and positive value instillation)



Methodology

Key documents used in this research are of the following:

1. Research papers conducted in Thailand and overseas during 2001-2011 about Thai PBS in particular. Types of those papers are research reports, theses, and independent studies of college and universities.
2. Research papers conducted in Thailand overseas during 1991-2011 about public service broadcasting in the EU member countries.

In total, there are 47 research papers about Thai PBS, and 29 papers for EU public service broadcasting. Researches about BBC are excluded.

The issues of analysis consist of five aspects: organization analysis, relationship analysis between the organization and its stakeholders, program and content analysis, audience analysis, and effect analysis. The research instruments used in this analysis are code sheets to list down and categorize emerging themes.

The data were collected during August-September, 2011, and were analyzed during October-December, 2011. The data obtained were categorized in accordance with emerging themes, and analyzed thematically and inductively. The results were presented descriptively.

Results

European PBS

The analysis of research concerning European PSBs reveals both studies of PSB in an individual nation (e.g. Ireland) or group of nations (e.g. Nordic countries), and a comparative study of PSB operations in two or more nations (e.g. Greece & France). The European nations under analysis include, for example, Ireland, Germany, France, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway and Greece.

The research papers conducted about public service broadcasting in European Union focused primarily on the PSB roles and management, relationship with society, and programs & contents. In contrast to the research papers conducted about BBC, however, those conducted in European Union did not focus on audience or effects of PSB on the audience and society.

Organization Analysis of European PSB: Roles & Management

Regarding roles and management, European PSBs were found to perform their roles as providing quality programs to the public (Meijer, 2003), with the focus on cultural diversity and public interest. In this aspect, entertainment is becoming a focus of European PSBs in order to attract more audience and to compete with commercial televisions. It was found by Tsourvakas (2004) that, in Greece, the public service

television has to develop their programs in the similar format as their commercial counterparts to boost up their competitiveness.

However, European PSBs, like their counterparts in other countries, are now facing various challenges e.g. intense competition with commercial broadcasting, intervention from government and interest groups (e.g. Catholic Church & Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) in Ireland) (Sweeney, 2007), influence of broadcasting from neighboring countries (e.g. USA broadcasting on CNBC of Canada), the phenomenon of media concentrations, and cost effectiveness (Andreea, 2008). A bigger challenge, however, concerns the emerging of digital TV, whereby multi-channels are available for audience choice. The digital broadcast technology demands that EU PSBs need to adjust themselves in various aspects—organizational structure, program airing and policy (Iosifidis, 2007). The PSB of France, for example, is contemplating on using internet as a channel to reach its audience (Machill, 2008). Likewise, the Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI) of Italy reported the reform and development in RAI to prepare for the upcoming digital era (Hibberd, 2004).

Hence, European PSBs needs to adjust their roles and operations to meet the said changes. In this case, European State Aid Policy, or an EU aid fund provided to the member countries, has strengthened EU PSBs and help them adjust better to the approaching digital era (Donders, 2010)

Relationship Analysis between public television broadcasting and society

European PSBs still receive laudation from the public, when being compared with the commercial broadcasting. A study by Holtz-Bacha and Norris (2001) confirmed that the audience prefers PSB to commercial broadcasting, stating that they received more knowledge about politics from PSB, thereby having increasing social trust (Schmitt-Beck & Wolsing, 2010).

To better serve the benefits of the community, European PSBs need to be included as an essential element in community law (Saldaña, 2008) to generate fair competition among broadcasting operators, and guarantee quality operations to protect public welfare. In this aspect, European Union clearly supports the implementation to PSB among its member countries, since it serves as a forum to promote democratic goals, multi-ethnic and cultural aspects of EU, and public interest as a whole (Michalis, 2009). Daalmeijer (2004)'s study, for example, explores the public service broadcasting in Netherlands and found that the organization has been serving as a cultural forum of the nation, and still perform the idealized roles of the public service broadcasting.

The analysis of PSB in Nordic countries (2005) reveals its operation on a fair and quality basis, in which information freedom is supported, audience participation enhanced, arts/language/culture promoted, and children & minority programs constantly presented (Hawelleck, 2007). The findings were supported by Horsti and

Hultén (2009)'s study about PSB in Finland and Sweden, which supported the presentation of cultural and ethnic diversity.

Program & Content Analysis

The analysis of programs and contents of European PSBs revealed the focus on national identity and culture (Atzori, 2011). An interesting factor determining the programs and contents of European PSBs is the “post-multicultural” attributes, to which the PSBs need to set their program policy to respond to the said characteristics in European Union (Titley, 2009)

Public service broadcasting in the European Union has also produced programs to counter strike the effect of popular media from other countries. The public service television in Norway (NRK SUPER), for example, has been producing and airing programs about Norwegian culture, serving particularly as a forum for quality programs for children (Enli, 2008).

Thai PBS

Research on Thai PBS during the 10-year period (2001-2011) explored basically the multiple viewpoints of media experts and professionals on the establishment of Thai PBS—the first public service television in Thailand— in 2008. Other focuses concern its organizational policy, roles & management, audience attitude, and program analysis.

A study by Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI, 2007) supported the establishment of Thai PBS as a media forum to provide the universal access to Thai audience. It was expected to provide quality programs to the audience and serve as a mediating forum between the public and policy makers. Similar supports were also found in other studies (see for example, Issarachai, 2007; Boonmeetrakul, 2008; and Suphadilok, 2009).

A research sponsored by Thai Research Funds (TRF) in 2004 stated that public service broadcasting in Thailand would provide an alternative to Thai audience, with the focus on quality programs, check and balance systems, and free from government intervention. The operation and budgeting of Thai PBS should be endorsed by law (TDRI, 2007). Henceforth, the annual budget of US\$ 65 million proportionate from the excise tax of tobacco and alcohol is assigned to Thai PBS.

Concern about the government intervention was reported in various studies. Wisessomwong (2007) generated viewpoints about public service TV in Thailand from professionals, experts, scholars, and social groups. In addition to their fully support of the establishment of Thai PBS, they also mentioned the necessary mechanism to guarantee its intervention-free operations. This mechanism is, therefore, stated in the Public Service Broadcasting Law, B.E. 2008.

Another concern is the public's lack of understanding in public service television. Issarachai (2007) indicated that Thai audience has been exposed throughout 50 years to commercial televisions. Therefore, Thai PBS will have to strive hard for building its own identity and distinctiveness as a quality media for Thai people. Promoting knowledge and understanding among the staff is of priority concern, so that they could readjust their attitude and working culture to fit with the missions of public service broadcasting (Thanakulpan, 2010). In addition, informative and education programs (e.g. documentary, history programs, and cultural-diverse tourism) need to be more addressed.

Organizational Structure: Roles & Management

The success implementation of Thai PBS requires the preparedness of staff and program producers, both in-house and independent. The producers have to shift their producing paradigm to focus on quality and audience benefits (Obsuwan, 2008). Cooperation with producers from other television channels will help reduce production costs.

The research on Thai PBS operation revealed its success on news program. A study by Kanjanaboonmalert (2009) found the news programs of Thai PBS to be “in-depth, fair, unbiased, intervention-free, diverse, and creative,” with more focus on regional news when compared with those of commercial TVs. The said success stems basically from many factors, e.g. legal, technology, social networks as news sources, competitors, public preference, financial support, operation, and check-and-balance systems.

Audience Analysis

Preliminary studies on audience opinion about the establishment of Thai PBS revealed the public's support (Sriwong, 2007). Later studies (e.g. Pimpipat, 2008) on public attitudes about Thai PBS also revealed their preference of its programs, especially education programs both in-house produced (e.g. World Travelling) or imported from abroad (e.g. Discovery), morning news, and children programs (Nuangchompoo, 2008).

The audience also indicated their satisfaction with Thai PBS programs (news, documentary, cultures) (Raksirisopa, 2010), resulting in Thai PBS image as the channel of news and children programs (Boonrak, 2009). The audience, in addition, revealed their high needs and expectations towards Thai PBS as a reliable news and information provider (Boontayapan, 2009; and Tongsom, 2010).

Program & Content Analysis

A number of studies have explored programs & contents of Thai PBS, along with their effects on audience, e.g. health program (Piboonpanuwat et al., 2009), family program (Watanahiranyasith, 2010), evening news (Iamrasamee, 2011), and children program (Chaiwitwiwat et al., 2011). Consensus findings were found—that Thai PBS

has been airing quality programs with the desirable effects (e.g. knowledge) on the audience.

Various studies conducted by the Media Monitoring Foundation (2007-2010) regarding media evaluation stated that Thai PBS ranked first in the following aspects: time dedicated to live broadcast of national election (in 2007); programs for public interest (2007); broadcast on political gatherings on fair, well-rounded, & depth basis (2008); news on media reform (2009); health programs (2008); music programs (2008); depth analysis on economics (2008); agriculture programs (2008); and science & technology programs (2009). In addition, while other free TVs (commercial TV) focus on entertainment (soap operas & game shows), Thai PBS has declared its standpoints on airing only quality educational programs (2010). Programs having inappropriate contents (e.g. vulgar language, violence) and advertorial programs (or at-home shopping) were not found on Thai PBS.

Comparison & Contrast of EU Public Service Broadcasting and Thai PBS

In a similar point, both organizations serve the public of diverse cultural and ethnic identity. This phenomenon can be clearly seen in the European Union, in which people of various cultures and ethnics exist within a single nation or across boundaries. As for Thailand, it can be clearly seen that, under Thai culture consist of various sub-cultural groups which, more or less, have been largely ignored by commercial TVs. Recent political confrontations in Thailand starting in 2006, for example, illustrated Thai people's differing cultural perspectives in terms of their political orientations.

Another similarity is the support from the public. The PSB organizations of European Union generally receive firm supports from the audiences; thereby guarantee their justification of existence and operations. As for Thai PBS, although its audiences are mainly those with higher education and white-collar jobs (Bangkok University Poll, 2012), the general public always turns to Thai PBS in time of crisis, e.g. during the big flood in 2011, for reliable and well-rounded news reporting (Thai PBS Facebook). Thai PBS aspires to reach a wider group of audiences in the future.

Another similarity is aim for quality and public interest. The PSB organizations in both Thailand and the European Union have stated clearly about their goals to promote public interest via contents that benefit to all, free from external interventions, operate for the betterment and strength of society, as well as guarantee public access and participation.

A major difference between the PSB organizations in Thailand and European Union is program orientation. While the PSBs of EU aim primarily at providing programs to promote their cultural identity, Thai PBS aims at providing in-depth news analysis, diverse news programs (regional, social, economic, environment, crime, live broadcasting during crisis) and social movements. Thai PBS is renowned for

providing news contents that are considered accurate, fair to all, free from intervention, and diverse.

Another different point is the operations of Thai PBS. The analysis of Thai PBS revealed its strengths in many aspects. Firstly, its existence and operations have already been stipulated and endorsed in the Public Service Broadcasting Act, 2008, that guarantees its fixed annual budget (US\$165 million) and free from external interventions. Secondly, Thai PBS has successfully formulated a firm network with various social groups, which invariably serve as its diverse news sources and justification for its operations and survival. As for the public service broadcasting in many EU member countries (e.g. France), the legal endorsement of PSB is not yet clear, not to mention its efforts in forming a relationship with various social groups.

Conclusion & Implication

Research studies on public service broadcasting in the European Union have reflected the diversity in terms of legal, social, economic and political aspects. This is due to the diverse nature of each member nations regarding the aforesaid issues. In addition to research on the adaptation of regulations, policy, and operational structure to facilitate the performance of PSBs in EU, one similarity, however, is their consensual recognition of the approaching of media technology that will inevitably affect their management, programs, and competitiveness with commercial media. Hence, a number of studies have clearly illustrated this point of concern that demands the adaptation of PSB organizations to these challenges.

Research on Thai PBS, on the contrary, focused primarily on its programs, contents, and audience feedback. This may stem from the fact that Thai PBS, the first public service broadcasting in Thailand, needs to gain public understanding and acceptance among Thai audience. Hence, it has to formulate its own identity, educate the audience about its distinctiveness from the commercial media, and, meanwhile, evaluate the audience responsiveness to its performances.

We can conclude that the PSBs of the European Union and Thai PBS of Thailand have recognized the importance of public service broadcasting as a tool to educate the public and to instill national cultures among the audiences. In this aspect, PSB serves as a mechanism to protect the vulnerable audience (e.g. children) from the commercial media.

A major phenomenon of multiculturalism of audiences in both the European Union and Thailand requires that the public service broadcasting be adjusted to reflect this attribute in its programs and contents. In the European Union, the multiculturalism exists both within and across the national boundaries. Hence, public service broadcasting of each member country has been operating under high expectation to reflect not only national cultural identity, but also to recognize the cultural distinctiveness of ethnic groups as well. In Thailand, however, multiculturalism is increasingly prevalent in the public's political viewpoints, social standings, beliefs,

and practices. So far, Thai PBS has been very cautious in impartially presenting voices from all parties concerned.

Regarding the programs and contents, entertainment has been recently adopted as a strategy for the public service broadcasting, so as to attract younger audiences and to compete with the commercial media. Nevertheless, the entertainment program of PSB is expected to insert quality into contents, so that its principles and mission are still implemented.

It can be concluded that the public service broadcasting is widely recognized both in the European Union and Thailand, as a mechanism to illustrate democratic movements of the public in each country. This is due to the fact that PSB readily welcomes public participation and operates on a fair basis to ensure equal access of all social groups, as well as protect the vulnerable groups of the society. The analyses of research papers conducted on PSB in both the EU countries and in Thailand have confirmed the said practices.

The logo for 'iafor' is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The logo is surrounded by several large, overlapping, curved brushstrokes in shades of light blue and light red, creating a circular, abstract background.

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*Exploring the Relationship between Tourists Types and Travel Path Patterns in
Dong-Gang Area of Taiwan*

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Abstract

This research focused on the arrangement types of travel nodes, according to 350 valid questionnaires of conducting in-depth interviewing and questionnaires survey of travelers stayed at Dong-Gang area, and examined the relationship between the travel path patterns and the traveler types using cross tabulation analysis. The results are as follow:

1. According to the extent of mindful plan before itinerary and average staying time at a tourist spot, the travelers may be reduced to three types-main attraction visitors, specialists, and explorers, among which main attraction visitors account for the largest proportion of 67 % and specialists account for 18 %, while explorers for 15 % respectively.
2. The assessment of the different properties of the three travel path patterns has some practical implications. It is recognized that travel path patterns here with P1(single point to point, touring point to point) and P2 (circular loop, stem and petal) are more demonstrated by the travelers, accounting for 50% and 44%; while the travel path patterns with P3 (radiating hub) are less in proportion, only accounting for 6%.
3. A cross tabulation analysis was conducted with the travel path patterns and the traveler types. The chi-square test is adopted to verify whether there is any relevance between tourist types and tourist route patterns. The statistical significance ($p < .001$) shows a significant difference between the two. The cross-tabulation analysis of tourist types and tourist route patterns, main attraction visitors adopt stem and petal pattern (24%) and point-to-point (20%), indicating that in order to visit these attractions, they make effective time and spatial movement; expert tourists adopt the single point-to-point pattern (8%). The prediction between the travel path patterns and the traveler types of Dong-Gang area is the more mindful planned travelers staying for over two days with radiating hub types and the random traveler staying for less than two days with random exploratory types.

Keywords: travel path pattern, traveler type, cross tabulation

1. Introduction

Many scholars indicated that the effort for exploring tourist routes is conducive to tourism planning, for example, analyzing spatial structure of tourists' routes for tourists' needs, provide diverse perspectives to predict tourists' routes and enhance the appeal of tourist attractions. (Oppermann, 1995; Pearce, 1990; Hwang, Fesenmaier, 2003) Zakrisson & Zillinger (2012) using GPS device to investigate tourist's traveling traces, and then with questionnaire interviews defined the tourists to three types-main attraction visitors, specialists, and wanderers. Main attraction visitor, moving frequently, is eager to visit what can be considered the hot spots by advertisements, and specialists focusing on relative narrower space interested in a specific tourist spots with thematic attractions such as shopping or local cuisine, while wanderers obviously enjoy strolling around extensively in all directions, instead of merely focusing on certain tourist spots.

In reality, according to questionnaire survey of this search, we suggested alternative traveler type- explorers, rather than leisurely wanderers, who are mainly self-centered, those who conduct in-depth exploration of the attractions that they are interested in. Therefore, in this research, travelers are divided into three types-main attraction visitors, specialists and explorers.

Tourist routes can be divided into different categories based on different indicators provided by the researcher. Pearce (1995) divided tourist routes into four categories: tourist route mode, origin-destination mode, structural mode and evolution mode. Flognfeldt (1999) proposed four patterns of tourist routes: Day trips, Resort trips, Base holiday trips and Round trips. Based on the study in Branson, U.S.A., Stewart, Vogt (1997) sorted out problems concerning tourist routes that had not been solved by LCF (1933); that is, the difference between regional tourist route patterns and trip chained patterns.

In contrast to the above scholars' tourist route patterns that set the residence (home) as the starting point, Lew & McKercher (2006) proposed the tourist route pattern that set the accommodation as the starting point, and divided it into three types of P1, P2 and P3. McKercher & Lau (2008) proposed another way of categorizing tourist route patterns, and grouped 78 different types of tourist paths into 11 route types, but the classification is too complicated, which could not be well applied to the simple tourist paths in this study. Hence, the classification method of Lew & McKercher was adopted in this study.

Table 1 Classification for Travel Path Pattern

Year	Travel Path Pattern
Mings、 Mchugh (1992)	Direct route, Partial orbit, Full orbit, Fly/Drive
Lue、 Crompton & Fesenmaier (1993)	single destination, en route, base camp, regional tour, trip chained
Pearce (1995)	tourist route mode, origin-destination mode, structural mode ,evolution mode
Oppermann (1995)	Single destination, Base camp, Stop-over pattern, Full loop, Destination area loop, Open jaw loop, Multiple destination areas loop
Stewart &Vogt (1997)	
Flognfeldt (1999)	Day trips,Resort trips,Base holiday trips,Round trip
Lew & McKercher (2006)	P1,P2,P3

Study Area

The resorts in Dong-Gang area include Pen Bay National Leisure Zone and Liu Qiu Island. Hot tourist spots in Dong-Gang area include natural tourist resources and cultural tourist resources, the former including Marine Leisure District and Qing-Zhou Recreation District, while the latter including the Overseas Chinese Fish Market, Haizhiqiu, sea food Street, Dong-Long temple, Zhen-Hai temple and Circum-baycycling track. Visitors can take the yacht around the Pen Bay to enjoy the mangrove and go to the Oyster Shell Island to learn about oyster cultivation, which will become the world-class water sports & resort base in the future. Liu Qiu Island is the only coral island in the outlying islands of Taiwan. The island is rich in landscape resources, bizarre rocks and stones, intertidal zones with rich ecological significance, brilliant Ryukyu sunset glow, bright stars and fireflies at night, and a variety of water activities and snorkeling.

2. Methodology

2.1 Data Collection

In this research, in-depth interviews were conducted to explore the characteristics of tourists' travel activities and classify tourists into different types. Restricted by respondents' willingness to be interviewed, convenience sampling rather than random sampling is adopted. However, disputes may arise from the convenience sampling--the representativeness of samples. As a result, in order to increase the

availability of the samples, results obtained via the questionnaire survey spanning 2012 and 2013 are designed to indicate tourists' feelings towards their travel in Dong-Gang area within this period rather than the average travel conditions of each month or the whole year. In-depth interviews and questionnaire surveys were conducted in those attractions frequented by tourists in Dong-Gang area such as the Overseas Chinese Fish Market, Lamay Island, Dong-Long temple and Marine Leisure District. The questionnaire contains three parts--tourist properties, characteristics of tourists' activities and tourist attractions, and it has been revised according to experts' advice.

2.2 Data Annalysis

This research used descriptive statistical method to analyze different sample tourists' properties, which is tested by chi-square. Tourist types are taken as independent variables, while tourist route patterns as the dependent variable, both of which are then subjected to the correlation analysis. Variables in this research, which are originally class variables, are turned into nominal variables for the chi-square test analysis. The statistical test, however, firstly verifies whether significant difference variables exist in various dimensions, tourist routes and tourist node attributes, and further probes into the frequency distribution of variables by means of cross tabulation.

In this research, chi-square test is used to examine sample differences of visitors' properties. More than 80% of the expected frequency of each cell in the chi-square test should be bigger than 5, or obvious deviation will show in the results. When the number of cells is too small, there are solutions available such as cell mergence, increase of samples, and elimination of samples and correction of formula. Therefore, in order to improve the accuracy of the chi-square test, in case of insufficient frequencies of some options, the researcher merges similar options, and deletes those options with insufficient frequencies and little value that can not be merged.

3. Results

3.1 Three Types of Tourists in Dong-Gang area

According to the extent of mindful plan before itinerary and average staying time at a tourist spot, the travelers may be reduced to three types-main attraction visitors, specialists, and explorers, among which main attraction visitors account for the largest proportion of 67 % and specialists account for 18 %, while explorers for 15 % respectively based on questionnaire survey.

Table 1 Three Types of Tourists in Dong Kong area

Tourists Types	Samples (N=340)	Percentage (%)
Main attraction visitors	226	67%
Specialists	61	18%
Explorers	53	15%
Total	340	100%

3.2 Travel Path Patterns of tourists in Dong-Gang area

It is recognized that travel path patterns here with P1(single point to point, touring point to point) and P2 (circular loop, stem and petal) are more demonstrated by the travelers, accounting for 50% and 44%; while the travel path patterns with P3 (radiating hub) are less in proportion, only accounting for 6%.

Table 2 Travel Path Patterns of tourists in Dong-Gang area

Travel Path Patterns		Samples (N=340)	Percentage (%)	Sub-Total Samples	Sub-Total Percentage
P1	Single Point-to-Point(P1a)	82	24%	170	50%
	Touring Point-to-Point(P1b)	88	26%		
P2	Circular Loop(P2a)	47	14%	150	44%
	Stem and Petal(P2b)	103	30%		
P3	Radiation Hub(P3b)	20	6%	20	6%

3.3 The relationship between tourist types and travel path patterns

The chi-square test is adopted to verify whether there is any relevance between tourist types and tourist route patterns. The statistical significance ($p < .001$) shows a significant difference between the two. Table 3 shows that the cross-tabulation analysis of tourist types and tourist route patterns, main attraction visitors adopt stem and petal pattern (24%) and point-to-point (20%), indicating that in order to visit these attractions, they make effective time and spatial movement; expert tourists adopt the single point-to-point pattern (8%), indicating that they would concentrate in relatively narrow regions and more often than not likely to explore special or themed attractions, e.g. to pay respects in Dong-Long temple, buy fish in the Overseas Chinese Market or probably join in an event in the Marine Leisure District; explorers adopt the single point-to-point pattern (6%). It is worth mentioning that compared with the other two types, the radiation hub pattern accounts for a relatively large proportion (13%) in this type because of the

explorers' exploration needs as betrayed by their tourist routes: high degree of mobility, and visit to attractions which are less known and densely distributed. So they need accommodations to relax and prepare for the next visit to nearby tourist attractions.

In terms of travel path patterns, single point-to-point, touring point-to-point, circular loop, stem and petal are mainly adopted by main attraction visitors (respectively 10%, 20%, 10%, 24%), while specialists, explorers are mainly adopted single point-to-point (respectively 8% and 6%). However, the latter also accounts for a large proportion in the selection of other types of tourists. It is observed that visitors adopting the single point-to-point pattern intend to stay as long as possible, so this pattern is at the same time adopted by a large number of specialists and explorers. The reason why the tourists in this area didn't adopt radiation hub type need to be further explored, and we suggested in-depth interview to realize the reason is required.

Table 3 Cross tabulation analysis between tourist types and travel path patterns

Tourist Types		Travel Path Patterns					Sub-Total
		Single Point to Point	Touring Point to Point	Circular Loop	Stem and Petal	Radiation Hub	
Main Tourist visitors	Tourists number	35	68	32	82	9	226
	Percentage	10%	20%	10%	24%	3%	67%
Specialists	Tourists number	26	12	8	11	4	61
	Percentage	8%	4%	2%	3%	1%	18%
Explorers	Tourists number	21	8	7	10	7	53
	Percentage	6%	2%	2%	3%	2%	15%
Total	Tourists number	82	88	47	103	20	340
	Percentage	24%	26%	14%	30%	6%	100%

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Teaching in the Contact Zone: Ethical Violence and Critical Pedagogy

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Abstract

This paper mobilises contact zone theory (Pratt 1991) as a discursive frame to explore critical pedagogy in the Humanities and Education. Understanding privilege and its implication for the perpetuation of structural inequality in the contact zone of the classroom will be explored. It outlines the challenges and discomfort students face when confronted by their own sense of complicity in oppression (Boler and Zembylas, 2003). Teaching critical pedagogy plays a key role in overturning discrimination, however considerations on the process by which this is achieved is scant in the literature. Tutors applying critical pedagogy in Higher Education settings should remain cautious of ethical violence in attempts to transform students understanding of structural privilege. This paper explores how tutors can employ contact zone theory in the Humanities and Education with the aid of storytelling devices without risking ethical violence.

Learning is strange: how do we understand other people when they are teaching us to understand? (Sasha MacGill-Rankin, 10 years old).

Introduction

The contact zone of tutorial rooms at the undergraduate level consists of cohorts of students that are culturally diverse, privileged, sexually diverse and students with disabilities. These are complex learning spaces that require sensitivity to the interplay of diversity by tutors, who are also located by their own positionality. Transformative work involves raising students' awareness about discriminatory practices and also includes shifting students' subjectivity (Butler, 2005). 'Knowledge and understanding of dominant and alternate conceptions of subjectivity is the pedagogical goal' (Ivits 2009).

However, this requires sophisticated emotional intelligence by tutors to achieve this goal as it is concerned with internal emotional work. Zembylas states that '[t]he concept of subjectivity implies that self-identity...is contradictory, contextual, and regulated by social norms' (2005, p. 938). Transformative work in the contact zone of the tutorial room in cultural studies topics involves deconstructive work that includes supporting students re-assembling of self (Latour 2005), as 'subjectivity is produced, negotiated, and reshaped through discursive practices' (Zembylas 2005).

This paper uses storytelling as a method of critical pedagogy to explore the tensions and shifts students undergo in their learning journey. The paper provides an example of the challenges privileged white students in Australia undergo when confronted by their advantage and complicity in historical structural inequality. However, this paper also outlines the need for tutors to be cautious of conducting ethical violence towards these students in an effort to shift their understanding of self. I follow Butler's theorisation of the state of the subject to examine this notion of ethical violence. 'Butler suggests that subjects are required to appropriate certain discursive norms in order to be considered intelligible human beings. When a subject is unable to appropriate such a norm, that norm is said to be ethically violent' (Ivits 2009). The very process of unsettling standpoints disrupts student subjectivity and it is this very act that is under examination in this paper.

This article outlines critical pedagogy and the need to avoid moral relativism on one hand and to avoid ethical violence on the other. Key theoretical paradigms that inform critical pedagogy, such as pedagogies of discomfort will be outlined and the processes by which students navigate their own transformation as a result of trauma narratives will be explicated in the final section of the paper.

Critical pedagogy.

Critical pedagogy is concerned with overturning discrimination, highlighting how privilege operates as a form of oppression and raising consciousness. This includes teaching students to understand and recognise oppression. Applying critical pedagogy

in tutorial room practice has its own set of challenges that must be addressed. Ellsworth argues that the literature on critical pedagogy 'are repressive myths that perpetuate relations of domination' (1989, 298). Raising hopes to overturn discrimination may be considered part of the fabric of myth making; arguably this is not the key danger for tutors on the front line teaching anti-discrimination. More importantly is to be aware of students' standpoints. Minority students should not be forced to be representative of a homogenised position and nor should students of privilege be forced to represent a transformed position when they are re-assembling their subjectivity as a result of new knowledge that highlights their complicity in discrimination.

Transformative work requires developing sensibilities in students to understand the dimensions of discrimination and how they themselves are complicit in discrimination either as a result of their structural advantage and or through their own stereotypes. Privileged students who have not experienced discrimination routinely resist confronting how their position is a position of structural privilege. Yet, ironically raising student awareness regarding the machinations of oppression is complicated by the potential to be ethically violent towards those located in privilege or to force minority students to speak on behalf of all peoples subject to discrimination.

Minimising ethical violence towards any student is important, however equally important is not remaining within a site of moral relativism. Teasing out privilege and its active association with oppression needs to be done with various amounts of pressure and explicitly asking students that they will need to choose the way in which they embody new knowledge. This work is uncomfortable and is defined as a pedagogy of discomfort which situates:

...itself within a post-structuralist and feminist tradition that recognizes emotions as discursive practices that constitute one's subjectivities. As an approach to media analyses, a pedagogy of discomfort particularly emphasizes a critical inquiry that recognizes "how emotions define how and what one chooses to see, and conversely, not to see." [18] This kind of inquiry requires that educators and students learn to trace how one's subjectivities are shifting and contingent. The emotions that often arise in the process of inhabiting various senses of self are defensive anger, fear of change, and fears of losing one's personal and cultural identities. A pedagogy of discomfort entails creating spaces for epistemological and emotional problematizations of individual and collective emotions, histories, and sense of self' (Zembylas & Boler 2002).

Students undergo epistemological shifts, and as a result, the student's world view and their subjectivity becomes unsettled by new knowledge in the contact zone of the tutorial room. Being sensitive to students shifting subjectivities requires a sensibility towards the emotional dimensions of transformative work. However, equally important is the need for the tutor to be explicit about h/er position, and that students are required to re-assemble their own moral position.

Contact zone theory has been mobilised as a pedagogical tool to provide a space for student agency. In the contact zone of the tutorial room there are competing voices and various standpoints that are navigated when addressing curriculum material. This is not a neutral space and this needs to be made explicit in order to highlight to students the need to be aware how one attaches their emotions to their standpoint. This enables students to see the connection between intellectual and emotional work. This supports students to have voice, but not to be overly emotional when there is dissonance of opinions. Pratt's contact zone theory has been used to analyse social spaces 'where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of dominance and subordination' (Pratt, 1992,4). It is in this space that tutors must provide leadership in emotional labour and intellectual work.

Pratt argues classrooms/tutorial rooms are spaces 'in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict' (Pratt, 1992: 6). In cultural studies students are challenged and those from locations of structural privilege are confronted by their advantage. Whilst, Pratt's initial theorization of contact zone has been criticised for its failure to outline strategies within the contact zone of the classroom to address and negotiate 'cultural and political differences' (Harris 1995), it does support the critical pedagogical approach that calls for students to move out of their comfort zones (Pratt 1991) into the borderlands (Giroux 1992). However, in the borderlands students are required to navigate their complicity and structural location which can for some be experienced as a form of ethical violence.

Ethical Violence

Ethical violence was defined by Adorno in relation to societal norms that generate ethical principles. When people do not adhere to these norms they become misrecognised (Fraser and Honneth 2003) and thereby denied equality. This ethical violence operates as a form of marginalisation. Butler takes this further and argues people are required to represent themselves as an intelligible ethical subject (Butler 2005) as Ivits outlines:

In other words, in order to be intelligible as an ethical subject, one must present oneself as a self-knowing and self-determining individual. This runs counter to the constitutive nature of the subject as a relational (and thus dependent) being whose fluid identity renders it unknowable to both itself and others. Drawing upon Adorno's conceptualization, Butler asserts that the ethical requirement of subjects to present an autonomous and coherent self-inflicts ethical violence (Ivits 2009).

Forcing a student to become a coherent politicised subject when they are not ready is a form of ethical violence. When students are required to publically declare, either in front of other students or through assessment a political position that they do not understand or do not wish to share they will be confused. Awakening students to a disposition of empathetic engagement without coercion is critical and this can be

achieved through inviting the students to take responsibility for their own emotional and intellectual journey.

The power relations between student/teacher and student/students in tutorials is fertile ground for coercion as the topics students take are graded, their tutorial conversations depend on following the curriculum content and their group work and presentations are peer assessed and depend on collaboration for high grades. Therefore the tutorial room as a contact zone is a site that requires a certain type of leadership that is sensitive to students' shifting subjectivities and being explicit about one's teaching practice becomes fundamental as it provides the framework for students to navigate.

In the work that I do in an undergraduate Indigenous Education topic and an Australian Identities topic in the Humanities students are invited to listen to stories as a method of engaging the listener into hearing alternate standpoints. Fellman and Laub's (1992) work advocates using narrative to shock students with the unfamiliar 'which can be re-contextualized and put into perspective by the teacher' (Rak 2003). However, as Ivits and Rak point out 'if the "appropriate" ethical response to atrocity is to transform for the other (as Boler suggests), aren't students being coerced not only to transform, but to transform in certain ways?' (Ivits 2009).

What are the problems when students are coerced into a particular unsettled understanding? How does the power relations within the various cohorts in the contact zone shift? Students also educate and influence each other's positions within their own tutorial groups and they play a critical role in collaborative learning, that is, building communities of memory which are 'moments of social life wherein practices of remembrance are contested, shaped, and deepened by consideration of the shared significance of what has been heard, seen, or read' (Simon and Eppert 1997).

How does one unlearn privilege without enduring ethically violent environments where the student is pressured to conform to an enlightened position, but as a 'subject is unable to appropriate' this position without lying. In what ways can shifts in consciousness from ignorance towards cognisance be taught without being ethically violent? It is equally problematic to ask minority students to explicate their standpoints publically. As Lorde points out 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house' (Lorde and Clarke 2007) and to coerce minority students to publically claim their standpoint is ethically violent, not simply because it is tending to the master's agenda, but because it is re-presenting the student as the other to a public audience.

If a critical theorist enforces his/her philosophical position through various mechanisms ranging from grading papers to generating a philosophical following in the classroom that does not allow for diverse opinions is there risk of ethical violence? Some would argue that discrimination is so abhorrent that inflicting ethical violence on students is justifiable. Moreover, tutors are not free of their own shadows, and therefore must remain vigilant towards re-learning with students their own locations as well as un-learning assumptions and privileges that limit their teaching practice. That is, the process is collective, dialogical and dependent on an ethics of care (MacGill 2008) that engages students and tutors in a reciprocated learning paradigm.

Storytelling provides for a pathway to navigate the machinations of ethical violence as it is concerned with collective witnessing. Thereby students as a cohort collectively listen and respond to the text without having to disclose their unsettled selves. Ivits argues that a ‘community of memory could be a space wherein students and teachers heed Butler’s (2003) call “to consider how the norm governing who will be a grievable human is circumscribed and produced in these acts of permissible and celebrated public grieving”’ (Ivits 2009). Storytelling is a communal approach to learning. It allows for the post-structuralist position that assumes individuals will interpret and engage with the material based on their own standpoint. However, it also lends itself to excellent dialogue in tutorials as students can discuss the stories and at the same time unravel their shifting subjectivity safely.

Storytelling

The use of narrative and storytelling is a common device employed to evoke empathy and generate action. The aim of critical theorists is to transform students from ignorance to understanding. In the Australian context teaching critical theory is complex as it requires disrupting students who are located in privilege and routinely ignorant of Indigenous issues and the implications of race, class, gender and same-sex discrimination. In our topics we use storytelling and narrative as one of many teaching methods used in both courses.

The non-Indigenous students that I have worked with in Australia have largely not been exposed to critical understandings of race privilege in Australia. Indigenous dispossession and policies of discrimination towards Indigenous people have largely been erased in collective non-Indigenous Australian psyche. Similarly, homophobia and sexism remain institutionalised. In the various topics I have taught the students from privileged locations routinely undergo ‘discomfort’ within the topics I teach. The pedagogical tool of storytelling is a means to engage students understanding of structural discrimination and also mobilises a consciousness shift towards cognisance of one’s complicity in discriminatory practices. Based on my observations students go through the following phases:

Phase 1	Students sit in uncomfortable silence after hearing a trauma text (Fellman & Laub 1992)
Phase 2	Students remain detached from the story until they understand that the intention of the story is not to blame, but to create understanding (unsettling of the self, Butler, 2005)
Phase 3	Privileged students experience anger and resistance as they feel unsettled by the notion that their privilege perpetuates oppression; guilt vs. innocence argument (Aveling, 2004; Boler & Zembylas 2003; Rak, 2003)
Phase 4	Students choose to move outside of self towards a position of empathy or they remain shut down by the feeling that they have been misrepresented by this new knowledge
Phase 5	The large percentage of students shift towards anti-discriminatory behaviours and generate a cohort that becomes an influential force in the tutorial room (Giroux’s border crossing 2005)
Phase 6	Students carry the new knowledge and choose how they will use it

Aveling concurs (2004) with Dlamini (1999) that ‘providing the conditions for “crossing over into cultural borders that offer different narratives” does not automatically lead to “cultural re-mapping”’ (Zembylas and Boler 2002). It is not possible to quantitatively measure students’ acquisition of emotional intelligence as they all shift at different times and for different reasons. Whilst the outcome of my teaching may be unclear regarding students achieving understandings ‘of dominant and alternate conceptions of subjectivity’ (Ivits 2009), I do know that students carry with them the stories that we have shared in the tutorial room.

A particular narrative that is used in my tutorial is the story of Tjilpi Bob Randall, an Aboriginal elder that outlines his story as a Yankunytjatjara man from the central desert region of Australia. The title of the text is Kanyini and is a trauma text about having his land stolen, children taken by the state and he states: ‘you stole my land and you took my soul’. This particular line is heard by the students and disrupts non-Indigenous students whose understanding of belonging is constituted by white sovereignty. It is such narratives that unsettle ontological belonging, as well as abstracted notions of belonging (Fellman and Laub 1992). ‘Identity is the effect of performance, and not vice versa’ (Fellman and Laub 1992) and throughout a semester long topic on identities or Indigenous education students identities are shaped by stories that do not privilege a white hetero-normative hegemonic position.

Importantly, whilst this approach calls for an empathetic engagement with the stories, I tell students that as they hear the story they have choice about how they engage with the story. This ‘wakes’ students up as they are required to be aware of the choice that they will need to make, that is, they recognise that ‘listening’ is work. This choice is concerned with how one will carry the knowledge and how he/she will use it. It is this very choice that creates discomfort as it calls for the re-examination of one’s own identity. It disrupts normalised identities and leads students to a point where they are required to ‘rethink’ their ‘assumptions and to confront the internal obstacles encountered as [their] views are challenged’ (Boler 1999). As Ivits states ‘one of the primary goals of a pedagogy of discomfort is that students learn to inhabit an ambiguous sense of self’ (Ivits 2009).

However, Boler questions the use of narratives that evoke trauma. Ivits argues that when students understand themselves in a particular way, such as homogenous [Australian] citizens, then they are unprepared for the disruption of self that is required to move beyond this dominant privileged location. Outlining the use of narrative as a method to inform students of the plurality of standpoints helps them see how oppression operates through ‘othering’. However, when educators force unwilling students to publically narrate their response to trauma stories it moves towards ethical violence. When students are transitioning they are in the process of re-assembling (Latour 2005) and therefore they do not understand their full selves and their position is partial. Rak asks: ‘when instructors teach narratives which have an experience of trauma at their centre where readers or viewers are supposed to react strongly to the material, is bringing a class to crisis a responsible way to teach? Should scholars and teachers who work in cultural studies take up this method of teaching to bring students to ethical awareness?’ (Rak 2003).

Students often feel obliged to adopt the tutor’s view point. Emotional labour of teachers and students is required to engage in this transformative work in order to

‘maximize anti-oppressive transformation while minimizing, if not eliminating, the ethical violence done to students’ (Ivits 2009). The emotional labour required by the tutor is having a critical sensitivity about h/er location as the leader in the room; observing body language and silences and awareness of subversion. The students’ emotional labour involves the internal self-reflexive work that occurs when one’s subjectivity is disrupted. Ivits argues that students should not be required to publically divulge their position or write down their reflections about their complicity of oppression as a result of their location, instead: ‘Knowledge and understanding of dominant and alternate conceptions of subjectivity is the pedagogical goal’ (Ivits 2009).

Using narrative as a method informed by critical pedagogy should ‘foster a disposition towards the limits of others in **that it affirms the instability of the subject** by working against the essentialization of identities’ (Ivits 2009). Rak (2003) and Ivits (2009) agree that it is possible to use communal ways to respond to narrative where students are able to work together rather than individually, that is, a ‘*communally* created context for the testimony’ (Ivits 2009, p. 58).

The witness to trauma and the witness to narrative share a narrative *between* them which includes the story of the trauma and the hearing of that story, so that this experience can become part of public memory which can be acted on or worked out, rather than acted out as a traumatic repetition of what cannot be admitted publicly (LaCapra, 1994:209-10). This sharing of narrative should not be understood as an equal sharing. The story of the one who witnessed the traumatic events must be heard, Laub says, in silence. The story, the agency, the right to speak that the witness may feel s/he has at other times is supposed to be suspended. This suspension neither constitutes the fragmentation of subjectivity, nor does it mean that the witness makes the traumatic event her/his “own.” It means that for a time, the witness to a narrative about trauma might be asked to wholly pay attention to the narrative and to its affect, so that nothing else matters, including the agency a witness usually would exercise in daily life, and the right to speak which is so often associated with agency (Rak 2003).

The notion of collective witnessing is an important shift in critical pedagogy that involves the suspension of agency of privileged students. The suspension of agency by privileged students is the site of discomfort. Critically engaging students in listening and explicating the purpose of this suspension as a moral and civic responsibility helps privileged students confront their locatedness and the need to be unsettled. Whilst this may cause moral distress, collective witnessing creates awareness ‘about our historical responsibilities and acknowledge our co-implication in the event. Ideally, this precipitates some sort of action toward change’ (Ivits 2009) 14. In the process of collective witnessing they are as a cohort engaged in generating a ‘public memory’ (Ivits 2009) that serves to overturn ignorance and discrimination.

Conclusion

There are ethical considerations for educators engaged in transformative critical pedagogy. Using narratives as a method to create illuminate deeper understandings of one's subjectivity and generating a sensibility in students towards anti-discrimination is a pedagogical aim.

Using such methods can lead towards ethical violence when students are required to represent material that they do not fully embody or when they are called on to represent their 'race' 'class' or 'sex'. Allowing students time to re-assemble their unsettled subjectivities means they will own their material. Using collective witnessing as a way to address this helps students move towards anti-discriminatory cognizance. Moreover, explicating the need to suspend agency when listening to trauma texts as a moral responsibility shifts resistance to a site of generosity. Creating safe spaces in the contact zone of the tutorial room is achieved through insightful leadership by the tutor.

Avoiding moral relativism and creating tension is equally important. Mindfulness of students shifting standpoints is useful in this work which allows tutors the opportunity to continue with the curriculum material without the need to ensure that all students are experiencing the same emotional challenges at the same time. Explicating teaching aims support the journey of collective witnessing and generating a public memory where aims and processes are made explicit is necessary to avoid ethical violence.

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*From Resistance to Participation: Clanship and Urban Modernization in the Wuyi
Rural Market Towns during the Republican Era*

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Introduction

Studies on urban modernization in early twentieth century South China usually attribute rural development to the government and some returned overseas Chinese only. In Wuyi, a region in South China, traditional clanship dominating the rural society is usually considered to be slowing down urban modernization during that period. However, most of the modernized rural markets were in fact developed by the local clan organizations (Zhang et al., 1998; Zhang, 2004, 2005). It seems that clanship influence on urban modernization in rural society has always been underestimated.

The Wuyi cultural region in central Guangdong Province is composed of the “five counties”: Enping, Heshan, Kaiping, Taishan, and Xinhui. They share common dialect and other cultural customs (Figures 1 and 2). This region has had high amount of emigrants to foreign countries since the nineteenth century. There has also been large amount of markets by the eighteenth century, which were mostly developed by one single clan or by cooperation of several clans.

This paper attempts to investigate the neglected role of the clan organizations in urban modernization during the Republic of China in Wuyi (Republican era, 1912-1949). It is a historical study that is mainly based on archival documents including government publications, share offer prospectuses for village and market establishments, etc. These documents show the gradual change of clan organizations’ attitude from resistance to acceptance, cooperation, and finally to active participation in urban modernization in their hometowns. They are further analyzed by referring to artefacts of townscape which show merger of traditional clanship and modernized practices in rural markets. As an illustration, the twin-market of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu in Duanfen Town of Taishan County is examined to show inter-clan competition under the modernized administrative system and design.



Figure 1. Location map of the Wuyi region

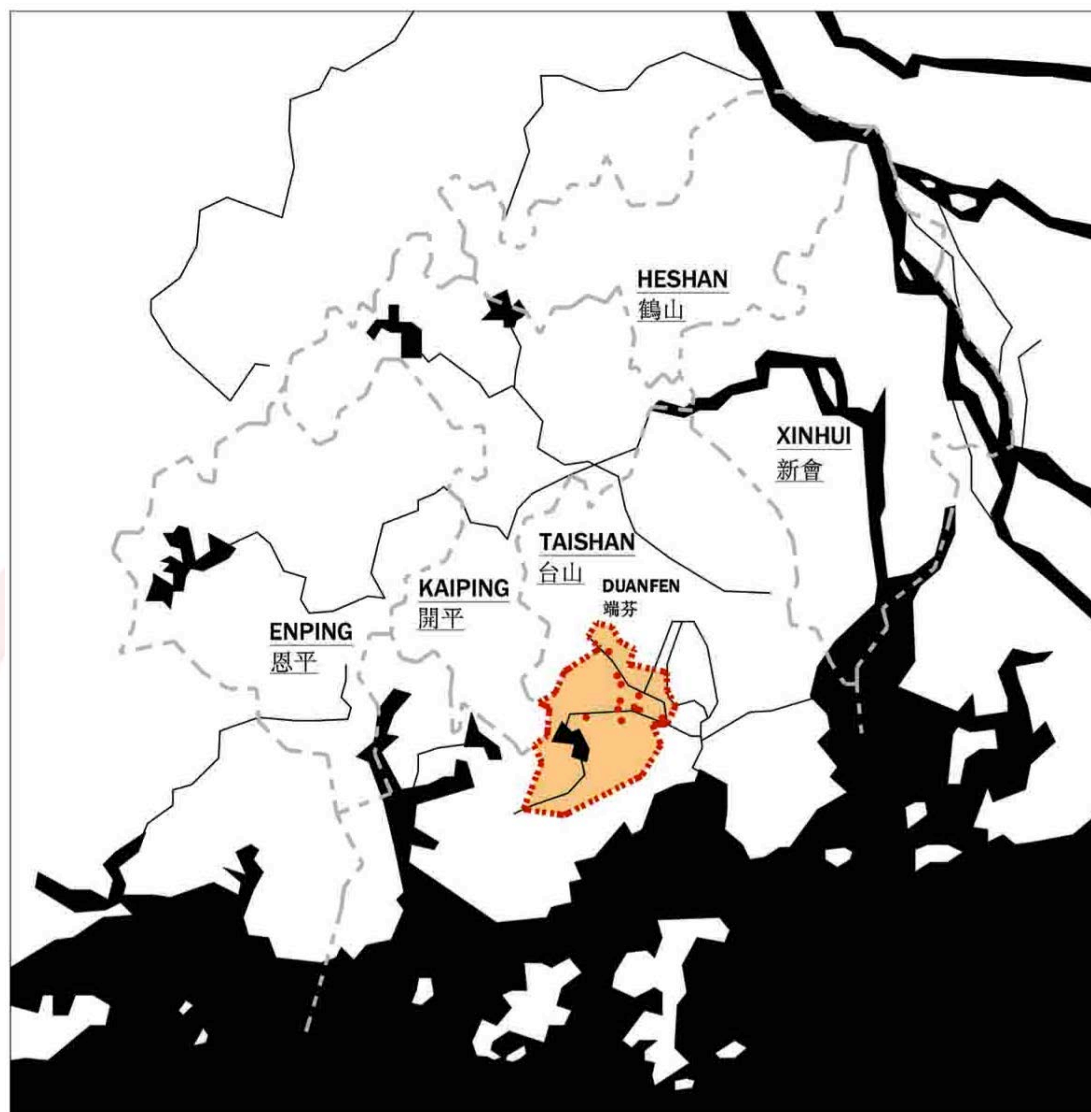


Figure 2. Location map of Duanfen Town in the Wuyi region. The region of “five counties” is composed of Enping, Heshan, Kaiping, Taishan, and Xinhui; Duanfen is a town in Taishan County.

Government and Urban Modernization: Indirect Governance in the Rural Area

In 1925, the Governor of Taishan County in Wuyi, Liu Zaifu’s request for autonomy was approved by Sun Yat-Sen’s Nationalist Government in Guangzhou. The county was financially autonomous with the power to raise fund, tax, and spend the tax income. These powers facilitated the county’s development in urban construction, education, transportation, etc. Especially the simplification of reporting system to the provincial and national governments could accelerate the capital-raising and execution of urban development (Zhu, 2004: 34-35).

Similar with Guangzhou, the County Government of Taishan established its Public Works Bureau (*gong wu ju* 工務局). *The Proposal for Material Constructions of Taishan* (*Taishan wu zhi jian she ji hua shu* 台山物質建設計劃書) was issued in 1929 setting the guidelines for public works in this autonomous county (Tan, 1929). It

was recorded that the master plan for renewal of the whole county was established by the Governor in 1923. Two renewal methods according to different degrees of governmental dominance were recorded:

- (1) High degree of governmental dominance:
The method of renewal was firstly establishing the Municipal Administration Offices (*shi zheng xiang ban chu* 市政勸辦處) in different market towns and appointing prestigious local squires for assistance. These offices were responsible for the affairs of capital-raising and administration, and then the Public Works Bureau planned and supervised the works. The appointment of squires was a strategic means of obtaining the trust of local residents in order to minimize the local obstacles and to accelerate the process. There were only thirteen markets on the upper central-place level renewed under high degree of governmental dominance.
- (2) Low degree of governmental dominance:
The majority of markets on the lower central-place level were renewed under low degree of governmental dominance. They were carried out by means of the Public Works Bureau's surveying of sites, site planning, and then indirectly supervising the merchants' administration and construction works.

Although the authority's governance in high-level cities like Guangzhou was stronger compared to that in the lower-level towns and rural areas, it does not mean that the government could execute easily urban modernization with the full support of the city dwellers. There were revolts against these policies by the residents in Guangzhou due to inconvenience and loss of properties (Yeung, 1999). On the other hand, in the lower-level Taishan County, where the power of clan organizations was much stronger, the difficulties in urban modernization can be easily imagined. Therefore, when the Taishan County Government initiated urban modernization in the lower-level towns and villages, it had no choice but to obtain the assistance of local squires. We can also see that the lower degree of governmental dominance in urban modernization existed in the lower-level markets in general.

Overseas Chinese and Urban Modernization: Mediator between the Government and the Clans

Other than the government, overseas Chinese also contributed to urban modernization in South China. The founder of Xinning Railway 新寧鐵路, Chin Gee Hee, was born in Liucun, Doushan, Taishan County of Wuyi, and immigrated to the West Coast of the U.S.A. He returned to Taishan in 1904, and established the only railway in Wuyi in history (Zheng and Cheng, 1991: 34-39). The capital raised for the first stage of construction was mainly from the overseas Chinese of Taishan-origin (Zheng and Cheng, 1991: 43). Other than individuals, some of the capital were in the name of *ju* 祖 or *tang* 堂 [clan organizations] and hometown associations overseas (Zheng and Cheng, 1991: 45).

Xinning Railway was a modern infrastructural work wholly initiated, planned, funded, and executed by civilians without any governmental participation. However, according to Zhang and Cheng (1991: 57), its development process exposed the

conflict between the “local feudal power” and the “emerging overseas Chinese’s capital power.” What Zhang and Cheng call “local feudal power” can be regarded as the clan organizations scattering over the rural areas of Wuyi. This can be reflected in the obstacles of local clans encountered in each phase of construction. During phase one, the originally planned line to Xinchang was resisted by the Zhen clansmen near Xinchang and was finally suspended. During phase two, resistance by the Kuang clansmen of Shagang Cun resulted in the shift of line in a more indirect way. These incidents of resistance were mainly due to blackmail or *feng shui* reason (Zheng and Cheng, 1991: 49-53).

However, the railway created a vital component for the economic bloom in Wuyi during the Republican period. Goods from places outside were rapidly imported to and circulated within Wuyi, and directly benefited the founding or renewal of market towns finally. Among these market towns, the founding of Gongyi Bu obviously indicated the contribution by overseas Chinese (Figure 3). One of the founders, Wu Yuzheng, born in Shachong Cun, Dajiang of Taishan County, returned from the U.S.A. in 1905 (Qing Dynasty), he mobilized overseas Chinese merchants, local squires of the Li , Yi , Wu clans, etc. near Gongyi to establish the Office of Port Affairs (*bu wu gong suo* 埠務公所) for development of the new port. Contrary to the Zhen clansmen near Xinchang resisting the setting of railway station in their territory, Wu negotiated with Chin Gee Hee and requested for setting a station at Gongyi. This showed the different vision of overseas Chinese from that of the traditional local squires about the merits of new infrastructure. Finally, Gongyi Bu was opened in 1908 with a railway station right next to it (Cai and Deng, 2006: 48).



Figure 3. Gongyi Bu, Taishan County

The strong local kinship tie is believed to be an important driving force for the overseas Chinese’s contribution to the public affairs in their rural hometowns. In fact, they replaced the government to import overseas knowledge and to carry out urban modernization for public interests. This could enhance their reputation in the clans. Moreover, their strong family concept made them send most of their savings from

foreign countries back home. A considerable amount of money was spent on building their own houses (in the form of individual luxurious residences, watch towers, or village houses in the kin-based grid-patterned villages), or invested in building shophouses in the markets for rent. By this means, they could safeguard the living standard of their families, relatives, and of themselves after returning hometowns in the future (Li, 1999: 164-172). As a result, these new property developments also constituted modernization of townscape in Wuyi.

The overseas Chinese's investment in their hometowns reflected a quasi-modern-capitalist practice influenced by their exposure to Western commercial system in foreign countries. For example, clear charter for shareholding and company-limited systems was issued by Chin Gee Hee during his capital-raising from overseas Chinese for Xinning Railway in 1905 (Zhang and Cheng, 1991: 38). Similar practices familiar to the overseas Chinese have also been widely adopted in different property development projects even in the Qing era before 1912 (Qionglin Li, 1908).

For instance, in Duanfen Town of Taishan County, a new market known as Tingjiang Xu was founded by the Mei and other clans in 1932. From the preserved *Tingjiang Xu Shareholding Booklet* 汀江墟股份簿 (Tingjiang Xu, 1933), we can discover very detailed written regulations about modernized systems of stock launch, capital-raising process, shareholding, organization, operation, property management, tenancy agreement, etc. The procedure of establishment of Tingjiang Xu as recorded in the "shareholding booklet" can be summarized as the following steps:

- (1) Formation of founders and preparatory committee
- (2) Surveying and planning
- (3) Application for government's endorsement
- (4) Stock launch for capital-raising from invited clans
- (5) Subscription of shares by the clans
- (6) Purchase of shares by individual clansmen via the clans
- (7) Lottery and allocation of shop lots
- (8) Purchase of farmlands for market site
- (9) Construction of common works by Common Developer
- (10) Construction of shophouses by individual shareholders
- (11) Renting of shophouses to businessmen
- (12) Operation of business for each shop

The seemingly modernized procedure for market establishment in fact still implied clanship dominance in commercial practice. Particularly in steps 4 to 6, the shares of the new market were only offered to limited clans rather than to the public. Even the shareholding of market, which corresponded to the ownership of shophouses, was not an absolutely free property. Assignment of shophouses required the endorsement by the Board of Directors of market, which was controlled by the founding clans only.

The contribution of overseas Chinese in Wuyi spanned over different levels of towns. Their capital penetrated into different types of urban projects such as infrastructures, markets, individual buildings, etc. Their knowledge in modern project administration, planning, and design from foreign countries was also introduced to their hometowns. In conclusion, they can be regarded as the intermediate class between the government

who dominated the large cities and the local squires and clan organizations who dominated the rural parts of Wuyi.

Clanship and Urban Modernization: From Resistance to Participation

Traditional clanship dominating the rural society of Wuyi is usually considered to be slowing down urban modernization during the Republican era (Zhang and Cheng, 1991: 5-7; TSXGWJ, 1929). In other words, we can assume that urban modernization in the rural part, being the lower-level market towns and villages, could never be achieved without the promotion or at least cooperation of the local squires and clan organizations.

During the Republican era and before, the sovereignty of government in these rural areas far from the county administrative seats had always been weak and indirect through the local squires and clan organizations. The news of inter-village, inter-clan, intra-clan, or clan-government conflicts were reported in *Sunning Magazine*¹ 新寧雜誌 at that time. These conflicts occurred so frequently that four pieces of such news in issue 25, 1922 of this magazine can be found, meaning that there were at least four such incidents in Taishan County in ten days (Table 1).

These conflicts, sometimes even with firearms, provided the “premodern” impression of the rural Wuyi. Each village was usually occupied by one or several branches of a clan, and a clan might branch out to different villages in a locality. Autonomous association (*zi zhi hui* 自治會) was one form of clan organizations uniting different branches and villages under the same clan. The conflicts related to clanship usually broke out of economic benefits, such as property boundaries.

These clan organizations were sometimes reluctant to changes of urban modernization for two reasons. Firstly, new construction works disturbed their traditional way of life. Secondly, the new developments were regarded as infringement of their original territories and benefits, such as properties. Other than the incidents of local squires’ resistance to the construction of Xinning Railway, there were many similar incidents against the construction of highways in rural areas. Four such incidents were recorded in *The Photo Album of the Construction Works of Taishan County* (*Taishan Xian jian she tu ying* 台山縣建設圖影) issued by Public Works Bureau, Taishan County 台山縣公務局 (TSXGWJ, 1929) (Table 2).

¹ *Sunning Magazine* was a countywide civilian magazine of Taishan founded in 1909 (Qing Dynasty). It was issued three times a month in the Republican era.

Table 1. News of inter-village, inter-clan, intra-clan, and clan-government conflicts reported in issue 25, 1922 of *Sunning Magazine*

1	Heading:	“房界之爭訟界” [Litigation for branch territories]
	Page no.:	14-15
	Location:	Chakeng 茶坑, Sijiu 四九
	Rival parties:	Among three branches (<i>fang</i> 房) in the Kuang 鄺 clan
	Background:	Three branches strove for the common occupation of pond behind village.
	Process:	One of the branches refused the request by the clan elders to return the pond to common use.
	Result:	Two other branches prepared to litigate.
2	Heading:	“爭訟界幾乎釀禍” [Struggle for territory almost resulting in battle]
	Page no.:	39
	Location:	Paobu 泡步, Shuinan 水南
	Rival parties:	The Zhu 朱 clan vs. The Chen 陳 clan
	Background:	The Zhu clan encroached several feet of the territory of the neighbouring Chen clan for construction work.
	Process:	An elder of Chen clan was assaulted when he negotiated with the Zhu clan.
3	Heading:	“抗警費被拘” [Arrested for resistance to police levy]
	Page no.:	50-51
	Location:	Paobu 泡步, Shuinan 水南
	Rival parties:	The Zhu 朱 and the Chen 陳 clans vs. Local police branch
	Background:	The Zhu and the Chen clans refused paying the local police levy.
	Process:	The two clans persistently refused to pay after several orders by Police Commander.
	Result:	The police arrested six Zhu clansmen and two Chen clansmen, and ordered payment for release of them.
4	Heading:	“冲龔伍定安村之不平敬告邑人家族父老書” [Declaration of complaint by Ding'an-Cun 定安村 branch of the Wu 伍 clan to clan elders]
	Page no.:	Nil
	Location:	Ding'an Cun 定安村, Chongliu 冲龔
	Rival parties:	Ding'an-Cun 定安村 branch of the Wu 伍 clan vs. Bajia-Cun 八家村 branch of the Wu clan.
	Background:	Two branches strove for territory.
	Process:	Bajia-Cun branch employed 300 gangsters to destroy Ding'an-Cun branch's crops and access road, set fire on 11 houses, and assault the women. However, the incident was distorted in the report in a magazine, of which the editor belonged to Bajia-Cun branch.
	Result:	Ding'an-Cun 定安村 branch requested the elders of the Wu Clan Autonomous Association (<i>Wu zu zi zhi hui</i> 伍族自治會) for mediation.

Table 2. Incidents of local squires' resistance to the construction of highways recorded in *The Photo Album of the Construction Works of Taishan County*

Highway	Village resisting	Request by villagers	Resolutions by government	Results
Tai-Di Highway 台荻公路	Yueshan Cun 月山村	Rerouting from the right-hand side to the left-hand side of village, due to blockage of water source and <i>feng shui</i> problem	Lobbying with villagers	Construction according to original route; traffic convenience; villagers' regret for resistance
Tai-Di Highway 台荻公路	Bajia Cun 八家村	Rerouting further away from village	Forceful suppression of garrison (external, and not under Taishan County Government) employed by villagers	Construction according to original route; traffic convenience; and villagers' regret for resistance
Tai-Di Highway 台荻公路	Dongkeng Cun 東坑村	Rerouting	Lobbying with villagers	Construction according to original route; traffic convenience; and villagers' regret for resistance
Tai-Hai Highway 台海公路	Zengkun Cun 繒困村	Rerouting to the back of village	Lobbying with villagers and construction of a roadside school	Construction according to original route; traffic convenience; improvement in education; and villagers' regret for resistance

From these incidents, we can understand that the power of Bajia Cun was so strong to employ external garrison to revolt against the Public Works Bureau of Taishan. Therefore, except the incident of Bajia Cun, in most cases the government could only persuade the villagers to accept the constructions. In the incident of Zengkun Cun, the government even offered help in the construction of a roadside school in order to please the villagers.

Kin-based settlements had spread widely in the villages and towns in Wuyi probably since the Ming Dynasty (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries) (Zhang et al, 1998: 25-26). The strong kinship bond has influenced the formation of grid-patterned villages with house blocks closely packed in regular layout usually deliberately set by a single clan organization. Such an intimate mode of living can only be adopted by dwellers with kinship bond and well-structured clan organization.

In 1908 (late Qing Dynasty), near the Mei-clan-dominated Tingjiang Xu, a new grid-pattern village known as Qionglin Li was founded by four branches² of the same clan. (Qionglin Li, 1908: 2-3) (Figure 4). From the preserved *Booklet of Shareholding Charter for Establishment of Qionglin Li* 創建瓊林里股份章程簿, although similar

² The four branches were in the name of *zu* 祖 [common ancestor], namely Yuanshao 元韶, Keda 可達, Delong 德隆, and Xichong 錫重.

shareholding system with Tingjiang Xu was adopted, we can find that some terms with clanship style were inserted in the regulations of establishment (Table 3).

Table 3. Terms with clanship style in *Booklet of Shareholding Charter for Establishment of Qionglin Li*

Article no.	Summary (translated from Chinese to English by the author)
5	Those do not want to build houses in the village shall sell the shares only to the shareholders of the village, and sale of shares to external buyers is prohibited.
17	In case of any village houses built close to the graves of other clan branches arousing conflict and litigation, the village association shall fund and help the house owners for protection of territories.
18	Any fee due to removal of stuff encroaching the common areas shall be charged to the violators. Those refuse to compensate the fee of removal shall be deprived of all the rights in the village.
22	The revenues from rent of common properties shall subsidize the educational expenditures of descendants for the glory of village.
24	The two administrators shall be composed of one from the branches of Yuanshao and Keda, and another from the branches of Delong, and Xichong.
25	The descendants of our four branches shall obey the instructions by the ancestors to live in harmony. In case of any quarrels, the elders of our village shall be called for mediation.
26	The kinsmen of the village shall love and respect each other. All villagers shall be responsible and well-behaved.
30	The remaining four shares are reserved for the branches of Yuanshao and Delong, for reward of their efforts in founding the village.
31	The strip of land behind the village school is reserved for villagers to construct their ancestral halls in the future.



Figure 4. Grid-patterned village, Qionglin Li, Duanfen, Taishan County

Compared to Tingjiang Xu (as a market), Qionglin Li (as a village) was more like a close-knitted and autonomous community, restricted to only the founding families from four branches of the Mei clan. This system was clearly enforced by article 5 that sale of shares, implying building and residence in the village, to other clans or even other branches of the Mei clan was prohibited. This “shareholding booklet” was more than a commercial document. The kinship bond of villagers was reinforced by rights of space, such as protection of territory (Article 17), use of common areas (article 18), and building of ancestral hall in village (Article 31); and finance, such as support for litigation (Article 17) and subsidy for educational expenditures (Article 22). Moreover, the villagers’ obligations in terms of both morality and behaviour were also regulated.

Regardless of the clanship domination hidden in these terms of Qionglin Li establishment as well as those of the shareholding of Tingjiang Xu, there was a general desire for modernization by clan organizations in the early twentieth century in this region. The purpose of founding Tingjiang Xu by different clans was declared in the “shareholding booklet” as reforming the “administrative organization dominated by a single clan in patriarchal style and lack of freedom for the other clans” in a neighbouring old market, Datong Shi (Tingjiang Xu, 1933: 17). The desire for modernization was also expressed in the “shareholding booklet” of Qionglin Li: “The world is getting more civilized. All organisms survive by competition. We should insist on long-term evolution.” (Qionglin Li, 1908: 2)

Therefore, we can conclude that in the rural area of Wuyi during the Republican period, on the one hand, the modernized capitalist practice introduced by the overseas Chinese was still fused with the residual of traditional kin-based commercial practice. On the other hand, the traditional clan organizations were undergoing modernization process through new commercial practice. Severe commercial competition between clans, also with the backup of overseas Chinese’s capital, acted as the important motivator for the development of many modernized rural markets in Wuyi during the Republican era (Mei Weiqiang, 1996, 2002; Zhang, 2004, 2005).

Twin-market: Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu

The phenomenon of “twin-markets” exposed how the market developers, usually composed of one single clan or several clans, reacted with their competing counterparts in market development. Evidenced by various cases in South China, we can see that if the demand is sufficiently high in a locality, a new market would tend to be founded nearby to compete with the existing market. The generally longer distance between markets before the late Qing Dynasty (late nineteenth century) showed an “order of distance” maintained by clanship power in association with the local government. This practice was a social custom rather than a clear legal enforcement. An obvious case in Duanfen was the pair of the Chens’ Shangze Xu founded before 1545 (Ming Dynasty) and the Mei’s Shandi Xu founded in 1771 (early Qing Dynasty). Because of the Chens’ complaint, the Mei clan’s original intention to utilize the existing market network of Shangze Xu by establishing the new Jiangshan Xu next to it was disapproved by the local government.³ Finally, the

³ Wu Bingwang and Mei Chengji, interviewed by the author, 7 September 2006; and Mei Weiqiang, interviewed by the author, 17 August 2008.

Meis were forced to relocate to a new market which was subsequently renamed as Shandi Xu further away from the old one (Mei Youchun, 1983: 62; Mei Yimin, 1984: 71).

However, the order of distance has ceased working since a rather modernized marketing system was introduced later in the Republican period (Figure 5). Therefore, when this modernized condition combined with a high demand for marketing activities in a locality, a new market would be founded by another clan right next to the original market, giving rise to the so-called “twin-market.”

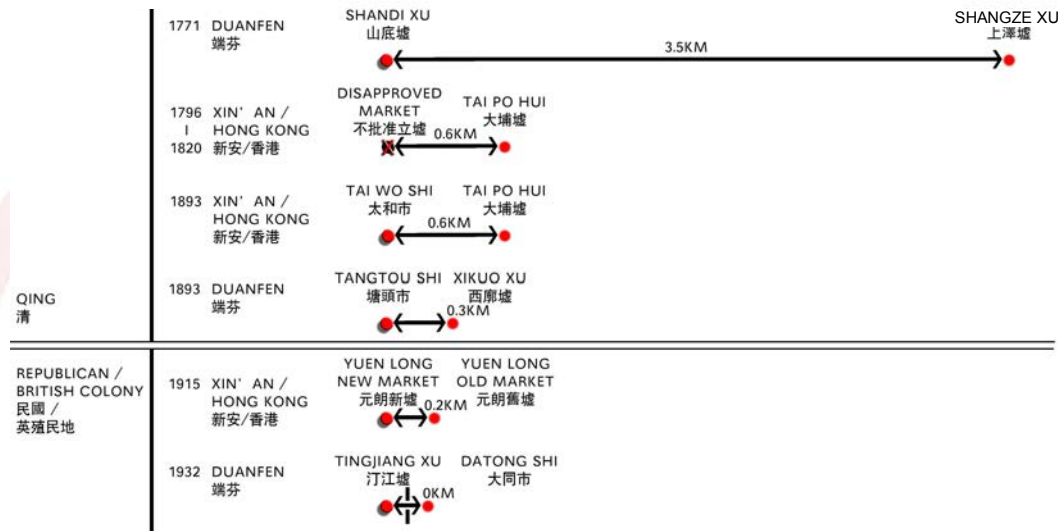


Figure 5. Selected cases on the distances between markets in South China

This section focuses on Tingjiang Xu of Duanfen Town together with its neighbouring Datong Shi, which combined to form a twin-market (Figures 6 to 13). Its process of market-form developments is discussed to illustrate how a new mode of rather modernized marketing system was introduced to a region of traditionally clanship-dominated economy.

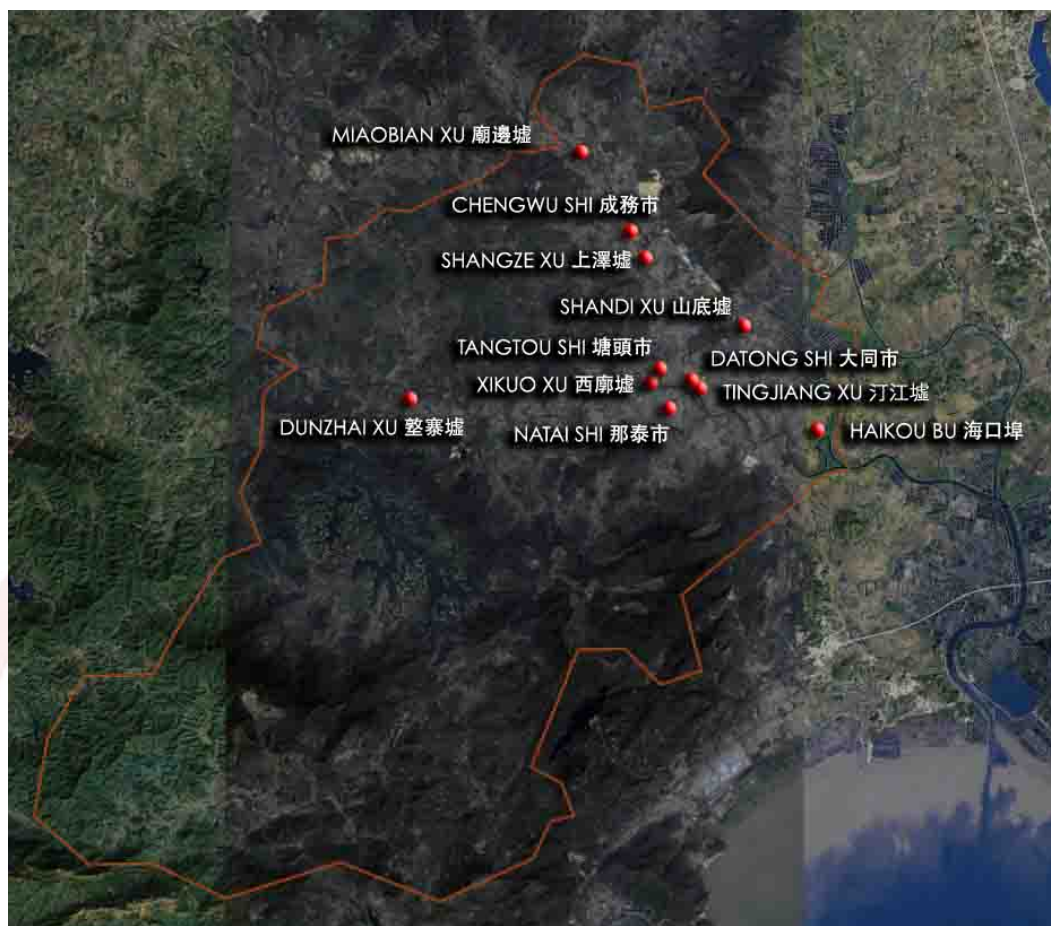


Figure 6. Aerial photo indicating locations of market cases in Duanfen⁴

The major founder of Tingjiang Xu, the Mei clan, has been the most prominent clan in Duanfen since the fourteenth century (Ming Dynasty). Therefore, most of the villages and markets in this town, such as Qionglin Li, Shandi Xu, and Haikou Bu, were solely established by them. Another clan in Duanfen, the Yuans, had their original base at Tangtou Shi nearby. They also expanded their power and cooperated with the Mei and other local clans to found Datong Shi in October 1922 (DFZZ, 2009: 374; Mei Weiqiang, 2002: 42). Other than the proximity to the Yuan clan's villages, a reason for the site of Datong Shi was probably its strategic location of intersection point of the Datong River and a highway. The Datong Bridge for vehicular traffic across the river near the west side of market was also built by the Yuans in 1930 (DFZZ, 2009: 5). The market is generally in orthogonal form. The colonnade streets form the pattern of two main streets in northwest-southeast direction and four narrow cross streets in-between.

Although Datong Shi started from inter-clan cooperation, it was dominated by the Yuan clan instead of the most prominent clan of the region, the Meis (Mei Weiqiang, 2002: 42). This might be the reason for the later instability and disputes between the clans in the market. From *Tingjiang Xu Shareholding Booklet* written by the Mei and other clans, the "Yuans-dominated" Datong Shi was accused of its outdated layout,

⁴ Image produced from software "Google Earth."

insufficient facilities, and administrative organization dominated by a single clan under patriarchal style and lack of freedom for other clans (Tingjiang Xu, 1933: 17). Combining these three aspects together with the existing market form, it is probable that the problems were related to the narrow streets without any central square for the free mobile commercial activities during the scheduled market days. Administration of mobile merchants was usually not clearly stipulated in the market regulations, but depended on the merchants' social relationship with the administrators. This easily led to inter-clan conflicts in a multi-clan market like Datong Shi.

No matter such an accusation was fair or not, there was surely a sense of discontent from the Meis and the other clans about the administration by the Yuans. Finally in 1932, the Meis led the other clans to withdraw from Datong Shi. Eleven Meis, two Qius, together with one from the Wu, Cao, Liang, and Jiang clans respectively initiated to found a new market on the other side of a narrow stream right next to the southeast of Datong Shi. Their aims were set as "fund-raising from multi-clan, building of public market, improvement of municipal administration, and freedom of business." The market site acquired was in total twenty-odd acres which housed sixty-five pieces of farmlands privately owned by the Meis. Despite no written limitation of clan, the domination of the Mei clan over the sixteen clans and some other unidentified organizations was reflected in the ratio of Initiators 發起人 (about 65%), Provisional Preparatory Administrators Elected 公推臨時籌辦員 (about 85%), Board of Directors 董事 (about 50%), and shareholders (about 50%) (Tingjiang Xu, 1933: 4-7, 10). Therefore, in the name of multi-clan cooperation, the new market was in fact dominated by the Mei clan without any Yuan clansman's participation.

Unlike the linear-street form of Datong Shi, the new Tingjiang Xu was planned in central-square form in rigid rectangular shape with all colonnade shophouses facing internally. On the one hand, the square provided a spacious marketplace especially for itinerant merchants during the scheduled market days (Tingjiang Xu, 1933: 14), so as to resolve the problem of insufficient space along the narrow streets for mobile hawkers in Datong Shi. On the other hand, the square form helped to perform strict management. For instance, there was a regulation restricting the businesses of kerosene, lime, livestock such as cattle, pigs, and sheep, etc. inside the market so as to avoid danger and hygiene problems (Tingjiang Xu, 1933: 14). Another regulation stipulated the employment of a team of guards in the watch tower for the security of the market (Tingjiang Xu, 1933: 16). Possibly this internal square form also helped to impose a clear demarcation from the adjoining Datong Shi and even easy restriction of the Yuan merchants' use of the new market.

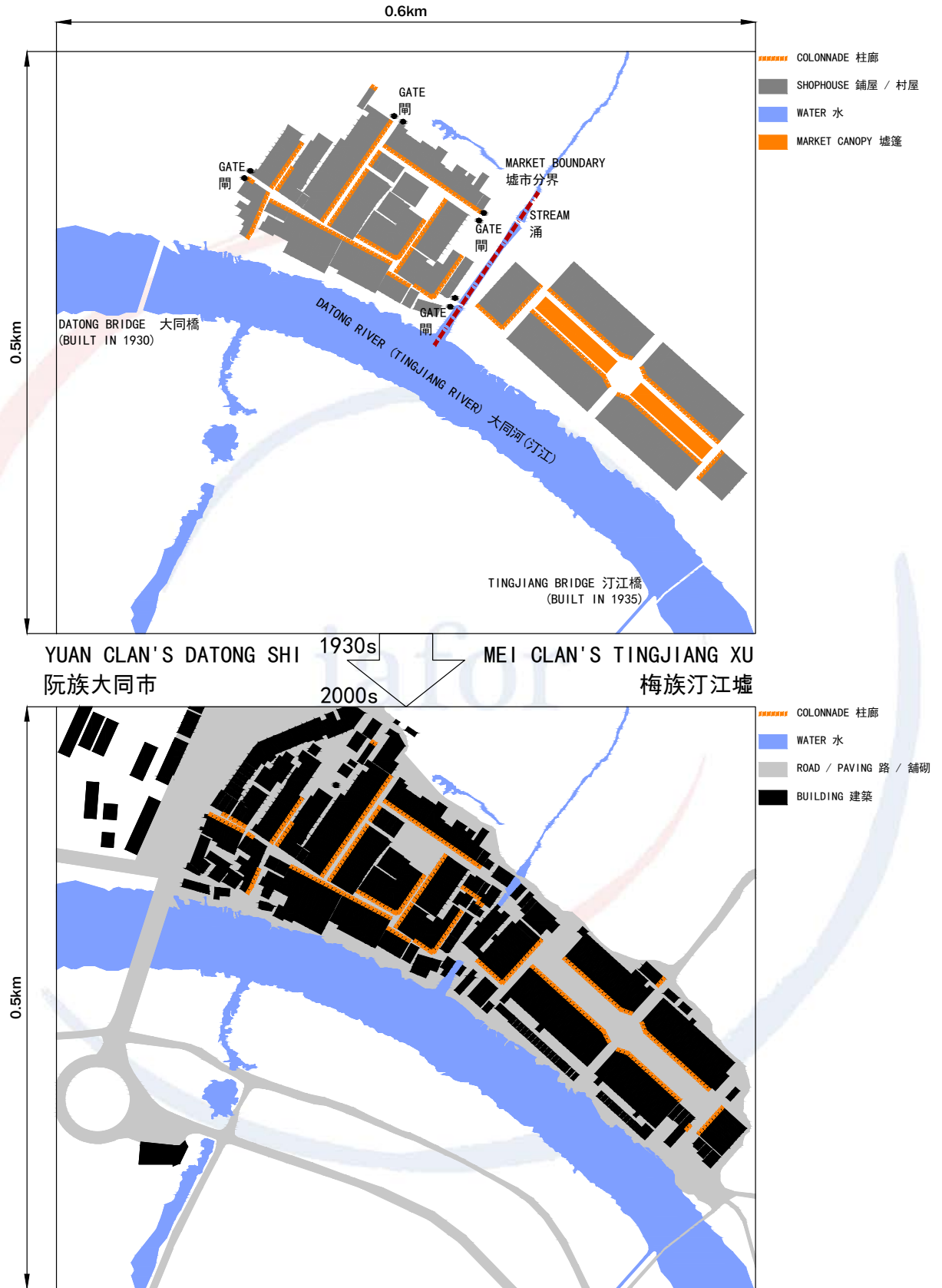


Figure 7. Speculated transformation diagram of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu from the 1930s to the 2000s

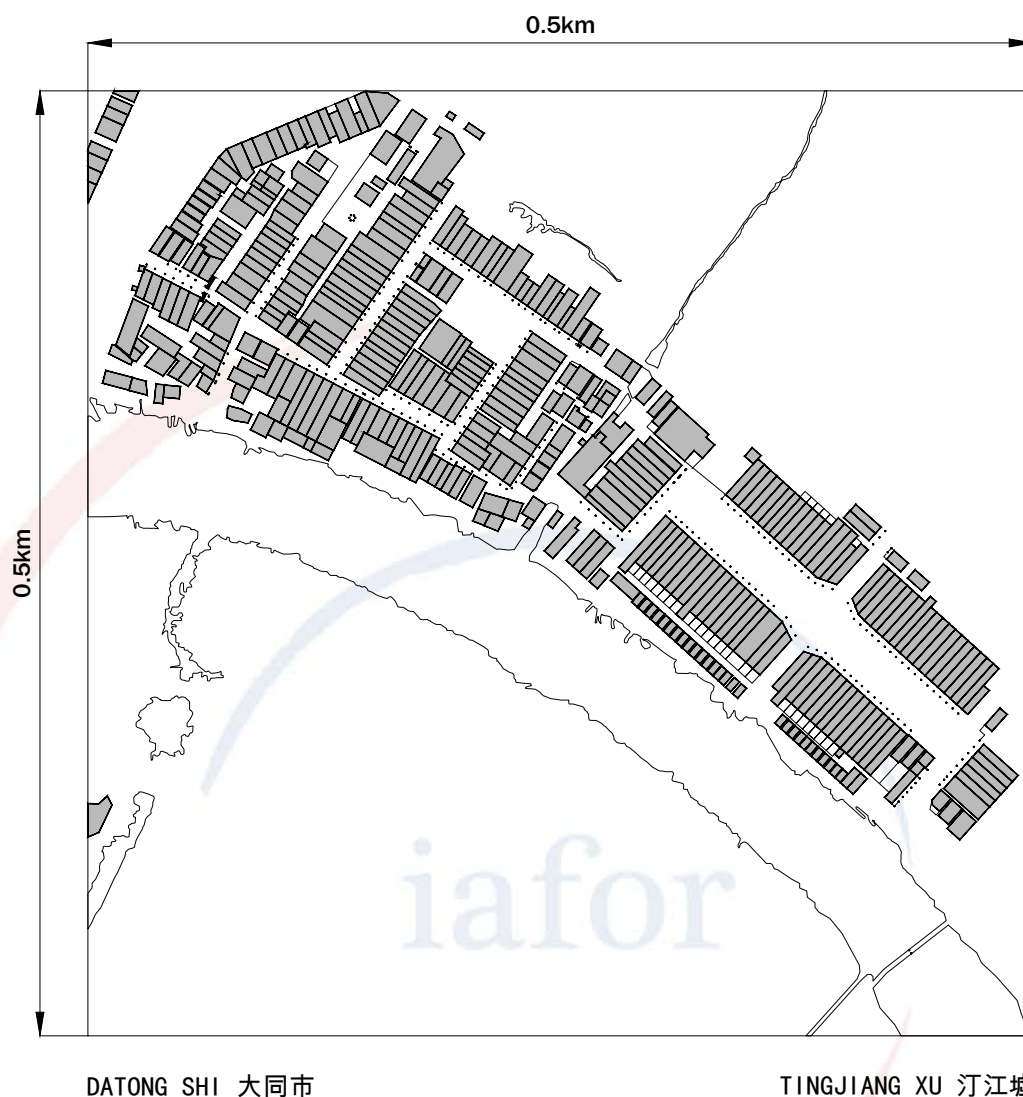


Figure 8. Ground-floor building fabric diagram of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu

As the Datong Bridge was built by the Yuans and was geographically separated by Datong Shi, it was probably inconvenient for the clans of Tingjiang Xu to cross Datong River via this bridge. Therefore, Mei Jiangxing, a Managing Director of Tingjiang Xu, promoted the fund-raising from the clansmen in the region and overseas for construction of the Tingjiang Bridge at the southeast corner of the new market (Mei Jianxing, 1981: 49-50). Finally, the new vehicular bridge was built in 1936 as an alternative river-crossing route.

There were post-Republican extensions (after 1949) at the fringe areas of the two markets. The highway on the northwest side of Datong Shi is a later extended area filled with post-Republican (after 1949) shophouses and domestic houses on both sides. There were once four market gates at the corners of Datong Shi before the 1950s.⁵ The division of building lots developed before and after the 1950s is marked

⁵ The information of market gates and later development of buildings outside the west gate was provided by 1948-born local resident, Yuan Tingshen, interviewed by the author on 30 August 2009.

by a remnant of market gate demolished in that period in the western part of market. The attraction by the highway after the Republican era has resulted in the shift of commercial activities to the northwest outside the original colonnade square and streets. With the highway acting as a primary transportation route, the commercial activities in the two old markets have gradually declined. Since the late 1990s, the shops and market have all moved out of Tingjiang Xu, and there are only a few shops still operating along the southern colonnade main street of Datong Shi.

Other than the economic and urban changes, the social structure in the two markets has also been fundamentally altered. The clanship ideology has gradually been eliminated through the land-reform movement by the Government of the People's Republic of China after 1949 (Feng, 2005: 316-318). Eventually, many residents from the original clans have moved out, and new residents from the other clans, including the originally hostile clans, were allocated with their new homes in the markets by the government. With the small stream between the two markets filled up, the original market boundary implying the territories of the two big clans also vanished. Finally, the inter-clan competition for urban modernization during the Republican era had lost its motivation.

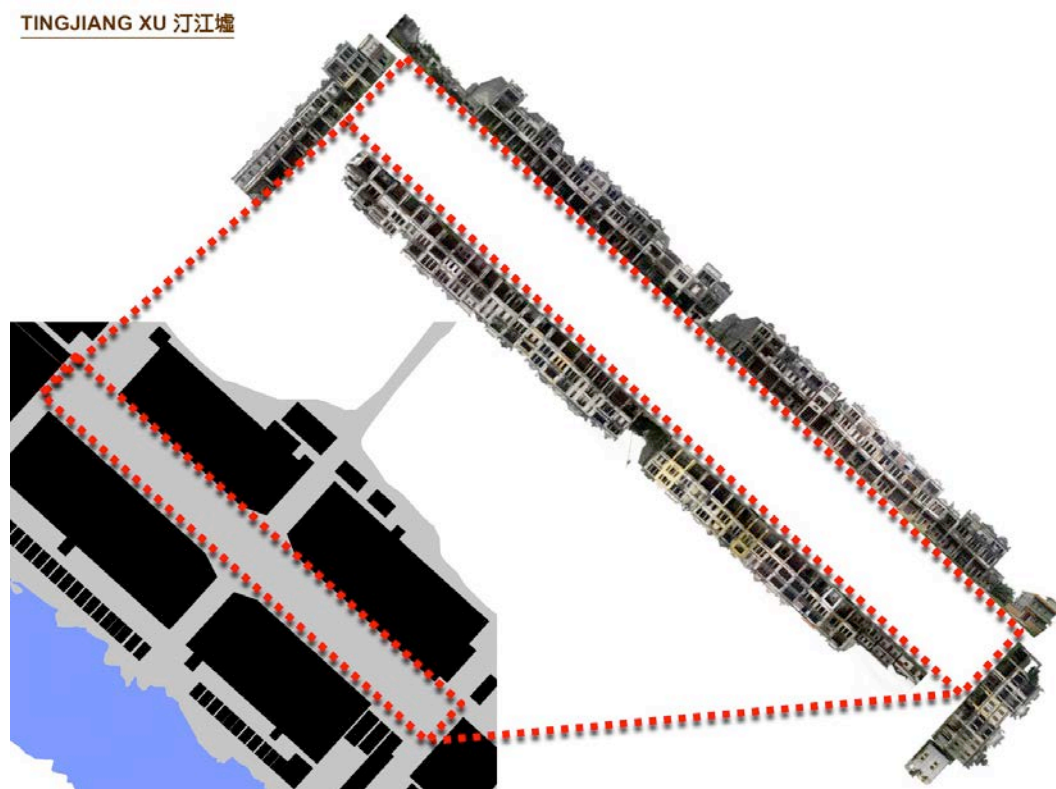


Figure 9. Diagram of layout and collaged building photos of the central square in Tingjiang Xu



Figure 10. Photos of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu: River and dyke



Figure 11. Photos of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu: Street and square



Figure 12. Photos of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu: Bridge



Figure 13. Photos of Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu: Boundary

Conclusion: Clanship and Townscape

The main aim of this research is to unfold the underestimated relationship between clanship and townscape in the rural part of Wuyi during the Republican era. It is found that despite much contribution from the government and the overseas Chinese, the strong clanship was a crucial factor for urban modernization in the lower-level towns and villages. In fact, many local squires were also overseas Chinese and even participated in some positions in the government. When these people initiated or

supported the new public works, they could easily obtain trust from the local villagers in their own clans. Moreover, compared to the city dwellers usually posing their own private interests on top of the public ones, the rural dwellers were more willing to sacrifice for the general interests of the clans benefited by the new public works.

Therefore, after the beneficial effect of change had been fully understood, the rural dwellers and clan organizations in Wuyi generally changed their attitude from resistance to cooperation in urban modernization in their hometowns. Later, they even actively participated in the new market, shophouse, and infrastructure constructions as the means of inter-clan competition. Finally, twin-markets like Datong Shi and Tingjiang Xu in Duanfen, the upper and lower ports of Chikan in Kaiping, etc., were formulated as artefacts of the keen inter-clan competition for urban modernization and capitalist marketing activities.

The change from Republican to Communist rule in Wuyi in 1949 marked the end of the region's unique marketing activities, which merged traditional clanship and quasi-modern capitalism. Under the new government's suppressions of clanship, market economy, and overseas connection, the townscape modernization of rural markets in Wuyi finally halted.

Another paradigm shift arrived after the economic reform in 1978. Since then, market economy was restored, remittances from overseas returned, and clanship was not suppressed anymore. Market activities had also revived. Nowadays in the rural part of Wuyi, market economy has been reconstructed, overseas remittances have increased, and urban development has been prosperous. However, the crushed clan-based social communities once bearing the responsibility of local urban development before 1949 were gone forever.

Glossary of Places, People, and Clans in Chinese

Bajia Cun 八家村
Cao 曹
Chen 陳
Chikan 赤磡
Chin Gee Hee 陳宜禧
Dajiang 大江
Datong Shi 大同市
Doushan 斗山
Duanfen 端芬
Enping 恩平
Gongyi Bu 公益埠
Haikou Bu 海口埠
Heshan 鶴山
Jangshan Xu 象山墟
Jiang 江
Kaiping 開平
Kuang 鄺
Li 李
Liang 梁
Liu Zaifu 劉載甫
Liucun 六村
Mei Chengji 梅成基
Mei Jianxing 梅健行
Mei Weiqiang 梅偉強
Mei 梅
Qionglin Li 瓊林里
Qiu 丘
Shachong Cun 沙涌村
Shagang Cun 沙崗村
Shandi Xu 山底墟
Shangze Xu 上澤墟
Sun Yat-Sen 孫中山
Taicheng 台城
Taishan 台山
Tangtou Shi 塘頭市
Tingjiang Xu 汀江墟
Wu Bingwang 伍炳旺
Wu Yuzheng 伍于政
Wu 伍
Wuyi 五邑
Xinchang 新昌
Xinhui 新會
Yi 乙
Yuan Tingshen 阮庭深
Yuan 阮

iafor

Zengkun Cun 繒困村
Zhen 甄

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When Female Ghosts Came back

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1. Introduction

Ghost books, films or paintings have provided us a special perspective of the question of, for example, subjectivity, memory, trauma, and power which are believed to be shared by ghosts and human beings, spiritually.

Arnika Fuhrmann, a Post-Doctoral Associate professor in Cornell University is conducting an interesting research on Thailand ghost films, or horror films. Her paper of *Nang Nak* (Fuhrmann 2009), a Thailand ghost wife is exactly an excellent and inspiring work in such a field, which concerns the desire, the embodiment, and also the Buddhist Melancholia¹. The paper reveals that, general character of female ghosts is commonly accepted by various cultures, namely, the extreme fragility of women strengthened by the death. Sometimes, they appear as being deficient in goodness; or, they are regarded as the origin of horror. And also, the research sets a good example that female ghosts, the heroine in most ghostly legend, are the lenses through which we can look into a specific community, even where an androcentric culture dominates.

The ghostly legend, a unique realm in the study of ancient Chinese literature has also been paid close attention recently, while the concept of female ghosts is far from clarified. In this paper, I will firstly introduce the negative images of female ghost in ancient China and the origin of such horrors. And I will go to the Sung Dynasty 宋代 (960-1279) to show you a variety of anti-fear narrations rising up back then. Some narrations are efforts to alienate female ghosts whom they called the evil one, and others, like Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism², endeavored to do the connecting work, in either boring theories or interesting legends.

Undoubtedly, the ghost is never a typical Confucian theme. Like the Sophist Protagoras of Abdera says "Man is the measure of all things", Confucians refused to estimate anything over human beings/ the humanity. I have not tried to examine the ghost belief in Confucianism, but rather to illustrate how the Confucians reconstruct the theoretical system when they were faced the challenge of the ghost from both other scholars and Confucian classics. My working assumption is that even though the Neo-Confucians tried dealing with the ghost with the material theory, consequently they provided a unique perspective for the humanity.

¹ Arnika Fuhrmann, "Nang Nak-Ghost Wife: Desire, Embodiment, and Buddhist Melancholia in a Contemporary Thai Ghost Film," *Discourse: Journal for Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture*, "Translation and Embodiment in National and Transnational Asian Film Media," Guest Editor: Bliss Cua Lim, 31.3 (Fall 2009), 220-247

² Not all Confucians in Sung Dynasty could be counted as Neo-Confucians. The term used here refers to Li Hsiao Chia 理學家.

2. Yin-yang and Doubly-yin

In ancient China, as Zeitlin (2007) suggests, a shade who is a woman can be imagined as doubly shy and vulnerable³, and thus, doubly-Yin.

As you know, Yin 陰 is a term most commonly used in reference to a kind of special material force in Chinese philosophy. As early as 700 B.C., yin 陰 and yang 陽 had been two pervasive concepts in I Ching 易經 (*the book of Changes*), *Tao Te Ching* 道德經 and etc. Half a century later, around 200B.C, Confucians in Han Dynasty 漢代 developed the yin-yang concept and proposed the interaction theory between Tien 天 (the nature and the history) and Jen 人 (human beings). The following one thousand years were the time when a large number of scholars continuously made contributions to the yin-yang theory and when two pairs of definitions were almost fixed and widely accepted.

The gender-oriented embodiment of yin and yang is the pattern of husband and wife. To extend the pattern; more generally, yang is another name of masculine, and yin, surely, femininity. The interaction between men and women will be fluent and flourishing if yin and yang keep the balance. Through describing their different physical body and prescribing different behavior formations, medicine books⁴ and rites books back up the gender division in a practical way. The following passage was excerpted from a medicine book in Sung Dynasty, while it was almost the same as the passage from *Pei Chi Chien Chin Fang* 備急千金方 (Golden Prescriptions for Emergencies), a medicine book in Tang Dynasty 唐代.

Question: Why is it much easier for women to get ill than men?

Answer: The woman is the aggregation of all the yins, and is of concomitance with the damp. When she grows up to fourteen years old, the yin material force overflows and emotions overwhelm; therefore, organs inside hurt and appearance damaged outside. In general, the woman is indulged in the love, hatred, envy, and tristesse, so it is difficult to cure her completely. And that is why it's much easier for the women to get ill⁵.

The other life-based one claims that the death is what we refer to when we are talking about yin. While as same as the pattern of women and men, in which yin-yang usually appear as two interacting forces rather than two specific and separate sexual symbols, the yin- yang boundary line between life and death is fluid unless the death happens in fact. The death changes human beings to ghosts; meanwhile yin totally takes over what yang managed before. Correspondingly, the yin material force pervades the netherworld where dead people are said to reside.

³ Zeitlin, *The Phantom heroine: ghosts and gender in seventeenth-century Chinese literature*, 3

⁴ For more details about medicine books, please refer to Charlotte Furth, *A flourishing Yin : gender in China's medical history, 960-1665*. Berkeley : University of California Press, c1999.

⁵ Ch'i Chung Fu, *Nü ke bai wen* 女科百問, 1-2

Although yin should be well defined in the pattern of yin-yang as to the classics, the negative trend in yin gives a hint to the excessive femininity and the deficient/insufficient vitality. Consequently, if you follow it, female ghosts who fit in both two definitions appear as Chi yin 極陰 (doubly- yin) in tales and theories where female ghosts take the roles of almost vampires. Through inappropriate sexual acts with living men, female ghosts endeavor to obtain the positive material force *yang* from them with their feminine charm, and leave them physically weak and psychologically independent. As Zeitlin (2007) says, the fiery yang force of the living man is engulfed by the damp yin force of the female ghost⁶. Therefore, the female ghosts are looked upon as an evil power that cast a destructive influence on human community. Here is a passage from a ghost story.

But presently, a woman came out, amazing and gorgeously dressed. Mr. Hu 胡 knew who she was (since he had been waiting for this moment for two months) and so, he hurried over to her. The woman said, fear not for I am the one who resides in this hut (a hut at the corner of the wall looked like a shrine), and so touched by your deep love as to come. Mr. Hu went into raptures. He entered the hut right away and didn't leave until the midnight. Since then, it replaced studying and seeing parents, and became his daily routine. Meanwhile, Mr. Hu felt thoroughly exhausted and lost his appetite.⁷

The story is excerpted from *I Chien Chih* 夷堅志 (Recordings of Anecdotes), a typical ghost novel written by a Confucian officer Hung Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202). Actually, it is almost a standard plot of ghost stories in Sung Dynasty (960-1279), which reveals the real situation to some extent. To suit the remedy to the case, various anti-fear narrations rose up as efforts to alienate the evil ones.

3. Anti-fear Mechanisms

From the point of an earthly view, cutting the spatial tie between ghosts and human beings in burial rituals⁸ is the most effective method, for a large number of people in Sung Dynasty tended to place coffins in empty rooms or in temples instead of burying corpses according to the orthodoxy Confucian rituals. Therefore, a decree issued during 1086-1094 related the appropriate burial rituals with the political career⁹. According to the decree, civil officers and literati were required to set the good example of model ritual- practicers and loyal Confucianism disciples, in other words, to alienate rather than disseminate superstitious rumors.

More metaphysically, the Taoist priests proposed another method. They expelled or killed female ghosts by sticking them *Tao fu* 道符 (Taoism Code), and call the end

⁶ Zeitlin, *The Phantom heroine: ghosts and gender in seventeenth-century Chinese literature*, 2

⁷ From the story of Ms. Hu 胡氏子, in *I Chien Chih*

⁸ But, of course, preserving the ancestor worship.

⁹ To To, *The History of Sung Dynasty* 宋史·志第七十七·禮第二十七.

of the story. Since the theoretical structure of Taoism was partly put into application in Chinese classical medicine, such a method sometimes showed itself up as the plot of seeing a doctor.

Taoist priests cured the hero once and for all as soon as the female ghost disappeared. No one knew where the female ghost was gone and no one cared, for she was exactly the origin of debility. In contrast to previous incredibly close intercours, alienation resolutely denied the ghost, while affirmed the horror.

Two months with the woman made Mr. Yeh 葉 weak and exhausted, and then badly ill. While, the woman stopped coming again as soon as he moved to another apartment and he saw a doctor¹⁰.

Both spatial and medical alienations are conducted in the story above. And another narration is Buddhism, which suggested men cut off the sexual desire through observing the loathsome transition from a graceful female corpse to decayed flesh, and eventually to the horrible skeleton. Such a suggestion implied that the nature of women lied in the rancid flesh and the ghastly skeleton rather than in the adorable and alluring body that mortal men saw from their Avidya (ignorance, confusion). It intended to associate the uncertain lust with the uncertain death, but, in effect, associated the women with the death and brought about the concept of doubly-yin.

Neo-Confucians raised totally different anti-fear narrations for female ghosts. Firstly, no evidences could be found in the neo-Confucian literature in Sung Dynasty that they ever showed any motivation to overlie these two definitions of yin, even though *Chi Yin* 極陰 (utmost-yin), *Tai Yin* 太陰 (extremely-yin), *Chun Yin* 純陰 (pure-yin) are terms coined to refer to the excessively endowed yin material force or pure spiritual beings.

Chang Tsai, a neo-Confucian in early Sung, defined *kuei* 鬼 (the ghost) and *shen* 神 (the god) as contraction and expansion, or as negative and positive spiritual forces, which set the tone of the ghost narration for the subsequent neo-Confucians. Never deviating from but developing *Chi* 氣 (the material force) doctrine to deal with the human affairs, Chu Hsi 朱熹 put forwards that Essence and material force consolidate to become man, and as they disintegrate, they become a spiritual being. Self-disintegration or self-dissipation is the negative process during which yin functions and is what *kuei* (the ghost) means instead of the dead quasi-men. As it's a name of a spiritual force or a process, it is impossible to combine it with the static material endowment that stands for female dispositions. So the *doubly-yin*, or the evil female ghost is a pseudo-proposition for neo-Confucians.

But it is really interesting that neo-Confucians never deny the possibility of *Li Kuei* 厲鬼 (the ghosts who can interfere with human affairs in an unfriendly way, and of

¹⁰ From the story of *She Je ku* 葉若谷, in *I Chien Chih*

course, female ghosts included in such a category). Cheng-I 程頤, Chu Hsi and his disciple Chen Chun 陳淳 all claimed that the disintegration of *Chi* (material force) in somebody could be stopped for some reason, so the lucky or unlucky dead man was able to continue getting involved in the community if he wanted. As for the female ghost, she kept the connection through the inappropriate intercourses as we mentioned above.

Neo-Confucians believed that the best way to conquer the fear or avoid the annoying interference is to place your heart plain, which means to calm down and keep your mind clear. Everything explainable had nothing to do with scare, if only you had a good idea of *Li* 理 (the Principle). Apart from the disintegration principle in the material force theory, another significant opinion was that *Li-Kuei* was brought about by human beings. In other words, the capacity of the ghostly interference was entitled by improper human lust or cognition. Obviously, it is a point from a moral perspective. Different from the severe Buddhism method, Neo-Confucians accepted the reality of *li-Kuei* and made it theoretically reasonable by developing both the material force theory and the moral philosophy.

4. The Resurrection of Female Ghosts

That is why they were able to respond to an uncanny question, namely the resurrection of female ghosts. Neo-Confucians talked little about resurrection as same as the Confucianism tradition and just said it is not the common principle, or, not the ultimate principle when they were asked. Even in *I Chien Chih*, a ghost legend in Sung Dynasty mentioned above, resurrection is infrequent. A typical resurrection story in *I Chien Chih* is the one we excerpted in the first Part, about the gorgeously dressed ghost who lived in a small hut at the corner of wall. We knew that she made the hero physically exhausted and inappetent in food, but at the end of the story, she was brought back to life and was named Ms. Hu.

It is so rare a plot that even Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍 (1574- 1646), a popular novelist in Ming Dynasty 明代, was shocked. In his book *Ching Tien Pao Chien* 情天寶鑑 (Recordings of amour affaris), he told a story with a similar beginning but with a totally contrast ending that the ghost chased after the man and the man died. Of course, it is not a happy ending that Feng thought was the adversity of the hero, but not of the heroine, I mean, the female ghost.

Importantly, the resurrection was rather common in novels in Ming Dynasty, Ming Novelists and readers believed that it was the emotional feeling or love that brought life back in respond to the thriving emotionalism philosophy back then, while it was totally not the case in Sung Dynasty. So it is out of the question to interpret such an amazing resurrection story as well as a sad story from the view of love.

Another interpretation is definitely feminism and proposed by, for example, Zeitlin. Distinguished from the fragile and negative attributes, power and freedom characterize female ghosts. Thanks to the death, female ghosts are endowed with superhuman power, like teleport or invisibility. As Zeitlin (2007) says,

Despite the supposed fragility of such a disembodied soul, the impression is most often of her self-determination and initiative in contrast to living women and her dominance over her male partner. Death is what empowers her and frees her to act upon her own desires.¹¹

The mixture of these two understandings, interestingly, reflected itself in Fuhrmann's paper on Nang Nak, a famous ghost wife in a classical ghost story in Thailand. Fuhrmann believes that it is both love and power that give her a period of the posthumous life.

Now back to the story of Ms. Hu, so what happened to her actually? What is special of her resurrection? My opinion is that the resurrection of Ms. Hu is a Confucian anti-fear mechanism, which means literati believe that female ghosts should be assimilated in the human relation instead of being alienated. In other words, the fear originates from the absence of the human relation, and from the incompatibility with the principle that have already reached the conclusions in human cognition.

In the story, the parents of Mr. Hu found that he was abnormal and asked him what happened. They doubted that the woman was a ghost, so they persuaded Mr. Hu to take a test that is to insist on the woman having some food. The woman hesitated for a while and then picked up the chopsticks. As soon as she chewed and swallowed, she lost the ability of teleport and invisibility. And as soon as these powers were deposed, she became a real woman, namely a female human person, and meanwhile, became the wife of Mr. Hu and the daughter-in-law of his parents. The story is well constructed, for his parents entered the room immediately she took the food and they witnessed her transform from the ghost to the human person. Shortly, Mr. Hu dug out the coffin to prove it empty and proposed to the woman. Since then, she was named Ms. Hu. And that's also the name of the story.

Ghosts who are unready or unwilling to die are believed to reside in a totally private sphere which seems invisible, or even nowhere for human beings, although they tried their best to stay in the human relation, only resulted in disturbing human daily life. Few of them were brought back to life in the end. To some extent, it reveals that a sort of exclusion is implied in the Confucianism human relations. That means, only those who obey the proper relations or values could be included or be connected. Instead of stealing the positive material force from living men through inappropriate intercourses, taking the earthly food was suggested as a prudential alternative, and also a metaphor of assimilation, entering human relation and of accepting its limitations and

¹¹ Zeitlin, *The phantom Heroine*, 11

restrictions. On the other hand, as long as she became the human person, or realized the resurrection, she entered the human relation, being the wife and the daughter-in-law. These two transformations are synchronical.

Distinguished from animals, ghosts have more similarities with human beings, for they less or more come from living men or women. Around 700 B.C., a Confucian named Mencius proposed a famous proposition that the difference between men and animals lie in the four good trends in the human dispositions, which animals are short of. Capacities of judgment, cognition and custom-practicing are guaranteed in the four trends. It is impossible for the animal to change itself to a man or woman, not to say to achieve Confucian fulfillment.

Neo-Confucians put forwards more interpretations for the difference. They said, the disposition or the endowed material force varies from person to person, while, the fulfillment, is possible for even *Tu jen* 涂人 (idlers on the road). But, for animals, the significant deficiency in their material force blocks them from complete self-achievement for good.

However, man possesses the principle that can penetrate this obstruction, whereas in birds and animals, though they also possess this nature, it is nevertheless restricted by their physical structure, which creates such a degree of obstruction as to be impenetrable. In the case of love, for example, in tigers and wolves, or in the sacrificial rites in the wolf and otter, or in the righteousness in bees and ants, only the obstruction to a particular part of their nature is penetrated, just as light penetrates only a crack¹².

So what about the difference between ghosts and human beings? Confucius told his disciple that you would never have a good idea of ghosts when you even do not have a good idea of human beings, and refused to provide more explanations. That was the tradition what neo-Confucians followed, although they developed the material force theory and suggested that ghosts embodied the dissipation of the material force in human beings. But is there any implication in such dissipation? It is obvious in ghostly stories and even in Neo-Confucian conversation that capacities remained, never missing in ghosts, and that was why they are a kind of quasi-men.

The ghost we talk about nowadays assembles the heaven for its invisibility, and assembles the human beings for its motions. Does it mean that the ghost who is named the dead person possesses the capacities of both the heaven and the human beings?¹³

*The ghost plays by the spirit and mind of human beings.*¹⁴

¹² A source book in Chinese Philosophy, translated and compiled by Chan Wing Tsit, 522

¹³ A source book in Chinese Philosophy, translated and compiled by Chan Wing Tsit, 67

¹⁴ Chen Chun, *Peichi Tzu-I* 北溪字□·鬼神, 78

Capacities remained, while, the community, or the sphere where they could put the capacity into practices was totally deprived after the death. If *Kuei* (the ghost) is a term that refers to the deficiency or the scarcity, that means, not only the disintegration in the material force interpreted by the neo-Confucians in Sung Dynasty, but also the absence in the community, or, the human relations maintained by almost all Confucians.

It is obvious that ghostly interference with human affairs was an illusion of staying in the human relations, which only brought about the resolute alienation; actually they were already excluded from the clans from the beginning. *Wu-Kuei* 無歸 (no dependence, no home to return), for a ghost – whether a male ghost or a female one - is a term that means intentionally deviating or being excluded from the clan and the method to comfort or come down the ghosts is that a material or an immaterial dependence should be provided.

The next month, Tzu Chan 子□ entitled Kung-sun Hsieh 公孫洩 and the son of Pa Yu 伯有 with Tafu 大夫 (the senior official) to comfort the ghost of Pa Yu, and the haunted events called an end. Tzu Tai-shu 子大叔 asked the reason, and Tzu Chan answered, the ghost will not haunt if he has a dependency, so I find a dependency for him.¹⁵

Interestingly, for a woman - I mean a human woman - *Wu-Kuei* is also a term that means not getting married and consequently being excluded from the clan. The clan is what the community, or the human relation mean to a dead person, and is the only proper way to preserve the link with his/ her descendants and relatives. It is the same opinion held by Neo-Confucians, and they added that the material force of the same origin is what connects people in the one clan and makes the sacrifice rituals reasonable. So, the two definitions of *Wu-Kuei* before and after the death are very similar for a woman. And it to some extent changed the non-dependence status from the intentional endeavors for continuous life to the passive exclusion, reluctant.

The answer to the question why Ms. Hu was connected with the community by a new relation (getting married to a man who was a total stranger to her in her first life) instead of the previous one (returning to her own family) also lies in the clan system. Only through the husband- wife formation could Ms. Hu completely got rid of the both two conditions of *Wu-Kuei* status and came back to the human community, but the parents- daughter formation.

¹⁵ *Tso Chuan* 左□·昭公七年

Conclusion

As the conclusion, Confucians and Neo-Confucians believe that, if you understand the principle in a proper way, or in their term, if you place your heart plain, and find a proper place in the human relation for ghosts instead of alienating, then there is no need to fear. Maybe, “fear not” was the mantra that Ms. Hu suggested to Mr. Hu at their first meeting. The human relation is more than significant, but necessary for self-fulfillment, which is the opinion shared with Communitarians. The material force theory proposed by Neo-Confucians in Sung Dynasty don’t stop us but help us reach the principle through obtaining a better knowledge of the ghost.

Furthermore, regarding to the deficient vitality in the definition of yin, and the clan system, the development of the material forces theory in Sung Dynasty tried to erase the horror brought by the death, but support the opinion that yin is a kind of deficiency less or more. And so is the woman.

If we compare the narration of excessive femininity with that of the female disposition, the similarity will never be neglected.

If a person is endowed with moderate yin, then the person will appear as positively gentle, in another word, kindly; but if endowed with excessive yin, then the person will appear as negatively gentle, in another word, coward.¹⁶

Question: Women always fear when anything crops up. Is it also because their material endowment unbalanced?

Answer: Female jen (humanity) is only limited to love.¹⁷

Though Chu Hsi tried to talk about the gender problem in a cautious way, the treatise still implies that the degree of yin in women is not moderate but excessive so that the yin-yang is unbalanced and the disposition is one-sided. Consequently, they have much more difficulties in achieving the Confucian fulfillment. So the complete assimilation will never happen since the sexual division is impossible to break.

I believe that the feminists will never buy such a Confucian opinion. And it suggests that more close studies on the specific content of the human relations, or the specific values in the community should be conducted in Confucianism.

¹⁶ *Hsing li chun shu kou Chieh* 性理群書句解. 理性命第二十二篇

¹⁷ Chu Hsi, *Chu Tzu Yulei* 朱子語類, 57

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*Piecing Together the Patchwork Quilt: Margaret Atwood's Stories of Possession,
Creativity, and Murder in "The Journals of Susanna Moodie, Lady Oracle", and
"Alias Grace"*

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Margaret Atwood is part of a long tradition of writing that situates the author in the realm of god or creator, and connects the artistic process to a source of inspiration, whether god or demon, that fills the author at the moment of writing with the breath of life, first word, or the creating logos. Atwood, in her typically ironic voice, tells the story of her first creative production:

I was scuttling along in my furtive way, suspecting no ill, when a large and invisible thumb descended from the sky and pressed down on the top of my head. A poem formed. It was quite a gloomy poem: the poems of the young usually are. It was a gift, this poem – a gift from an anonymous donor, and, as such, both exciting and sinister at the same time. (Atwood qtd. in Cooke 1998, p.18)

However seriously readers or critics take Atwood's story of her own nascence as a poet, this quote underlines one of the tropes of creativity that will possess Atwood throughout her career as a poet and writer: she links herself as an artist to the Romantic tradition of otherworldly inspiration, or the idea of the artist as a vessel that becomes possessed in the moment of creation or artistic inspiration.

During her years of graduate study at Harvard University, Atwood focussed her academic interests on the nineteenth century. The Romantic poets of this period become increasingly important influences on Atwood's descriptions of the process of artistic creation and indeed in the identity of the poet/creator. In *Negotiating with the Dead: A Writer on Writing*, a lecture series at Cambridge University that later became the Cambridge University Press 2002 text, Atwood discusses Keats' claim that the author is the most unpoetical of all creatures because of the author's ability to take on the shape and colour of whatever the author is creating at the moment of inspiration. Keats' discussion of the poet in the moment of creation is clearly a historical precedent to Atwood's claim of her own transformation through the imagination at the moment of creation:

My transition from not being a writer to being one was instantaneous, like the change from docile bank clerk to fanged monster in "B" movies. Anyone looking might have thought I'd been exposed to some chemical or cosmic ray of the kind that causes rats to become gigantic or men to become invisible. (2002, p.14)

Developing on this theme of other-worldly inspiration and instantaneous transformation, Atwood offers the following possibilities as reasons for why she writes: "Because I was driven to it by some force outside my control. Because I was possessed. Because an angel dictated to me. Because I fell into the embrace of the Muse" (2002, p. xxi). Later in the same discussion, feeling that she had failed to answer the question of why authors write, Atwood addresses how the process of writing feels. Atwood gives the following examples of other authors' responses to this question:

One said it was like walking into a labyrinth, without knowing what monster might be inside; another said it was like groping through a tunnel; another said it was like being in a cave [...] another said it was like being in an empty room which was nevertheless filled with unspoken words, with a sort of whispering; another said it was like grappling with an unseen being or entity; another said it was like sitting in an empty theatre before a play or film had started, waiting for the characters to appear. (2002, p.xxii-xxiii)

Indeed, there seems to be little emphasis placed on the conscious mental powers of the author exerted in the moment of creation, and rather, as I will suggest in particular in the case of Atwood, an emphasis is placed upon the power of the logos, or the possessing word or spirit from the realm of the imagination or possibly, as this text itself suggests, a negotiation with the dead.

Atwood traces this tradition of creative possession back to the early nineteenth-century Romantic poets, but also to the medical-psychological writers of the nineteenth century. This was a time when possession was more widely discussed as both a part of the poetic process and also a spiritual and a medical-psychological condition. Indeed, Atwood draws on historical and psychological texts that trace the birth of modern psychiatry back to its roots in earlier discourses of animal magnetism, somnambulism, hypnotism, and the earliest cases of multiple or split-consciousness. Atwood's 1996 discussion of possession within the historical novel of *Alias Grace* cites among her sources two psychological texts, *From Mesmer to Freud: Magnetic Sleep and the Roots of Psychological Healing* and *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry*, both of which offer in-depth discussions of possession, hypnosis, somnambulism, automatic writing, exorcism, and spiritualism—all of which figure darkly in the story of Grace Marks, and indeed make earlier and more cursory appearances in Atwood's poetry and fiction. Adam Crabtree, in *From Mesmer to Freud: Magnetic Sleep and the Roots of Psychological Healing*, posits that animal magnetism was "an operation by which a person is rendered possessed by a demon by means of certain gestures, by a look, or even by the will alone" (1993, p.184). Henri F. Ellenberger, in *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry*, claims that possession is widespread and almost universally described as follows: "an individual suddenly seems to lose his identity to become another person. His physiognomy changes and shows a striking resemblance to the individual of whom he is, supposedly, the incarnation" (1970, p.13). Both Crabtree and Ellenberger trace the history of possession and hypnotism from early case studies of possession and spiritual or psychological cure.

In the collection *Murder in the Dark* Atwood describes a game whereby "you can say: the murderer is the writer" (1983, p.38), connecting creativity to murder as surely as she had earlier suggested the source of creativity to be otherworldly, or perhaps, as in the case of *Alias Grace*, the spiritual possession of the author/murderer figure. Indeed, in *Negotiating with the Dead: A Writer on Writing*, Atwood quotes from A.M. Klein's "Portrait of the Poet as Landscape" connecting what she has earlier described as the transforming power of the imagination to the criminal and murdering aspect of the creative figure:

It is possible that he is dead, and not discovered.
It is possible that he can be found some place
In a narrow closet, like a corpse in a detective story,
Standing, his eyes staring, and ready to fall on his face. (A.M. Klein
qtd. in Atwood 2002, p.17)

A.M. Klein is in fact discussing the corpse of the Canadian writer, in an extended metaphor that questions the lack of Canadian writers, but here he links this absence to murder and death, just as Atwood connects the author and the murderer in the earlier quotation. Likewise, in *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*, Atwood connects one of the earliest writers of Canadian tradition, Susanna Moodie, to a tradition whereby the

creator/writer/planter, when they create actually sow the seeds of death and murder. In the story of the land, the land and animals are murdered, just as the characters of the work are murdered by the author in *Alias Grace*, and the creation or birthing of the text necessitates the murder or death of the author. Thus, the theory of creativity I am outlining originates in the phenomena of possession and leads to murder.

In *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* Atwood writes: "I take this picture of myself / and with my sewing scissors / cut out the face. / Now it is more accurate: / where my eyes were, / every- / thing appears" (1970, p.7). Margaret Atwood here as in *Alias Grace* links the nineteenth-century Canadian woman artist's creativity to the work of sewing, an activity that facilitated the telling of stories and particularly the narrating of a woman's own experience. Like Grimm's bride in "The Robber Bridegroom" the female story-teller of this long-poem will use her dreams to narrate her artistic process which involves both possession and murder. In the first poem of this sequence, the sewing scissors, associated with female creativity and story-telling, are violently employed to facilitate personal creative possession which renders the female subject able to reflect or become possessed by the poetic story of the wilderness, animals, and later the cultivated fields of the homestead. While the woman first uses the sewing scissors to facilitate a personal transformation, so that as an artist her eyes reflect the stories of the land, the possession of the poems that follow involve an aggressive taking over of the artist. In "The Planters," the many transformers and writers on the landscape cannot escape possession by the agents of this transformation. Indeed if they "open their eyes even for a moment / to these trees, to this particular sun / they would be surrounded, stormed, broken / in upon by branches, roots, tendrils, the dark / side of light / as I am" (Atwood 1970, p.17). The suggestion by Atwood's Susanna Moodie is that she has already been possessed and that the other writers of the landscape will likewise be possessed by and through their open eyes. Indeed, possession here appears active, dark, and unavoidable in the process of creation. The poem that follows, "The Wereman," suggests again a possession through the eyes, in this case the eyes of animals replacing the eyes possessed by land and trees and darkness. "He may change me also / with the fox eye, the owl / eye, the eightfold / eye of the spider" (Atwood 1970, p.19). Finally Atwood describes the process of waking to another self as waking from a long sleep, this being characteristic of a form of somnambulism and possession that figures more prominently in the story of Grace Marks. Again, focussing on the outward change in appearance as reflected in a mirror, the subject of "Looking in a Mirror" sees that her "possessed" form has changed even its outward appearance and has taken on the characteristics of the trees. This description of the somnambulist-like waking of the artist and the transformation of her primary physical characteristics can most clearly be associated with the nineteenth-century medical discourse of possession: "It was as if I woke / after a sleep of seven years / to find stiff lace, religious / black rotted / off by earth and the strong waters / and instead my skin thickened / with bark and the white hairs of roots" (Atwood 1970, p.24). Further, Atwood figures possession as a kind of erasure in "Departure from the Bush" where the "I, who had been erased / by fire, was crept in / upon by green," allowing for a further possession to take place, "In time the animals / arrived to inhabit me" (1970, p.26). Finally, with the story-teller possessed, the creative product of the narrative and the poetry eventually leads the story-teller to murder, the blood staining her hands and the narrative embedded in the language of hypnotic dream images. In "Dream 1: The Bush Garden" Susanna Moodie says: "When I bent / to pick, my hands / came away red and wet / In the dream I said / I

should have known / anything planted here / would come up blood” (Atwood 1970, p.34). The result of the creative urge to plant is blood rather than life. In the dream that follows, “Dream 2: Brian The Still-Hunter,” the hunter becomes possessed by the animals that he must kill, he says: “I feel / my skin grow fur” (Atwood 1970, p.36). Increasingly the poems turn to death culminating in “The Double Voice” where “Two voices / took turns using my eyes / One had manners, / painted in watercolours, / used hushed tones when speaking” while “The other voice / had other knowledge: / that men sweat / always and drink often / that pigs are pigs / but must be eaten / anyway, that unborn babies / fester like wounds in the body” (Atwood 1970, p.42). One sees through eyes “the rituals of seasons and rivers” while “the other found a dead dog / jubilant with maggots” (Atwood 1970, p.42). This double-consciousness or possession of the eyes and the voice represents both aspects of the artistic process: creativity and death. Moodie herself becomes possessed of the land and the animals of the land, and the telling of her story is by and through the double-voice of the possessed artist. The result is the poetic rendering of the artist’s experience through possession by the land and animals, ending with the bloody hands of the artist reaching into the “murdered” landscape.

The theme of possession and indeed murder are both important in the re-working of the gothic novel and, as in *Alias Grace*, the nineteenth-century gothic-sensationalist novel. In Atwood’s gothic novel, *Lady Oracle*, Joan, ex-fat ballerina and brownie and writer of pulpy women’s romance novels, attempts automatic writing unsuccessfully as a child and again while acting out a scene for one of her romance novels, putting herself into a trance with the aid of a gothic mirror and candles. The result is the sense of someone standing behind her and a few almost unintelligible scribbles. However, over time these “experiments with Automatic Writing” (Atwood 1976, p.237) become *Lady Oracle* and Joan herself is acknowledged to be a celebrated author. Her description of the process of automatic writing is as follows:

You know, you sit in front of a mirror, with a paper and pencil and a lighted candle, and then....Well, these words would sort of be given to me. I mean, I’d find them written down, without having done it myself, if you know what I mean. So after that...well, that’s how it happened.
(Atwood 1976, p. 237)

Joan merely places herself in a trance and becomes a vessel for the spirit, or in other words, becomes possessed by a spirit that writes through her what will become a celebrated collection of poetry. This creative work of the possessing spirit eventually leads to the planned death or murder of the leading character in Joan’s life, herself. *Lady Oracle* begins with “I planned my death carefully; unlike my life” (Atwood 1976, p.7). The author of *Lady Oracle* plays a game with the readers of her fictive fiction, a game that is very like the one that Atwood describes in *Murder in the Dark*. The author creates as the result of possession, and the result of the creative act of the author is actually the death of the author. Whether this is Atwood being ‘tongue in cheek,’ critiquing the ‘death of the author,’ or whether this is the logical leap or murder that follows the act of possessed creativity, is perhaps answered best by Atwood herself. Atwood says in *Me, She and It*, “Why do authors wish to pretend they don’t exist? It’s a way of skinning out, of avoiding truth and consequences. They’d like to deny the crime, although their fingerprints are all over the martini glasses, not to mention the hacksaw blade and the victim’s neck” (Atwood 1995, p.17). Atwood reshapes this question of authorial murder in *Negotiating with the Dead* asking the question in terms of moral responsibility “if a writer murders

someone in a book—if he has a character dedicate himself to the commission of the perfect murder as an aesthetic act, a work of art [...] then what is he guilty of, and how are we to judge the crime?” (2002, pp.102-103). However, the question mutates again in *Negotiating with the Dead*, albeit in a slightly less serious question of moral responsibility, the reader, and the author. Atwood writes:

There’s an epigram tacked to my office bulletin board, pinched from a magazine—“Wanting to meet an author because you like his work is like wanting to meet a duck because you like pate.” [...] In order for the pate to be made and then eaten, the duck must first be killed. And who is it that does the killing?” (2002, p.35)

These questions of the death or murder of the author or murder by the author, are questions that reappear in *Alias Grace*, albeit slightly enhanced by the historical celebrity status and spiritual possession of the ‘authoress/murderess’.

While both *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* and *Lady Oracle* hint at the mythology of how a person becomes possessed, whether through the cutting out of the face or by inducing a trance with candles and mirrors, *Alias Grace* is more concerned with the story of possession, the folklore or mythology of possession repeating itself through the telling or re-telling of the history of Grace Marks. When Grace is telling her story to Dr. Jordan, she recounts the death of her mother, transmitting the little story of folklore or mythology that was passed on to her by the kindly Mrs. Phelan whom she shared biscuits with in the hold of the ship:

Mrs. Phelan also said that we had not opened the window to let out the soul, as was the custom; but perhaps it would not be counted against my poor mother, as there were no windows in the bottom of the ship and therefore none to be opened. And I had never heard of a custom like that. (Atwood 1996, p.120)

However, when the teapot falls and breaks, Grace recalls immediately the spirit of her mother: “I though it was my mother’s spirit, trapped in the bottom of the ship because we could not open a window, and angry at me because of the second-best sheet. And now she would be caught in there for ever and ever, down below in the hold” (Atwood 1996, p.122). This “custom” or bit of mythology or death ritual from the old world figures prominently into the unfolding story of Grace Marks, as the unopened window and the trapped spirit of her mother is re-called and re-told to Dr. Jordan. This custom is further remembered following the death of Grace’s friend Mary Whitney, Grace says, “then I heard her voice, as clear as anything, right in my ear, saying *Let me in*” (Atwood 1996, p.178). It is following this request by the voice and spirit of Mary Whitney that Grace again recalls the bit of folklore from the old world that she had learned at the death of her mother. Grace says, “Then I thought with a rush of fear, But I did not open the window. And I ran across the room and opened it, because I must have heard wrong and she was saying *Let me out*...I was hoping Mary’s soul would fly out the window now, and not stay inside, whispering things into my ear. But I wondered whether I was too late” (Atwood 1996, p.179). It is following the request of the spirit voice to “*Let me in*” (Atwood 1996, p.178) that Grace Marks has her first strange episode of not remembering. After sleeping for ten hours she says: “when I did wake up I did not seem to know where I was, or what had happened; and I kept asking where Grace had gone. And when they told me that I myself was Grace, I would not believe them” (Atwood 1996, p.180). Following another sleep, Grace is unable to remember the waking hours, ushering in the part of her life where possession and amnesia propel her story forward.

It becomes possible to suggest that the folklore account of trapped spirits and the first occurrence of amnesia mark the beginning of the story of the haunting of Grace Marks. It is also from this moment that we begin to witness the split-consciousness in the Grace Marks of the story. Even in the telling of her story she is constantly and incessantly repeating “as Mary Whitney used to say” (Atwood 1996, p.238) or thinking and saying what Mary Whitney would have thought or said. Further, although we have already heard the folkloric explanation for haunting, it is at this point that the nineteenth-century authority of the Bible is brought in to validate the story and the experience. Grace Marks questions the idea of the voice of God speaking and telling the stories of the Bible to the men that wrote it down. Recalling Atwood’s fascination with automatic writing, it is no wonder that this discussion of biblical possession becomes important in justifying the experience of Grace Marks and her story. Mr. Kinneer says: “that though perhaps God wrote it, it was men who wrote it down; which was a little different. But those men were said to have been inspired; which meant that God had spoken to them, and told them what to do” (Atwood 1996, p.222). Grace then says: “So I asked did they hear voices, and he said yes. And I was glad that someone else had done so, although I said nothing about it, and in any case the voice I had heard, that one time, had not been God’s but Mary Whitney’s” (Atwood 1996, p.222). Possession then is linked to inspiration and indeed to the writing of stories and narratives, albeit with slightly less authority, but nonetheless with voices from without. Likewise, the story of the Bible, as authored by the God-head, also includes the murder or the death of the author as the result of a creative re-birth, incarnation, and story-telling. Recalling Atwood’s discussion of the duck and pate, it is interesting to link the question of “who is it that does the killing?” to the sacrament of communion (Atwood 1996, p.35). Where the ‘believer’ in the power of the logos to create and destroy re-enacts the death and resurrection of the ‘word made flesh’ by participating in the murder of the author and the eating of *His* flesh and the drinking of *His* blood. The participants as in the story of the duck and pate, want to meet the “duck”/God/author, but they re-present this desire through the eating of the “pate”/sacrament/text.

Following the murder, Grace invokes the mirror imagery of possession that was earlier a part of both the poetry of *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* and the automatic writing scenes of *Lady Oracle*. Following the murder, Grace Marks looks in the kitchen mirror and says: “my own face in the mirror over the kitchen sink was not like my face at all. It looked rounder and whiter, with two great startled staring eyes, and I didn’t wish to look at it” (Atwood 1996, p.315). Grace further elaborates on the characteristic physical change resulting from possession, as suggested by Ellenberger and Crabtree saying, “I felt light-headed, and detached from myself, as if I was not really present, but only there in body” (Atwood 1996, p.315). Later Grace Marks remarks: “and it was as if my hand was not mine at all, but only a husk or skin, with inside it another hand growing” (Atwood 1996, p.317). Commenting on the “forgotten” murders Grace continues, “and [I] did not feel that I had been present at them at all” (Atwood 1996, p.356). Like Joan of *Lady Oracle* and the land and animal possessed woman of *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*, Grace Marks realizes as she gazes in the mirror that her face is not her own and that even the limbs of her body are growing other inhabitants.

While the medical practitioners of the novel continually discuss the nineteenth-century debate surrounding consciousness—the virtues of animal magnetism, hypnotism, and the theories of Mesmer and others—it is through the charlatan and carnival-act hypnotist that we first encounter the spirit of Mary Whitney unmediated by the consciousness of Grace Marks. The voice speaking from within the body of Grace Marks tells those gathered in the séance-like scene, “I am not Grace! Grace knew nothing about it” (Atwood 1996, p.401). The spirit further claims: “I only borrowed her clothing for a time” (Atwood 1996, p.402). Finally, the earlier mythology from the old-world is reaffirmed by the spirit as the source of the possession: “she forgot to open the window, and so I couldn’t get out” (Atwood 1996, p.403). Those gathered cast their medical explanations aside and state: “Two hundred years ago...it would have been a clear case of possession” and “an exorcism would have been in order” (Atwood 1996, p.405).

Atwood’s own theories of inspiration as coming from without and the instantly written poems of childhood, the creeping animals and landscape possession of her poetry, and the automatic writing sessions of her heroines suggest that the author is indeed possessed—writing and murdering. Again in *Negotiating with the Dead* Atwood wonders “who is in control of that hand at the moment of writing?” (2002, p.45). Atwood, in the end, is unwilling to choose between bodies and spirits, authors and murderers, rather allowing them all to haunt one great house of inspiration. The author suggests not only the guilt of the author as murderer but indeed the death of the author. The “author is the murderer” and the games are all played in the dark somewhere between dreams and hypnosis, with stories told on the holds of ships and candles lit to invoke the spirits of inspiration—they all tell the story and possess the writer.

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*The Duality of Narrative Voice and the Possibility of Friendship in Jonathan Safran
Foer's "Everything Is Illuminated"*

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In Jonathan Safran Foer's postmodern novel, *Everything is Illuminated*, we see a semi-autobiographical journey in search for generational memory, family secrets, and the display of self-identification through a combination of Joycian stream-of-consciousness narration, picturesque demonstration of words, and magic-realism (Ward 152). Its 2005 film adaptation has opened a new ground for various interpretations of the relationships among the characters and the influence of trans-generational trauma. A major comparison between the novel and its film version lies, most prominently, in the identity of Alex's grandfather and the indicated friendship between Alex and Jonathan. This paper compares the written text with the filmic version, in the hope of analyzing the relationship between the two protagonists, the display of trans-generational trauma in two different kinds of narrative: one being Alex's letter in the form of a comic-natured "quest Romance" (Feuer 25), the other Jonathan's magic-realistic fable, and how such strategies affect the historical accounts. I argue that by depicting Alex and Jonathan's indicated friendship in a rather oversimplified Hollywood manner, the director attempts to provide a new angle of presentation of a third-generation trauma and wishes to shed light on the possibility of its closure; while the novel points to something more complicated. The possibility of the protagonists friendship and the closure of trauma are entangled more with history than memory itself.

The story plot carries on with two intermingling narrative: Alex's and Jonathan's. Essentially it is a story of a quest in which Alex is in charge of taking down incidents along their journey in search for a seemingly-mythical heritage, a shtetl named Trachimbrod. The plot is divided into several "episodes," followed by Alex's letter to Jonathan inserted at the end of each episodes discussing the authenticity of the account, his opinions about their grandparents, and his relationship with Jonathan. The major addresser in the novel is Alex. Jonathan, on the contrary, is being introduced in the story as "the hero" (*Illuminated* 27)¹ and his every statement is being recorded by Alex. Jonathan, in this manner, is deliberately "made silence" through Alex's narration, there's no direct "voice" from Jonathan except for Alex's description of his witness and his comments on Jonathan's preceding remarks. Jonathan's only narrative, however, lies in his magic-realistic fable—a story of his grandfather, Safran. Francisco Collado-Rodriquez has pointed out that the novel is Foer's "fictional" story based on his incomplete desire to write a non-fictional account of his journey to Ukraine in the hope of finding Augustine—the women who saved his grandfather from the Nazis (56). As he asserts, "it[the novel] is the invented story of the village, reported in mythical and magical-realist terms by Jonathan, and

¹ *Everything Is Illuminated*, henceforth cited as *Illuminated*.

reviewed by Alex in his letters” (57). The narratives of Alex and Jonathan point to two different perspectives toward the story plot, mainly, toward their impression of Trachimbrod. What Jonathan writes is a fictional story about the history of Trachimbrod, while Alex records their recent search of Augustine and his witness of the present-day Trachimbrod (Verstryng 50). Alex’s narration appears to be a “cover-up of the fact that it is a fictional comedy that tries to avoid being a tragedy” (Feuer 36), whereas Jonathan’s is consistently tragic and independent outside influences (36).

The story unfolds with Alex’s self-introduction in his own version of English, in which Alex uses a series of synonym instead of regular phrases. His own particular lexicon: “dub,” “spleening,” “first-rate,” or “premium” (*Illuminated* 1-3), his love for American culture: “I dig Negroes, particularly Michael Jackson. I dig to disseminate very much currency at famous nightclubs in Odessa” (*Illuminated* 2), and his bragging of women always “want to be carnal with me” (*Illuminated* 2), all point to his simple naivety. The beginning episodes of the novel carry on with Alex’s casual description of getting a phone call from the Heritage Touring Agency requiring a driver, a guide, and a translator for a young Jewish man coming from America looking for a town his grandfather came from. This “overture to the commencement of a very rigid journey” (*Illuminated* 1), enclosing with Grandfather’s stubborn complaint that he “do[does] not want to drive ten hours to an ugly city to attend to a very spoiled Jew” (*Illuminated* 7), is illustrated by Menachem Feuer as a classic opening of the quest Romance; in which the journey would gather people from different social classes or racial identities together (25). And eventually the adversaries within the group would be transformed into friends or allies as the journey progresses (26).

One thing to be noted is that the letters Alex writes to Jonathan is sent *after* their journey in search for Trachimbrod and Augustine and *after* Jonathan has returned to America. Their exchange of manuscripts composes the whole novel. Jonathan’s approach of writing his dreamy, quasi-realistic stories of his grandfather’s life in Trachimbrod comes entirely from his own viewpoint of Jewish history. Alex, on the other hand, plays a lowly role in his letter to Jonathan. He feels he “must eat a slice of humble pie for not finding Augustine” (*Illuminated* 23). In short, Alex’s narrative appears to be a pleading for mercy (Feuer 27), that he is pleading Jonathan to be “truthful” yet “benevolent” (*Illuminated* 26). He is even willing to change his own version of the story: “I apologize for the last line, about how you are a very spoiled Jew. It has been changed” (*Illuminated* 24). In the subsequent chapters we see more

alternation and omission of Alex's narrative. His version of the story is a result of the external forces imposed upon his narrative compelling him to change eventually from a comic tone into a tragic account (Feuer 36).

The novel is adapted into a film by Live Schreiber in 2005. As formerly mentioned, the filmic version of the story plot appears oversimplified with the total exclusion of Jonathan's magic-realistic narrative of his grandfather (Verstryngge 67). The filmic Jonathan possesses, as elaborated at the beginning of the film, a habit of collecting things. Jonathan's collectomania, however, has much reference toward his mythical writing in the novel. One of the instances could be seen in the unfolding scene when Jonathan obtains from his grandfather's deathbed an amber necklace pendant. This pendant ushers his collectomania. Schreiber even serves such habit as Jonathan's motive of the Journey to Trachimbrod. Since the only token of memory for his grandfather was the amber pendant, Jonathan sets off for a search for his grandfather's heritages along with a faded picture and a Star-of-David necklace which he has just obtained from his grandmother. Later we can see that the pendant, which is suggested to be Augustine's, resembles Yankel's ring described in the novel: "The prehistoric ant in Yankel's ring, which had lain motionless in the *honey-colored amber* since long before Noah hammered the first plank" (*Illuminated* 13; emphasis added). Another example of Schreiber's undermining Jonathan's mythical narration occurs when Jonathan dreams about the river Brod and imagines plastic bags—the one he uses to collect things—floating down along the river. This scene instantly and vividly makes the viewer recall Jonathan's narration of the bombardment of Trachimbrod, in which people try to survive from the bombarding by staying in the river, ultimately almost everyone drowns and their bodies turn up floating alongside the river: "the bodies began to rise one at a time until I couldn't be seen through all of the bodies" (*Illuminated* 273). As the novel indicates, Safran is buried under a pile of drown bodies and thus could not be found by the German troops: "[I became] invisible under them I was the carcass" (*Illuminated* 273). Same scene occurs in the filmic version when Grandfather goes through a mental flashback. In this scene, we see a younger version of grandfather—wearing the Star of David—miraculously survives Nazi's round-up execution through being buried under a pile of corpses. The overlapping images of both Alex's and Jonathan's grandfather point to the same identity they both possess—a Holocaust victim: One being a confirmed Jew, the other being hidden under the perplexity of the dual narrative voice.

Lewis Ward, in his *Holocaust Memory in Contemporary Narratives*,² states that

² Lewis Ward, "Holocaust Memory in Contemporary Narratives: Towards a Theory of

Foer's text shows a strong desire to "move beyond immediate experience and journey to the further side of the past, whether through travel to historical sites, genealogical reconstruction, or (imagined) contact with survivors from that past" (81). The journey in search for Trachimbrod and Augustine has revealed, intentionally and unintentionally, some truth about both Alex's and Jonathan's grandfather, whom directly experienced Holocaust. Although this journey ends up with no concrete evidence of the past ever existed: what used to be Trachimbrod is now an empty field, and the quest for Augustine has been suspended as they encounter Lista, the only survivor of the Jewish community. The journey has forced each character to introspectively re-examine himself. One direct result would be the outpouring of the history from Alex's grandfather and his later breakdown. Alex, who witnesses firsthand the outburst of this raw and cruel memory, is entirely unprepared of such revelation:

"I am not a hero, it is true"

"He is not a hero." [Alex translated]

"But I am not a bad person, either."

"But he is not a bad person."

[. . .]

"And he[Herschel] was my best friend."

"He was his best friend."

"And I murdered him." (*Illuminated* 228)

Note that this chapter ends up with an omission of Alex's translation of Grandfather's last remark, "And I murdered him." Alex's intentional omission, his constant pleading to Jonathan for "mercy," all winds up together in the final chapter of his narration: "Illumination" (*Illuminated* 243), in which his dialogue with Grandfather, his epistolary dialogue with Jonathan, and Grandfather's own nearly-raving confession, all intermingle into a gigantic chain of sentences without punctuation:

(*Do you remember what he did next, Jonathan? . . . Herschel was a good person, and so was I, . . . And then I asked him, What, what happened? . . . I murdered Herschel, he said. Or what I did was as good as murdering him. . . . Were you scared? I was scared. . . . I pointed and for him that Herschel was murdered that I murdered Herschel and this is why he is how he is how he is because a father is always responsible for his son and I am I and I am responsible not for Herschel but for my son . . .* (*Illuminated* 247-51; emphasis added)

Collado-Rodriguez explains Foer's employment of such approach: "The use of experimental techniques in trauma fiction frequently suggests or symbolizes the

Transgenerational Empathy," MA Thesis. (Cornwall:U of Exeter, 2008).

victim's—not the perpetrator's—posttraumatic condition, especially when she or he becomes the narrator” (63). Such remark, along with what trauma theorists deem the typical nature of a traumatic narration—chronological disorder and jumping away from linear narration—point to the fact that Grandfather indeed *is* a victim who possesses a traumatic past.

Although the identity of Grandfather has never been testified, we see hints from both the film and the novel. Clearly, near the end film we see Grandfather's full name engraved on his tombstone which shows he is indeed the one Augustine recognizes on the picture: Alexander *Baruch* Perchov. Furthermore, we see the Star of David above his full name engraved in Hebrew, and the family has chosen to bury Grandfather next to the Trachimbrod memorial stone. All of these indicate that the family has not only discovered the truth about his past, but they accept their Jewish heritage (Verstryng 69). Jonathan also seems to realize the truth about Grandfather's Jewish identity since he symbolically gives him a bag of sand retrieved from the riverbank of the Brod. In this manner, his acknowledgement of Grandfather's identity makes a connection between the two families in the history of Trachimbrod. Similarly, Grandfather's identity in the novel is revealed through his final outpour of confession. From this intermingling monologue/dialogue among Alex, Jonathan, and Alex's grandfather, we encounter a scene where Herschel begs his best friend Eli not to turn him to the German troops. Since Augustine/Lista has mentioned that Eli “had to shoot Herschel, because if he did not, they would shoot him” (*Illuminated* 152); with Grandfather's subsequent refusals of continuing to hear the woman's account, and his soliloquized confession that he kills Herschel, it is safe to say that grandfather *is* Eli—he too, is a Jew.

In this manner, if the filmic version admits a closure of this trans-generational trauma in which Jonathan accepts Grandfather's Jewish identity, in the novel we see no trace of such acknowledgement. Jonathan's omission of Grandfather's Jewish identity marks, as Feuer asserts, a refusal to think of the implications of a Jew selling other Jews out (47). He would rather, under such context, admit Grandfather as an anti-Semitic Ukrainian than a Jew who murders his best friend. Sue-Ann Weissmark replies to Jonathan's lack of response to Alex's final revelation, in which she asserts that many Jews would admit their position as absolute victims by refusing to acknowledge Jewish perpetrators or bystanders. Jonathan's magic-realistic novel points to his desire to create a fictional history where Jew would insist on absolute guilt of the other (Weissmark 47). In addition, Ward also explains, “Jewish tradition and religious practice [have] always emphasized both remembering the experience of

one's ancestors and understand the present as part of a continuum with the past" (22). Following this sense, Jewish descendents may possess what Jean Goodman characterizes a phenomenon which World War II has given birth to: the "Holocaust remembrance" (9). Replying to this collective memory, Jonathan's refusal of accepting Grandfather's identity and Alex's friendship has much more to do with history and memory. Grandfather's betrayal has caused tensions between Alex and Jonathan. They can never be friends unless they find out a new definition for their relationship that can transcend traditional binary category, in this case, the third generation of the perpetrator and the victim.

In sum, the duality of narrative voice in Foer's *Everything Is Illuminated* points to two versions of the fictional history the two protagonists project. The possibility of their indicated friendship, though being rekindled through the interpretation of its filmic version, has been reduced due to the perplexity of the trans-generational grudge and the rejection of the alteration of long-inherited collective memories.

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Theme of Alienation in Modern Literature

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Abstract

Alienation is the basic form of rootlessness, which forms the subject of many psychological, sociological, literary and philosophical studies. Alienation is a major theme of human condition in the contemporary epoch. It is only natural that a pervasive phenomenon like alienation should leave such an indelible impact upon the contemporary literature. Alienation emerges as natural consequence of existential predicament both in intrinsic and extrinsic terms. The theme of alienation has been variously dealt with persistently and unflinchingly in modern literature. The alienated protagonist is a recurrent figure in much of the twentieth century American and European fiction. Alienation in its various forms, has been dealt with in the existentialistic literature. Owing to its historical and socio-cultural reasons, the Indo-English literature also, could not remain unaffected by it.

Alienation is the result of loss of identity. The dispossessed personality's search for identity is a common place theme in modern fiction. Man fails to perceive today the very purpose behind life and the relevance of his existence in a hostile world. Edmund Fuller remarks that in our age " man suffers not only from war, persecution, famine and ruin, but from inner problems ----- a conviction of isolation, randomness, meaninglessness in his way of existence ".

The paper will discuss and analyze theme of alienation in modern literature in general and Indo-English literature in particular from different angles. It will be contextualised by referring profusely the works of renowned writers. Nuances of the word alienation will also be discussed thoroughly.

key words : alienation , rootlessness , identity , isolation , randomness , predicament , existentialism , existence .

Introduction:

The present paper is a study to bring out the nuances of the word alienation from different angles. It also endeavours to analyse the theme of alienation in modern literature in general and Indian Writing in English in particular. We have tried to include as many writers as we can to bring out the various forms of alienation in literature. Alienation forms the subject of many psychological, sociological, literary and philosophical studies. It is a major theme of human condition in the contemporary epoch. It is only natural that a pervasive phenomenon like alienation should leave such an indelible impact upon the contemporary literature. The purpose of the study is to acquaint students and teachers of English literature with theme of alienation in modern literature. The study, It is hoped, will help students, researchers and teachers in enhancing interest and encourage them in their study, research and teaching.

Literature Review:

Alienation emerges as natural consequences of existential predicament. It is necessary to understand the meaning of existentialism. Existentialism is not a well organized and systematic philosophy of life nor its beginning can be pinpointed. Jean Wahl considers existentialism as “Philosophies of existence”. It is also considered as a sharp reaction of all forms of rationalism. Kierkegaard reacted against Hegelian idealism. Marcel reacted against the idealist like F.H. Bradley and Brunschvieg. Another important point to be discussed is the dictum that the existentialists set forth – existence precedes essence. They asserted that man first of all exists and then only he thinks of it. All his ‘contemplations and his actions are possible only because of his existence’. Existence therefore, is the first principle from which everything else flows. Sartre is worth quoting here.

“ We mean that man first of all exists, encounters himself, surges up and defines himself afterwards”(1)

Modern existentialism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries moved in two different directions from the two main sources, one led by Soren Kierkegaard, Danish thinker, and the other by Friedrich Nietzsche, a German philosopher. Kierkegaard develops Christian and theistic existentialism while Nietzsche develops anti-Christian and atheistic existentialism. The German Karl Jaspers and the French thinker Gabriel Marcel take the Kierkegaardian line of philosophical faith. On the other hand, the German Martin Heidegger and the French Philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre develop it on the Nietzschean way of a theism and godlessness. Albert Camus develops a kind of existentialism of the absurd.

After the two world wars the word existentialism got currency all over the world. The chaos, disorder, annihilation and fears and frustration on the one hand and the crumbling traditional values and old world views including loss of faith and God and trust in man along with anguish and anxiety, estrangement and loneliness rendered the life absolutely absurd, meaningless, directionless and futile. It is what Albert Camus called as Sisyphean Act. Existentialism therefore rapidly flourished and entered the

realms of literature also. The entire West echoed the reverberations of existential attitudes like, guilt, nausea, restlessness, despair, lack of intimacy and estrangement and over arching absurdity. Existentialism in some way or the other found manifestations in writings of Franz Kafka, Sartre, Camus, Marcel, Ionesco, James Joyce, William Golding, Faulkner, T.S. Eliot, Proust, Hemingway and others.

Existentialism deals with values, attitudes and relationships, which determine man's role in society and the freedom or bondage that he is subjected to. If he is under undue pressure he will have to adopt methods for survival to salvage himself from an aggressive society. This will be extension of the personality, the development of a new dimension of the individual, which will override these critical situations. The hollowness that man feels within the depths of his soul is existentialistic by nature, and this has to be countered to bring the individual to the mainstream of life, to rescue him from perennial isolation.

Most existentialist thinkers conform to the theory that life as a whole is futile and one's comprehension of life can never be absolutely soothing. Thus, alienation is cogent to existence as an inherent solipsism enshrouds the subconscious even while the mind is consciously attempting to reach out to other living beings to make life meaningful.

Existentialism in Indian Writing in English

Existentialism is used in some of the Indian novels in English like in **Across the Black Water** of Mulk Raj Anand and Anita Desai's **Fire on the Mountain**.

Across the Black Water shows a close resemblance to existential art. It throws light on existential concepts such as meaninglessness and subjectivity through the powerful characterization of its several characters including its hero Lalu Singh. The novel tells us about the limitation of the human life and the mystery of existence about infinitude and guilt, death and hope, freedom and meaning, Lalu Singh the hero of the novel, observes that his condition is shaped by fear and loneliness and there is endless suffering in his existence. He is confronted with the problems of understanding things in human terms and the more he tries the more he fails. His experiences as a soldier in the battlefield of France in World War I, when Indian troops land in Marcilles make him a stranger in the face of the absurdities of war and consequent turmoil's, agonies, indifference, tiredness and depression. The tremor of dead spread like a panic in his brain and the confusion of silence and horrors of war overpower him completely. While the oppressions of war render him completely unable to relate outside his own self, his inner urges, struggles, hopes, aspirations as an Indian soldier in France indicate separation from the self. Lalu Singh loves life irrepressibly despite all odds and his keen desire to live makes this novel existentialist in the true sense of the term.

Anita Desai's novel **Fire on the Mountain** is an existential novel. Anita Desai adroitly explores the emotional life of her characters, especially female characters.

She chooses only those characters who are emotionally famished and who fail to come to terms with reality. They choose to live in the cell of the self, building up a world of fantasy. Their preoccupation with the self becomes an obsession with them. All human relations are which in fact supposed to be authentic and the best means of nourishing emotions, prove to be meaningless for these emotionally famished characters - Nanda Kaul, Raka and Ila Das. Each one of them is a victim of emotional agony and craves for privacy, isolation and fantasy to escape from unpleasant reality of life. The novel is pervaded by an overpowering sense of loneliness and isolation in the deserted life of the protagonist, Nanda Kaul.

Alienation: Literature Review

Alienation it should be noted emerges as natural consequences of the existential predicament both in intrinsic and extrinsic terms in order to approach and analyze Joshi's treatment of alienation and consequential dispossession it seems worthwhile to understand various nuances of the word alienation.

A dictionary of literary terms defined as: "Alienation is the state of being alienated or estranged from something or somebody; it is a condition of the mind". Encyclopaedia Britannica defines alienation as "the state of feeling estranged or separated from ones milieu, work, products of work or self".

The English word 'Alienation' is derived from the Latin word 'Alienato'. Alianato is a noun which receives meaning from the verb 'alienare' which means to make a thing for others, to snatch, to avoid, to remove, etc. In French language Alienate and alienation, are used in the same sense as the English words 'Alienate and Alienation. Anomie and Anomia are used as synonyms of Alienation. The use of these words is considered modern. These words are Greek in origin The meaning of 'Anomia' is self-alienation and 'Anomie' is alienation from society. 'Anomia' is an indicator of Personal disintegration of man from the society. According to G.H.Nettler:

“..... anomia is personal disorganization, alienation is a psychological state of an individual and alienated in the person who has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward his society and the culture it carries”(2).

Generally, Anomie, Anomia or Alienation are interchangeable. In English there are other words other than Alienation. They are Estrangement Isolation and Separation.

Different interpreters of alienation have given different definitions. According to Arnold Kaufman,

“To claim that a person is alienated is to claim that his relation to something else has certain features which result in avoidable discontent or loss of satisfaction”(3).

Feur Lewis says

“..... the word alienation is used to convey the emotional tone which accompanies any behaviour in which the person is compelled to act self destructively”(4).

According to the views of Keniston,

“Most usages of alienation share the assumption that some relationship or connection that once existed that is ‘natural’, desirable or good, has been lost”(5).

In the definition of these thinkers there is an indication of an existing tension and disintegrating human relationship. Martin Buber termed alienation as “the proliferation of the It-World”(6). Sidney Finkelstein defines alienation as

“a psychological phenomenon, an internal conflict, a hostility felt towards something seemingly outside oneself which is linked to oneself, a barrier erected which is actually no defence but an impoverishment of oneself (7).

According to Hegel alienation is of two kinds. The first type of alienation arises due to man’s individuality or incompatibility in his personality and social substance. The second type of alienation is of the same level as the alienation expounded by Rousseau etc., in the principle of ‘Social contract’ in which the theme of surrender or transfer of any right is vested. According to Hegel, the situation arises when a change occurs in man’s concept of ‘self’. The second type of alienation is permanent and from this we can control the first type.

Karl Marx however puts forth a very comprehensive and complex idea of alienation that comprises various extrinsic dimensions of human existence in socio-economic context. His concept of alienation is often classified in the following manners:

1. Political Alienation
2. Economic Alienation

Marx says about political alienation:

“The state does not care about Individual’s existence, in a society without communion between people and that individual in his relation to such a state does not experience a feeling of solidarity, he is only able to relate himself to it as an isolated monad, an individual. Man’s inner life is divided in world split up in such a way”(8).

Marx presumes democracy in which man’s political alienation can be controlled not in a state in absolute power as Hegel thinks. According to Marx to get rid of political alienation, first of all we must get rid of the basic alienation, which is economic alienation. He finds the concepts related to state faulty for political alienation.

The main procedure of every society is to produce for the fulfilment of needs and to create social institutions. Any type of state of being out of this procedure will be termed as the state of being alienated. Due to the state of being alienated the existence of man becomes merely the existence of material human being. In the words of Marx,

“ Just as alienated labour transforms free and self directed activity into a mean, so it transforms the species - life of a man into a mean of physical existence”(9).

According to Erich Fromm, alienation is the result of capitalist society which disturbs the feelings of man. The growth of the personality of man and factors responsible for alienation are subject to the influence of social-conditions on human existence. In the view of Fromm, among all types of alienation, self-alienation is the most important. Self-alienation is the absence of self-awareness or a complete loss of it. He considers self-alienation pertaining to feelings. He writes in his book **Sane Society** that:

“the meaning of alienation is that process of feeling in which anyone feels alienation from self”(10).

An Alienated man necessarily becomes alienated from society, because the identity of self-alienation and the situation of the lack of or loss of self-awareness necessarily alienate him from society.

After Erich Fromm many psychoanalysts have also discussed the process of ‘self-alienation’. Karen Horney in her book ‘**New Ways in Psychoanalysis**’ expresses her views about ‘self-alienation’. According to Horney, that man is self-alienated whose:

“Spontaneous individual self (has been) stunted, warped or choked, he is said to be in a condition of alienation from himself (or) alienated from self”(11).

In another book **Our Inner Conflicts**, Horney again discusses the concept of self alienation with a new approach. In Horney’s views the condition of self-alienation is such as the, “person simply becomes oblivious to what he really feels, likes, rejects, believes in short to what he really is”(12).

Man’s reality is his ‘Real self’ and the meaning of self-alienation is the alienation from this ‘Real-self’. Horney thinks that the situation of self-alienation arises when a man makes an, ‘Ideal-image’ of himself in his mind that is other than his ‘Real-self’. There exists a “gap between his idealized image and his real-self”(13). Even the “pride in one’s respectability alienates a man from his unsavoury past”(14).

Sociologists see loneliness as a kind of alienation, which is found in the absence of intimacy with others. When a man says that he often feels lonely, it is clear that he is dissociated and disconnected from others or his relations with others are not such as he can overcome his loneliness by meeting them. McClosky points that, “the feeling of loneliness and yearning for supportive primary relationships”(15) are the two sides

of a coin. According to him, the meaning of the feeling of loneliness is the loss of significant relation with others. It is the lack or loss of this relation with others that generates a source of alienation. The awareness of this loneliness is sociological in nature; it is called social-isolation. In social reference, the meaning of Social-alienation is the decay of creative and meaningful relations between man and man and man and his environment, between man or the prevailing reality. Man finds himself bereaved of the authentic footholds that grant meaning and directions to life. Alienation thus occurs from unauthentic existence.

Paul Tillich has used the word 'Estrangement' for alienation. Tillich has pointed out the difference between real condition of man's existence and his basic - nature. He has termed this difference as alienation. According to him,

"existence is estranged from essence Man's estrangement from his essential being is the universal character of existence"(16).

Tillich asserts that estrangement thwarts the process of self-realisation, it in fact operates as a hostile force highly pernicious to the elemental self. He puts out:

"Each expression of the estranged state contradicts man's essential being, his potency for goodness"(17).

Sartre's concept of alienation as propounded in his book **Being and Nothingness** is totally different from Marx's approach. Sartre's approach is existentialistic alienation. Sartre says,

"In the shock that seizes me when apprehend the other's look I experience a subtle alienation of all my possibilities, which are not associated with the objects of the world far from me in the midst of world"(18).

Sartre in his book **Critique of Dialectic Reason** has broadened Marx's concept of alienation. Marx says that when the production and labour of man is controlled by other man, alienation takes place. Marx saw alienation in the context of labour class only but Sartre has tried to feel the alienation in the life and world of writers as well.

Taviss speaks of two different kinds of alienation, that is 'social alienation' and 'self-alienation'. By 'social alienation' she mean:

"the sense of estrangement brought out by the sudden discovery that the social system is either oppressive or incomplete with their desires and ideas. 'Self-alienation', however, means the loss of contact of the individual selves with any inclinations or desires that are not in agreement with the prevailing social patterns, as a result of which the individuals are forced to manipulate in accordance with the social demands or feel incapable of controlling their actions"(19).

In one of the great, seminal heart-searching of our time, Camus diagnoses the human predicament as follows:

“A world that can be explained by reasoning, however faulty, is a familiar world. But in a universe that is suddenly deprived of illusions and of light, man feels a stranger. He is an irremediable exile, because he is deprived of memories of a lost homeland as much as he lacks the hope of a promised land to come. This divorce between man and his life, the actor and his setting, truly constitutes the feeling of absurdity”(20).

In an essay on Kafka Ionesco defines the true nature of this ‘absurdity’ in precise terms. According to him,

“Absurd is that which is devoid of purpose cut off from his religious metaphysical and transcendental roots, man is lost; all his actions become senseless, absurd and useless”(21).

In spite of unprecedented scientific and technological advancements, which have added immensely to his physical pleasures and comforts, the contemporary man is doomed to find himself in a tragic mess. The prevailing economic conditions culminating in the abject poverty of the masses and the economic squeeze of the middle class. All these have made increasing and often disturbing demands on the individual and contribute in their own ways to his rootlessness and dispossession. The present age has shrunk in spirit languishing in confusion, frustration, disintegration, disillusionment, meaninglessness, alienation and dispossession.

The theme of alienation has been variously dealt with in modern literature. The alienated protagonist is a recurrent figure in much of the twentieth century American and European fiction. The artist as an alienated soul has been portrayed in James Joyce’s **Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man**. **Stephen the protagonist is alienated from religion, family and culture.** The Negro as an outsider in Ralph Ellison’s **Invisible Man is alienated from society. The narrator is invisible because others refuse to see him.** . . Albert Camus’ **Meursault (The Stranger) is a** serious attempt to sketch the confusion, frustration, alienation, disintegration and estrangement of modern man. In Kafka’s *The Castle*, it is about alienation, endless frustration of man’s attempts to stand against the system, and the futile and hopeless pursuit of an unobtainable goal. The protagonist is known as only K struggles to gain access to the mysterious authorities of a castle who govern the village for unknown reasons.

Theme of Alienation in Indian Writing in English

Owing to historical and socio-cultural reasons, the Indo-English literature also, could not remain unaffected by it. Meenakshi Mukherjee points out, “alienation or rootlessness is a very common theme in it”(22). Alienation serves as a basic theme and recurrent motif in many Indo-English novels.

R.K. Narayan’s novels are the foremost in emphasizing the loneliness of man.

His treatment of alienation in **The Sweet Vendor** is more systematic. Owner of sweet business, Jagan has a son, Mali. Jagan’s wife died of a brain tumour when Mali was still a child. Jagan tried to do every thing possible to give him proper education. But Mali arranges to go to America. He returns three years later with an American (half-Korean) wife and a scheme to market a ‘novel-writing machine’. Jagan is ostracized by his community. He leaves Malgudi twice alienated for good. His loneliness and despair become all the more keen because of his memories of his wife’s death and Mali’s resentful treatment. Jagan’s unhappy experiences are typical of Narayan’s alienated characters. “All his novels in varying degrees, convey this sense of unhappy frustration (23).

The earlier Indo-English novelists were thus aware of the dilemma resulting from alienation. Their works bear witness to a certain involvement with the changing national scene and a genuine concern for the destiny of the country. Even when they felt cut off, their sense of isolation was never so acute as that of the later novelists. The reason for the earlier Indo-English novelists’ feeling rather lonely were chiefly socio-political. While delineating alienated persons, their main aim seems to have been to demonstrate the potential dangers of two cultures meeting in one and the same person and resulting in his unfortunate isolation.

We find theme of alienation in Manohar Malgonkar’s **Combat of Shadows**. The novel is a powerful study of a Eurasian young woman who sought to climb up and become a member of the white English community. She lingers, however, between the two worlds - Indian and Western - without belonging to the either, and finds herself a stranger to both. Ruby’s English lover, Henry Winton, also suffers from loneliness. Winton’s marriage with an English lady does not improve the situation for long. Winton and Ruby represent two different aspects of alienation. In his case its effect is not so devastating; but in Ruby’s, it is a question of life and death.

The theme of alienation of different classes of Indian society is Kamala Markandaya’s continuing theme. From the pattern that emerges from her novels we can deduce her message, i.e., as long as one has roots, one survives; and if one’s roots are injured or lost, one dies spiritually. Nathan’s roots, in the **Nectar in a Sieve**, are scarred when he is evicted from his land, and he dies, but Rukmani’s roots are in her children and therefore she lives.

Balachandra Rajan is another Indo-Englischer novelist who deals with theme of alienation. His novel, **Too long in the West**, tells the story of a young lady named Nalini, who stayed at Columbia University for three years. Ever since her childhood she had found her father's village, Madulur, oppressive with its loneliness. Her predicament gets worsened by her stay and education in America. Her mother knows it that "She'll never fit in", in India, because 'she's been too long in the west (P.24) one of Nalini's suitors also tells her: "You won't fit in. You've joined the lost generation, out of place everywhere and acceptable nowhere. You'll always be an exile and an alien, a self-created foreigner, a refugee from yourself. You can't belong. You'll live in two worlds and fall between two stools"(P.55).

The themes of alienation has been dealt with more persistently and unflinchingly by Nayantra Sahgal and Anita Desai also. The alienated person is a stock figure in Nayantra Sahgal's novels. She deals with problems caused by a changing order.

Sahgal's novel called **This Time of Morning**, Rashmi, the daughter of Kailash Vrind, flutter with the 'freedom of sex'. She seeks to divorce her husband, an IFS Officer. Having left him, she comes back to her parents, alienated and utterly distraught. Her affair with Niel Berensen does not minimize her isolation in any way. She herself is not aware of her ambivalence. Rashmi's problems, despite all her pronouncements, remain as they were. Her entire existence appears to be paradoxical. She craves for modernity and individual freedom, but is considered to be a 'hidebound, conventional, label-conscious, caste-ridden enigma' (P.144). It is this superficial approach to life that renders persons like Rashmi Self-alienated, doomed to bear a 'stab of emptiness, almost of fear' (P.216).

Anita Desai is another novelist who has dealt theme of alienation in a systematic way. "No other Writer", it is said "is so much concerned with the life of young men and women in Indian cities as Anita Desai' (24). In her novel **Cry, the Peacock**, we have an exploration of the alienated human psyche in Maya's self-examination. Hers is the story of a young, sensitive girl obsessed by a childhood prophecy of disaster, whose extreme sensitivity is rendered in terms of immeasurable human loneliness. The novel's beginning itself brings to the fore the theme of husband-wife alienation by unfolding the relationship of Maya and Gautam. Maya, an inverted favourite daughter of a wealthy artistic father, is married to an older man, detached, sober, industrious lawyer. They are complete opposite. Their married life is punctuated all along by 'matrimonial silences'(P.12). What pains her most is her 'loneliness in this house'. (P.9) A restlessness always boils within her. She feels defenceless and utterly alone' in the company of the 'bleak, comfortless figure' passing as her husband (PP. 153, 146). The alienation between them is rooted essentially in his philosophical detachment, which Maya brushes aside. Her rootless keeps on increasing every day.

The treatment of alienation is a major thematic preoccupation with Indo-English novelists. Alienation occupies a particularly important place in the works of the later

novelists. Their protagonists are like Existentialist heroes, nomads ‘alienated from nature and society’(25).

They are misfit in their society largely because of their some defects in themselves or some evil in society. The Indo-English novelist is not so much interested in making philosophical, objective statements as in presenting the plight of an alienated individual and expressing compassion for him and disapproval for society. It is true that a certain amount of alienation has affected, directly or indirectly the whole generation of Indian writers of the present century. But the alienation of Indo-English novelist is ‘an extreme case of the general predicament of the Indian writer and he is the most vulnerable of all’(26). In most Indo-English novels, it is to the novelists’ own outlook and approach to life that gets reflected in their themes and characters.

“The extent of temperamental and experiential identification between the characters and their creators is really striking”(27).

Conclusion:

Alienated protagonist is a recurrent figure in much of the twentieth century American and European fiction. There are serious attempts to sketch the confusion, frustration, alienation, disintegration and estrangement of modern man. In Indo-English literature also alienation or rootlessness is a very common theme. Alienation serves as a basic theme and recurrent motif in many Indo-English fiction. The protagonists are misfit in their society largely because of their some defects in themselves or some evils in society. The Indo-English novelist is not so much interested in making philosophical statements as in presenting the plight of an alienated individual and expressing compassion for him and disapproval for society.

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The logo for the International Association of Arts and Humanities (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of two overlapping, semi-transparent arcs. The upper arc is light blue, and the lower arc is light red, creating a sense of depth and movement around the central text.

Friendships in Dyadic Relationships between a Young Adult with a Developmental Disability and a Nondisabled Peer: Dialogues on Friendship--Strengthening Connections

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Abstract

This study focused on the nature of friendship in each of two dyadic relationships between a young adult with a developmental disability and a nondisabled peer. Students with developmental disabilities who are included in university and college classes will meet nondisabled peers as inclusive education becomes more prevalent at the postsecondary level. The basic interpretive interviews captured on video helped to explore the nature of their friendships. Included were third-party informants, a parent and a professor, who illuminated the important themes that emerged during the research. This paper explores what can be done to strengthen connections among student populations.

Friendship. What does this mean for persons who have developmental disabilities, and nondisabled peers? Defined, to connect is to bring together, or into contact. Conversely, disconnected within this context, is marginalized, isolated, alone. Furthermore, young people who have developmental disabilities are more likely to experience isolation than others. What can we as educators do? How can we strengthen connections so that healthy and happy relationships flourish?

Without the required support to ensure that young people are not isolated within their school and communities, it may be that young people who have developmental disabilities, will not meet others, will not go out on the weekend, and will not share a rich, social experience that many of their nondisabled peers have. However, some work has been accomplished in Canada, and other countries around the world in building friendships through inclusive learning communities.

The regular school experience offers persons with developmental disabilities the opportunity to meet others who are not disabled and to form friendships with them. Friendships are important for the well-being of individuals

who have a disability and, if others embrace them, may also offer security at a later time in their community. This security may take many forms, for example,

employment opportunities, formal and informal recreational activities, and adult

friendships. Furthermore, when good friends surround a person, he or she lives a

fuller and richer life. Sutherland (2010).

According to Alberta Learning, Canada: “In the fall of 2010, Inclusion was identified as part of the government’s Inspiring Action on Education initiative, and Setting the Direction was renamed Action on Inclusion to signal implementation of an inclusive education system” (Alberta Learning, n.d.). As we endeavor to develop an inclusive education system, we must also provide a foundation for friendships to occur and flourish. With the proper supports and strategies for students, bonds among persons with developmental disabilities, and nondisabled peers can be strengthened. Friends are crucial allies in a time when bullies seem to be common, and friendships are challenged for any young person. The friends that students make in life are important connections as they may offer the person with a developmental disability protection. Perhaps most importantly, however, friendship empowers all of us, and gives us a sense of belonging. We gain strength and courage, happiness, and joy from being with our friends.

It is difficult to find a definition that encompasses all of what friendship can be, but perhaps it can be described as a “social relationship between two people that is reciprocal, rewarding, and fun for both parties” (see Barber & Hupp. 1993). “Friendship is characterized by multiple voluntary contacts and shared experiences across weeks, months, or years” (Hendrickson, Shokoohi-Yekta, Hamre-Nietupski & Gable, 1996, p.4). Furthermore, proximity in all relationships is key to their development. Without the opportunity to interact, there is little hope that friendships will develop.

Falvey, Forest, Pearpoint, and Rosenberg (2002) noted:

one of the key characteristics of building connections and friendships is being in close proximity to people and having frequent opportunities to interact with each other (Asher, Odem & Gottman, 1977; Hartup, 1975; Howes, 1983; Lewis & Rosenblum, 1975) Research has demonstrated that in order for children and adults to form the necessary bonds for friendships they must have frequent access to one another. This access is facilitated when students are in close proximity to one another on a regular basis. So, it follows that students who attend the same schools as others who live in their neighborhood are more likely to form bonds that are strong enough to result in friendship. (Grenot-Scheyer, Coots & Falvey 1989). (p. 29).

Proximity, along with necessary supports in a school community, can help people from diverse groups to meet one another. It provides an opportunity to see who is on the journey with them, and sort out difficulties together. To exclude individuals with developmental, and various other disabilities from that journey leaves a number of people out of the discussion of what our world is and should be. It is then an unrealistic discussion, one that is not inclusive. For many years students with various disabilities have been included in regular classrooms, have successfully graduated, and have developed many friends along the way.

Studies that report difficulties in friendships between the two groups or the inability to form friendships, have cited various reasons that the relationship cannot develop “mainstream peers were often reported as kind but that an ‘equal’ friendship appeared difficult to develop because interests and abilities did not match” (Cuckle & Wilson, 2002, p.68). Also, as “the young people became older they found it difficult to sustain mainstream friendships; their mainstream peers wanted more independence that was usually not allowed to the more vulnerable, apparently less mature young people” (p.68).

Educators too, may also inadvertently deter friendship development in these dyads perhaps without meaning to, or devalue the person with their own limited beliefs of what a friendship is, and who can comprise them. Notably, many schools from primary to postsecondary may call themselves inclusive, however, if they do not offer ways for individuals with disabilities to meet other people without disabilities, and form friendships with them then they are missing a key component of the opportunity that inclusive education presents. Strengthening connections is an important aspect of this process. Educators need to ask: What can I do to help students achieve positive and lasting relationships? These strategies may include several tools that have been developed “to facilitate such connections and eventual friendships,” such as “Circle of Friends, Making Action Plans (MAPS), and planning Alternative Tomorrows with HOPE (PATH)” (Flavey et al., 2002, p.30).

Beyond the above mentioned tools, peers will always find ways to connect with the person with a developmental disability, on an individual basis, and collectively through social networks. Their ideas are important, and should not be overlooked. They will usually see a way to connect with their friend, and will bring in other peers in a very natural and organic way to form an even larger network. This may require

facilitators and educators to get out of the way to allow the friendship to occur, and guide the friends from time to time if necessary. (Sutherland, 2003). Peers will find refreshing ways to connect with each other as they are an essential part of inclusive education practices.

As researchers, it is also important to explore examples of dyadic relationships comprised of students with a developmental disability and peers without disabilities to overcome the belief that these students do not belong together or cannot form meaningful relationships with one another. It is not true that people who have difficulties such as intellectual impairments and physical challenges can have relationships only with others who have similar needs. This is a limited notion of friendships. Lutfiyya (1991) found an exchange and equality between people who were happy to be in relationships. She reported that

it was once held that the people most likely to be friends with individuals with learning difficulties are others with the same impairments. Whether this is consciously stated or not, many researchers believe it to be true, and then examine only this type of relationship (p. 234).

In classrooms, educators must play their part as they assist in the development of friendships, through collaborative learning strategies, peer supports and positive climates of belonging within classrooms. In secondary and postsecondary, the need to work in tandem with students who are learning how to collaborate with a diverse student population is of the utmost concern. Additionally, as educators we must model for students our respect for individual differences, and on an individual basis in our classrooms. Unfortunately, these practices may not occur as they should.

Society today places precedence on efficiency, and a “survival-of –the-fittest” mentality results in the widening of a multitude of disparities. Indeed, it may be impossible for schools to completely avoid the influence of such societal trends. However, in an educational setting that brims with the compassionate spirit of caring educators, there is a human warmth and passion that triumph over these tendencies and vibrantly nurture and support those students who feel detached and isolated. This is the power of trust. (SGI Newsletter, pg. 28, 2013).

Facilitators too, can be utilized to strengthen connections, and can encourage students to get together in ways that are natural to the friendship. (Sutherland, 2010). Facilitation may need to occur when friendships do not develop. Here educators can use various ways to strengthen possible opportunities for friendship within the classroom, where students may naturally be drawn to one another. There is no one way that friendships will grow, but we need to seize the opportunities as they arise, and strengthen them.

The central exploration of this study was to examine friendships between individuals with and without disabilities by the use of a basic interpretive video interview. According to Merriam (2002), “The product of a qualitative inquiry is richly descriptive. Words and pictures rather than numbers are used to convey what a researcher has learned about a phenomena” (p.5). Through an audiovisual medium, I hoped to be able to understand more about the friendships, as video footage may

convey relevant information through observing interactions within the dynamic of the friendships, and through basic interview questions such as: What is Friendship? How does it feel? What do you together?-- to mention a few.

As Eisner (1997) proposed, "Put another way, our capacity to wonder is stimulated by the possibilities the new forms of representation suggest" (p. 8). Communication may have been a concern for the people who were being interviewed, as the person may not easily articulate his or her views. To find alternative communication means was a way to understand more that may not be revealed through a basic interpretive interview. It is through seeing people develop and interact, what people do, and how people are together that is telling about the relationship. Through observation we may come to understand more. The study of gestures and nonverbal cues, tone of voice, body language is an important aspect of this study. There is ongoing, shared communication, not necessarily verbalized, between the friends. The video information adds to the data. Visuals are a powerful medium, where we can see and glean for ourselves some of the essential aspects of the relationship. This window may reveal what is important within the relationship.

What is particular to this dialogue of strengthening connections is the aspect of what the benefits of the friendships are, and some of what can be achieved through young people being together, and friendships between persons with developmental disabilities and nondisabled peers. Some of the comments of the participants of the study Shani and Aimee, Alethea and Emily, and the pilot podcast of Alex and Jollean, were such that joy and laughter is evident in all friendships. Alethea commented: "She's hilarious, we have so much fun." Aimee said, that what makes their friendship special is "a smile." A friend also makes Aimee feel "glad." When asked to define "Who is a Friend?" Emily replied: "Someone who you can trust and fun to be around with." Shani noted "that friends help us to become more than we are right now." Jollean said "it has helped her to become a "better person," that she has "more confidence" in herself, and that he's made a difference in her life, and she's made a difference in his life. Alex said about their friendship,-- "it is very important." "I am so happy about with Jo."

The additional benefits of any friendship are immeasurable and cannot be underestimated in their transformative power. What is important to note is that with supports and encouragement that people who like one another will not be discouraged, and will find a way to make their relationship to flourish. Taylor and Bogdan (1989) in their qualitative research found when they asked their participants to talk about their relationship with someone who has a developmental disability, they were taken aback because they did not view the relationship as something extraordinary that they would describe. Furthermore, they also said that there is systemic and ongoing prejudice that persons with developmental disabilities face daily, and yet the friendships that they were involved in endured. Lutifyya (1991) also says that the relationships that she described are "mutual, exclusive and voluntary nature." She also found an "exchange and equality between people who were happy to be in relationships."

Strengthening connections is about bringing people together, and one person being there for another. When we are there for someone else we strengthen our own inner selves, and our humanity. In conclusion, without people with developmental disabilities as friends we have lost genuine friends. There are many people who are in

friendships, and as Frank said, “Alex and Jollean are friends, and I think that says it all” (Sutherland, 2003).

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The House as Mirrors in Edgar Allan Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher"

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Edgar Allan Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher"¹ is a story about an anonymous narrator who is invited to a childhood friend's ancient house where there are his friend and his sister, suffering from both physical and mental illness, devoured by a doomed implosion of the sullen tarn. Poe draws on the emerging Gothic novel preoccupation and reveals his own investment about the forceful environment in "Usher." However, the deterioration of the house mirrors another interpretation of the tragedy of the Ushers. By linking the decay and corruption of the Usher mansion to the Ushers' tragedy, I confirm that Poe imaginatively explores the function of the environment surrounding the Usher mansion and, moreover, expresses the ecological influence on his writing. In order to demonstrate Poe's knowledge and interest in the omniscient uncontrollable power in the surrounding of the house, I will briefly examine Martin Heidegger's dwelling ecological theories. The symbolic natural surrounding is responsible the family for the final ends in three gradual corruptions, the corruption of the house, of Madeline's sudden death and of Roderick Usher's mental problem. Within this context, I will trace the environmental theme in "Usher," showing how the story illustrates Poe's recognition of the influential ecological power.

Starting to read the story, the stifling depressed and frightened atmosphere pervades when the narrator sets out on his ride to the house of Usher. The gloomy and morose tarn remains readers one of Poe's most widely-read tales and a touchstone for investigating Poe's preoccupation with elements of Gothic novel or Gothic romance.² M. H. Abrams further explains that Gothic novel or Gothic romance has been extended to a type of fiction which "develops a brooding atmosphere of gloom and terror, represents events which are uncanny, macabre or melodramatically violent, and often deals with aberrant psychological states" (78, my emphasis). Moreover, in accordance to Walpole's theory of the Gothic romance, Gary E. Tomblason concludes that the surrounding of the story has the factor of traditional Gothic romance and meanwhile combines with its innovative element (90). Mark Kinkead-Weekes argues that the story is a Gothick "which at every turn signals a consciousness of its own operation" (17). Especially, as Kinkead-Weekes suggests, the author's depiction of disintegration and dissolution based on elements of the Gothic novel, emphasizing on the surrounding in the story, such as the uncanny atmosphere, the overwhelming supernatural weather, and the terror during the corruption.

¹ "The Fall of the House of Usher" will be abbreviated as "Usher" thereafter.

² The Gothic novel was invented almost by Horace Walpole, whose *The Castle of Otranto*, written in the eighteenth century, contains essentially all the elements that constitute the genres, such as an atmosphere of mystery and suspense, supernatural or otherwise inexplicable events, the metonymy of gloom and horror, and etc.

From the explanation of Gothic novels, there is an obvious point on which should pay more attention, the influence of the environment. No matter what Gothic novel suggests a glooming atmosphere is, it establishes the sense of environment having some kinds of power to determine the development of “Usher”. Especially, the anonymous narrator depicts the trail to the house:

During the whole of *a dull, dark, and soundless day* in the autumn of the year, when the clouds hung oppressively low in the heaven, I [the narrator] had been passing alone, on horseback. . . with the first glimpse of the building, *a sense of insufferable gloom pervaded my spirit*” (“Usher” 14, my emphasis).

The description which the narrator reports allows readers to grasp the idea of insufferable gloom. The subtle and mysterious surroundings give a fulfillment of the definition Gothic novel—gloom and terror. In the first paragraph, the sentences in very long and heavy structure enhance the gloomy effect. On the other hand, the narrator wanders a strange landscape, a mirror to his inner torment. Natural landscape conducts the strangeness in the narrator’s mind. Here, Poe makes a parallel between the narrator’s imaginative description and his uneasy consciousness.

Furthermore, the narrator observes that the atmosphere which he calls also surrounds the Usher mansion and the tarn.

The whole mansion and domain there hung an atmosphere peculiar to themselves and their immediate vicinity—an atmosphere which had no affinity with the air of heaven, but which had reeked up from the decayed trees and the grey wall and the silent tarn—a pestilent and mystic vapour, and leaden-hued. (“Usher” 16)

The pervading gloomy atmosphere appears not only in the narrator’s mind but also in the misty qualities of the Usher domain. The tarn seems to be occupied by certain peculiar vapor with a dismal leaden-hued color. More importantly, the atmosphere enveloping the whole surroundings is without any affinity of heaven; that is, the atmosphere is not friendly in the beginning. In other words, the nature of the mansion is believed to have noxious effect.

In addition, while entering the main building, the narrator finds an odder and shadier natural thing which connects the mansion and the tarn. “A barely perceptible fissure, which, extending from the roof of the building in front, made its way down the wall in a zigzag direction, until it became lost in the sullen waters of the tarn” (16). The zigzag direction seems to be the connection between the domain and the sullen tarn. Now that the family was described as the pronoun of the house:

This deficiency [without any branch of offspring] . . . from sire to son, of the patrimony with the name, which had, at length, so identified the two as to merge the original title of the estate in the quaint and equivocal appellation of the “House of Usher”—an appellation which seemed to include, in the minds of . . . both the family and the family mansion.” (15-16)

And the appearance of the house, from the portrait of the narrator, is human-like, such as “a black and lurid tarn that lay in unruffled lustre,” “ghastly tree-stems,” and “the vacant and eye-like windows” (“Usher” 14, 15). With such a link, the z-shaped crack reminds the similarity among these two objects with the same name; meanwhile, for the deep connection of the house and the family, it is obvious that since there is a crack on the house, it must have some fissures in the Ushers.

Although the description of both the gloomy Usher domain and solitary history prepares undoubtedly the tragedy of the Ushers for readers, the black sullen tarn and the ancient mansion are not simply elaborate Gothic decorations. In *Green Writing*, James McKusick deploys an idea that the root of ecology is from a Greek word *oikos*, home and dwelling place (29, original emphasis).³ Adopted Heidegger’s thinking, the theory of dwelling means the “irreducible to any notion of building, construction or activities producing material habitats” and an essence of men (24). The sense of belonging constructs in the sense between one’s identity and the material place, subsequently creating a sense of home. Furthermore, Heidegger felt that “building and dwelling were always involved with attempts to *make sense of existence*, and were thus poetic” (qtd. in Shart 76, my emphasis).⁴ In this concept, dwelling does not simply define one’s existence in a given place but also the sense of settled-down because of the influence of dwelling with rootedness.

However, though there are great deal of connections between the house and one’s life, especially Roderick Usher’s in this story, the zigzag direction indicates that the house has been ignored for a long time and decayed without the care of the house owner, Roderick. In the cracks, there are lots of fungi overspreading from the appearance to the inner of the mansion. The neglected vault represents a kind of rotted atmosphere

³ Due to the original explanation of *oikos*, the dwelling place is the basis deriving from ecological determination to the influential environment.

⁴ Therefore, poetry, literary works, and dwelling remain intense measures of one another, helping individuals make sense of their circumstances. And the sense of the circumstance is the essence of a person’s existence. What Heidegger emphasizes is to embed a person in a particular place, his home, and then expose himself to an entanglement with the environment as a united system. For this reason, dwelling is a practice, which consists of a way of human beings and a way of knowing the surrounding. A person’s identification toward a certain place is mixed to the empirical observation and deep essence of the attained knowledge.

in the long-time unbalanced overwhelming power. According to Wendell Berry's assertion, "without a complex knowledge of one's place, and the faithfulness . . . is inevitable that the place will be used carelessly, and eventually destroyed" (67). Although the Ushers has been *lived* in the dwelling place for centuries, the family doesn't have cherish with the house, nor can it be called *rooted* because of not taking care of the house. The rotted mansion, in accordance to Bate, is "a lack of rootedness . . . associated with . . . corruption" (2). In the ecological rationale, a sense of home and an ethics of care for one's environment are basic acquirements of a certain place. In other words, if a person is "lack of rootedness", the person's life is destroyed (2). Moreover, the declined Usher family can be a parallel comparing with the structural collapse of the house, solitary in some distant tract of country and its long-timed waste. The pair between the mansion and the Ushers is concluded as the narrator describes the first one and then the later, and recognizes unnerving similarities. Hence, the small cracks on the mansion become the first corruption when the house launches the finale. Even though the family members ignore gradual changes of the destruction house, the original bounding, from the house to the sullen tarn, brings end of the physical structure.

Furthermore, the second corruption shows in the stirring mind of the mansion owner Roderick. "He was enchained by certain superstitious impression in regard to the dwelling" (18). Moreover, the narrator also mentions "to an anomalous species of terror I found him a bounden slave" (18). It is not only the narrator but also Roderick who is in the agony position to witness the disintegration of the house. He has already bounded and influenced by the strange power with notice and been the slave of the gradual withered ancient house. Being the only heritage of the Usher, Roderick has already known his doom with the combination of the house. He declares "I must perish in this deplorable folly. Thus, thus, and not otherwise, shall I be lost. I dread the events of the future, not in themselves, but in their results" (18). He has a firm belief in the atmosphere arising from the decayed mansion and the dormant tarn.

Moreover, he states obviously that the inescapable atmosphere has been responsible not only for the solitude of his family but also for his pitiful condition. The most obvious evidence of Roderick's visionary prophecy is the invitational letter written to the narrator. "The MS. gave evidence of nervous agitation. The writer spoke of acute bodily illness—of a mental disorder which oppressed him . . . with a view of attempting, by the cheerfulness of my society, some alleviation of his malady" (15). From the invitational letter, the main reason Roderick wants to invite the narrator is to release his anxiety of the worry of his sister's disease. The narrator, summoned by

Roderick's prophecy to support his friend during his mental disorder, becomes a witness that Roderick's visionary prophecy is the result of his collapse.

Though the letter that the narrator receives calling him to the Usher domain betrays Roderick's derangement, throughout the tale, Roderick is in an acute state of terror arising not only from his sister's physical disease but also from "the pitiable condition—I feel that the period will sooner or later arrive when I must abandon life and reason together, in struggle with the grim phantasm, FEAR" (18). The terror can be traced back to the inactive tarn and its atmosphere surrounding the mansion. Besides, these words derive from the totally hopeless view of life and Roderick's struggle in the withered house. He has already known the inseparable connection between the house and his family and his inescapable destiny.

As Freud concludes, conflicts between the demands of the masked ego and the demands of the environment tend to produce anxiety (qtd. in Ainsworth 69).⁵ Therefore, what Roderick suffers is conflicts between him and the environment.

The result of such perfect adjustment is shown in any animal species, and to a less degree in human beings of certain classes living under fixed conditions for many generations, such as an agricultural peasantry or any long-descended hereditary aristocracy. (Gilman 69)

What Gilman explains is the perfect adjustment shows in the long-living family; however, if the perfect adjustment has been turned out to an artificial stage, such peaceful scene "though quite at peace within himself, if transferred to a new environment, however healthy, would he nerve strain in the effort at adjustment" (69). That is, be there a peaceful environment, it would be even healthy to the person; but if he cannot accept, the healthy environment will suddenly become a frustrated scene in his mind. Roderick describes the environmental effect that "the physique of the gray walls and turrets, and of the dim tarn into which they all looked down, had, at length, brought upon the morale of his existence" ("Usher" 19). His agony position is in the process of the disintegration of the house but powerless to prevent it. Although he recognizes clearly that he is in the pitiful condition, he has no method to change it.

⁵ Roderick's madness means his ego, consciousness, is not under the control of the superego, the social rule. According to Freud's theory about melancholy depression,

Freud . . . noted that ongoing attempt to balance *the demands of the masked sexual drives and the demands of environment are associated with unrecognized or unconscious conflicts*, which themselves tend to produce anxiety. Freud believed that *depression* results from failure of characteristic defense mechanisms to effectively deal with unconsciously generated anxieties. (qtd. in Ainsworth 69, my emphasis)

Since a person's life is always bound into the struggle between these two influences, these two causes can be concerned with the background of one's life, regarded as an environmental effect. Hence, unconscious conflicts make indirect evidence that Roderick's aberrant psychological states are from the anxieties in the conflicts between ego and the demands of environment.

The mansion has already become oppression toward Roderick. For example, the most natural and beautiful things to Roderick are the most horrible and intolerable weapons against his uneasy and sensitive nerves:

He suffered much from a morbid acuteness of the senses; the most insipid food was alone endurable; he could wear only garments of certain texture; the odours of all flowers were oppressive; his eyes were tortured by even a faint light. . . . (“Usher” 20)

When the natural landscape is under destruction, the substitutive material is from the man-made fake, mimicry of the natural ones. Roderick undergoes a disease that could not accept nearly everything natural. No matter is flower, delicious food, sun light or sounds, all he can endure is the never-changed artificial materials. As all natural things will be withered and scattered someday, what Roderick endured is the unchanged produces which will remain in a long period. However, similar to the once delicate Usher house, even though artificial things can be preserved for temporary long time, they can't exist forever like natural things. All the artificial materials would be destructed little by little resembling the decayed mansion. Hence, in those affected by conflicts in “the demand of environment,” the creation of natural beauty would be unhealthy; that is, natural things would be terrifying, strange, and unbearable to them (Gilman 69).

The same adjectives can be used exactly in Roderick Usher's artistic compositions. The most obvious instance to show the extreme pervasive artifact is the way that Roderick performs his impromptu poem “The Haunted Palace.” His music is though with “fantastic character” but distorted in a “morbid condition of the auditory nerve” (“Usher” 20). Though performed with the extremely musical skill, the music is the highest representative of artificial excitement. The unhealthy atmosphere has already perverted Roderick's sensation to the state that can only perceive highly non-natural things. Significantly, the content provides another mirror image parallel to the fate of the mansion. The work precisely traced and prophesies the degeneration of the Usher house from a palace by “Thought's dominion” to a disorder where demons haunt (21). The harmful demon is nothing else but the gloomy atmosphere, having permeated the Usher residence for a long time. Following the movement “to a Lute's well-tuned law”, the poem changes its spiritual thoughts to a “discordant melody” (21, 22). The disordered melody is the chaotic status in Roderick's mind. The poem and the music are all forcible revelation of Usher's emotional and intellectual derangement. Though the artificial things are the long-lived materials and seem to exist for a long time, however with the disordered structure, it is inevitable that he cannot escape from the

destruction easily because of the long-period fetter with the decayed house.

Owing to the parallel with the tottering house structure, the health condition of Roderick's sister falls with the house as her brother's mental balance. When the narrator first sees her in the distance, he is full of unreason dread in her appearance.

The disease of the lady Madeline had long baffled the skill of her physicians. A settled apathy, a gradual wasting away of the person, and frequent although transient affections of a partially cataleptically character, were the unusual. ("Usher" 19)

Madeline's ghost-like image, so flimsy and frail, seems to fade out the story like vapor into the air. She is in the consumption of illness and is waiting for her death. But her reason is the control of her behavior. Although she tries herself hard to not be taken to bed, as the combination of the name of the house, the parallel influence is doomed to Madeline's finale.

The physical similarity is the inescapable fate in Madeline and the structure of the house. Similar to the connection between the mansion and Madeline, there is also a bound between Roderick and her. This brother and sister is a pair of fraternal twins. Her existence is the only remedy of Roderick's mental chaos. That is, the similar appearance and quality they share is just like looking reflection in a mirror. They seem like spitted images, not a whole being. Accompanying the decayed house, the brother suffers mental unbalanced condition, the sister physical illness. The inescapable fate has already bounded them from their birth. It is impossible for each to exist solitarily. The only way to make them become a whole is to combine them together again. Therefore, despite awaking from the long sleep of being buried alive, Madeline's last effort in life is merely to struggle out from the tomb and take her brother away as what the sullen tarn swallowed the large building to make the final end of the family. Since the family has been bound with the doomed atmosphere so such, the doom day is settled down previously. Even though Roderick tries hard to find some external power to help him, facing the omniscient sullen atmosphere, all the things are unchangeable. The deep attachment among him, the mansion and his sister brings the entire Ushers to their finale.

But what is more surprising is what happens to the narrator after Madeline's entombment. Following the entombment of Madeline, Roderick's derangement accelerates. His physical appearance is stranger and startling than ever: The pallor of his countenance had assumed, if possible, a more ghastly hue" ("Usher" 24). Roderick's strange behavior makes the narrator feel absurd. Especially on the night of

the catastrophe, the narrator experiences the same terror which had oppressed Roderick throughout the story. The narrator tries his best in reading to ease Roderick's tensional nerve but in vain. As the narrator reads, the content described in the story is combined with the outside weather. As the content goes, a door slashing, a dragon slaying, and a shield dropping produce the "cracking and ripping, shrieking and clanging noises" (27). The outside weather seems to have the same influence and starts to vary: "The clouds hung oppressively low in the heavens" (14). And "the exceeding density of the clouds (which hung so low as to press upon the turrets of the house)" represents the permanent omniscient control of nature surrounding the mansion and the family (25). The low, condensed and thick clouds make stresses of the natural destiny for no one can flee from such control. The storm from outside descends upon and envelops the mansion mirrors Roderick's inner storm swirls the collapse of his rationality and sense. And it becomes obvious that Roderick's mental balance is disturbed by the surrounding environment. He mentions his "efforts were fruitless," because the depressed atmosphere has been penetrated into the deep of not only the mansion but also the fate of Usher family (24).

Madeline's escape from the dungeon seems to be impossible at first. However, following the narrator's story-telling skill with compelling and dramatic manner, on the close observation, readers can find that the reality of the whole story. Roderick's stirring mind haunts him with plucking himself to the doom in force. In order to create something with mental threat, Poe produces a mixture of such images in the end. The most immediate way for Roderick is to leave his sickened sister by burying her without the coming of the death. After burying his sister, Roderick appears weirder and stranger behavior in his life. To ease Roderick's mind, the narrator recites to him from Sir Launcelot Canning's "Mad Trist." Every step with Etherlred to force the entrance to the hermit's dwelling has its mirror in Madeline's struggling escape by her claws out of her coffin and mansion cellar to confront her brother. One of Roderick's paintings prophesies this scene, "this excavation lay at an exceeding depth below the surface of the earth" (20). However, after eight day in the deep dungeon, even if Madeline does really revive, it is hard to believe that she could survival. The reading of "The Mad Tryst" which foreshadows Madeline's surprising reappearance is necessary for both story lines to obtain the tension of the story and to prefigure the final catastrophe. To the disintegrated Usher's mind, the supernatural sequence of "The Mad Tryst," and the sounds of the storm outside the Usher building and Madeline's survival suggest one meaning; that is, the three struggles are about to destroy Roderick Usher. In this imagination, the overwhelmed terror in Roderick's mind is accompanied with the grotesque surrounding and the terrible sounds of the

unearthly storm.

If natural atmosphere teaches us about the power of environment and the sense of dwelling theory, it is fair to say that “Usher” is a cautionary tale, warning the unhealthy combination between human and the environment. The strong influential atmosphere is the controller of the fate of the Ushers. The pair contrast enhances the ecological understanding which Poe makes many molding parallels between the environment and human beings in physical bounding and psychological connection. The decayed house mirrors the physical destruction of Madeline and the mental chaos of Roderick. While the house owner Roderick does abandon himself in finding the way to escape, he and his sister are miserable because of the long-time bounding in the house. The house is like the mirror reflecting the finale of the family. The sense of rootedness and settle-down foreshadow the end of this family. Tiny breaks are the trigger element of the end. The atmosphere of the decayed house of Usher has demonstrated all the doomed things already.

The logo for 'iafor' is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The logo is partially enclosed by a large, light blue circular arc that starts from the bottom and curves upwards towards the right. A red arc is also visible, starting from the left and curving upwards towards the top.

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At the Nexus of Nature and Culture: Botany as Metaphor

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Abstract

This paper describes the creative processes and philosophy behind the works of art created during my doctoral programme in University of East London. It emphasizes on the relationship between the botany and metaphor theme and its relationship with nature and culture.

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Over the three years of the doctorate programme that I enrolled since 2009 in London, I have created fictional plants through drawings, sculptures and digital prints. I explored different layers of meaning from images of fictional plants living in particular environments, and I experimented with images through different means, including watercolour on paper, digital collages, drawings, and digital prints of sculptures.

The central theme of my creative practice is the investigation of plant forms as metaphors. I am attracted to interesting characteristics of plants for example, the crowded flow of veins in leaf, curling tendrils, cascading leaves, a clot of roots, unusual looking shapes of a fruit or flowers, transparent seed pods or the crackled patterns of a tree bark. These plant parts sometimes resemble human or animal body parts, internal organs and even imitate human-like action. I see these anthropomorphic qualities in Karl Blossfeldt's black and white photographs compiled in several books including *Working Collages* (2001). The plant images in Blossfeldt's photographs intrigue me as they always remind me of something which is not a plant.



Fig.1 Karl Blossfeldt. Images from *Working Collages*

During my MA I drew plants by combining several types of plant, creating a new plant which does not exist in the botanical world but presents a possibility of existence. My artwork was a 'creation' of a new species of plant by combining, altering and adding several types of plants in the drawing. They have become a mirror or metaphor for my feelings and thoughts. As the work progressed, the plants began to look stranger, more mysterious, and anthropomorphic. Parts of plants such

as roots, twigs and tendrils imitate a humanlike position or the anatomy of body parts and internal organs. One of the first pieces was a combination of Lotus that grows in water and a Wild Orchid plant (fig. 2) that is an epiphyte type of plant that can be easily seen growing on most trees in the wild.



Fig 2 *Lotus X Wild Orchid* [ink on paper] 2008

In *The Language of Flowers* Georges Bataile personifies the characteristics of flowers such as the wilting and blooming. According to Bataile (1929) flowers wither like old and overly made-up dowagers. He also constantly refers to the ugliness of flowers while ‘dissecting’ and examining them, making the most beautiful flowers seem morbid. He not only describes flowers, but other parts of the plant, including the leaf. Bataile (1929) said that the appearance of leafy stems generally gives the impression of strength and dignity. He also goes on to state ‘Nothing less is necessary than the impossible and fantastic visions of roots swarming under the surface of the soil, nauseating and naked like vermin’. Bataile’s descriptions demonstrate how characters can be seen in plant forms.

For the work in progress seminar during my doctorate programme in January 2010, I made eleven works using- watercolour and drawing- of imaginative plants. They were of A2 size intended to be bound as book art. The first process I went through was to select the right plant to make studies from, to enable the ‘creation’ of my plant forms. I referred to nature books especially on English plants in the selection process. Habitat,

shapes, characteristics and the ability to withstand weather are among the factors that I considered in the choice of combining and developing the drawings of the plants. In the development of these plant forms, the plants that I 'created' have a special feature that makes them tougher, or more resilient and adaptable. Some have 'developed' a unique ability that plants do not normally have.

Fig. 3 is a spongy mushroom like hybrid that proliferates in a very organic way and has a stem-like structure that can attach itself to most surfaces. In this work I imagine it growing on a steel pole.

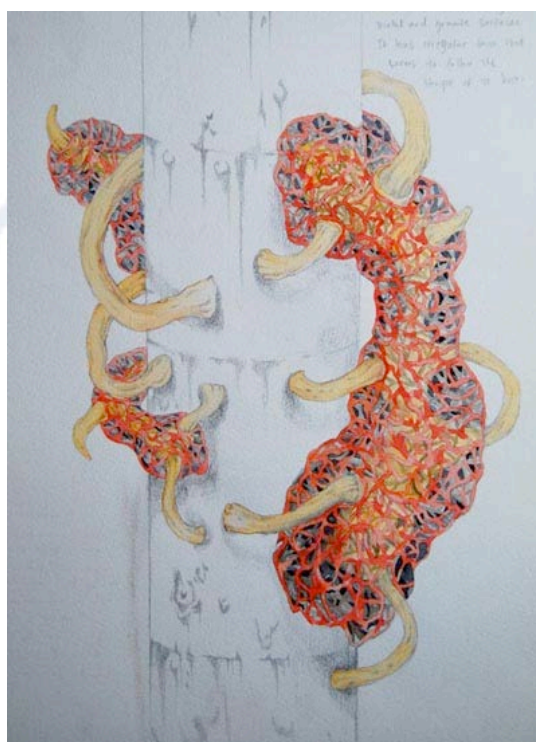


Fig.3 (2010) A 'hybrid' mushroom species [Watercolour and pencil on paper] 59cm X 42cm

I combine different botanical attributes to create an imaginary plant form. My method is to 'hybridise' plant characteristics to create a plant-like sculpture that can then be inserted imaginatively into particular environments. I select the botanical characteristics of plants, such as resistance, adaptability, ability to withstand weather, which would allow them to survive in a specified environment and therefore make them a 'superior' species.

A shell-like character kept recurring in many of my watercolour drawings. They appear in a variety of forms. Some are structures only barely covering the middle part of the plants, while others are thin flimsy surfaces with veins crawling around them.

There are also plants that look like a seedpod attached to a host. These recent plant drawings, (fig. 4) resonate with images of an embryo, with casings that envelop the embryonic form.

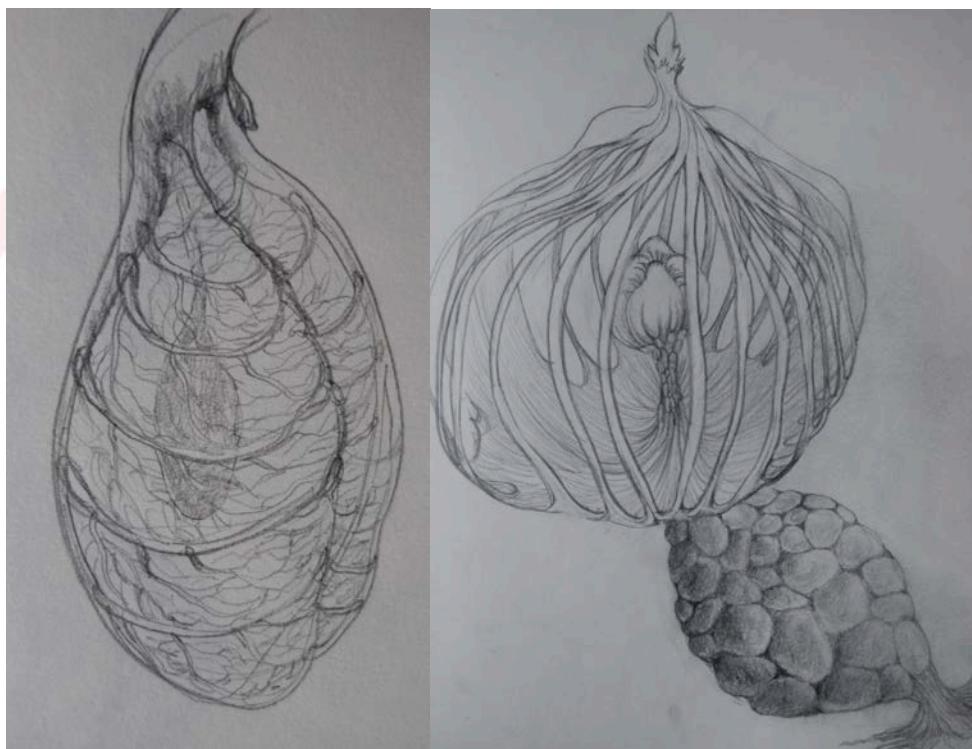


Fig.4 (2010) Images from sketch book [Pencil on paper]

When I visited my parents in the summer of 2010, I was inspired to make artworks about their house in Kuala Lumpur. In the past few years there has been some development behind the house: a beautiful lake, which was an operating tin mine during the British occupation in 1950's, has been covered with sand. The development has been very rapid and last year when I arrived the lake and the plants around it were completely gone, replaced by mountains of dirt and sand. When rain falls bits of domestic and industrial debris are revealed. Many varieties of plants grow naturally in the area including the vegetables and flowering plants which my mother grew. In the process of development almost everything has been destroyed. Outside of the wall, in my parents yard, engulfed by dirt and pieces of cement are the surviving garden plants, herbs and vegetables. Wild plants crawl up metal structures and wooden planks scattered around the area. Among the heap of sand and soil and debris inside the wall, wild grass, mushroom and a type of wild green pod plant grow.

I decided to make sculptures using plants, man-made and found objects as references. First I made sketches looking at the plants and objects around my parents' house. I made 3 sculptures: one a combination of fig and mesh, the second an amalgamation of the Malay herb called kantan, eggshell and roots, and the third sculpture used fern and nails as reference. The man-made and found objects are things that can be found especially in my parent's backyard. I wanted the sculptures to act like mini monuments to the plants which used to be there, and also to carry a sense of their destruction.

I placed these sculptures among the debris and soil of the landscape and photographed them from many angles. I wanted the sculptures to look as if they belonged to or that they come from the landscape. I wanted them to blend in but at the same time I wanted the viewer to feel curious about them. These photographs are a series which I call My Mother's Garden. Below is an example of the digital prints entitled *Fern X Nail* (fig. 5).



Fig 5 (2010) *Fern X Nail* [Digital print] 66cm X 97cm

I went back to Kuala Lumpur during summer 2011 and I found that the 'wasteland' behind my parent's house is still there. The development works had been halted and wild plants were growing on the sand and debris. I made a sculpture shaped like a monitor lizard's skeleton from wire and put real flowers and leaves I found in the area on them (fig. 6). Some of the flowers were bought from shops as there were not enough flowers around the house for the sculpture. I put the sculpture behind my parent's house to photograph it.



Fig. 6 (2011) *Beautiful Skeleton* [Wire, leaves and flowers]

I left the sculptures for a few days to let the flowers dry and poured clay mixture (slip) on it. I left it to dry, and poured again the same mixture. I brought the sculpture to London and one winter day, snow covered my backyard garden and I placed the sculpture on the ground. I photograph the sculpture with some oranges and chilies. The work (fig 7), reflects the way outsiders still wants to bring a piece of home to visiting or immigrating country.



Fig 7 (2011) *Illegal Skeleton* [C-type Print] 66cm X 98cm

The second series of works that I created after 'My Mother's Garden' are sculptures based on plant references. I was working at home most of the time and I wanted my work to be part of the domestic environment. I decided to make an unconventional flower arrangement as a sculpture for my next work. Flower arranging is traditionally part of interior decoration. In Malay culture, 'sirih junjung' it is one of the gifts to be exchanged during a wedding ceremony. The sirih junjung is an arrangement normally made of betel nut leaves and fresh flowers. I used fake betel nut leaves for the sculpture and I created the rest of the arrangement with air drying clay.

I also considered varieties of orchids as reference. The orchid is an exotic tropical plant, which my mother used to plant in pots. The flowers' undulating contour and formation are beautifully sensuous to look at and I tried to simulate that quality in my sculpture. I made some sketches and created two sculptures, taking either the sirih junjung formation or the folding of the betel nut leaves from the sirih junjung.

The first sculpture *Dialogue*, was pear-shaped with a large flower on top which is similar to an orchid (fig. 8). The sculpture has many branches that seem to protrude out of its body. On the 'neck' of the sculpture tiny bumps which look like the mengkudu fruit appear. I painted parts of the sculpture with acrylic paint. I used bright and eccentric colours. This choice of colours is typical in Malaysian domestic environments (curtains, table cloth, bed sheet, sofa and tiles). I then positioned the finished sculptures in my flat and tried to find the best way to photograph them.



Fig. 8 (2010) *Dialogue* [C-type print] 91cm X 61cm

There is an image from Karl Bossfedt's photographs that I was particularly interested in. It is an image of two young leaves, not yet fully unfolded. The unfolding leaves to me have an anthropomorphic quality that alludes to sensuality. From this image I made a sculpture, which looks like two plants, which grow from a different root and stem morphing at the end of the flowers (fig. 9).



Fig 9 (2011) *The Veil* [C-type Print] 66cm X 89cm

I perceive or look for anthropomorphic characteristics in plant forms as a personification of the characters of human beings. This is also why the sculptures have a bodily reference. Some of the plants can be identified with parts of human body; some of them seem to imitate human-like positions. Apart from this figurative characteristic, they also allude to sensuality. Some of the forms have a resemblance to internal organs or the physical attributes of a female figure, such as the pear shape of a female body, bodily movements, the flow of hair, or even the sensuousness of flowers that could have a sexual interpretation. This is because the metaphors arising from the works are related to me and the people I am close to, such as family and friends who are dealing with the same kind of life issues.

During a tutorial in 2011, I was asked why I make plant sculptures or draw plants and relate them to personal metaphors and invent narratives for them. My response was that I had always had a fascination with plant forms and that my works have always dealt with nature and the environment. We discussed the restriction of figurative works in Islam and why I use plants as a metaphor of my life. Previously and until now I had never had any issue with making figurative artworks. I reflected that perhaps there could be a subconscious intention in the use of plants in my works, other than my fascination with the plants forms, to adhere to the Islamic ideals of art making. In Islamic art, figurative works of humans and animals are rejected; plants become the alternative for artist wanting to work figuratively.

Raja Shahrman Raja Aziddin is a Malay artist who is struggling with his religious conscience in his art practice. Raja Shahrman is known for his figurative sculptures of martial art positions shaped and welded using iron rod and plates which were

shown in his solo show titled *Gerak Tempur* (1996). The exhibition synopsis (*Gerak Tempur*, 2010) reveals that,

‘The powerful, complex and often disturbing work of Raja Shahrman has given rise to many questions. Its violence and its portrayal of the figure sit uncomfortably with the artist’s life as a devotee and student of Islam. The work itself might be seen as a manifestation of conflict – spiritual, psychological and socio-cultural.’

I met Raja Shahrman at his home studio to do an interview for my BFA assignment in 2001. During the interview he confessed to feeling guilty about making figurative art, although his sculptures are an abstraction of human figures. He tried to make the abstraction more ambiguous and he made a series of nonfigurative works for his second solo exhibition *Api, Bayangan dan Kemenyan* (1998) and third solo exhibition *Semangat Besi* (2001).



Fig.10 Raja Shahrman Raja Aziddin (2001) *Semangat Besi* [Welded metal]

The works for *Api, Bayangan dan Kemenyan* are functional sculptures of candle holder, mirror frame and incense burner and for *Semangat Besi* (fig. 10) the sculptures seem to be a holder for keris, a weapon in the Malay martial arts. For him the works are not figure sculptures but there are still traces of figurative elements in some of the

works because the urge to make figurative works is still strong within him. The figurative sculptures of martial arts positions appear again in his fourth solo exhibition titled *Nafas* (2004) and since then figures have been constant features of his work.

This is the dilemma facing some Malay Muslim artists and it directly affects their creative practice in the choice of subject and content. Artists find various alternatives in substituting the figurative element in their works, including using patterns, flora, object or landscape.

Sulaiman Esa is one of the prominent figures in the rise of the quest for the assimilation of Islamic fundamentals in art. He turns to traditional Malay craft characterised by geometric and arabesque patterns. According to Hani Ahmad (1995, p.9),

‘Through Islamic art a Muslim artist strives to investigate his religious belief/life with his creative/artistic one, to wed his creativity to his spirituality, to render his art and religion as mutually reinforcing becomes an ideal objective for a Muslim artist’.

I started to research traditional Malay art because I think that my practice of using plant forms and imbuing metaphor in plant sculpture resonates with the traditional Malay arts and crafts. I read the *Symbolism of Malay Kelantanese House* which discusses the symbolism in the architecture of the Malay house in the Kelantan province. According to Muhammad Afandi Yahaya (1995, p.123) flowers, colourful as they are do not just function as internal decorations in terms of traditional motifs, they represent certain symbolic meanings as well. Plant parts such as flower, leaf or roots adorned architecture, or become patterns in textile or decorations for traditional boats and jewellery.

The flowers or plants represent a certain meaning, the way the patterns are designed to intrinsically convey a philosophy or principle. ‘Awan larat’ motif (fig. 11) is a good example of the relationship between the design and symbolism in a traditional Malay carving. The design may start with a flower or stem from several sides of the motif. These ‘starting points’ symbolise how life begins. From these points, tendrils appear, which are a symbol of growth that needed ‘lesson’ or ‘knowledge’. The tendrils continue to intertwine with tendrils from other ‘starting points’ and when the

movement goes downwards it mean that death is inevitable and humans will eventually die.



Fig.11 Awan larat carving from Malay Kelantan house

Historically, this philosophy was introduced because of the restriction of figurative elements in the arts. This echoes the intention behind several contemporary Malay Muslim artists in Malaysia not to use figures in their work; instead they use flora or patterns as substitutes, or to render figures more abstract. At the beginning of the programme I was unaware of a desire to avoid figuration in my work. But now I have accepted this as part of my intention in using plants as metaphors. I have not always rejected figures, but in my current phase I am using plants as substitutes for human figures. My dilemma in consciously knowing and admitting this fact is that I do not want to be branded as a Malay Muslim artist who rejects figures totally.

In the analysis of plant and metaphor I recognise 3 aspects that influence the choice of certain plants in my works which are:

1. Shape or form.

Certain plant shapes will instantly attract me as they remind me of something else, for example I see sensuousness in orchids. I also respond to structure, and the physical quality of the plants for example the type of stem, either it is hardy or not, or its texture. I then relate the characteristic with the metaphor in my work.

2. Symbol

The plants which I always choose are plants that symbolise something, in Malay culture especially. For example a Frangipani is associated with death because it is always planted in a Malay cemetery. The plants could also be reminder of the beautiful landscape of my parent's house which is why I choose the types of plants which can easily be found there.

3. Plant properties or characteristics

The choice of plant is also based on its herbal value such as in my drawings where I draw herbs that are used in confinement rituals. Characteristic such as the way it grows, its seasonal availability, its type (e.g. parasite, epiphyte, saprophyte) and its habitat are also important. My choice of plant in the watercolour drawings have the ability to survive in a particular environment.

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*Princess Robot Bubblegum" Critiques "Cool Japan:" An Illustration of the Impact of
Japan's Soft Power Movement through a Cross-cultural, Cross-media Response*

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As an anime fan, I was particularly intrigued by *Princess Robot Bubblegum*, an anime parody found in the video game *Grand Theft Auto IV* that has stirred controversy in both video game and anime fan communities. Some members recognize the parody's alienation as a critique of Japan's attempts to build cultural capital and soft power; others argue that the episode illustrates how humor can be used to foster global connectedness.

To examine this situation, I have begun to conduct a cultural and rhetorical analysis of the parody through the lens of Dani Cavallaro's concept of anime synergy (2007). In this presentation, I argue that the inclusion of this parody in one of America's most popular video games illustrates Japan's soft power success. I will explore what Japan's anime success means to Japanese and American culture in terms of connectedness and alienation by focusing on how *Princess Robot Bubblegum* parodies five values commonly treated by anime and the practice of incorporating fan service that has become popular in anime.

Animerica: Anime Synergy in Action

But first, let's develop a shared vocabulary and some common contextual ground. For content, I've focused on four key terms common in the anime community and two abbreviations common in the gaming community that I've been asked to define in academic conversations, and for theory, I've focused on concepts I've been aware of for a long time as a fan but that I'm only now building the academic vocabulary to analyze and discuss as a scholar. Anime is the term that has been most widely accepted by both the fan and the academic communities who discuss the medium of Japanese animated films and television shows. Anime differs from other popular animation in American culture in many ways, but most notably in depth and complexity of cultural, thematic, and character exploration, and in animation style. Literary scholar Susan Napier (2001) includes a detailed historical analysis of the term in her appendix to *Anime from Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation*.

Hentai is the adult erotic genre of anime being parodied in *Grand Theft Auto IV*. As Mariana Ortega-Brena (2009) explains in "Peek-a-boo, I See You: Watching Japanese Hard-core Animation," hentai often gets conflated in with pornography in both perception and popular use. However, as she also explains and as I have discovered through my fan experiences, hentai is erotic art, not pornography. Japanese writers and animators seem to use this art form to explore social and cultural issues with a depth and complexity that deserves much more scholarly and popular attention than it currently receives. Historian Andrew McKeivitt (2010) in the article, "'You are Not Alone!': Anime and the Globalizing of America," identifies otaku was a long-time slur that referred to socially inept individuals obsessed with anime who become reclusive and focus all of their energy on fan activities.

However, Ortega-Brena and McKeivitt agree that the term seems to have been appropriated by fan communities, particularly in the West. And this appropriation has not gone unnoticed by the artists, who demonstrate a keen rhetorical awareness of their audience by using fan service to create and nurture fan communities. Fan service is the practice of including generic elements and allusions designed specifically to appeal to long-time audience members. This practice has become common across multiple media platforms because it illustrates artists' appreciation for

their audience members. Fan service also illustrates the social, dialogic nature of art and is one of the avenues where we can observe anime synergy in action.

I discovered this instance of anime synergy through observing game play of *Grand Theft Auto IV*. *GTA IV* is the abbreviation used in both fan and academic communities to refer to this internationally popular video game. Over 50 articles have been published in English about this particular video game, and according to Forbes.com, it has sold over 22 million copies since its 2008 release. And TBOTG is the abbreviation used to refer to “The Ballad of Gay Tony,” a set of additional playable missions that were released after the initial game, in which players may continue to experience the world of Liberty City from the perspective of a new character. This downloadable content is where the episode of *Princess Robot Bubblegum* originally appeared.

“Cool Japan” and Japanese soft power: Exploring Potential Motivations for Japan’s Quest to Foster Anime as a Global Phenomenon

In *The Future of Power*, Joseph Nye (2011) argues that “states are no longer the only important actors in global affairs; security is not the only major outcome that they seek, and force is not the only or always the best instrument available to achieve those outcomes” (19). One of the types of power Nye describes that influences global affairs is “soft power,” which he defines as “the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes” (21).

American scholars such as anthropologist Anne Allison (2009), sociologist Jonathan Abel (2011), and historian Andrew McKeivitt, all writing for international, cross-disciplinary audiences, discuss Japan’s efforts to gain soft power through strategic production and international distribution of anime. Scholars and fans agree that anime’s unique success as a medium comes from its versatile appeal to wide audiences. “Cool Japan” is the most common term I have found used in academic research to refer to the movement to explore the cultural power that Japan has gained through creation and distribution of Japanese cultural material internationally. Jonathan Abel defines “cool” using two categories of meaning: First, the historical meaning “of cool as form of cultural production,... a style of art that maintains a particular stance towards society. And second,... cool as affect in cultural reception,... a mode of desire for that which resides at the limits of comprehension” (61). He both critiques and perpetuates use of the term “Cool Japan,” explaining that by studying something, it loses its coolness, but he also recognizes the cultural power that Japan has gained by fostering intercultural competency and global connectedness.

One of the ways this connectedness manifests itself is through widespread, active fan communities that are international, intercultural, and interactive. Napier analyzes these fan communities, and in the same appendix where she defines anime, she presents a profile exploring the cultural identity of the anime fan. Myron Lustig & Jolene Koester (2010) define cultural identity as “one’s sense of belonging to a particular culture or ethnic group... formed in a process that... involves learning about and accepting the... [shared] beliefs, values, norms, and practices” of a particular group (142-3). Rebecca Black (2008) also explores the cultural identity of anime fans in *Adolescents and Online Fan Fiction*.

Cavallaro's concept of anime synergy makes perfect sense when we consider the prevalence of these communities and the potential soft power they represent. In Chapter 11 of *Anime Intersections: Tradition and Innovation in Theme and Technique*, Dani Cavallaro defines anime synergy as the ability to "persistently engineer[s] fruitful exchanges between disparate geographical areas, their cultures and histories, as well as between discrete media and genres" (169). According to this definition, anime is a cultural tool being used to foster intercultural competence, and the existence and fan response to *Princess Robot Bubblegum* illustrate part of the tool's effects.

The GTA franchise has also become interesting to cultural studies because of the value of its genre as a potential acculturation tool. Marjorie Zielke and her colleagues (2009) use GTA IV as the example to introduce and define the term "living world game" in the article "Serious Games for Immersive Cultural Training: Creating a Living World." They define "living world" as an immersive 3D video game that develops a shared set of beliefs, values, norms, and practices for characters within the game that the player must learn to succeed within the game world. They assert that "living world" games are valuable tools for teaching culture.

Before we look more carefully at *Princess Robot Bubblegum* as an example of anime synergy, it will be helpful to briefly explore the history of anime in America. Andrew McKeivitt asserts that historians have only begun to explore "the impact of global economic and cultural exchange within U.S. borders through histories of consumption and globalization" and uses "the case of anime...as one tangible illustration of the impact of cultural globalization" in the past 35 years (894). The earliest anime introduced into U.S. popular culture in the 1960s and '70s, through series like Osamu Tezuka's *AstroBoy* and *Speed Racer*, was barely recognizable as Japanese. In the 1970s and '80s, the animation style shifted to what Japanese literature scholar Susan Napier refers to as "nonculturally specific." McKeivitt acknowledges that the "'nonculturally specific anime style' appealed to American audiences... because it was aesthetically transnational – its apparent nonethnic style facilitated its diffusion across borders," and he adds that "the mingling of Japanese and Western aesthetics, genres, and racial and gender categories...permitted anime to be a truly hybrid global product" (900).

But it was not only the visual style of anime that appealed to wide audiences. McKeivitt also demonstrates how anime distribution in the U.S. reinforced the development of activist fan communities as a further illustration of Japanese soft power over U.S. cultural evolution. When he explains Robotech's success in U.S. syndication during the 1980s, garnering syndication in 90% of the U.S. market, he argues that "likely teenage boys watched for the fast-paced action sequences...while adult women and men appreciated the mature 'space opera' storylines about friendships, romance, and the tragic social consequences of war" (903). Anime's tendency to explore complex social issues through a combination of engaging character development and interaction, imaginative plots and settings, and exotic yet familiar visuals seem to have contributed largely to what McKeivitt calls "anime fandom's most conspicuous characteristic[:]....its emphasis on activism within the community" (905). Through his explanation of fan activism's three primary forms, "fan clubs, conventions (or 'cons'), and...an underground, self-published, English-language literature on anime," McKeivitt argues that this fan activism allowed anime

fans to foster a sense of community among themselves and begin to develop a cultural identity (905).

Across several texts, Napier seeks to develop a dynamic profile of the anime fan community as “an increasingly diversified audience, expanding from its original core of university students to include professionals in high tech industries, finance, and law....a thoughtful, intelligent, and articulate group of people” (2001, 240-1). Napier developed a fan profile survey in response to what she saw as stereotyping being perpetuated through scholars’ tendencies “to see fans in somewhat narrow terms,” which Napier saw as an injustice to fans whose interaction with anime she saw as “deeply engaged, transcending issues of national boundaries, content, style, or ideology” (2001, 242).

McKevitt, Allison, Napier, and Abel describe a variety of forms of fan activism across different contexts illustrates the potential and real ways in which anime can be and has been used to further Japanese political, economical, social, and cultural agendas through agenda-setting, persuasion, and positive attraction, Nye’s three criteria for building soft power. Anne Allison even establishes a link between the Cool Japan movement, which she refers to as J-cool, and the concept of soft power (93), using the example of political activist Amamiya Karin to explain Japanese affective activist rhetoric (103-105). Her purpose is to demonstrate a causal link between the Japanese cultural “shift towards immateriality” and Japan’s reproductive crisis as well as to “consider the subversive potential” of what she calls “affective labor,” a type of Foucauldian biopower (91-92) with an ultimate purpose of exploring “J-cool” as a subversive cultural tool in the context of modern Japanese youth activism being used to combat a global trend into “care deficit” (99).

As I mentioned before, I came to anime as a fan. My parents met in Okinawa, where my mother became pregnant with me. Because of their affinity for the culture and the somewhat unique context of how I came into this world, Japan has always held a special place in my heart. When I was young, my mother recorded one of Tezuka’s Unico films for me when she saw it on American television because she recognized it from her time in Japan. I watched the tape so many times during my formative years that I wore it out. For many years, I searched and was unable to find a copy to watch, but the beauty of the characters, the animation style, and the message stayed with me.

Since beginning to research anime and cultural identity, I’ve come to realize that the title character’s values and actions have heavily influenced my own identity formation. I was lucky to be able to attend a Tezuka exhibit in Kyoto in 2008 as part of a Fulbright-Hays Group Project Abroad where, although I was unable to obtain a copy of the film, I purchased several Unico-related items, including a change purse with the following message printed on it: “Unico is a little unicorn that does not take to human beings usually but he takes to one with a pure, honest and gentle heart, with a sense of security. Unico can show his magical powers for people being kind to him and once he takes to someone he shall bring eternal happiness to that person.”

Because of my intimate emotional and implicit cultural affinities for Japanese culture, I realize I must work hard to develop a critical distance from the subjects I study relating to Japan. Abel’s explanation of how “conscious fetishism” and “Japanophilia” become problematic modes of inquiry when they “articulate [themselves] through a privileged point of [false] authority [that]...still contains an unquestioned preserved

point for the coolness of Japan” (63) reminds me to keep my bias toward Japan in check as I transition from “fan” to “responsible researcher”. Analyzing the parody *Princess Robot Bubblegum* has helped me develop a stronger critical distance, along with a new appreciation for genres within anime and video games that I previously dismissed.

As I observed *Grand Theft Auto IV* game play more critically for my research, my feelings about the game started to change. *GTA IV* was a game I had purposefully avoided until I learned about *Princess Robot Bubblegum* because of the controversies surrounding the game’s apparent celebration of gratuitous violence and organized criminal behavior, I discovered that while I could see why these controversies emerged, this game develops a rich, complex argument about the state of American culture. I realized that this game deserved not only my, but the academy’s, attention.

My first encounter with *GTA IV* in academic publications was in Zielke et al’s article. Marjorie Zielke and her colleagues claim that “as a major strategy of the game, players spend time learning Liberty City’s culture” and that video games with “living worlds” like *GTA IV* can be successful as cultural tools because of “the veracity of the 3D environment...and immersion...learning tools” (49-50). Adoption of video games as cultural training tools by the U.S. military demonstrates the U.S. government’s acceptance of interactive media’s effectiveness as an acculturation tool.

If we take into account *GTA IV*’s international success in the gaming community - the 22 million copies estimated to have been sold is a highly conservative estimate of population impact - it becomes important to ask the question “What do players learn from *GTA IV*,” but that’s a question for a much larger project. For now, all I’ll say on what we learn in *GTA IV* is that the subtitle captures the theme well: “Where the American Dream Goes to Die.” You play and meet characters who have been marginalized by society - immigrants, African-Americans, GLBT individuals, criminals, and so on - and who struggle to survive and thrive in a world indifferent to their struggles.

GTA IV incorporates all three of the functions of humor described by Claire Dormann and Robert Biddle in the article, “A Review of Humor for Computer Games: Play, Laugh and More”: “Superiority theory suggests the social aspects of humor, while relief theories address emotions, and incongruity theory is related to the cognition and mechanisms of humor” (806). Dan Houser, British writer and developer of the *GTA* series, and Lazlow, an American radio personality who has also become the dominant radio personality in *GTA*’s Liberty City, are masters of humor and rhetoric. Much of the humor injected into the game takes the form of in-game media, which includes a dynamic variety of radio and television stations with limited content conceptualized and scripted by Lazlow, an radio talk show host reminiscent of Howard Stern, and Houser.

According to Dormann and Biddle, humor plays an important role in making “games richer, more engaging, as well as fun...[by drawing] on the functions of humor in the real world for enhancing communication, learning, and social presence” (803). Dani Cavallaro’s purpose in defining and illustrating anime synergy is to illustrate the positive and powerful impact of anime on art forms and genres, such as video games, in order to argue anime’s value as a cultural tool with similar aims. By including an anime parody in its living world’s radio and TV programming, *GTA IV*’s creators

acknowledge the ubiquity of anime in American media as well as the cross-cultural connections between anime and gamer fan communities. While the sometimes “hostile” jokes in *Princess Robot Bubblegum* exhibit mostly superior and incongruous humor, the authors also incorporate tension relief significantly by addressing common taboo anime topics.

Princess Robot Bubblegum as Cultural Identity Critique: A Scathing (and Dated!) Reaction to Japan’s soft power success

One of these taboo topics is Princess Robot Bubblegum herself: the star character of the series is an orphaned young woman who, in the reflexivity characteristic of anime that Ortega-Brena (2008) describes, stars in a hentai series. *Princess Robot Bubblegum* is, on the surface, a scathing and dated critique of Japan’s efforts to build soft power and cultural capital through international distribution of anime and related entertainment media and products. The title character is a princess who practices a school of martial arts that incorporates sexual practices as moves. The episode’s existence itself illustrates the game developers’ understanding of the cultural identity of their fan base.

GTA IV authors Houser and Lazlow (2008) use the episode to explore several Japanese value paradoxes, including: the affinity for peace and preserving honor through the use of what seems to many to be gratuitously and graphically violent scenes; the dual affinities for preserving the environment and adapting both the environment and the self through technology; and the desire to promote globalization and global connectedness while privileging Japanese cultural values. On the surface, *Princess Robot Bubblegum* is a scathing and dated critique of Japan’s efforts to build soft power and cultural capital through international distribution of anime and related entertainment media and products. The game seems to argue through the anime parody against the capitalist element to “anime video game synergy[, which] has been deeply affected by commercial imperatives” (Cavallaro, 2010, 180).

Napier recognizes the partial validity of the critiques levied against anime here. She criticizes Pointon and Newitz for their narrow framing of the anime and hentai fan, but she admits that “both critics are correct to a degree when they suggest that a prime audience of young males often find a ‘fantasy escape and source of identification’ within anime’s graphic violence, voluptuous female characters, and politically incorrect male-female relationships” (*Anime* 241). However, seven years before *GTA IV* and *Princess Robot Bubblegum* were released, Napier emphasizes the limited validity of such arguments when considering “that anime’s attraction for Westerners is far broader and more diverse” than this narrow critique implies (*Anime* 241). Other outdated critiques relate to localization, translation, and animation quality issues that, while they still exist, have lessened considerably over the past 30 years, mostly due to fan demand and activism.

Princess Robot Bubblegum opens with a collision of unexpected images: a battle in futurist Tokyo is implied by four *Power Rangers*-esque characters taking flight amid neon skyscrapers. Then cut to Princess Robot Bubblegum lying in bed, only shoulders and arms exposed as she reads a copy of *Restoring Honor for Idiots* while half-heartedly reassuring her tentacular monstrosity of a bedfellow about his lack of performance. This image presents the princess as an empowered though anti-heroic female character. Their dialogue is interrupted by the princess receiving a call from

“Master Hentai,” her martial arts trainer, chiding her for being late for training. She replies by equivocating: she tells him that she has been “tending the garden,” an apropos double entendre. The humor here plays on an allusion to the Victorian sexual metaphor of the garden and the literal sexual encounter with an anthropomorphized plant.

The developers also include shockingly realistic visuals reminiscent of the incongruous yet meticulous attention to detail in anime that often illustrates the paradoxical blending of nature and technology in Japanese environments. For example, as Princess Robot Bubblegum exchanges dialogue with her radioactive tentacular plant monster partner, a fly buzzes around them, and a train rolls by the apartment window. The game seems to argue through the anime parody against the capitalist element to “anime video game synergy[, which] has been deeply affected by commercial imperatives” (Cavallaro, 2010, 180).

Houser and Lazlow (2008) also explore the Japanese desire to both preserve traditions and adapt them for modern contexts, as well as the treatment of sexuality as both something exotic through incorporation of fantasy and technology and something mundane through what seems to many to be gratuitous focus but seems to better mirror the realities of how humans experience sexuality than traditional Western media treatment. One of the fan service elements of *Princess Robot Bubblegum* is the tentacle rape scene that Ortega-Brena notes has become a trope in hentai but has a rich, complex history in Japanese erotic art. The scene is an allusion to the first hentai film to become popular with Western audiences, to which Ortega-Brena, Napier, and Cavallaro all make reference: *Urotsuki-doji*, or *Legend of the Overfiend*. This blend of science fiction, slasher horror, and gratuitous sexual violence seems to be the most often-cited example of hentai in current scholarship. She explains, though, that the first recorded instance of erotic art involving tentacles was Hokusai’s 1814 woodblock print *The Dream of the Fisherman’s Wife*, a depiction of an obviously consensual sexual encounter between a human woman and two octopi (2009, 20). This connection is new for me, so I have only begun to explore the significance here.

Brad Rice of *Destructoid.com* reinforces the datedness of the critique in the 2009 news article “GTA IV isn’t helping anime with *Princess Robot Bubblegum*,” and as an anime fan, he feels the need to defend the improvements to anime against the outdated critique. However, I don’t think that the significance is lost on the episode’s writers. Houser and Lazlow mark themselves as members of the fan communities they criticize by demonstrating an intricate understanding of both the source medium and their fan base. Based on the quality of character and cultural development in *GTA IV*’s living world, the writers are most likely aware that their critique of anime is both narrow and outdated. They likely realize that fans like themselves, and like me, will appreciate the nostalgic nature of the critique instead of interpreting it as a critique of current anime, and they are capitalizing on the common anime trope of incorporating fan service.

Anime creators successfully build soft power through fan service by increasing and blending use of popular genres and archetypal characters. In their anime parody, Houser and Lazlow combine multiple genres as well: hentai, science fiction, fantasy, shojo, and traditional martial arts generic elements are all easily identifiable within the 11-minute episode. And the characters Princess Robot Bubblegum, her tentacular bedfellow, Master Hentai, the blind samurai, and the princess’s animal sidekick Saki

are all representative of archetypical anime characters. As fan service, they also incorporate references to popular Japanese cultural elements through Tokyo, dojo, and nature scenery and a plethora of visual and auditory references, like the otaku boys waiting in line at the panty vending machine that transforms into a mech robot. It's also common to find fan service referencing other popular culture phenomena through intertextuality, and including specific and sometimes gratuitous hyper-sexualized scenes, like the training montage reminiscent of *Sailor Moon* and the tentacle rape scene, which Princess Robot Bubblegum refers to jokingly as "monster, monster rapey-time," implying that the scene is both a tired trope and an expected fan service scene.

Embracing *Princess Robot Bubblegum* and Learning to Laugh at Ourselves

Globally we need to build stronger awareness of how popular media actively participates in the framing of political, economic, and cultural agendas. Nye recognizes that "in an information age, communications strategies become more important, and outcomes are shaped not merely by whose army wins but also by whose story wins" (19). And Japanese stories have been winning international audiences, and particularly American audiences, for decades, inspiring other artists to respond. But if Houser and Lazlow are critiquing anime as nostalgic fan service through their parody, what are the real issues they're trying to address, and should viewers, particularly members of anime and gaming communities, be offended?

I would like to suggest that *Princess Robot Bubblegum* is more likely designed to act as an example of the kind of subversive affective labor Ann Allison describes. When I hear the princess complain about her sexual martial arts training or her less-than-ideal working conditions, I interpret it not a scathing critique of fetishizing anime but a complex and layered argument against practices in the American sex industry and an illustration of the value of animation as a medium for exploring human rights issues in ways that will captivate audiences without compromising the rights, safety, or security of live human beings. Their argument is nuanced and connects dynamically to the theme of oppression, in this case, of laborers in the sex industry.

Princess Robot Bubblegum is an example of the kind of subversive affective labor Allison describes in "The Cool Brand, Affective Activism and Japanese Youth" (91-92). *Bubblegum's* mundane and reserved attitude about having a consensual sexual encounter with her on-screen rapist, being continually objectified by Master Hentai who also acts as the father figure for the orphaned princess, and engaging in competitive conversation with the blind swordsman of Teppanyaki about whose occupation is worse seem to illustrate Houser and Lazlow's desire to promote more ethical treatment of sex workers than to illustrate a need for genre reform in anime.

And by examining responses to *PRB* from anime and gaming fans, we can observe at least two affective responses to the Japanese attempt to secure cultural capital through US popular culture: from a few, validation of the critiques the writers make; from some, recognition that the critiques are superficial and outdated; and from others, recognition that even if some of the critiques are valid, the amount of time and effort Rockstar put into developing such a high quality parody illustrates their love for anime and reinforces the need to be able to laugh at ourselves.

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The Searching of “Dream Illusion” in Chinese Landscape Poetry of Liu Tsung-yuan

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i. The foreword

In Liu Tsung-yuan's literary works, it is obviously divided into two periods. The former uses "make his people good (Li an yuan yuan)" as its purpose, filling with the author's ambition and his political idealism; the later, however, desperation, explaining that there is no chance to carry out his ideals and focusing on the topics of mountains and rivers which seems to comfort his pain and lives in solitude. According to "History of the Early Tang," point out 'When Tsung-yuan as a provincial governor of Shao-Chou, later he relegated to Yuang-Chou and spent whole life in exile. He stayed in wastes land, emerged his sorrow as a poet. Readers always felt the same melancholy with him.' The things about the writing matters is of natural milieu and often with the appearance of melancholy What's more, reviewers always put Liu's poetry in the position with Qu Yuan and Hsieh Ling-Yun. A famous poet named Yuan Hao-Wen said '謝客風容映古今，發源誰似柳州深？朱弦一拂遺音在，卻是當年寂寞心¹。' Shen Deqian also indicated that Liu Tsung-Yuan wrote down temperance plain as "The songs of Chou." In conclusion, the art achievement of Liu's poetry is poetic melancholy. Thus, the landscape in Liu's poetry emerge from overwhelming frustration which involves in relegation. In other words, the emotion ingrained in Liu's mind deeply is self-prisoned awareness.

If interpreting Liu's poems about landscapes, we can discover that there are quiet amount of intense melancholy and worry. From this, we can examine his poems from dream illusion. Even though his terms contain many absurd and obscure words, due to the revealing of dream illusion, we can find that there are words with 'double-perspective' in accordance to Edward W. Said. Hence, in his writing, the usage of dream illusion, in fact, includes the escape to the fairy land of anxiety. On the other hand, the collision between fantasy and reality induces the fall of traditional writing. Therefore, in Liu's dream, there are depressed colors with desperation and collapse.

ii. The meaning of "dream illusion" in Liu's poetry

It's been long history about the "dream" beginning. First, it appears as a method about divination in "The Book of Poetry"². It's not only appeared rarely, but also

¹ In order to maintain the lyric in Chinese poetry, I quoted the 'critical poetry' in Chinese language and explained the meaning later. It means when Hsieh Ling-Yun wrote the typical landscape poetry, Liu Tsung Yuan became the most outstanding junior. However, the solitude is the only thing when we look into his poetic space. Therefore, not the scene but the lyrical feature is the most important point that we must notice.

² For example, 'On the rush-mat below, and that of fine bamboos above it, Here may he repose in slumber! May he sleep and awake, Divine for me my dreams.' and 'Your herdsmen shall dream,

pretended to utility without emotional infection. The one who truly associated the “dream” with philosophic imagine is Zhuangzi. He enriched the literature language with illusory fancy. The famous parable about ‘dreaming butterfly’ explained the interchanging between dreaming and awakening, life and death. Thus, Zhuangzi became ‘the important foundation of Chinese ancient theory of dream (Fu, p.154).’ However, so far we have discussed about “dream”, not “dream illusion” which is completed by Qu Yuan. “Dream illusion” makes a skeleton about ‘reality to fantasy to reality,’ and as its lyrical characteristic also appears with ‘anxiety to searching to disillusionment.’ In one word, the typical of the dreams-describing literature must throughout the three progresses that someone called it ‘daydreamy canto. (Fu, p.105)³’ Therefore, “dream” became a part of image in literature works.

In Tang dynasty, dreams-describing literature became more popular and be separated by An-shi Rebellion. In its early stage, the “dream illusion” took on vigorous atmosphere so called “Poetic Style & Features of the Golden Age of Tang Dynasty”, however, in later stage, implied that signs of doom. The individual spirit originated with the particular philosophy made poets dying to achieve self- transcendence. In case of poets tended to comfort themselves with wandering in mountains rivers that generate numbers of landscape poetry. At the meantime, ”dream illusion” vitalize the prime nature with philosophical meaning.

In “Liu Ho-tung chi,” we can discover that the “dream illusion” in Liu’s poetry enveloped in earlier literature works. Although the amount of the “dream illusion” is less than other nature-describing, the pure emotion hind in poet’s mind is much more obvious without disturbing of empathy such as “Bi””Xing.” Moreover, the liberty and variation hint dreams can flee from the cage in reality, as Shelley said:

It makes us the inhabitants of a world to which the familiar world is a chaos.....It creates anew the universe, after it has been annihilated in our minds by the recurrence of impressions blunted by reiteration. (Abrams ,p.282)

In Liu’s poetry, it’s a corresponding footnotes. As a prisoner in relegation, Liu were seized with terror about death, no matter from the Emperor’s judgement or terrible mental health, drove him to express his missing about homeland and negation to

Of multitudes and then of fishes;Of the tortoise-and serpent ; and then of the falcon banners.

The chief diviner will divine the dreams. How the multitudes dissolving into fishes, betoken plentiful years.’ In the two poetry, the “dream illusion” were used as divine the future. It shows that people expected abundant harvests at the era.

³ According to Fu, daydreamy imagination means a initiative imagination by writers.

dangerous situation. Such struggles between two opposing consciousness can be seen in the “dream illusion.” For convenience to discuss, I organized the “dream illusion” in Liu’s poetry in a form:

Types	poetry
Dreams about paradise	<p>“<i>Repying to Comforting Letters from Xiaocai Lo in Autumn Night</i>“: 客有故園思，瀟湘生夜愁。病依居士室，夢繞羽人丘。味道憐知止，遺名得自求。壁空殘月曙，門掩候蟲秋。謬委雙金重，難征雜佩酬。碧霄無枉路，徒此助離憂⁴。</p>
Dreams about homeland	<p>“<i>A Waterfall in Gie-Wei</i>“: 界圍匯湘曲，青壁環澄流。懸泉粲成簾，羅注無時休。韻磬叩凝碧，鏘鏘徹巖幽。丹霞冠其巔，想像凌虛遊。靈境不可狀，鬼工諒難求。忽如朝玉皇，天冕垂前旒。楚臣昔南逐，有意仍丹丘。今我始北旋，新詔釋縲囚。采真誠眷戀，許國無淹留。再來寄幽夢，遺貯催行舟⁵。</p>
	<p>“<i>Plum Rains</i>“: 梅實迎時雨，蒼茫值晚春。愁深楚猿夜，夢斷越雞晨。海霧連南極，江雲暗北津。素衣今盡化，非為帝京塵⁶。</p>
	<p>“<i>Hearing orioles</i>“: 倦聞子規朝暮聲，不意忽有黃鸝鳴。一聲夢斷楚江曲，滿眼故園春意生。目極千里無山河，麥芒際天搖清波。王畿優本少賦役，務閒酒熟饒經過。此時晴煙最深處，捨南巷北遙相語。翻日迴度昆明飛，凌風邪看細柳翥。我今誤落千萬山，身同僧人不思還。鄉禽何事亦來此，令我生心憶桑梓。閉聲回翅歸務速，西林紫樵行當熟⁷。</p>
	<p>“<i>Early Spring in Hill Ling</i>“: 問春從此去，幾日到秦原。憑寄還鄉夢，慙勤入故園⁸。</p>
Dreams about	<p>“<i>A farewell to my brother Tsung-Yi</i>“: 零落殘紅倍黯然，雙垂別淚越江邊。一身去國六千里，萬死投荒十二</p>

⁴ The missing about the homeland grew in nights and spread as extensive as River Xiao-Xiang. The banished man got sick and dreamed that stay in a land which belongs to Immortals. Even so, the beautiful dream ended with waking and he never back home in his life.

⁵ I'd been exiled to the South, but I maintain my loyalty to the court. Today, I were remitted and allowed to return to the North. The waterfalls sang joyously and the mountains rose awesomely. All my dream came true and I hasten my boat for getting back quickly.

⁶ The times went to later spring when the plums were met by seasonal rains. At nights, I heard monkeys screaming in melancholy. At dawns, my dreams were disturbed by cock crow. I've been more and more toilworn since I was banished from hometown.

⁷ I heard sounds from cuckoos all day and all night, suddenly, orioles sang. My dream about homeland disappeared at once and I saw spring sights in my garden. However, no matter how hard I tried, I cannot see my homeland behinds thousands of mountains. Since I made a mistake, I've been imprisoned in the South. Finally, I suggested you orioles go home quickly to instead of me.

⁸ I'll send nostalgic conscious in my dream and let it floated to my homeland with the spring passing.

bosom friend	年。桂嶺瘴來雲似墨，洞庭春盡水如天。欲知此後相思夢，長在荊門郢樹煙 ⁹ 。
	<p>“Response to Administer Yiang in summer”:</p> <p>郡樓有遺唱，新和敵南金。境以道情得，人期幽夢尋。層軒隔炎暑，迴野恣窺臨。鳳去徽音續，芝焚芳意深。遊鱗出陷浦，唳鶴繞仙岑。風起三湘浪，雲生萬里陰。宏規齊德宇，麗藻競詞林。靜契分憂術，閒同遲客心。驩驩當遠步，鶻馱莫相侵。今日登高處，還聞梁父吟¹⁰。</p>

First, most of Liu’s dreams imply that he desire to searching his homeland and it shows in two ways: “dream illusion” and “landscape.” The “dreams” point out a shadow of Liu’s homeland. On the contrary, “landscape” means the reality which put him in jail. Otherwise, the “landscape” in his poetry always be put a cover of faded colors just like the “dream” occurs at nights.

Second, the “dreams” about homeland is the most part in the poetry above. What Liu expects is the hope for return and at the same time melancholy of the homeless regret. It may note rather the mental situation of homelessness than the reality of without a refugee. If one can't satisfied with his or her situation, then one can't have a free conception at a certain place according to this perception¹¹. Here, I find some discrimination in Liu’s “dream illusion”:

1. The Compensation:

“Dreams illusion” build on fantasies which are out of disappointment about reality and failure to personal chasing, however, can be fulfilled in dreams. In Liu’s landscape poetry, he tends to translate mountains and rivers into scenes in homeland by dreams. So that, we can find that he take the “landscape” as misery and the “dream” as happiness. It’s obviously that Liu attempted to construct a certain habitat place for spirit, there is a gap between literary imaginary world and the real world.

For example, “*A farewell to my brother Tsung-Yi*” shows an opposite between “country” and “wastes land”, “reunion” and “farewell.” There’s the “dream illusion”

⁹ The falling flowers reflected my gloom and I said good-bye to you with falling tears. Henceforth I left my country so far away and struggled in extremis. The only way to miss you is in dreams.

¹⁰ You sent me the valuable poetry to comfort my mind, and I responded mine. I ascent a tower for a wide sight and never saw our place. The only way to miss you is dream. Finally, I wish the treacherous men go away from me and prove my innocent.

¹¹ Heidegger felt that “building and dwelling were always involved with attempts to make sense of existence, and were thus poetic” (qtd. in Shart 76).

to gather the two parts. Unfortunately, the fragile feature in “dreams illusion” makes Liu keep in mind that he cannot return his homeland. Thus, he ended the poem with ‘欲知此後相思夢，長在荊門郢樹煙，’ means he understand the situation which was symbolized by misty landscape and miss his homeland in dreams. The “dream illusion” becomes a paradise for the poet to neglect his failure in reality.

The same expressing process about “reality to dream” also occurs in “*Early Spring in Hill Ling*”. Liu applies the spring sights as an image of homeland which is saw in dreams. That means Liu has no choice but to stay in dream to make him escaped from reality.

2. The Obstruction:

“Dream illusion” is a fictitious space which consist of conscious and spirit by dreamers. Especially the dreamer must awake from dream. Therefore, “reality to dreams” and then “dreams to reality” emphasizes the happiness in dream and the misery in reality. It shows that Liu preferred to stay in dream which reflected his homeland but not to face his difficult position.

As “Hearing orioles”, the poet’s dreaming by a disturbance by a real creature. In his words revealed tenseness about time flies that the poet must suffer in anxiety of homeless regret.

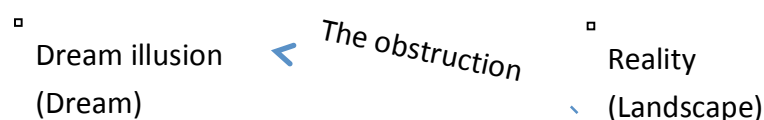
“*Plum Rains*” also gives us a picture of the poet overlook the raining scenery after he woke up. He felt ghastly lonely in the extensive distances. It may be noted that Liu’s self-prisoned awareness always broke his dream. Thus, the “dream illusion” in Liu’s landscape poetry lingers on vagrant space between past homeland and present prison.

“The compensation” and “the obstruction” are the double aspects in “dream illusion”, involve disturbance in the reality. By that, the paradise in dream cannot be abidingly maintained and the landscape in reality become paleness, even hint a cage sometime. Obviously, the “landscape” is a media to describe his difficult situation and the “dream” is a space between satisfied and disappoint in Liu’s mind.

iii. The “double-perspective” in Liu’s “dream illusion”

In the discussion about “the compensation” and “the obstruction” above, it may be noted that Liu purposed to take “dream illusion” as a refuge to escape from the cage was built by mountains. However, there’s fulfilled with solitude that Liu satisfied himself in the dreamland and dropped into reality after awareness. So that, Liu sank into a close

circle was constructed by “happiness” and “unhappiness.” As the diagram shows:



After relegate, Liu used his self-prisoned awareness in poetry. His “dream illusion” became a paradise which is in instable space-time. The “dream illusion” comforted Liu’s mind in order to its opposite of reality, but his self-conscious is summoned by anxiety about awakening. Consequently, in his “dream illusion” includes two aspects about “happiness” and “unhappiness”. It may be explained in Edward W. Said:

There is a popular but wholly mistaken assumption that being exiled is to be totally cut off, isolated, hopelessly separated from your place of origin. Would that surgically clean separation were true, because then at least you could have the consolation of knowing that what you have left behind is, in a sense, unthinkable and completely irrecoverable. The fact is that for most exiles the difficulty consist not simply in being forced to live away from home, but rather, given today’s world, in living with the many reminders that you are in exile, that your home is not in fact so far away, and that the normal traffic of everyday contemporary life keeps you in constant but tantalizing and unfulfilled touch with the old place. The exile therefore exists in a median state, neither completely at one with the new setting nor fully disencumbered of the old.(Said,p.48-49¹²)

In Liu’s poetry, there’s fulfill of melancholy in exile. Especially the topic of “dream illusion” points out the struggles in median state. Just like ” Response to Administer Yiang in summer,” seems a poem among friends, but within his emotion. He utilized the sentences in “Zhao-Ming Anthology” to convey his appreciation to his friend. Then, “幽夢尋” broaden the space for missing friends and farewell emotion. What the most important is he ended the poem with rejecting persecution from treacherous men. Apparently, Liu has kept his failure in polity and self-prisoned awareness in mind that make his poetic space fulfill with solitude and melancholy in his landscape poetry. His “dream illusion” overlaps the shadow of homeland and often turns to cage imagery that reminds those who is in exile. That means Liu uses an attitude about the “double perspective” actually. According to Said :

¹² Edward W. Said: *Representations of the Intellectual*, Random House press, 1996.

Because the exile sees things both in terms of what has been left behind and what is actual here and now, there is a double perspective that never sees things in isolation. Every scene or situation in the new country necessarily draws on its counterpart in the old country. Intellectually this means that an idea or experience is always counter-posed with another, therefore making them both appear in a sometimes new and unpredictable light: from that juxtaposition one gets a better, perhaps even more universal idea of how think.(Said, p.60)

For Liu, “Dream illusion” is not only a fictitious space to recall his homeland, but also a difficult situation that put him in an anxiety about the reality those reminds him the hopelessness to go home. Let’s see again “Hearing orioles”, the bird came from his homeland flew the eyesight between the reality and the dream. By this, the mirage of homeland became visible. However, Liu still took the “dream illusion” with homeland in a group, the “landscape” with reality in the other then concluded his poetry with self-prisoned awareness again. It’s evident that he miss the homeland with remorse, even in dreams or daily life.

What occupied the deepest conscious in Liu’s mind is he orientated himself as a prisoner that pressed him to do literature works as consolations. As the saying in “A letter to Hanlin Lee”: ‘I often visit the nature for temporary smiling and soon feel melancholy. Why? Just like prisoners stretching their bodies when they met scenery.’(Liu, p.382) It seems that Liu tended to ‘be happy with the ideas of unhappiness’:

The intellectual as exile tends to be happy with the idea of unhappy, so that dissatisfaction bordering on dyspepsia, a kind of curmudgeonly disagreeableness, can become not only a style of thought, but also a new, if temporary, habitation.(Said, p.51.)

For Liu, ‘the idea of unhappy’ resulted from relegation, therefore, the only way to healing is returning. Once he got a chance to back home as the timing of “*A Waterfall in Gie-Wei*”. In the poem, the “landscape” were in vivid colors differed the other landscape poetry. It means the landscape no longer be the reminder in exile, but turned into a fairyland when his wish was satisfied. Moreover, the reason for the aesthetic impression changing in Liu due to the disappearance of self-prisoned awareness. The “dream illusion” here means his desires reached completion.

However, such “dream illusion” is as rare as a transitoriness in Liu’s life. Almost his “dream illusion” is under a “double perspective” that shows the opposite between dream and reality. So that, the dream, journey, and waking of his narrations, the collision between dream and reality becomes more obvious. In Liu’s poem, the “dream illusion” is a nostalgia-describing concretely. It may lead a confusing self-located when the old place disappeared in the existing space, only the mind can be as accommodating and reproduction. At this moment, an aspect in Liu’s poem is revealed: the presence of anxiety. Finally, for divert himself from the solitude, Liu used the “dream illusion” as a fictitious space in nostalgia. In summary, the “dream illusion” symbolizes a space for escaping, and the “landscape” stands for experiences in reality. The collision between fantasy and reality induces the falling. Therefore, in Liu’s dream, there are depressed colors with desperation and collapse.

iii. The Conclusion

The dream illusion applies the imagination of original home in literature; the landscape are suppressed scene of relegated officer’s situation. Liu uses the fantasy of dream illusion and transformation to fulfill his unexpected dream of return. However, the compromise of dream illusion can approach to the deepest aspiration of the poet. On the one hand, it provides rest, but in its fragility and uncertainty in spiritual condition, it creates partition. Consequently, in Liu’s poem, the dream, journey, and waking of his narrations, the collision between dream and reality becomes more obvious. However, if not due to the dream, there is no hope for Liu’s deepest aspiration to return his homeland. Only owing to the absurdity of mountains and rivers and the unhappiness in the reality of writing, he can create his pure happiness wholly. That is, the space of dreamland is the settlement way of Liu after his relegation in his way of literary composition.

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*The Construction of Narrative in Three Modernist Moments: riverrun past A Carafe
to The Red Wheelbarrow*

Dennis Leavens

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0274

The Asian Conference on Arts & Humanities 2013

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The well-known ending stanza of Wallace Stevens' "The Idea of Order at Key West" reads like this:

Oh! Blessed rage for order, pale Ramon,
The maker's rage to order words of the sea,
Words of the fragrant portals, dimly-starred,
And of ourselves and of our origins,
In ghostlier demarcations, keener sounds.
(<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/172206>)

Some recent developments in neuroscience and neurolinguistics offer suggestions about the location of that maker of order in the human mind, about the sources for that "rage for order," and also about the accuracies or distortions of the human mind's making of order. Words of ourselves and origins are as often as not distortions and confusions; they are indeed ghostly demarcations, no matter how keen we assert their value. Moreover, the word as physiological event precedes the word as meaning, an observation anticipated by many modernist writers: the word-as-thing before it is the word-as-meaning was addressed in varying ways by writers as different as James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, and William Carlos Williams. The making of order from the raw data entering the brain is normal and necessary. But it is often pre- or unconscious processing, regularly wrong, inevitably reiterative and adaptive. Some modernist techniques of composition underscore the brain's requisite, partial, and false attempts at order.

Regarding the magnitude of unconscious or preconscious information received by the brain Leonard Mlodinov remarks that "the human sensory system sends the brain about eleven million bits of information each second. . . . The actual amount of information we can handle has been estimated to be somewhere between sixteen and fifty bits per second" (33). This results in vast unconscious processing of sensory information. Because of this vast filtering, what arrives to conscious mind is necessarily selective and discriminating, if not indeed biased, ill-informed, and discriminatory.

Perhaps more disconcerting, Michael Gazziniga asserts that "When we set out to explain our actions, they are all post hoc explanations using post hoc observations with no access to non-conscious processing. Not only that, our left brain fudges things a bit to fit into a makes-sense story" (77-78). We are unable to access the non-conscious data, due to the architecture of the brain, and so what arrives to consciousness is distorted, imprecise, ghostly, and so are the resultant demarcations. In addition, it "is the left hemisphere that engages in the human tendency to find order in chaos, that tries to fit everything into a story and put it into a context. It seems that it is driven to hypothesize about the structure of the world even in the face of evidence that no pattern exists" (85).

Explanations and understandings, manufactured orders and structures, interpretations and patterns all appear as forms of "truth" and seem to result from "reasoned thinking," but these constructs are tricks of mind: "When asked to explain ourselves, we engage in a search for truth that may feel like a kind of introspection. But though we think we know what we are feeling, we often know neither the content nor the unconscious origins of that content. And so we come up with plausible explanations that are untrue or only partly accurate, and we believe them" (Mlodinov 191). In this way,

our unconscious creates a model of the world (Mlodnov 45). One of the ordering factors necessary for the creation of this model is time: events occur in time, language (a specific kind of event) occurs in time, narratives depend on time. The construction of causal relationships, like the construction of syntax, requires a temporal arrangement of events.

Time and its relation to the activities of the brain alter two more significant aspects of the creation of order. The first of these refers to our unconscious misrepresentations of time in the mind. All perceptions of the present are in fact distortions, post hoc explanations of events and apprehensions that have already occurred. The physiology of the brain requires this lapse, which is about half a second (500 milliseconds). Benjamin Libet observes that the “brain needs a relatively long period of appropriate activations, up to about half a second, to elicit awareness of the event! Your conscious experience or awareness of your finger touching the table thus appears only after the brain activities have become adequate to produce the awareness” (33). Since, as Libet remarks, “awareness of all sensory stimuli is delayed by about 0.5 sec,” the result is necessarily that “our *awareness of our sensory world is substantially delayed* from its actual occurrence” (Libet’s italics 70). And not only is our awareness delayed, but our reporting of what we have observed, of our awareness may be “considerably different” from what is observed: “For example, if a prudish man were shown a picture of a naked lady, he might report seeing something quite different, or he might report that he saw no image Given such unconscious modification of what we become aware, there must clearly be some delay in the awareness during which such a subjective modulation can be produced” (70-71).

Not only is the brain playing tricks with interpretation and reporting, it tricks consciousness: “Subjects unconsciously and automatically refer the timing of the sensory event back to the time of the initial fast response of the sensory cortex. They are not aware that the sensory experience *did not actually begin* until adequate cerebral stimulation of up to 0.5 sec in duration had taken place” (Libet 79-80). So the brain receives vast sensory information, filters and selects it unconsciously, projects its simultaneity with experience, interprets it with varying degrees of accuracy, distorts both the apprehension of the information and its timing, and projects some model or creation of order and reality.

Language, as we might expect, behaves along similar lines. In number of studies of response time of the brain to words, measured by magnetoencephalography (MEG), Liina Pylkkanen, Andrew Stringfellow, Alec Marantz and other neurolinguists have found indications of averaged brain activity at 170 milliseconds for high probability words, 250 milliseconds for low probability words, and 350 milliseconds for non-words (see, for example, Pylkanen et al.). By this measure, combined with Libet’s conclusions, even non-words are processed prior to consciousness. In this sense, the word is a thing in the brain before the word is meaning in the mind. This concern with word-as-thing, whether those words were non-words or neologisms, common words in uncommon contexts, or objects to be placed in relation to each other, modernists explored the mind’s making or order from word-as-thing first, then word-as-conscious-or-cognitive-meaning later.

The opening of *Finnegans Wake* provides some examples of non- or recombined words, neologisms, and familiar words in unusual order: "riverrun, past Eve and Adam’s, from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodius vicus of

recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs.” The first word, “riverrun,” which many readers see as continuing the last sentence in the novel, has been glossed by Roland McHugh as “riverain” French for pertaining to a river, and “riveran” Italian dialect for “they will arrive” (3). It is, of course, neither of these, suggestive of both, and the English “river run,” but it is a non-word or at most recognizable, a neologism with indeterminable “transparent” meaning: “If much of the *Wake* sounds to us as Babelian confusion, this must be – so it is assumed – because we are still locked in our monoglot cultural prisons What is at issue is the hermeneutic drive itself, the urge to translate what is apparently ‘confused’ language into a language which will be entirely transparent, to unweave the polyglot textual thread into the monoglot thread.” (Attridge 158). In Attridge’s view, the *Wake* addresses “the hermeneutic drive itself,” the will to interpret and make order from a text deliberately impossible to negotiate as transparent. Joyce is calling to consciousness the need to interpret and insisting on the tentative, distorting nature of that interpretation.

Samuel Beckett, having served as Joyce’s amanuensis during the writing of the *Wake* is said to have remarked: “You cannot complain that this stuff is not written in English. It is not written at all. It is not to be read. It is to be looked at and listened to. His writing is not about something. *It is that something itself*” (<http://www.sheilaomalley.com/?p=1181>). Beckett identifies the primarily aural quality of the work combined with its ontological condition as a thing-in-itself, not a text from which transparent meaning is to be extracted. Joyce is deliberately calling attention to the word-as-thing, to the word as pre-cognitive object, and as polyvalent interpretive object. As such, the *Wake* continually disrupts attempts to make itself clear, transparent, orderly. It calls into question rage for order and narrative constructed by what Gazzaniga calls The Interpreter located in the left brain: “Reading *Finnegans Wake* one is constantly attempted to apply the hermeneutics of suspicion – to doubt your own interpretation and then question the prejudices that have led you to them” (Fordham 31).

So a reading of the *Wake* may reflect some of the developments in recent neuroscience. The mind makes meaning where meaning is uncertain; an interpretation of a passage of the *Wake* calls attention to its own fabrication, partiality, and inconsistency; the sensory data is a thing-in-itself, which we can never get to, only represent: “modern neuroscience teaches that, in a way, all our perceptions must be considered illusions. That’s because we perceive the world only indirectly, by processing and interpreting the raw data of our senses. That’s what our unconscious processing does for us – it creates a model of the world” (Mlodinow 45). Models created by reading *Finnegans Wake* have the appropriate effect and illusion of a dream, the dream world the novel seeks to represent, which is simultaneously representative and distorted.

A different form of representation results from a text like the first “Object” in Gertrude Stein’s *Tender Buttons*: “A Carafe, That is a Blind Glass” which reads: “A kind in glass and a cousin, a spectacle and nothing strange a single hurt color and an arrangement in a system to pointing. All this and not ordinary, not unordered in not resembling. The difference is spreading”

(<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15396/15396-h/15396-h.htm>). A text like “Carafe” may be paraphrasable, something along the lines of:

The carafe is a kind of object made of glass, and a cousin to other objects made of glass. It is a spectacle, something to look at and something to see through. Its color looks like a bruise, a light purple perhaps, and the mouth points. It is all this, and not quite an ordinary object, different from other glass objects, but not without its own order. Its difference may make us look at things differently.

This paraphrase does not however capture the way the text makes readers re-consider fairly common words in unusual or unfamiliar contexts. Nor does the paraphrase convey the meditative concentration on an object which is apparent in the original text, with its absence of predication, its focus on naming the moment.

Michael Edward Kaufmann argues that “*Tender Buttons* is a narrative of naming – a narrative with no plot, character, or action in the conventional sense – simply a narrative of the mind encountering language and print.” He affirms that Stein “writes not of things in words but of words as things, things with outsides and insides and histories and futures. As Picasso elucidates the essential shape of a carafe, so Stein elucidates the essential form contained in the word” (450). In this context, Stein is interested in the word-as-thing, before it becomes loaded with interpretive baggage, which it eventually must do. We must interpret, we must make sense of the sensory data, we must establish pattern even where there is unfamiliar language or even no pattern. Because we are always 500 milliseconds behind a continuous present, we are representing sensory data and experience more or less falsely and in a more or less false medium, like language or image, which is a sensory thing-in-itself.

Stein insists on this notion of language as object: “Language is a real thing, is not imitation either of sound or colors or emotions, it is an intelligible recreation” (“Poetry”). This “intelligible recreation” entails meaning, even in the absence of pattern and despite attempts to escape meaning: “I took individual words and thought about them until I got their weight and volume complete and put them next to another word, and at this time I found out very soon that there is no such thing as putting them together without sense. I made innumerable efforts to make words write without sense and found it impossible.” (“Interview with Robert Haas” in *Primer*).

Where does this making of sense come from? For Gazzaniga, from The Interpreter, that cluster in the left brain that constructs story, narrative, and pattern even in their absence. Stein identifies this necessity to make sense of words. Even though words are pre-cognitive objects, they become freighted with meanings, more or less false, more or less sensible, more or less fabricated by unconscious and inaccessible processes.

William Carlos Williams was also concerned with words as things, with words as pigments in an artistic creation. “The Red Wheelbarrow” is a famous example of a snapshot poem, a moment in time and experience, accompanied by assertion of causality:

so much depends
upon

a red wheel
barrow

glazed with rain
water

beside the white
chickens. (<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/learning/guide/178804#poem>)

Just what depends on the wheel barrow, rain water, and chickens in the poem is, by intention, never unambiguously named, with a result that the poem becomes a call to “be here now.” While there is no reason not to read these words as referential, in the poem they function as synecdoche for all the mundane objects in our time and place.

But first, before their referential apprehension, the words are words-as-things. A famous line from Paterson, Book I, reads “Say it, no ideas but in things” (http://allpoetry.com/poem/8501191-from_Book_I_Paterson-by-William_Carlos_Williams) refers not only to the subject matter of a poem – it should not be philosophy or an analysis of ideas – but also to the very materials of which a poem is made. The placement of words in this poem in the syntax of the poem reinforces Williams’ insistence on words-as-things:

The word "upon," for example, occupies a position later occupied by a series of nouns, and it completes its verb, just as the nouns complete their intending adjectives. "Upon," then, approaches a literal state of being; it is no longer merely an abstract connective, but a physical presence of consciousness in action. Rather than presenting an icon that we take as a perceptual reality, Williams makes the iconic force of art testimony for the most abstract, yet most intimate of psychological energies: those that define the very form of intentionality. (Altieri)

But while for Altieri this syntax may reflect “consciousness in action,” neuroscience indicates that consciousness in action is really unconsciousness shaping that tiny bit of sensory data that makes it consciousness. “Intentionality” in this context becomes largely unconscious, largely inaccessible, yet clearly marked in consciousness and somehow related to causality as asserted by a constructed narrative, in this case, the poem.

Williams compares words to pigments, indicating words-as-things before they are words-as-meaning: “You notice what I said: there is *no subject the modern poem* cannot approach. There is *no selected material*. It's *what you do with* the work of art. It's what you *put on the canvas and how you put it* that makes the picture. It's how the words fit in. Poems are not made of *thoughts, beautiful thoughts – it's made of words, pigments, put on – here, there; made; actually.*” (“The Poet’s Voice”). Williams’ insistence on word-as-thing, on word as something other than thought, means the poet places words, applies words, as objects. As Gary Snyder phrases it in “Riprap”:

Lay down these words
Before your mind like rocks.
 placed solid, by hands
In choice of place, set
Before the body of the mind
 in space and time: (<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/176577>)

It is indeed before the “body of the mind” that words get placed as things.

In this context, mind emerges as a property of brain, reliant on sensory data, but also on neurological pathways established and reinforced. Simultaneously, the brain is always new, always changing – from without and within, and always ordering. Because the brain is multi-layered and operational, social and interactive, interpretation is always partial, different, new. But the brain and mind prefer and construct causality, connection, linkages, orders. “Sense” is tentative, biased, confabulated, partial, subjective, with the unfortunate circumstance that “the ‘casual arrow’ in human thought processes consistently tends to point from belief to evidence” (Mlodinow 200-201). Interpretation, while automatic and necessary, contains at least four dimensions: (1) a pre-cognitive unconscious element; (2) a conscious element of intentionality; (3) belief: in both social and personal constructs; (4) evidence, factored in later. It is therefore to be expected, even demanded that the ending lines of “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening” are regularly read with different meanings:

And miles to go before I sleep
And miles to go before I sleep.
(<http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/171621>)

Same words, different meanings: context, sequence, reconstruction of “meaning” or “understanding,” make a new order of the very same sensory data evidence.

Some modernist texts, like the examples above from Joyce and Stein, by being deliberately “difficult,” “demanding,” even “unreadable,” underscore the necessary and falsifying interpretive acts of the mind/brain as it negotiates, constructs, and re-constructs meaning in a social human context. The brain makes sequence, order, interpretation, no matter how seemingly chaotic the sensory evidence. But even “simple” texts, like the passages from Williams and Frost create these interpretive high jinks. Gazzinga’s Interpreter and Mlodinow’s unconscious turn out to resemble Wallace Stevens’ “Man on the Dump,” as

One beats and beats for that which one believes
That’s what one wants to get near. . . .
.
Where was it one first heard of the truth? The the.
(<http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/the-man-on-the-dump/>)

The Interpreter and the unconscious beat for the mind’s own beliefs, make order according to pre-conscious and unknowable processes, re-write, over-write, re-configure, fabricate, and construct valuable and practical orders from the interaction of sensory data and neural patterns. The truth? It is something like the the – a thing before a meaning.

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*Passageway and Its Double: Reconsideration of Function of Parodos in Greek
Theatre*

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Introduction

Parodos are the two side entrances to the *orchestra*, the performing space, in the ancient Greek theatre building. Of interest is that the parodos were the sole structural component that maintained the original shape while others—*orchestra*, *theatron* (auditorium), *skene* (platform stage and multi-functional storage)—experienced gradual or abrupt changes in shape over the years.

This paper begins with a couple of questions. How was Parodos able to maintain its original form despite the span of time? Was there any special reason, if any, for that? Answering the question, this paper suggests a possibility that Parodos could be the most important and even essential elements in the construction of Greek theatre building. For evidence, this paper explores the relationship between Parodos and street procession tradition that was the core part of state/national festivals in the Ancient Greece. Related to this, this paper assumes that the unidirectional passageway, as seen in the Panathenaic Way in Athens, could be the simplest and most efficient pathway form to carry out the purpose of citizen participation in the procession and festival. From this, this paper leads to an argument that the unidirectional pathway form found in the street procession could be the archetypal form of Parodos. For evidence, this paper finds that unidirectional pathways existed ubiquitous in the Agora, the center of the Athenian life in terms of economic, political, and cultural aspects and therefore most popular space in the city-state. Serving as market place, administration quarters, and civic meeting place, Agora also served as the gateway for the street procession in the Dionysiac cult and festival called City Dionysia. Additionally, the Panathenaic Way passed through the Agora. Agora is also known as the place for the earliest Athenian theatricalities prior to the construction of Theatre of Dionysus, the first firmament theatre in Athens. This paper examines the formal and functional analogies between the Parodos in Greek theatres and the unidirectional passageways found in the Agora. From discussion, this paper develops an assumption that Theatre of Dionysus not only did but also 'should' follow the legacy of Agora in terms of purpose (citizen participation) and form (unilateral passageway) to complete the purpose, and that Parodos were the theatrical rendition of pathways found in Agora as well as the Panathenaic Way in the street procession. As a conclusion, this paper argues that Parodos play double roles, that is, the passageways both for theatrical and civic causes.

Procession and Panathenaic Way

The Athenians, like all Greeks, worshipped the variety of gods. Accordingly, civic or national festivals related with religious cults were celebrated by the whole city. The City Dionysia was one of the important festivals of Athens, held in March annually for the worship of the god of Dionysus. The key event of this festival and others was the citizen procession in honor of gods (Camp and Fisher 2002, p. 130). As a civic event, this national festival fundamentally depended on the participation of citizens. The procession was indispensable in order to encourage the citizens' participation. In particular, unidirectional pathway, as seen in the Panathenaic Way, was the simplest and most effective form to maximize the civic participation.

The Panathenaic Way, a long and wide processional way through the City of Athens

to the Acropolis where the sanctuary of Dionysus was located, began at the Dipylon Gate, the north-west entrance of the city. This entrance was no other than the gateway to the Agora, the economic, political and cultural center of the city life and, therefore, most frequented place in the Athens. Running from the Dipylon Gate to the Acropolis, the Panathenaic Way passed diagonally through the Agora. The geographical position of the Panathenaic Way reveals its importance. Passing through the most populated place and at the same time the only way to the sacred precincts, this processional way created a connection, physically and figuratively, between mundanity and divinity. At this point, the function of the Panathenaic Way goes beyond the practical dimension as the pathway for citizen procession, and reaches more fundamentally social dimension. As the worldly ranks of citizens are led by the Panathenaic Way to the religious sanctuary, the civic festivity's purpose of participation and communication is completed in the prototypical form of religious ritual.

The procession was not the all of the Dionysiac Cult. While the procession was the beginning and the main part of the City Dionysia, theatrical events were the grand finale of the procession. As Pickard-Cambridge maintains, in a religious procession called *pompei* sacrifices and offerings were carried along the processional parade to the precinct of Dionysus and then dramatic contests began (Noy 2002, p. 180). Theatrical events were inseparable from religious cults, and it was no exception to the City Dionysia. When the procession arrived at the sanctuary of Dionysus, the phallus-shaped symbol of Dionysus was carried in the parade, which was followed by a revel of drinking, singing, and dancing (Camp and Fisher 2002, p. 134). The processional way, the device to trigger and complete the civic festival purpose of participation and solidarity, is not only the passage to the mundanity-divinity connection, but also becomes the pathway to return the religious sanctuary to the earthly realm of theatricality in the last step of the religious festival. Like this, the City Dionysia embodies a cyclic structure (Mundane-Divine-Mundane), symbolizing the mythology of Dionysus in an enactment of his life, death and resurrection. The processional way, the device that enables the cyclic structure becomes a passage for participation and communication to connect symbolically and actually the three dimensions of human life: Living/Agora, Religion/Sanctuary, and Entertainment/Theatre.

The Agora is worth attention since it was the start line of the long way procession. Besides, the Agora is significant for another reason. It was possibly the original place for the theatrical competition to celebrate the Dionysiac Cult. Oscar Brockett (2003) argues that tragic competition was presented at the City Dionysia in 534 BC and fixes this year the beginning of both the tragic contest and "the connection between theatre and state" (p. 13). However, Brockett makes no further explanation for the 'geographical' location of the 'connection.' Related to this, Richard and Helen Leacock (1984) argue that Greek civic festivals "took place on any flat, open space in a village" (p. 2). Of interest is that such geographical environment and features for theatricality is found in the Agora site. The Agora was undoubtedly a flat and open space in the center of Athens. In addition, the open and flat spaces found in the Agora were frequently furnished with wooden benches or scaffolding called *ikria* where the citizens sat to watch theatricalities. Preshadowing more sophisticated theatrical counterparts, *orchestra* and *theatron*, in the later years, these two components in the Agora turn out to be instrumental evidence for Richard and Helen Leacock's assumption that the Agora "could be used" for theatrical events (Leacock 1984, p. 2). In this respect, this paper calls the theatre spaces in the Agora the Agora-Theatre. The

Agora-Theatre could be the geographical origin of the connection between sate and theatre Brockett missed or ignored to locate.

Religious structures such as temple and altar are also found in the Agora-Theatre.¹ Considering that the procession was the intrinsic part of the religious cult and that the Agora was the start line of the procession, it is not surprising to find such religious structures in the Agora-Theatre. Rather, of interest here is that religion and theatre were connected in this market place. The function of the Agora was multi-fold: market place, sacred area, theatre place, and finally the ground for collectivity represented by the Athenian citizen's participation in both everyday life and civic festival. In other words, the Agora was the market, the sanctuary, the theatre and even Athens itself.

While passing through the Agora, the Panathenaic Way becomes a passage to the Agora-Theatre at the same time. That is to say, this main road for the procession toward the Acropolis branches off and forms a secondary procession leading to the Agora-Theatre. Here, the secondary procession becomes a passageway to enter 'in' the theatre place, connecting religion/state to the everyday/theatre. Making a 'loop' type of movemet, the procession passes through the flat and open theatre space and joins back the main procession on the Panathenatic Way (Noy 2002, p. 183).² At this moment, the secondary procession becomes a passageway to come 'out' of the theatre place.

The main processional parade kept going toward the Acropolis where the Panathenaic Way finally finished. Yet, it did not mean that the procession finished along with the arrival at the Acropolis and the subsequent termination of the Panathenaic Way. Arriving at the Acropolis, the crowd of citizens was welcome to the participation in another event being prepared at the southeast foot of the hill where the sanctuary of Dionysus was located. It was the tragic competition to celebrate the worship of Dionysus. Now, the Dionysus's phallus was carried 'in' his sanctuary along the slope, 'followed by' the crowd of citizens (Camp and Fisher 2002, p. 134), which formed an additional processional way which can be called the Panathenaic Way 'Extra'. Here, the Panathenaic Way Extra functioned as the passageway to go 'in' the theatre place, connecting religion to theatre, which reminds of the secondary processional way-in to the the Agora-Theatre. While the Agora-Theatre is the on-the-way station, the theatre place here at the Acropolics slope becomes a terminal for the long-way procession. When the enshrinment of the Dionysus phallus in his place was all set, then the theatrical contest is presented for the grand finale of the City Dionysia. The theatrical events here at the end of a procession put the city state's "identity and structure comprehensively on display" (Wiles 1997, p. 25-26).

¹ Such an arrangement (temple, orchestra, theatron) is discovered not only at the Agora of Athens. Rather, it was a universal feature found most in both public places and theatrical places in the Greek empire. The public places include Minoan palaces of Crete (Palace of Gournia, Palace of Knossos) and at Lato. More evidence is found in mainland Greece at Eleusis (Leacroft 1984, p. 2-4). The theatrical places include Theatre at Ikaria, Theatre at Thorickos, Theatre of Dionysus. (See Palyvou 2001, and Gebhard 1974).

² Kinnert Noy argues that the passageway in the Greek theatre suggests a 'loop' type of movement, which connected the Athenian spectaors not connect the Athention spectators to the procession but also link their present theatrical experience with their cultural past or older form of artistic communication.

Analogy: Agora and Theatre of Dionysus

The Agora and the sanctuary of Dionysus, the two geographical extremes of the procession for the Dionysiac Cult, have in common in terms of form and function. Firstly, the Agora was the political, civic, and religious hub as well as commercial center of Athens. Accordingly, public buildings with a wide variety of applications were constructed in and around the Agora. Public buildings included Bouleuterion (assembly hall) and headquarters of *stratego*i (general or military commander) on the west, and law court on the east. Religious buildings were also constructed in and around the Agora square, which included Metroon (sanctuary of Rhea, Mother of the Olympian Gods), Hephasisteion (temple of Hephaistos), Altar of Twelve Gods, and the domed burial chamber called Tholos (Martin 1996, p. 117-118; Camp and Fisher 2002, p. 170-173; Camp 1986, p. 35-150; Leacroft 1966, p. 20-25).

The most prominent building type in the Agora Square is a 2-story rectangular building called Stoa. Stoa consists of two lines of colonnades, independent rooms, and a roof on the top, covering the entire to provide for business. In fact, the mentioned public buildings in the Agora Square followed the Stoa form. The primary function of the Stoa was to provide the citizens with shelters from direct sunlight, rain or wind. In addition, the Stoa was itself a multi-purpose building unit. Inside the narrow and long colonnaded space, Stoas housed many rooms with different usages such as markets, public offices, magistrates' headquarters, storerooms, paintings galleries, and strolling and meeting places. Mostly built on the edges of the Agora square, Stoas were the most frequented and familiar places in the Agora.³ Also arts works of paintings and reliefs were often displayed on the wall of office rooms facing the corridor, which served as civic art venue or galleries for citizens. For instance, the Painted Stoa, located in the north of the Agora Square, had removable wooden panels on the wall of office rooms and here paintings were exhibited, which proves the Stoa's role of art gallery at that time (Camp 1986, p. 66-71).

Located at the Agora Square the central political, economic and cultural backbone of Athens, Stoa was crowded everyday with people with a variety of needs to meet. The in and out of the Stoa was full of energy and busy with soliciting and bargaining of sellers and customers as easily seen in the market place today. Citizens sat in the shady corridors of Stoa and discussed with neighbors politics, society, philosophy and life. Likewise, Stoa was the everyday space familiar to the citizens of the times.

The 'multi-purpose' nature of the space in the Agora Square is also found in the Theatre of Dionysus built in 499 BC. The most distinct in this theatre site are the flat and open space at the ground level and the sloping seating placed on the hillside. Despite the formal change through the gap of time, these two elements maintained its functional originality in the Agora-Theatre. In addition, temple and altar or *thymele* found in this theatre place represented its relations to the religious function, which was foreshadowed by the Agora-Theatre. Related to the economic and the political functions, the evidence of Stoa site found in this theatre place is significant. Stoa

³ Shady and comfortable environment of Stoa attracted many congregations, and the contemporary thinkers frequented the corridors of Stoa and preached their philosophy and outlook on life to the public. Contemporary philosopher Zeno also enjoyed discussions with followers in the corridors of Stoa, and the name of his Stoicism derives from the meeting place Stoa (Camp 1986, p. 72).

building was not the original component but the later entry during the recovery operation of the Theatre of Dionysus in the 440s BC.⁴ Yet, the ‘additional’ construction of Stoa buildings in the theatre site is an important clue to explain the multi-functional nature of the Theatre of Dionysus. As mentioned above, Stoa is a multi-function unit housing rooms of different usages such as markets, public offices, military headquarters, storages, strolling and meeting places as well as shelter from weather. In short, the addition of Stoa buildings to the theatre place consequently explains the assumed nature, that is, multipurpose complex of the Theater of Dionysus.

Then, what was the purpose of the Stoa building added to the Theatre of Dionysus? Scholars have attempted to find the answer but mostly in ‘theatrical’ reasons, which include a dressing room and a store for scenery sets and other props in need (Leacroft 1984, p. 13; Brockett 2003, p. 32). The consideration of the unique nature, that is, the ‘multi-ness’ of Stoa building supplements additional possibilities of the answer. One possibility is the ‘public aspect’ of this building. In other words, the Stoa building in the Theatre of Dionysus could serve for the convenience of the procession members (both actors and audiences), and eventually promote the civic participation which is the goal of City Dionysia the national festival. In this sense, despite its late entry, the Stoa building was possibly an intrinsic element in the Greek theatre architecture, even as fundamental as other elements including *orchestra*, *theatron* and temple. In the ancient Greek era, theatricality was not an independent event for the sole purpose of entertainment, but a part of the national or civic festival for the purpose of participation and unity of the entire citizens. Given this situation, such ‘public’ reason could be more fundamental than the theatrical one.

The consideration of the genealogical relation between the Agora-Theatre and the Theatre of Dionysus will help better to understand the similarities of the two places. In the early 5th century BC, there was an accident in which the early mentioned temporary seats *ikria* in the Agora collapsed during a performance, subsequently causing many injuries. This accident hastened the movement of theatrical events, previously done in the Agora Square, to a flat and open vacant lot in the sanctuary of Dionysus, located in the southeast of the Acropolis (Camp 1986, p. 46; Leacroft 1984, p. 4). This new theatre place later developed to a permanent playhouse called the Theatre of Dionysus. This incident was the momentum from which the Athenian theatricality for the first time was separated from the original performing space, the Agora-Theatre. What is worth noting is the nature of this new theatre place to replace the Agora-Theatre. Located within the religious sanctuary and becoming the final destination of the processional parade, this newly found theatre place was guaranteeing the civic participation and unity, which is the ultimate goal of the national festival of City Dionysia. Despite the geographical and temporal gaps, the theatricality in the Theatre of Dionysus shares a common environment with the theatricality at the Agora-Theatre. Both share the space characters as multi-purpose complex to meet the religious, economic, and cultural demands of the Athenians. The additional construction of Stoa building in the Theatre of Dionysus proves the national requirement and need for the multi-purposiveness of theatrical space. In short, the Theatre of Dionysus was a kind of microcosm of the Agora-Theatre.

⁴ According to the plan of the Theatre of Dionysus in Dörpfeld’s *Griechische Theatre* (1896), the first scholarly book on Greek theatre architecture, around the 440s B.C., this theatre had its completed form including the construction of stoa (Brockett 2003, p. 32).

Parodos: Passageways Double

As seen above, flat and open space for dancing (*orchestra*), stairs or auditorium seating (*ikria*), religious structures (temple and altar *thymele*), facilities for civic convenience (Stoas) are the spatial elements commonly found from both the Agora-Theatre and the Theatre of Dionysus. In the beginning part, this paper mentioned about the passageway from the Panathenatic Way to the flat and open space in the Agora Square. Not surprisingly, this element is also discovered in the Theatre of Dionysus, which is a set of side entrances to the *orchestra*. This time, the passageways is called have a special name. Separated from the Agora Square, moved to the Theatre of Dionysus, and located in this dedicated space of theatrical performance, the entrance to the flat and open space would be called as 'Parodos' which will be a theatrical terminology. In this respects, the term of Parodos is understood as the watershed between the two phases of theatrical environment: the Agora-Theatre and the Theatre of Dionysus, respectively.

What is worth noting is the legacy of the Agora remaining intact in the Parodos despite the geographical and temporal changes. Furthermore, its original form at the Agora-Theatre also remained intact while the other elements experienced drastic or gradual changes in shape through the passage of time.⁵ While called with a technical terminology, and dedicated to the theatrical use, Parodos maintains the archetypal purpose at the Agora Square, which is the pathway for procession. The audiences at the There of Dionysus were no other than the procession followers on the Panathenaic Way. They were the crowd of citizens who gathered at the Acropolis. They were the followers of the Dionysus' phallus escorted to the sanctuary along southeast slope. They were the citizens who came in the theatrical celebration along the Panathenaic Way Extra. Relaying the religious and theatrical events and terminating the entire processional parade, the Panathenaic Way Extra and Parodos met each other.

So far, many scholars have examined the functions of Parodos, restricting on its theatrical reasons. Mostly Parodos have been defined as the entrances of the chorus and actors to the *orchestra*. On the contrary, the consideration of the possibility that Parodos could be the most essential part of the theatre structure suggests a need to rethink about the function of Parodos. Parodos was truly the sole constant elements in the Theatre of Dionysus. In addition, the unidirectional pathway, as seen in the Panathenaic way, could be the simplest and most efficient form to complete the cause for the procession, that is, the citizens' participation and unity. The unidirectional passageway in the procession could be the archetype of the Parodos. That is to say, The Parodos were possibly the theatrical version of the passageway to the flat and

⁵ In the form of the Theatre of Dionysus during the Early Golden Age (499-446 BC), the *orchestra*, surrounded by the *theatron* on the hillside and the retaining wall on opposite side, took roughly rectangular or polygonal shape (Leacroft, *Theatre* 9). For the seating, *ikria* were furnished on the hillside as in the case at the Agora. A very simple *skene* was located around the *orchestra* (Dinsmoor 208). During the Pericles's remodeling in the 440s BC, the *theatron* was rebuilt and the free-from retaining wall changed into a straight one. The *theatron* went toward a symmetrical fan-shape. The *orchestra* was moved to northwest side by 45 feet and became tinier and more defined and circular by this time. Retaining walls added to support both sides of the *theatron*, which resulted in the sharper straight shape of the passageways or Parodos between the *theatron* and the retaining wall. The *skene* became more three-dimensional building. *Stoa* newly added to the theatre.

open square at the Agora Square. They were the miniature of the Panathenaic Way traversing the heart of Athens. In addition, the Parodos were the Panathenaic Way Extra that terminates the entire national religious cult by leading the processional members into the theatrical celebration and the subsequent realization of the civic collectivity. The conclusion is that the Parodos played the role of passageway double. It satisfied the theatrical necessity as the passage for dramatic action or the entrance and exit for actors and chorus. As the same time, the Parodos satisfied the civic cause by functioning as the processional passage to relay the theatre space to the other civic events for the national Dionysiac Cult.

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Audiovisual Translation in the Arab world v 0.3

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Abstract

Over the past two decades information technology has changed the way translation is produced, received and consumed. A great deal of translation work is created and consumed over the internet and thanks to digital technology most translation work today is far different from the traditional mono-dimensional text-based format it used to be. Audiovisual translation (AVT) has been rising in scope and significance for the past eighteen years with applications in a myriad of contexts from the multilingual menus in digital cameras to the localization of almost everything. Despite its relevance to the market AVT has had a varying degree of application and localisation in many parts of the world. Generally speaking AVT deals with translation on screen where there is more than one channel of information: text, colour, sound, image and video. While every country in the world subtitle and dub film and TV programs very few actually conduct research or teaching of the activity. Audiovisual translation studies do not exist in most of the world as they tend to remain a European pursuit or vogue that began in 1995.

The paper examines the situation of audiovisual translation in Arabic. It will focus on the current situation of AVT in the Arab world and examines some of the major areas that are relevant to the Arabic content online and digital culture. It will argue that the current practice of excluding AVT from the translation curricula and ignoring the specialisation at translation conferences held from Abu Dhabi to Marrakesh is not sustainable. As the title suggests, the paper refers to ongoing research on the topic that monitors the progress of AVT in the Arab world. Despite the lack of a formal policy, theory or professional practice audiovisual translation in Arabic continues to be produced on an ad hoc basis. While this situation is not peculiar to the Arab world, the research underscores the direct relevance of AVT to a serious issue in Arabic: the poor online content that accounts for only 3% of the world Internet content. The paper argues that for the online content industry to thrive, Arab academic institutions would do well to investigate and invest in audiovisual translation, and quickly. Key words: Arabic, Alexandria, Audiovisual translation, digital culture, online content.

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Introduction

The field of audiovisual translation as an academic discipline is seen by many academics in the Arab world (and in many other parts of the world including Australia) as a European vogue. Most of the research, teaching and publications on AVT are carried out in Western Europe (Diaz-Cintas 2004). Even within Europe, AVT does not enjoy an equal status with the balance shifting rather convincingly towards the western part of the continent (Nicolic: 2010). Audiovisual translation, in its simplest form is concerned with the creation, consumption and reception of translation over a screen. In this regard, every country could be said to have ‘practiced’ screen translation since the invention of cinema, the introduction of talking films and the rise of subtitling and dubbing. Diaz-Cintas, Matamala and Neves concur “In principle, audiovisual translation is innate to humankind; people have been translating the audio/visual world which they live in from time immemorial. Every expression of art is, in its own way, a form of AVT” (2010: 13). However, screen translation (subtitling and dubbing) is only one aspect of the overall field of Audiovisual Translation that looks at other contexts such as audio-description, subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing, same language subtitling, games localisation, translation of the news bar on television, the rising specialisation of documentary translation in addition to a long list of other applications varying from the translation of corporate DVDs to digital culture and the online content industry. While the field of audiovisual translation has been formalized in Europe (although not without some debates regarding its very nature, specialisation and terminology) the rest of the world continues producing translation on screen oblivious to the field of AVT or wilfully turning its head away from the new discipline (Orero 2004). The situation in the Arab world has not been different: media companies have adapted to the digital age by purchasing the hard ware and meeting the rising demand for translation on screen (Gamal 2007a). As the title of this paper shows, it reflects on and refers to a research that began a decade ago that examines the emerging field of audiovisual translation and its context in Arabic. This paper attempts to align AVT to the pressing need for the creation of Arabic online content.

Screen translation

The digital age in the Arab world was ushered in with the CNN coverage of the Iraq war in 1991. Soon after that, the age of Open Skies began with satellite technology, cable TV and the emergence of Al Jazeera in 1996. The rapid proliferation of satellite channels in the Arab world led to the rising demand for subtitling as competing channels needed to subtitle foreign programs (mostly American) to fill in their air time (Gamal 2007b). Media companies specialising in subtitling mushroomed and met the demand. By 2002 the first remastered Egyptian films appeared on DVDs with English and French subtitles. The peculiar thing is that despite the increasing demand for subtitling there has been no formal or professional examination of the practice.

While translation as an academic subject is taught at every academic institution in the Arab world, the concept of audiovisual translation remains outlandish. There are several reasons for the apparent reluctance to espouse AVT. First, the complex nature of audiovisual translation as an academic subject which is different from traditional translation based on text only. Second, the cost associated with hardware and software required for the teaching and training. Third, and most significantly, is the lack of experience by the professors and senior teachers who are seen as luddites compared to their young students who grew up with Gameboys and Sony PS1, 2, 3 and Apple wonderful gadgets from iPods to iMacs, iPhones and iPads. In a region where population under 25 reaches 40%, the digital gap made the 'generation gap' far too obvious. The response to this digital revolution was not forthcoming from the translation departments but from the Faculty of Community Education at the American University in Cairo (AUC) that provides commercial courses. The first course was delivered as early as 1995. To date the AUC program on screen translation remains the only training program in the entire region and despite its pedagogic shortcomings it has been growing in strength meeting the demand in Egypt and the Gulf.

Background to the research

The paper reports on the state of audiovisual translation in Arabic which became my primary research as digital technology began to manifest its impact on language, culture, the media and the arts in Egypt since the mid-1990s (Gamal 2006a). The country presents a viable context for research for it has the oldest and perhaps the only viable cinema and television industry in the Arab world. It is also the most populous and its spoken dialect of Arabic provides the only true lingua franca that could be understood from Rabat to Ras Al Khaima. Therefore by examining the AVT situation in Egypt one could easily and fairly appreciate the situation in other Arab countries (Gamal 2006b). As the rise of satellite technology in the mid-nineties changed the media scene in the Arab world beyond recognition, the Arab population began to read less and to watch satellite screens more. Today there are more than 750 channels vying for the attention of Arabic-speaking viewers in the Middle East and as far away as Australia. The Internet and its new concepts of multimedia and infotainment equally affected the education system in Egypt and every Arab country. Digital technology led to applications never before thought imaginable and today visual culture is fast replacing print culture as more and more publications cease their print version and go online. In order to appreciate the impact of the technological change one has also to be mindful of the 'negative' effects globalisation brought to economies that have limited resources, suffer from chronic public sector centralisation, mismanagement, inefficient planning and most significantly a youthful population.

In a previous research (Gamal 2004, 2006a, 2006b), I examined the situation in the Arab world and identified some issues and challenges that audiovisual translation

could tackle. The precondition was, and still is, that Arab academia espouses AVT and dedicates courses and degrees to the examination of translation and the computer. As this has not happened, the genre of AVT has not been discussed or debated at conferences that continue to be mostly repetitive insisting on the same topics that obviously reflect the research interests of the organisers. Although the concept of Screen Translation was adopted in Egypt as early as 1995 when the American University in Cairo offered the first training courses on Screen Translation, no translation conference in the entire Arab world has dedicated a session to the examination of audiovisual translation in Arabic (Gamal 2008). It is insightful to observe that the Arab world has been watching subtitled programs for over eighty years now and yet the professional activity of subtitling foreign programs into Arabic has never been academically or professionally examined. The only academic research on subtitling focuses primarily on the subtitling of foreign programs *into* Arabic and in this respect is narrowly examined from a sociolinguistic angle such as the “translation” of swear words into Arabic and the like. It is equally insightful to note that, to date, the number of researchers who published more than two papers on Arabic audiovisual translation can be counted on only two fingers.

The training program at the American University in Cairo (AUC) has been running now for almost two decades and is by far the largest in the Arab world. However, it has not developed into a full-fledged program that examines audiovisual translation in the broad sense of the word and confines its academic interest in and ‘commercial focus’ on subtitling. The AUC experience in teaching and training Egyptian and Arab subtitlers is worth examining due to its professional impact: its trainers are practitioners, the practitioners are self-made gaining their experience at media companies that responded to the demand for subtitling, its graduates are snapped up by the proliferating TV channels in Egypt and in media cities in Abu Dhabi, Cairo and Dubai.

In another paper that examines the role of audiovisual translation in emerging economies (Gamal 2010a) the relevance of AVT is foregrounded. Reflecting on the situation in the Arab world, the significant observation has been the lack of interest by academia in the changing nature of how translation is created, consumed and received. By the end of the first decade of the 21st Century translation has gone completely online: from pdf files to electronic dictionaries and is delivered by email or posted online. Translation is thus received instantly and is consumed on a screen. A considerable number of files are multimodal including not only text but images, graphics, music, audio and video and this is the *raison d’être* of audiovisual translation (Gambier 2003). It is not just TV drama, films or documentaries but a lot more than filmic material. AVT is concerned with a new concept of *infotainment* a term which has not gained an equivalent in Arabic as yet (Gamal 2010c).

The scope of 'AVT in Arabic v.03'

'AVT in Arabic v.03' builds on over 30 research papers and book chapters dedicated to the examination of audiovisual translation in Arabic with a focus on the numerous applications of AVT. The theoretical underpinnings of this literature is that AVT is a lot wider than screen translation and is a lot more than just translating two lines of text and adding them to the filmic material. One of the major observations and indeed conclusions in the research is the serious lack of interest in AVT by academic institutions, culture bodies and the translation industry in Egypt. This is despite some attempts by prominent organisations such as the Library of Alexandria, the Ministry of Culture Report on Digital Culture in Egypt (2005) and the Alexandria Conferences on Digital Culture in 2009 and 2011 to enrich and examine Arabic online content. The literature maintains that AVT can contribute to the economy, culture, education, community education, tourism and good governance. The present paper focuses on some challenges brought about by digital technology that could be met by audiovisual translation policies. In an earlier paper in this forum (Gamal: 2010c) the idea of a national AVT policy is discussed which presupposes academic specialisation and government appreciation and interest in the powerful impact the new format translation has taken. In most of my publications over the past decade I cite relevant incidents and experiences that could have been handled differently (and often better) had an expert in AVT been consulted!

In this paper, I shall focus on the impact digital technology has on Arabic and Arab culture and how audiovisual translation can contribute to the cultural change.

Social media

When Facebook was launched in 2004 it was confined to the US and particularly students and academics. Within five years the world's largest social media network launched its Arabic service in March 2009 and announced 900,000 subscribers in Egypt, 250,000 in Saudi Arabia and 300,000 in Lebanon. Social media took the Arab world by storm and particularly among the young. By June 2010, the membership reached 15 million. Prior to the social upheavals in January 2011 that toppled the governments of Tunisia and Egypt there was very little government presence on Facebook. To appreciate the role and impact social media exerts one has to remember that during the Egyptian Revolution the government had to sever the Internet to stop protestors communicating via Facebook. When the Egyptian president stepped down and the Military took charge of the country the first thing it did was to establish its presence on Facebook. Naturally, Arabic subscription on Facebook doubled within a year (2011) and by June 2012 trebled to 45.2 million (Alanba 2012). Facebook is now regarded as a tool that brought about the demise of governments and helped usher in a new age of citizen media in the Arab world. The impact of social media in a society that still has a high level of alphabetic illiteracy is debatable. Apart from the

proverbial generation gap, there is now the social media gap between an older generation that grew up with the print media and the younger one that is growing with digital, audiovisual and multimodal media.

One of the features Facebook, and other smart technology gadgets helped bring about is youthful language. While this is not new, as the young will always develop their own language with every generation the situation here is different. The youthful language designed and deployed by young Egyptians (and their peers in almost every other Arab society) has its own new alphabet that is based primarily on the Roman alphabet but with the introduction of some new characters for the unique Arabic phonemes that do not exist in English. This means that Arabic is now written in English and the new 'language' is referred to as *Arabish* or *Arabese*. Moreover, the written language has shifted towards the vernacular in a clear defiance of the respected and revered higher register of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). This sociolinguistic change affected other areas in the society and not just the young who make up 40% of the population. A large number of Egyptian publications, including some well-respected publications began to allow the vernacular not only to creep into the discourse but to invade the articles of the once revered publications such as the top government newspapers Al-Ahram and Al-Akhbar. These publications were known for their special writers who represented the intellectual icons of Egyptian culture in the fifties, sixties and seventies.

Mobile phones with texting, initially available only in English, helped promote the new youthful language with messages sent in the new Romanised form of Arabic with a primary focus on the vernacular. When smart phones allowed texting in Arabic some didn't bother to write in Arabic and continued with *Arabish*. The older generation found it difficult to read the vernacular which for centuries was the spoken form only and never in writing (except in the case of personal letters where the vernacular was 'sparingly' used to drive a point home but not as the register of choice).

The rising significance of the vernacular seems more serious than the introduction of *Arabish* which is likely to remain the domain of social media and texting among the young. However, as the young grow older they are keen to speak English and to use it in everyday parlance. This code mixing phenomenon is gaining much popularity and is held in good esteem even where the Arabic equivalent exists. The spread of foreign universities (American, British, French, German, Russian and Japanese) is also adding to the decline in the native interest in Arabic. These sociolinguistic developments have attracted the attention of language purists among other professionals who see it as a cultural invasion that is eroding culture, pride and the national language. As the use of Arabic by young native speakers is facing a serious challenge in the digital age the economic and political forces seem to be unwittingly doing very little to balance the shift towards English. Against this cultural tide, described by some as 'cultural invasion', a number of initiatives and societies have been established with the clear objective to "Protect and Preserve the Arabic language" in Lebanon, Abu Dhabi,

Qatar and Morocco. To this effect, Tunisian researcher Al-Hammar (2013) proposes a new government ministry for “Arabic language affairs”.

Arabic content

The digital age brought about the information superhighway which led to the creation of the information society and information economy. The concept is not without its obvious challenges if not limitations in a society that has a youthful population. For without digital education the youthful population will grow into unskilled labour and consequently high unemployment. Against this economic background, the lack of interest by the young in their native language has manifested itself so clearly in the poor percentage of Arabic content online. In 2002, a demographic study by the United Nations reported that the Arab population reached 300 million representing 4.5% of the world population. However, the Arab content on the Internet represents only 3 % of the global content. Al-Abtah (2012) reports that the majority of Arabic online content lies in social media and not websites. She quotes the president of the Arab Thought Organization (ATO) explaining “that the volume of electronic chat surpasses serious and useful information content”. Earlier in 2013, the ATO launched the largest project to examine the Arabic digital content (www.arabdigitalcontent.com). The low statistic does not tell the whole picture and to illustrate its seriousness one has to take the demographic profile of the Arab world against its economic power which is far from being healthy even with the much richer eastern region that depends largely on a diversified oil industry. The lack of Arabic-language content on the Internet deprives the Egyptian and Arab student, reader and researcher of information in their own language (Negm 2009). The alternative is to seek such information from a foreign source which will eventually have negative consequences on the thinking process and the way decisions are made. When the language of thinking is foreign to the local culture, ideas will clash with local norms and customs which will inevitably lead to unrest. The situation in the post-Arab spring in Tunisia and Egypt shows how the thinking process is imbalanced: there is a wide chasm between the elite and the masses, the government and the people, and the religious parties and the liberal ones. Due to decades of government controlled-media in the Arab world, the government - supplied content online has been slow and intermittent. In most Arab countries (except the United Arab Emirates) eGovernment remains a concept that needs time in order to gain efficiency, reliability and credibility. In Egypt, a large number of cultural and public sector organisations have no presence online. Most of government sites remain under construction for incredibly long periods and once established online their content, more often than not, remains static for years. Abdelqader (2007) reports that “the Arab Information Technology Association did not update its website for more than two years”. Some of the more active sites whether business or cultural lack the finesses of web design and updating. It would appear that web designers favour a frugal or austere design or have not updated their professional skills since completing their web design 101 course. Most of the Arabic content on the Internet is

provided by young individual contributors who lack the rudimentary skills of online publishing and their efforts are based on collecting data through ‘translating’ or ‘cut and paste’ techniques with little or no analysis or even critical presentation.

The much wider scope of audiovisual translation

The rising importance of the image in our life from advertising to Skype and the dominating role of the screen in almost everything we do from driving a car (GPS) to paying bills (eGovernment), purchasing books (Amazon.com), bidding for rare coins on Ebay, watching the latest 3D film at the cinema, delivering a PowerPoint presentation at conferences or simply reading email on a smart phone, all these activities require a screen (Deek 2010). There are four major screens that share our attention: television, cinema, computer and the smart phone. One of the prominent features of digital technology is the multimodal nature of discourse where the image is combined with audio, colour, text and video. The concept of multimedia dates back to the mid-nineties and it produced the concept of infotainment and edutainment which led to the production of educational programs on CDs. With the advent of the DVD technology in 1998, documentaries became popular in the new age of edutainment. These developments were not reflected in the Egyptian translation curricula which remained largely paper-based leaving digital knowledge and online research to the individual initiative and economic power of the student. It is little surprise that the term ‘infotainment’ has not won currency in Arabic and the concept remains foreign (Gaber 2012). One of the many reasons that explain the absence of the infotainment concept in Arabic is that audiovisual translation is understood to mean only subtitling and dubbing.

Audiovisual translation needs to be examined on a much broader level that examines not only the polysemiotic nature of the audiovisual text but brings in the multi-disciplinary impact of the overarching term ‘audiovisual translation’. In other words, AVT must be seen as an umbrella term that brings translation, digital technology, computer skills, sociology, digital culture, theoretical and applied linguistics, online content industry and film literacy under one roof in order to bring about the desired effect (Shabloul 2009). This fact needs to be firmly established through the examination of real life practices, incidents and events illustrating the much wider scope of audiovisual translation and the obvious need to make AVT a discipline *sui generis* taught at translation schools and debated at translation and digital culture conferences in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world.

Applied audiovisual translation studies

Over the past twenty years, the media in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world nonchalantly reported on incidents and events that had a direct AVT element. For

instance, the decision by Saudi authorities to postpone the opening of public cinemas in the kingdom, the decision to ban Pokémon games and the lack of any audiovisual solutions to the Danish cartoon attack on the highest symbol in Islam were not examined by audiovisual scholars. Such examination would study the sociolinguistic aspects of the decisions and suggest some practical options utilizing digital technology. Likewise, the nomination of Baghdad as the Arab City of Culture in 2013 remains an elitist and a ceremonial event that does not engage the ordinary citizen or the average foreigner interested in the local culture. Audiovisual researchers can and should debate the activity that began in 1996 with Cairo and has failed to produce a multilingual DVD or web site for the eighteen culture cities nominated so far (Gamal 2010d). The Egyptian Football Association's failed bid for the 2010 World Cup held in Zurich in May 2004 is a classic example that warrants close examination. As Egypt failed to get any votes for her bid, the scandal became known in Egypt as 'Zero el Mundial' (the World Cup zero) and was widely reported in the media. Essentially, the whole exercise was an audiovisual translation failure par excellence. The new style of audiovisual presentation was simply left to amateurs who had very limited understanding of the composite nature of multimodal texts. Curiously, the incident received very little attention by Egyptian AVT scholars. Similarly, the New Seven Wonders competitions held in 2007 and 2011 provided unique marketing opportunities for the Pyramids, the Petra Monuments and the Jeita Caves in Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon respectively. However, the marketing opportunity was misunderstood, mismanaged and missed by the cultural authorities in the three countries who were unable to engage with the digital medium and its culture. The rise and demise of the Egyptian DVD subtitling industry is perhaps the best case-study to examine how audiovisual translation needs investment, training and the political will to usher in the age of audiovisual translation (Gamal 2010b). The current policy of leaving audiovisual translation to market forces, individual initiatives or treating it as a vogue or an added expense will cost Egyptian and Arab culture a great deal. There is a dire need to develop and train a generation of audiovisual translators who are capable of translating multimodal texts and are fluent in the new language of digital technology.

Digital Culture in Egypt

A study commissioned by the Supreme Council of Culture in 2005 warned against the dangerous state of Arabic-language sites online and their 'weak' content. It called for training in digital culture, widening the base of experts in web design and a state-sponsored initiative to encourage the enriching of the Arabic content online. This study coincided with the efforts by the Library of Alexandria which also embarked on adding more Egyptian and Arabic-language books online. Libya organized the first ever conference on Digital Culture in 2007 and called for organized efforts to meet the digital challenge. However, the Alexandria Conference on digital culture has established itself as the major gathering for online writers, digital culture experts,

policy makers, internet publishers and is attended by scholars from Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan (Gaber 2011). The Alexandria Conference, first held in October 2009 then December 2011, has enjoyed the patronage of the Egyptian Ministry of Culture and the support of the Arab eWriters Union (based in Amman) has one strategic feature: it holds a monthly meeting to discuss digital culture issues and developments. This arrangement is a commendable practice for the domestication of the concept and a guarantee that the Conference develops into a lot more than a theoretical forum. The first two conferences examined some very relevant issues and listened to presentations by scholars in the field who participated in drafting the recommendations for each conference. However, there is one aspect that is seriously lacking: audiovisual translation!

Participants listened to speakers highlighting some of the facts: that the prime force behind the creation and consumption of digital content is the young. However, the young's focus has been clearly more on entertainment than on information or education (Gamal 2010b). That their modus operandi is invariably 'translating' or 'cutting & pasting' from other sources and that they lack the basic skills of online presentation. In view of the above, and assuming that the ultimate goal is to enrich the Arabic content online, then the examination of audiovisual translation as a form of translating and presenting information on a screen in ways that are suitable for young adults must be added to the streams tackled by the Third Alexandria Conference on Digital Culture to be held in December 2013.

Conclusion

The issue of the Arabic digital content is not only relevant but is also urgent and is being tackled by several institutions in a number of Arab countries. Initiatives from large institutions such as the Library of Alexandria and the forthcoming King Abdelaziz Centre for World Culture (to be opened in 2015), the Arab Thought Organisation (based in Beirut) as well as the biannual conference in Alexandria on Digital Culture pave the way for the examination of ways and techniques to enrich the Arabic content online (Mohamed 2013). However, there is a need to examine the enabling skills (audiovisual translation, multimedia authoring, project management, etc.) that actually promote the tools (web design, online publishing, intellectual property, etc.) that contribute to the content.

The paper looks at the issue of online content from the production aspects and argues that the Arabic online content needs to be formulated into an industry with a strong theoretical framework, actual academic programs and a national organisation that possess a clear agenda and objectives. Also, there is no denying that some efforts in the Arab world are being duplicated with more than one organisation examining or doing the same issue (from research to encyclopaedia production to digitization of the same books). In the print-based age, the slow pace led to duplication as

communication, project management and research were undeveloped. However, in the digital age, the pace should be a lot faster with better research, communication and policy making skills. The youth need to see policymakers not only speak the language of today but are a step or two ahead in the fast-changing digital age. To this effect, 'AVT in the Arab world v.03', serves as a periodic report that examines the scope of audiovisual translation in the Arab world and points to the increasing applications the new specialisation has for a dynamic culture with a youthful population.

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Ethics and Globalization in the Light of Hinduism

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For the civilized society, spiritual moral and cultural development of mankind is of supreme importance. With the growth of science and technology spirituality started declining. Science strengthens the rationality, knowledge of universe, medicine and health while Religion is for the heart and mental health. Society is no machine to be known by its engine and gears or by its brand or company; it is made up of a unique species called as human being. They are individuals and because of their individuality, they are said to be unique. Human behavior is still a matter of research for the scientists all over the world as it is the ultimate outcome of many factors as genetics, circumstantial, psychological, social and emotional impacts. Human beings with positive qualities are asset to the nation. In this modern world of consumerism, materialism and globalization the societies are facing the problems on cultural and ethical issues. The world needs to have an orientation on the above issues. We need to shift our paradigm from worldliness to spirituality. But who will offer this orientation? Who will build the cultural and spiritual foundation for mankind? Of course religion provides the code of conduct for human beings. This paper is an attempt to visualize the current ethical issues in the light of Hinduism as we firmly believe that The *Bhagvad Gita* , the essence of *vedic* wisdom, provides the answer to the ethical issues.

Hinduism is the oldest of world's religion and the most diverse. The Gita explains the five basic truths to the living entities:- i) Jivas (living entities) ii) ishvara (the controller of the jivas) iii) prakriti (Material world) iv) Time (duration of existence of the material world v) karma (activity) . It believes in *reincarnation* and *Karma* (action). According to *Brihadaranyaka* , *Dharma means pure reality*. It is law, in harmony and order with the creator of the world *Brahman and the state of Brahma is satchidanand that means a state of pure truth, consciousness and bliss*. All Embodied souls are born in the state of *satchidanand* and it is the purest state of soul similar to Supreme soul. *Dharma* is nothing but the way of life. It is the philosophy which we follow throughout our life. According to the first President of India Dr Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan Hinduism cannot be defined but it can only be experienced. In Hinduism *Dharma* is nothing but the way of life. It is the philosophy which we follow throughout our life. In Hinduism *Dharma* regulates the conduct, action, intentions and dealings of the mankind. The basic foundation of Hinduism is Sacrifice and Detachment from worldly pleasures. The age of materialism and consumerism engrosses the mankind in worldly pleasures and indulges the mankind in lust, greed and anger. These three are considered to be the gates of Hell according to the scriptures. Ethical behavior is the necessity of modern world full of corruption. Felony and misdemeanor is prevailing all over the world. Earlier times, the leaders were men of words, but now a days leaders do not hesitate breaking their own promises. There is a need for ethics in politics as well as economy. Ethical failure is a universal phenomenon and needs correction. The world needs a vision, a kind of orientation to curb the ethical downfall. The world is now in the dungeon of skepticism. Socially conscious leadership is the need of time. The world has lost peace of mind and contentment.

Hindu Idea of Globalization- The world globalization has many dimensions. It can be used with multitude meanings. It also refers to the interconnectedness of trade,

commerce, technology and economy. Because of globalization the world has come closer. Today the term globalization has not limited to trade or commerce, to science and technology but it has overshadowed the cultures of the world. According to the Hindu scripture *Maha Upanishada*, the idea of universal family is clearly defined.

Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam (Sanskrit: वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्. from "vasudha", the earth; "iva" = is as a; and "kutumbakam", family;) is a Sanskrit phrase [1] that means that the whole world is one single family.

The original verse is contained in *the Mahopanishad* VI.71-73. Subsequent *shlokas*/verses go on to say that those who have no attachments go on to find the *Brahman* (the one supreme, universal Spirit that is the origin and support of the phenomenal universe).

udAraH peshalAchAraH sarvAchArAnuvR^ittimAn |
antaH-sa^Nga-parityAgI bahiH saMbharavAniva |
antarvairAgyamAdAya bahirAshonmukhehitaH ||70||
ayaM bandhurayaM neti gaNana laghuchetasAm |
udAracharitanAm tu vasudhaiva kuTumbakam ||71||
bhAvAbhAva vinirmuktaM jarAmaraNavarjitaM |
prashAnta kalanArabhyaM nIrAgaM padamAshR^aya ||72||
eSA brAmhI sthitiH svachchA niShkAmA vigatAmaya |
AdAya viharannevaM saMkaTeShu na muhyati ||73||
(Mahopanishad- VI.70-73)

The above text is describing the '*lakShaNā*' (characteristics) and behaviour of great men who are elevated to the coveted *brAmhI sthiti* (one who has attained Brahman while still alive. The above says: अयं बन्धुरयं नेतृगिणना लघुचेतसां | उदारचरितानां तु वसुधैव कुटुम्बकं || ”

ayam bandhurayam neti ganana laghuchetasam | udaracharitanam tu vasudhaiva kutumbakam ||

Only small men discriminate saying: One is a relative; the other is a stranger. For those who live magnanimously, the entire world constitutes but a family.

The above verse is also found V.3.37 of Panchatantra (3rd c. BCE), in the in 1.3.71 of Hitopadesha - (12th c. CE).[1]

The statement is not just about peace and harmony among the societies in the world, but also about a truth that somehow the whole world has to live together like a family. This is the reason why Hindus think that any power in the world, big or small cannot have its own way, disregarding others. Hinduism thus believes in the concept of world as a family and universal brotherhood. It gives freedom of worship and belief. It

believes that all embodied soul (self) and the Supreme Soul (God) are identical, hence for Hindus, all the embodied souls, are brothers.

The Bhagvad Gita describes the two kinds of created beings- Divine and Demonic or nondivine. Demonic qualities are seen in most of the politicians and when the politicians are demonic then the demonic qualities percolates down to the common men. Demonic qualities get authorization by power. The Demoniatic do not know what is the purpose of their existence. They are not clean, in their thought actions and deeds, truthful and well behaved. Pride, anger, conceit, greed and harshness are the demonic qualities. *The Bhagvad Gita*

dambho darpo 'bhimānaś ca

krodhaḥ pārūṣyam eva ca

ajñānaṁ cābhijātasya

pārtha sampadam āsurīm

SYNONYMS

dambhaḥ — pride; *darpaḥ* — arrogance; *abhimānaḥ* — conceit; *ca* — and; *krodhaḥ* — anger; *pārūṣyam* — harshness; *eva* — certainly; *ca* — and; *ajñānam* — ignorance; *ca* — and; *abhijātasya* — of one who is born of; *pārtha* — O son of Pṛthā; *sampadam* — the qualities; *āsurīm* — the demoniac nature.[2]

This modern world is crowded with demoniac so as to create ethical society we need to understand sublime divine qualities-

<http://catholic-resources.org/Bible/Epistles-VirtuesVices.htm>

Virtues and vices according to the Bible

Capital/Deadly Sins:

pride/arrogance-superbia

avarice/greed-avaritia

envy/jealousy-invidia

wrath/anger-ira

lust/impurity-luxuria

gluttony/voracity-gula

sloth/laziness-acedia

Principal Virtues:

humility/modesty-humilitas

generosity/charity-liberalitas

kindness/gratitude-humanitas

patience/compassion-patientia

chastity/purity-castitas

temperance/moderation-temperantia

diligence/fervor-industria[3]

Paramitas (set of virtues) as per Buddhism-

Charity -- the key of charity and love immortal;

Uprightness -- the key of harmony in word and act;

Forbearance -- patience sweet, that nought can ruffle;

Dispassion -- indifference to pleasure and to pain;

Dauntlessness -- the dauntless energy that fights its way to the supernal truth;

Contemplation -- the open doorway to truth.[4]

<http://www.theosophy-nw.org/theosnw/world/asia/rel-jal2.htm>

Noble qualities mentioned in the Quran-

Truthfulness-(IX: 119)

Trustworthiness-(IV: 58)

Justice-(XVI : 19)

Self restrain-(III: 134)

Gentleness of speech-(II: 83)

Humility - (XXXVIII: 83)

Sincerity, Courage and Fortitude - (III: 146). (II: 153)[5]

<http://www.al-islam.edu.pk/whatisislam/goodmaner.htm>

When compared, most of the religions preach the inculcation of similar virtues for the well being of mankind.

Twenty Six Virtues (Divine Qualities) as mentioned in the Bhagvad Gita-

The Bhagvad Gita is a song of God or a message of spiritual wisdom given by Lord Krishna. It is the subtle and accurate presentation of Vedic Knowledge. It explains the purpose of human existence in this material world. The Bhagvad Gita reveals the secrets of Birth and Death, result of karma, eternal soul, the purpose of human existence. The Gita with its timeless wisdom is relevant in this age also. It provides awareness of the eternity of soul to the mankind. The aim of the Bhagvad Gita is to

release the mankind from the ignorance of material existence. Our life is full of anxieties as we live in the world of non existence. We are put in this temporary material world because of our Karma or Action. Whatever the happiness and suffering we experience it is the ultimate result of our Karma. Message of the Gita is delivered because Arjun's dilemma was the biggest of all. He had to make a choice between fighting the war and killing his most revered guru, very dear friends, close relatives, and many innocent warriors, or running away from the battlefield for the sake of preserving the peace and nonviolence. Arjuna was reluctant to perform his duty as a warrior. As the message is imparted to the eternal individual (Arjuna) by the eternal Reality (Krishna), the teaching is also eternal. 5000 years ago Lord Krishna outlines 26 qualities of a gentleman –

śrī-bhagavān uvāca

abhayaṁ sattva-saṁśuddhir

jñāna-yoga-vyavasthitih

dānaṁdamaś ca yajñāś ca

svādhyāyas tapa ārjavam

ahiṁsā satyam akrodhas

tyāgaḥ śāntir apaiśunam

dayā bhūteṣv aloluptvaṁ

mārdavaṁ hrīr acāpalam

tejaḥ kṣamā dhṛtiḥ śaucam

adroho nāti-mānitā

bhavanti sampadaṁ daivīm

abhijātasya bhārata

śrī-bhagavān uvāca — the Supreme Personality of Godhead said; abhayaṁ — fearlessness; sattva-saṁśuddhiḥ — purification of one's existence; jñāna — in knowledge; yoga — of linking up; vyavasthitih — the situation; dānam — charity; damaḥ — controlling the mind; ca — and; yajñāḥ — performance of sacrifice; ca — and; svādhyāyaḥ — study of Vedic literature; tapaḥ — austerity; ā rjavam — simplicity; ahiṁsā — nonviolence; satyam — truthfulness; akrodhaḥ — freedom from anger; tyāgaḥ — renunciation; śāntih — tranquillity; apaiśunam — aversion to fault-finding; dayā — mercy; bhūteṣu — towards all living entities; aloluptvam — freedom from greed; mārdavam — gentleness; hrīḥ — modesty; acāpalam — determination; tejaḥ — vigor; kṣamā — forgiveness; dhṛtiḥ — fortitude; śaucam — cleanliness; adrohaḥ — freedom from envy; na — not; ati-mānitā — expectation of honor; bhavanti — are; sampadam — the qualities; daivīm — the transcendental nature; abhijātasya — of one who is born of; bhārata — O son of Bharata [6]

i) Fearlessness ii) Purification of one's existence iii) Cultivation of spiritual knowledge iv) Charity v) Self-control vi) Performance of sacrifice vii) Study of

Scriptures (Vedas) viii) Austerity ix) Simplicity x) Non-violence xi) Truthfulness xii) Freedom from anger xiii) Renunciation xiv) Tranquility xv) Abstaining from slanders xvi) Compassion for the living world xvii) Freedom from covetousness xviii) Gentleness xix) Modesty xx) Steady determination xxi) Vigor xxii) Forgiveness xxiii) Fortitude xxiv) Cleanliness xxv) Freedom from envy xxvi) Freedom from Passion.

i) Fearlessness- Fearlessness is the first divine quality as it is the foundation of spirituality. Fear creates physical, mental and spiritual disturbances and embodied soul concentrates on ego and the object of fear. According to Hindu scripture there are two types of fear- a. External b. Internal. External fear is from external factors such as thieves, robbers snakes etc. also the fear of injury , fear of losing loved ones and friends, fear of breaking and challenging tradition and value system, and fear of breaking code of conduct contribute to external fear.

Internal Fear- i) Fear created by even thought of injustice and immorality.

ii) Fear arising out of impure or bad intentions.

Complete surrender to god brings fearlessness. It means to have complete faith in god, in his wisdom, in his justice and his presence.

ii) Purification of one's existence –(Satvasamshuddhi)-The Gita Says that the embodied souls can possess the transcendental qualities which are required to create an ethical society. Purity of thought, mind and emotions is called *satvasamshuddhi* Love for the supreme soul and detachment from the worldly pleasures brings purification of soul. When embodied soul gets indulge into conspiracy, dishonesty in business, profession and politics then the soul gets impure. Even if the person commits a mistake unknowingly and blames others then also the soul gets contaminated.

iii) Cultivation of spiritual knowledge-(*Jnanyogayavasthiti*)- Yoga here is a state of mind which remains undisturbed or unperturbed in success and failure, praise and condemnation, sorrow and happiness. It is the quality of human being to be engaged in the cultivation of knowledge, being in the state of spiritual advancement.

iv) Charity- *Danam*- Charity is considered to be the supreme quality of the mankind. There are different types of *Danam* for instance, *Gau danam* (cow donation), *Bhudanam* (Land donation), *annah danam* (food donation), *Vastra danam* (Clothes donation) and *Swarnadanam* (gold donation) but the most sublime is to donate fearlessness (*abhaya danam*). Charity given without expecting anything in return at proper time and place, to a person who is worthy of it is considered to be in the mode of goodness (*satvaguni danam*) But Charity performed with an expectation in return with some desire or vested interest or with unwillingness, is said to be charity in the mode of passion (*rajoguni danam*) and the charity performed at improper time , at impure place and to an undeserving person without proper intention is said to be the charity in the mode of ignorance.

dātavyam iti yad dānam

dīyate 'nupakāriṇe

deśe kāleca pātre ca

tad dānaṁ sāttvikam smṛtam

dātavyam — worth giving; iti — thus; yat — that which; dānam — charity; dīyate — is given; anupakāriṇe — irrespective of return; deśe — in a proper place; kāle — at a proper time; ca — also; pātre — to a suitable person; ca — and; tat — that; dānam — charity; sāttvikam — in the mode of goodness; smṛtam — is considered (The Bhagvad Gita chapter 17-20:21:22) [7]

Charity is giving donations to a person who has never given anything to you. Fearlessness can also be given as a charity, which is one of the noblest charity.

v) Self control- *Dama- Dama* means having a complete self control over body mind, material senses and thought. *Dama* means complete control over body mind and intelligence. Observing *Dama* is essential for the purification of one's existence. Self control includes non egotism and selfless acts.

vi) Performance of sacrifice-*Yajnan-* It is to scarify our ego and selfishness. Well being of others is on the priority. All actions are to be performed by the embodied soul for the sake of god. Service to the parent, teachers and spiritual teachers is included in *Yajnan*.

vii) Study of scriptures- *Swadhyaya-* Reading of Holy Scriptures and act on the principles of Dharma to attain sublime goal of life is *Swadhyaya*. It is a study of understanding oneself by the reading of scriptures. Reading of scripture gives knowledge and knowledge brings self awareness.

viii) Penance or Austerity- *Tapa-* It includes detachment of mind from gratification of senses. The root cause of unhappiness is gratification of senses. *Tapa* performed with simplicity of mind and observing silence bring out austerity of mind.

ix) Rectitude- *Arjavam-* It is the simplicity in words, thoughts and deeds.

x) Non-Violence- *Ahimsa-* Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation, has strongly advocated the principles of Non –violence (*ahimsa*) It means not to hurt anyone physically or by our speech and thoughts. When a person gets detached from this material world, walks on the path of *ahimsa*, Non Violence.

xi) Truth-*Satyam-* Here Truth means to say the things based on facts and reality scarifying our selfish motives. We must not distort the truth for personal interests. Truth is subjective, objective, relative and absolute hence here the term absolute truth is most appropriate as it synonym to God. Absolute truth is unconditional acceptance of reality.

xii) Anger Control- *Akrodha-* Anger is the worst pollutant for the pure soul. Anger is an ultimate result of the unfulfilled expectations. Anger takes away our power of reasoning. Anger is like a fire which burns the person who is angry.

xiii) Peace of mind – *Shanti-* It is a state of mind which is freed from anger, envy jealousy with the world outside. It is a state of calmness, bliss and tranquility not corrupted by the vices.

xiv) Abstaining from Slanders- *Apaisunam*- This is one of the significant qualities for character building. We must not find faults in others as we have to inculcate divine godly qualities in ourselves.

xv) Renunciation- *Tyag*- *Tyag* means aversion from worldly pleasures. While living in the world of non existence or illusion we must keep ourselves detached from inside. Our desires are the cause of our suffering into this world. We must not have any desire for the worldly and sensual pleasures. One has to renounce the fruit of action.

xvi) Compassion- *Daya*- Compassion is the fundamental quality of the character. It means to develop empathy, sensitive approach and non callousness towards other living entities. It is to foster kind attitude towards weak and suffering living entities and not to be cruel and abusive.

xvii) Freedom from Covetousness- *Alolupatvam*- mankind should be vigilant towards its covetousness for worldly pleasures. It is to get oneself free from greed. It is to get rid of the desire to possess in excess what is not required or needed. It is a strong desire to possess material wealth. *Alolupatvam* is to detach oneself from this desire.

xviii) Gentleness of thought and action- *Mardavam*- It is a quality to be gentle and kind to even those who have deliberately hurt you by their action or words. It is one of the divine qualities. *Mardavam* means not to be harsh but provide a strong hand of support with a soft touch of humanity. It is to support and help weak with compassion and mercy. It is to be gentle with the ill-wishers also. It is to possess an amiable disposition, to be considerate and kind.

xix) Modesty- *Hrih*- It is the absence of boastfulness or vanity. It is a feeling of shame to the thought which is inappropriate, unjust or against the code of conduct.

xx) Absence of agitation- *Apacalam*- It is the determination against the temptations one has to confront while living in this material world.

xxi) Vigour- *Tej*- It means power or strength to help those needing protection. It also means luster or radiance emitted by spiritual practice. It is the divine quality acquired only with the purity of intentions and thoughts.

xxii) Forgiveness- *Kshama*- It is the non revengeful attitude towards one's offenders. *Kshama* is considered to be the highest virtues in most of the religions. It is very difficult to forget and forgive. Forgiveness ultimately results in peace of mind. With forgiveness one can get rid of anger, the worst enemy of mankind.

xxiii) Fortitude- *Dhritih*- It is a steady state of mind in enduring duress and having courage and capacity to defend righteousness.

xxiv) Cleanliness- *Shoucham*- It is to be pure internally and externally so as to be spiritually worthy. In this corrupt world this is one of the rarest qualities of the mankind but one of the finest virtues.

xxv) Absence of Malice- *Adroha*- It is absence of envy. It is to adopt non interfering attitude in the interest of others. Like anger envy causes internal damage to the personality. It makes the soul impure. *Adroha* helps in maintaining mental hygiene.

xxvi) Absence of false ego- *Na-atimanita*- It is the absence of pride and boastfulness. It is different from *Hrih* or modesty as it is not expecting honor from others. It is to adopt humbleness in spite of having strength, wealth, knowledge and power.

These qualities save mankind from ethical downfall. In the battlefield of Kurukshetra, Arjuna had an ethical dilemma, which all human beings experience at some or the other time. The root cause of our anxiety is material existence. These qualities are of utmost important when we see mafias turned in to politicians, criminals and muscle men are used to win elections, dacoits are contestants in elections, dozens of ministers having tainted records, capitalists exploiting labors and so on. Dictators and tyrants become successful only with the help of underworld. The pages of History are painted in the red color with the names of bloodthirsty villains who are hungry for power. Criminalization in politics and politicization of criminals has brought the globe on ethical downfall. The main objective of the Bhagvad Gita is to free mankind from the illusions of material existence and understand oneself and one's connection with the supreme soul. The Gita awakens the ignorant souls and make them aware of their existence in the non existing world. Those who follow these eternal ordinances are naturally endowed with the virtues. The divinity in mankind is activated by following these eternal time tested instructions of Lord Krishna and their actions and deeds will never be inappropriate.

iator

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*Of Irreverence and the Irrevocable – How Chinese Visual Artists Negotiate
Contemporary Monumental Architecture in Beijing*

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Abstract

This paper deals with two contemporary monumental buildings in Beijing, and how their meaning is visually negotiated by two Chinese photographers. Assuming that architecture, apart from its functional use, represents communication (Eco 1997), the aim is to inquire into how this communication is perceived and how meaning is attributed to architecture through artistic processes. A semiological perspective frames the analysis of the visual narratives and places the artworks within the wider discourse on architecture and societal developments in China. While it is assumed that there is no single explanation but rather a “horizon of meaning” in architecture (Lefebvre 2000, p.222), the paper attempts to single out some of the meanings ascribed to two iconic buildings in Beijing, namely the National Stadium (*Beijing Guojia tiyuchang* 北京国家体育场) and the National Centre for the Performing Arts (*Guojia dajuyuan* 国家大剧院) by looking at them through the idiosyncratic lenses of the Beijing-based photographers Liu Jiaxiang 刘家祥 (b. 1959) and Liu Jin 刘瑾 (b. 1971).

Introduction

The economic reforms which started in the late 1970s in China were accompanied by a building boom which gradually turned the country into the biggest construction site the world has ever seen. In Beijing, this process gained momentum in the wake of the 2008 Olympics which triggered an unremitting construction phase in the capital with no less than 20,000 development projects prior to the event (Dubrau 2010, pp.11–12). While in the 1980s, Beijing still featured large spaces of small alleys (*Hutongs* 胡同) and low-storey (quadrangle) houses (*Siheyuan* 四合院 or often *Dazayuan* 大院子), today, the city has irretrievably lost much of its vernacular architecture. Moreover between 1996 and 2008 an estimated 1 million inner-city residents had to be displaced to the outskirts to pave the way for vast urban redevelopment projects (Hsing 2010, p.4). The building frenzy has led to a steadily growing number of rather eclectic and aesthetically uninspiring high-rises. However, it also engendered the emergence of a number of spectacular buildings of cutting edge design and monumental grandeur, two of which will be discussed in this paper. The term *monumentality* is thereby invoked to denote a giant, durable and solemn structure in a public place, that employs devices of rhetoric, grandeur and symbolism (Curtis 1984, p.65; Wu 1995, p.1). These admittedly rather ambiguous definitions summarise a wider discourse on monumentality in architectural theory of which some ideas will be further expounded in this paper (See for instance Wu 1995; Curtis 1984; Choay 1984; Riegl [1903] 2004; Lefebvre [1974] 2000; Giedion [1956] 1984; Kahn 1971; Mumford 1938; Barthes [1964] 1997).

There is arguably little doubt about the monumental notion of Beijing's iconic buildings, which include mundane sports stadiums in the Olympic Park (such as the National Stadium and the National Aquatics Centre), pompous office towers in the Central Business District (such as the new headquarters of state broadcaster CCTV) or the Grand National Theatre in the political heart of the city. Umberto Eco (b. 1932) asks in his semiological analysis why architecture is a challenge to semiotics, the "science of signs." His answer is that most architectural objects are not designed to *communicate*, but designed to *function* (Eco 1997, p.182). The scale, the expenses and the extraordinary design of Beijing's iconic structures however, bear clear signs that functional considerations can not have been the only motivation for their inception. In China, just like in any country of the world, there is always a subtext to the monumental expression. That's why the sensational changes in the aesthetics of Beijing inevitably prompt reflections on the impetus behind this development.

Architecture has ever since been an instance of the production of locality as well as a tool for the homage to power (Appadurai 1996; Sudjic [2005] 2011). In contemporary China, too, architecture is used to stage the power of political as well as economic forces. On one hand, it is the state, who uses architecture to underline its claims to hegemony by showing pervasive

presence in the landscape (Broudehoux 2010). On the other hand, monumental architecture is also the expression of a globalised economy that is increasingly transforming Chinese cities into transnational spaces. The tallest (western-style) high-rises and biggest shopping malls are the material catalysts of corporate power and celebrate the commodity culture of global capitalism. It has even become essential to the survival of the modern Chinese city to capitalise on monumentality, in order to attract attention and funds through global events, world exhibitions, conferences and the like (Broudehoux 2010). Moreover, an alluring urban iconography fuels an upward development of property prices and proves beneficial to the construction sector. While the above mentioned factors can be applied to all urban parts of China, they attain particular importance in Beijing as capital city, where public space, its nomenclature and architectural symbols seek to wield the citizenry together in a collective, national identity.

Architecture as Spectacle

The Beijing National Stadium, popularly called the “Bird’s Nest” for its grid-like steel structure which resembles intertwined twigs, was inaugurated in 2008. Holding 80,000 permanent spectator seats and 11,000 temporary ones, the National Stadium was the most significant of the thirty-one venues arranged for the Olympic Summer Games that year. It is estimated that construction works had cost around 400 million US Dollar (Broudehoux 2007, p.385). The project was jointly designed between Swiss architects Jacques Herzog and Pierre de Meuron, both laureates of the prestigious Pritzker Prize in Architecture, who won the international bidding process launched by the national and city government (Ren 2011, p.140). Internationally popular Chinese artist Ai Weiwei 艾未未 (b. 1957) served as artistic consultant, yet later distanced himself from the project as he deemed the building to represent a “fake smile.” The stadium not only hosted the athletic and football competitions during the Olympic Summer Games in 2008 but also the remarkably spectacular opening and closing ceremonies. When the Games kicked off on August 8th, the Bird’s Nest was silhouetted by sumptuous fireworks, designed by one of China’s most prominent artists Cai Guoqiang 蔡国强 (b. 1957), acclaimed for his gunpowder paintings and pyrotechnical spectacles. The ensuing imposing show inside the stadium, orchestrated by film director Zhang Yimou 张艺谋 (b. 1951), then chronicled Chinese history and the country’s eminent inventions such as papermaking, the compass, gunpowder and printing celebrated China’s modernity (Leibold 2010, p.23). The awe-inspiring show underlined China’s re-emergence as an important power on the global stage, an orchestrated statement for which the Bird’s Nest was the setting and the epitome at the same time.

The representation of the Bird’s Nest in the photographic work of Liu Jiaxiang (Fig. 1) is a visual commentary on this architectural, Olympic mega-project. Liu (b. 1959) who lives and

works in Beijing, has been specialized in the field of advertisement photography where he was awarded a number of prizes. In 2008 his work took on more pronounced artistic traits and resulted in a series of digitally altered photographs which negotiate the meaning of some of the most iconic buildings and spaces in Beijing including the new headquarters of CCTV and Tiananmen Square.



Fig. 1

Similarly to other works in that series, the image is composed of three layers. In the rear we see a photograph of a building, here the Bird's Nest, while it is yet unfinished and surrounded by cranes and building material. The foreground is dominated by the shadows of a number of spectators who are shown from behind while they eagerly raise their arms to take photographs of the building with their mobile phones. The image of the stadium is reiterated on the numerous phone screens and its brightness is the only source of light among the black throng of onlookers. The background and the foreground are separated from top to bottom by a wired fence of the kind that is commonly used to impede trespassing.

In this image the Bird's Nest, even prior to its function as a sports stadium, conspicuously takes on an additional, communicative function. Still under construction, the stadium has already turned into a site sought by tourists with a zeal and enthusiasm resembling a pilgrimage. The people in the image gather as a frenetic crowd in front of the building, and the stark contrast of their black shadows bestows the scene with a comic book aesthetic and a sense of farcicality. Roland Barthes (1915-1980) observes in his semiological analysis of the Eiffel Tower in Paris that the tower, despite featuring a "zero degree of the monument," received each year twice as many visitors as the Louvre. The reason he identifies is that the tower was the crystallizer (rather than the true object) of a dream of which one could become part by visiting it (Barthes [1979] 1997, p.7). As a matter of fact, in 2005 "One world, one

dream (*tong yige shijie, tong yige mengxiang* 同一个世界, 同一个梦想)” became the Olympic slogan that the Beijing Organizing Committee had reformulated for the Games. They decided to change the initial motto of “New Beijing, Great Olympics (*Xin Beijing, xin aoyun* 新北京新奥运”, literally “New Beijing, new Olympics”). Alluding to a reinvention of the Olympics by the Chinese, the slogan was thought to be too pretentious and sinocentric. The reference to the unifying potential of the Olympics was a much wiser decision with respect to a global and local audience. Within China, the Olympics were a fortunate occasion for the government to advertise national cohesion which was urgently needed among a population increasingly dissatisfied over land right disputes, growing social inequalities, and widespread corruption (Broudehoux 2007, p.391). And it did so with much success. As happens in all countries, the Olympic Games tend to incite patriotism, pride and a sense of belonging. In Liu Jiaxiang’s photograph, too, a strong unifying conviction seems to unite the people who gather around the Olympic stadium. Yet their agitation, in which everyone seeks to get ahead of the next with their mobile phones, suggests a somewhat excessive ardour. This might hint at the fact that the Olympic euphoria in China took on increasingly nationalistic traits during the course of the preparations for the Games. The state media contributed to a nationalist sentiment, which was then warmly welcomed by large parts of the population. Many Chinese eagerly participated in rallies of red flag waving and patriotic song chanting and decided to quickly denigrate critics of the Olympics as traitors of the nation (Nyíri et al. 2010; Leibold 2010). The National Stadium became the site and the embodiment of this movement. In Liu Jiaxiang’s photograph, however, the mass of people perceives the National Stadium only as a re-mediated experience through their mobile phones. Liu thereby blurs the boundaries between the fictional and the actual, between the reified grand narrative and its ostracised clientele. It is interesting, that the individuals partaking in Liu’s agitated audience are not only separated from the building, they are also undistinguished and unidentified. Common in all works of the series, at the bottom of the image they merge into a black mass of disembodied individuals, who, seemingly devoid of a sense of self, frantically seek external reaffirmation in the Bird’s Nest symbolism of collective identity.

What many considered a contradiction, however, was the fact that the design of the National Stadium (just like all of the other representational buildings of that period) were awarded to foreign and not Chinese architects. This quest for an international branding of national status symbols has to be understood as an architectural image campaign seeking to underline the country’s internationalization and the refashioning of its capital into a global metropolis on an equal level to London or New York. The former Olympic slogan “New Beijing, Great Olympics” testifies to this ideal of a radical urban image makeover. It also reflects the Chinese infatuation with foreign products. This finds its most interesting expression in the westernization of Chinese life, such as roman-letter product names for utterly Chinese goods

(consumed by utterly Chinese consumers) or the promotion of Chinese fashion through Western photo models. The assumed supremacy of foreign quality is usually added to by the hope for an aura of self-assertive cosmopolitanism and social status. By exaggerating the excitement of the group, Liu Jiaxiang might therefore as well scrutinise the fetishization of the foreign, the transnational, represented by the foreign-designed Bird's Nest.

By separating the audience from the building by a fence, Liu moreover hints at issues of social polarization and exclusion which can not be separated from China's grandiloquent architecture. The construction works for the Olympics not only entailed relocations as well as forced evictions (Campanella 2008, p.130), but were moreover made possible by particularly low construction costs thanks to the immense and particularly cheap workforce of rural migrants. In 2010 there were approximately 275 million rural migrants throughout China (OECD 2013, p.86), many of whom sought to find work on urban construction sites in order to support the family in the poor countryside. These migrant workers help build the sumptuous urban image, but they are widely excluded from the perks and benefits the city provides, as they are not entitled to the household registration of the city (*hukou* 户口), which is the essential requirement to claim social benefits in China. The fence in Liu Jiaxiang's image is hence a metaphor for the social inequalities that characterise the Chinese society. These derive from an urban-rural divide, from the irreconcilable differences between the super rich and the poor within the cities as well as from the income disparities between Chinese regions. In the light of this social divide, we might assume that Liu Jiaxiang seeks to challenge the unifying symbolism of Beijing's national icon.

Appeasing Monumentality

The National Centre for the Performing Arts is a glass and titanium dome with three halls for opera, concerts and theatre performances and which has an overall number of 5,452 seats. Construction began in 1998 and was finished the year prior to the Olympic Games incurring estimated costs of almost 5 billion RMB [approx. 811 million US Dollar, 2013] (Yu 2013, p.233). The design competition for this project of national importance, moreover located in Beijing's centre of political power at the prestigious and historically important Chang'an Avenue, was won by a French architect, Paul Andreu who beat over sixty-eight other internationally well-known architects (Dawson 2005). Since its inception, the project was accompanied by a heated political and aesthetic controversy. This debate revolved around the implication of foreign architects in this representative national project and around the futuristic design which, according to its critics, stood in opposition to the traditional and socialist architectural styles of the neighbouring Forbidden City, Great Hall of the People and Tiananmen Square (Yu 2013, p.233). In his photography, entitled *National Theatre (Guojia dajuyuan 国家大剧院)*, 2008) (Fig. 2) Liu Jin delivers a visual commentary on the imposing monumentality of the building and its powerful, political narrative.

Liu Jin (b. 1971), originally from Jiangsu Province, moved to Beijing in 1996 after graduating from the Department of Arts and Crafts of Jiangsu Xuzhou Engineering Institute a year earlier. Apart from photography, he has worked in oil painting, sculpture and performance art and he has exhibited widely in China and abroad.



Fig. 2

The present image, a digitally altered photograph, is taken from the series *Injured Angel* (*Shoushang tianshi* 受□天使) which Liu Jin began working on in 2005. In that series, people wearing white and blood-stained angel wings are photographed amidst disconsolate Chinese cityscapes which range from scenes of urban destruction and rubble, processes of construction, to shiny, but soulless façades of the refashioned city. The angel thereby stands for the fragile individual and its basic human longing for happiness, freedom and justice (Liu 2013). In the photograph, the silver grey oval dome of the theatre takes centre stage and separates the light blue sky from the enormous grey concrete square in front of the theatre. Barely distinguishable, a miniaturised angel (the artist himself) is squatting on the square and contemplates the building amidst a dreary atmosphere of melancholy and solitude. The building's and the square's proportions appear falsely magnified as compared to their factual dimensions which, it seems, coerces the angel into the role of an impassive spectator. Liu Jin makes use of the antithetical spatial relationship of the miniaturized angel with the aggrandized building to reduce the human to insignificance and inferiority. For the artist, this visual disproportion stands metaphorically for the weakness and helplessness of the Chinese individual in the face of an overwhelmingly powerful state, a disequilibrium, he asserts, that had been topical throughout Chinese history (Liu, 2013). The absence of other people or life of any kind moreover bestows the scene with an uncanny tranquillity, only broken through by the turbulent movement of flying plastic bags and a broken Coca-Cola can. We are reminded of a moment prior to a thunderstorm when a strong wind announces the imminent change of a still deceptively blue sky. The strongest light emerges from the top of the building which endows the theatre with an unreal aura and which turns the scene into a poetic and dreamlike cityscape. Yet one feels deranged by the rubbish, and in particular by the Coca-Cola can which takes on a menacing character, as it could hit the unprotected, naked angel at any time. But despite the disturbance of the rubbish, the imposing grandeur and solidity of the building confers onto the image a sense of composure. Liu Jin's photograph almost seems to be a visualization of what Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991) described with respect to the totalizing power of monumental space, who said that,

“[t]o the degree that there are traces of violence and death, negativity and aggressiveness in social practice, the monumental work erases them and replaces them with a tranquil power and certitude (...). Thus the mortal moment or component of the sign is temporarily abolished in monumental space.” (Lefebvre [1974] 2000, p.222)

In this assertion Lefebvre carves out the appeasing facet of monumentality, which the state uses to seduce its followers as well as to intimidate its opponents (Broudehoux 2010). Lefebvre's conceptualization of monumentality with respect to death also reflects the (often

conflated) notion of the monument, whose function it is to commemorate, to underline existing social hierarchies and to vests ruling elites with an aura of permanence (Curtis 1984; Safdie 1984). Interestingly, the artist identifies a resemblance of the Grand National Theatre with ancient imperial tombs (Liu 2013). In the Western Han 西漢 (206 B.C.- 8 A.D.) for instance, small mountains were turned into necropolis and filled with lavish treasures for the afterlife of the deceased. While there are variations in the types of tombs built, some of them erected in the landscape in the form of oval hills, monumental mortuaries in the quest for immortality. The exorbitant expenses to endow and guard some of these tombs, however, were already in ancient times cause for controversy and dissent (Rawson 1999; Loewe 1992). Just like in contemporary China, in ancient times rulers chose for their monumental signifiers the most perceptible places. That's why as early as in the Qin 秦 (221-207 B.C.) and Western Han dynasties, ritual art which to date was stored in temples and tombs outside the urban cores, was then transferred to monumental palaces in the capital, in an attempt to exteriorise and visualise state power. (Wu 1995, p.78).

Liu Jin argues that many politicians in contemporary China still retained a sense of feudal reign, which showed that Chinese political culture was still substantially different from that of truly modern societies. For Liu, the Grand National Theatre is yet another symbol of an oppressive political power, which appears in the delusory guise of a theatre (Liu 2013). What might to some appear as an over-politicization of the built environment, gains immediate vindication when considering the history of the building. It was conceived at the outset of the Great Leap Forward in 1958 as the "National Theatre" and as such was part of the plan for the "Ten Great Buildings" (*Shi da jianzhu* 十大建筑) (Yu 2013, p.202). This public campaign was launched to prepare for the 10th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1959. It implied the construction of ten representational buildings of monumental grandeur in Beijing (including the Great Hall of the People and Beijing Railway Station), intended to communicate to the world socialist China's modern achievements through revolutionary architecture (Rowe & Kuan 2004, p.114). The idea to build the "National Theatre" was abandoned in 1959, seemingly due to the lack of funds and time. However planning continued over the years, until the theatre was eventually realised in 2007 (Yu 2013, p.204), still under the aegis of the same one-party state.

William Curtis, when he discusses the predicaments of 20th century monument creation in industrialised societies, argues that it was the common lack of a leading group that could claim a "divine sanction" which complicated the creation of monumental architecture. He also assumed that the difficulty to reach a consensus over common values further impeded monumental material signifiers (As discussed in Safdie 1984, 65). In contemporary China, former ideological values, which in the 1950s could still be epitomised by "Ten Great

Buildings,” have become void and are only feebly substituted by an erratic credo of economic development (Dirlik & Zhang 1997). However, the continuity of authoritarian politics enables the imposition of values and hence the creation of irrevocable monumental symbols. Liu’s inclusion of flying rubbish in the image is also a commentary on the economic development and the concomitant consumer culture in China, represented in particular by the symbolic Coca-Cola can. A rather unambiguous metaphor, in contemporary Chinese art it has been used in many different ways to criticise the growing influence of Western capitalism. In the 1990s for instance, Wang Guangyi 王广川 (b. 1957) juxtaposed the Coca-Cola logo with socialist realist images of the revolutionary past, whereas Ai Weiwei caused a scandal by painting the logo onto a Han dynasty urn. For Liu Jin, the remnants of this consumer culture contribute to a dramatic environmental degradation, a serious problem which has long been overlooked or only cursorily dealt with by politicians. The trope of the plastic bags derives from Liu’s reminiscences of the winter wind in Beijing which, as he remembers, used to carry all sorts of rubbish with it. The tremendous efforts undertaken to create an impeccable Beijing, ready for the Olympic Games, have considerably reduced the amount of litter in the inner city. But according to Liu, the problem has shifted to the outskirts which now feature horrifying spaces of growing waste dumps (Liu 2013). In his photographic imaginary, Liu Jin transports Beijing’s hidden waste back into the city centre, in an irreverent attempt to defy the irrevocable.

Concluding remarks

The review of the visual negotiations of monumental buildings and space in the works of Liu Jiaxiang and Liu Jin represent a little foray into the infinite “horizon” of architectural meaning. Despite the shared medium of digitally altered photography, both artists use different aesthetic devices to present their disentanglement of the buildings’ signification. Liu Jiaxiang’s iconoclastic approach uses stark visual contrasts and a cynical undertone to mock the idolatry of an unreflective citizenry. Attracted by the alluring iconography of the National Stadium, they opt to submerge amidst a mass of streamlined individuals. Unaware of the manipulation at stake and despite their factual exclusion from the sumptuousness of the building, the crowd in Liu Jiaxiang’s photograph still derives a sense of contentment in the form of a reassuring collective identity. Liu Jin, on the other hand, expresses his understanding of the monumental narrative with poetic subtlety and lyricism. Through the trope of the vulnerable body he creates an elegiac image of the Grand National Theatre hinting at issues of death, history and environmental degradation. By artificially distorting spatial relationships, he carves out the precariousness of the human condition in times of globalised markets and Chinese *realpolitik*. Both imagistic discourses revolve around the antagonistic relationship of the human and the architectural signifiers and carve out how, in

the light of an imposing monumentality, the individual is reduced to insignificance and urged to conformism.



Appendices

Figures

Fig. 1 Liu Jiayang 刘家祥, *Bird's Nest* (Niaochao 鸟巢), 2007, 80cmx169cm and 50cmx106cm, C-print.

Fig. 2 Liu Jin 刘瑾, *National Theater* (Guojia dajuyuan 国家大剧院), 2008, 160x306cm, C-print.

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Marginality in Negotiation: Emasculated Identity, Masculinities and Genre in Ang Lee's "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon" and "Brokeback Mountain"

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Abstract

In his discussion of framing in "The Parergon" and his notion of the supplement, Jacques Derrida theorises a legitimate place and role for marginality, which frames the condition of existence for that which constitutes the centre. With the mission of reinventing and re-examining the specific cultural aesthetics of film genres, which presume a certain transnational universalism across spatial-temporal boundaries, Ang Lee's oeuvre has rejuvenated and re-invigorated transnational cinema, as well as transnational canons and genres, while simultaneously also negotiating and adapting the traditional icons and images in new contexts. In *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000), the martial arts genre was endowed upon with a twist—the sweeping mood of the feminist love story in the social milieu of the mandarin literati gently replacing the lethal action of the sword. Once again, in 2005, twisting another genre that is revered in American history, the Western, Ang Lee created uproar with the homoerotic content that is an adaptation of Annie Proulx's short story, *Brokeback Mountain*. In art, form ameliorates delivery of content. The universality of form in subversion provides for a manoeuvre of challenging the conventions of the different forms of masculinity in the two films. In successfully employing the two film genres as a masquerade, challenging and breaking away with the conventions and reinventing the genres with new themes and visuals, Ang Lee has sabotaged the identity of both the Chinese knight-errant and the Western cowboy, undermining and marginalising their masculinities for a reinvention of new narrative meaning.

Keywords: marginality, masculinities, action film genre, the Western, Ang Lee

...It is of great interest to me that I do a lot of genre hopping. But I don't think I do straight genre films either—I mix them, I twist them. It must be a form that is just right to tell a particular story.--- Ang Lee (Berry 2005, p. 355)

This paper will focus on two films of Ang Lee, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000) and *Brokeback Mountain* (2005). While the two films each could be explicitly identified with an unmistakable genre—the martial arts film, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, and the Western that is *Brokeback Mountain*, Ang Lee has actually twisted both genres with his own rendition, employing both as a masquerade. The discussion here will centre on how the discursive strategies of Ang Lee have succeeded in subverting the dominant discourse and assumption of the universality, in this case, of film genres—how Ang Lee has managed to reinvent the canons and genres, and sabotaged the identity of both the Chinese knight-errant and the Western cowboy, meanwhile undermining and marginalising their masculinities for a reinvention of new narrative meaning.

In his discussion of framing and his notion of the supplement, Jacques Derrida theorises a legitimate place and role for marginality. Marginality, for Derrida, frames the condition of existence for that which constitutes the centre. Derrida concludes: “A parergon is against, beside, and above and beyond the *ergon*, the work accomplished, the accomplishment of the work. But it is not incidental: it is connected to and cooperates its operation from the outside” (Derrida 1979, p. 20). Meanwhile, Homi Bhabha proposes a way to rethink “the realm of the beyond”. By the notion of the beyond, he refers to the ‘in-between’ spaces, the interstices, which correspond to the position to negotiate strategies of cultural values and conventions that are typical of film genres. Bhabha writes in *The Location of Culture*,

What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These ‘in-between’ spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood—singular or communal—that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself.

Due to the performative nature of cultural activities, descending tradition and conventions are not necessarily pursued or attended to, but renewed and rewritten through the process of restaging the past. With the interstitial passage between fixed positions and identities, there is a possibility for differences without assumed universality—a cultural hybridity for new meaning that could become exciting and even subversive.

Genre is the method of film categorization founded on similarities in the narrative elements from which films are constructed. This is anchored in the steadfast belief of the assumed universality in the tradition of genres, a set of given meaning descended from the past in a fixed framework. In a discussion about genre, it is necessary to identify the intrinsic features of what constitute a genre. These intrinsic features are essentially narrative elements found in a film that could be categorized according to

their theme, setting, mood and even the target audience and format. The setting is the milieu or environment where the story and action takes place. The theme or topic refers to the issues or concepts that the film revolves around. The mood is the emotional tone of the film. Format refers to the way the film was shot or the manner of presentation.

Despite extensive research into film genres, film theorist Robert Stam has actually questioned the existence of genres, whether they are just constructed for the convenience of analysis. He even questions whether genres are “...timeless Platonic essences or ephemeral, time-bound entities? Are genres culture-bound or trans-cultural?” (Stam 2000, p. 14) In this quote, he has highlighted the most significant point in our discussion of genres, that of the mutability of genres. Ang Lee has capitalized on this mutability of genres and managed to make a particular genre work for him, and in the case of both *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, and *Brokeback Mountain*, to communicate his theme of repression, and, by marginalising the masculinities of the heroes, to demonstrate how this repression has demanded sacrifices in the central characters who pay a steep price for not surmounting the difficult choice of self-liberation.

In the original Mandarin term of the martial arts genre, “wu xia pian”, “wu” means “martial arts”, “xia” means “chivalry” or “knight-errant”, while “pian” stands for “films” (Sek 1994, 2001). In martial arts films, the characters usually are knight-errants who belong to various sects, clans, or martial art schools and deal in affairs of the community called *jianghu*, which has its own rules of the game. For Ang Lee, the martial arts genre is a metaphor for Chineseness, and a genre that is the most iconic of Chinese film forms. In *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, we see the use of the familiar narrative conventions of the martial arts genre: the revenge for the death of the master, the search for the lost book of martial arts secrets, the villain’s defiance of *jianghu* traditions, and the inexperienced student learning from the grave mistakes.

Apparently, audiences also recognize in the conventions of the martial arts genre such stylistic features as chivalric sword-fights in defense of honour, fairy-like flying in defiance of gravity from the ground to rooftop and from rooftop to rooftop, aerial combats and tavern sequences. These conventions have been stylistically established by the films of King Hu (胡金銓) and Li Hanxiang (李翰祥), who are revered masters of the martial arts genre. It is evident that the tradition established by these two masters has a great impact on Ang Lee. The combat scene in the bamboo grove in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* is a tribute to King Hu’s bamboo sequence in *A Touch of Zen* (《侠女》, 1971). Moreover, the tavern sequence is also an allusion to similar scenes in King Hu’s films in which traditional Chinese inns are the main setting.

Despite its extraordinary success internationally, the initial reception of *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* in a majority of the Chinese markets was lukewarm and the initial box-office receipts were not very encouraging. Chinese audiences lamented about the lack of action, with the first action sequence taking place only after 15 minutes into the film. Mainstream action films produced in Hong Kong or by Hong Kong filmmakers, like Jackie Chan or Tsui Hark, are normally marked by an action-packed beginning, with various action sequences dotting the plot in a higher

frequency than that found in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*. Film critics also criticized the film for having failed to effectuate realization of the essence of King Hu, i.e. the tragic manifestation of heroism through chivalric violence. The leading roles are condemned as anti-heroes, even though the roles of Li Mubai (Chow Yun-fat) and Yu Shu Lien (Michelle Yeoh) do provide the look and façade of knights-errant, manifested in their outward appearance, demeanour and professional engagement in the business of *jianghu*. In this *jianghu*, heroes fight for a righteous and worthwhile cause, even to the point of death, in an ultimate showdown between the good and evil. But in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, there is no resolution from the lack of such a showdown, and even though Li Mubai eventually dies, he is killed not through his chivalric act but only by accident. And so this death does not attain the value of a heroic death that is characteristic of the martial arts genre, and the heroism and masculinity of the knight-errant becomes questionable.

So what is the theme of *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* and how is it achieved through reinventing the martial arts genre? One of the most important recurrent themes in Ang Lee's oeuvre is repression, and it is repression that is what both films in discussion are about. He thinks that "the great Chinese theme" of literature, painting, and other art forms, which "is just in our blood" (Lyman, 2001), is the distress of lovers who cannot act on their feelings for each other. To uphold the code of honour of the pitiless *jianghu*, both Li and Shu Lien in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* are unable to declare their love for each other, as they are bound by the respect for Li's sworn brother and Shu Lien's fiancé, who was killed in battle. Their personal desires are repressed to give way to the more oppressive social and filial responsibilities.

In contrast, the character of Jen (Zhang Ziyi), who is initially portrayed as a lady in anticipation of her wedding, but who actually has practised martial arts under the guidance of the clandestine Jade Fox (Cheng Pei-pei), is more daring in the recognition of her desires. Though some critics have commented on her being an ambivalent character, Jen is actually very straightforward in her likes and dislikes, a character trait which is also alien to the conventional portrayal of Chinese women. When she meets Shu Lien for the first time, she unambiguously expresses her admiration and longing for the lifestyle of a knight-errant, an alternative destiny that she wishes to create. Even though she has been trained under Jade Fox who was once a Wudang disciple, Jen defies *jianghu* etiquette and values: she steals Li's Green Destiny sword "just for fun", then her arrogance has caused a fight and commotion in the tavern, and finally she betrays her master. Ang Lee himself comments that the Jen character was the hidden dragon, "... this hidden dragon represents sexual repression, which is the hardest to tame." (Berry 2005, p. 343). The portrayal of this character all through the film has been very different from that of the others: she has been allowed to follow the call in her heart, as contrasted with the others who have to repress their desires and emotions.

And replacing the esteemed male scholar as the master in the original story with the villainess Jade Fox as the teacher of Jen has confounded the convention of masculine morality in the *wuxia* genre. The mature Shu Lien is completely transformed from a secondary role in the original story to a major one in order to take the void left over by the trimming of the male bandit character. Even the most important and lengthy fighting scene is given over to the two female protagonists. Moreover, the tale of

recovery of Li's stolen sword is interrupted by the extended flashback of Jen's attempt to recover her stolen comb by chasing after the bandit. The female-oriented structure is a direct contrast to the classical plots, which usually privilege the male experience and have little to do with women, who take up decorative roles as the sisters or girlfriends of the male protagonist. In this film, the male lead has been in turn effeminated and his identity and masculinity as a Chinese knight-errant emasculated.

The cinematography also helps in achieving a different look for *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*. To accomplish the dramatic storytelling approach that Ang Lee aims for, in his manipulation of the martial arts genre for a mythical romance, he has resorted to an aesthetic that is reminiscent of the Chinese watercolour paintings, with "a low contrast visual approach" in subdued and "desaturated colours", "avoiding extreme hues and contrasts," said Peter Pau in an interview with *American Cinematographer* (Williams 2001, p. 55). This is a stark contrast to the established aesthetics of martial arts films, which employ hard lighting and a full range of colours. The only sequence with strong colours is the flashback in the desert, when the colours red and orange act as the visual metaphors of Jen's unrestrained passion for her lover that appears once again in her memories. As we can see, Jen is the only character in the film that does not repress her desires but follows her passion. And then there are the much debated flying sequences that are considered too unrealistic by many Chinese viewers who are familiar with the genre, but in fact achieve a certain lyricism to match the film's romantic quality in the narrative.

Meanwhile, the controversial *Brokeback Mountain* takes on the form of the Western, and yet also challenges the genre by both its queer content and powerful visuals. To qualify as a Western, there have to be a few signs: the setting at the frontier West, the protagonists as potent cowboys, their physical prowess heightened in the sensuous costumes of the hats, shirts and jeans, with iconic elements including horses, cattle, spurs, saddles, lassos, bandannas, guns, and rifles etc. The classic theme of a Western is the upholding of law and order on the frontier by the heroes, who are usually local law enforcement officers, army officers, ranchers, or cowboys. All skilled and fast-draw gunfighters, these heroes are normally masculine, courageous, independent and tough, maverick characters who could face dangers and challenges on their own.

The much-debated controversy of *Brokeback Mountain* is in the unexpected twist on the traditional icon of masculinity in the genre of the American Western that is the cowboy. And as mentioned, the central theme is the repression of desires and the price to be paid for not recognizing these desires. In the portrayal of the two major characters, we see the fundamentally tight-wound souls of characters who can barely contemplate the idea of emotional expression. This essential lack of affect in both characters is powerfully established in the opening scene, when Ennis and Jack meet for the first time at the job interview. The scene highlights the space between the two, the comfort zone for them to confront each other in the distance. Interaction between the two is non-verbal: we see the flashier Jack peeping at Ennis through the mirror of his car in his pretending act of shaving, while Ennis is dressed with all buttons done up, to give a "bottled-up feeling" (Production Notes 2005, p. 16), as described by Ang Lee, and the wide-brim hat for him to hide behind, signalling his overwhelming repression. Ennis is a character that lives inside himself, either avoiding or resisting the external world. His repression is portrayed by the earth tones of his clothes, his

inability to communication manifested in the closed mouth, the low voice and the mumbling of words.

In her plan for the climax of the original short story, Annie Proulx has inserted a dialogue for Ennis to explain his repressed feelings for Jack, and the unspeakable nature of these feelings. This segment has been deliberately cut away by Ang Lee in the film version; without it, the repression of Ennis is complete. It does not seem like his character to be able to talk about his feelings, not to mention they are feelings for Jack. The totalizing effect of repression in Ennis and Jack is evidently displayed in their dialogue after the sex scene: "They never talked about the sex...saying not a goddam word except once Ennis said, 'I'm not no queer,' and Jack jumped in with 'Me neither. A one shot thing. Nobody's business but ours.'" (Proulx *et al* 2005, p. 7)

To portray two cowboys falling in love and having sex on screen is more than blasphemous to a lot of people who regard the western frontier as America's history and heritage. It must be remembered that the film text is very different from the literary text, not only in the medium itself but also in the mode of dissemination and the potential of the film to reach audiences worldwide within a short period of time. Such a tarnishing treatment on screen of the US masculine image both challenge the identity and undermine the masculinity of the cowboy. This treatment is also comparable to the damaging act of denigrating the country as a whole. The cowboy image represents American history and ideal American masculinity, which is internalized in public conscience and so untouchable.

The controversy of *Brokeback Mountain* is not only a result of the controversial theme, but also the deliberate visual arrangement and mise-en-scène, when traditional icons of the genre of the Western are subtly bestowed with an acutely different meaning, signalling a defiance of the connotations of the icons as employed in the genre. While the costumes of the cowboys make up an integral part of their cool masculinity, exemplified by the full gear of hats, shirts, jeans, boots, belts, buckles and bandannas, Jack in *Brokeback Mountain* tries to sooth the wounds on Ennis' face with the bandanna, after the latter falls off the horse. Such a gesture gives a new meaning to the bandanna in its usability for the tender loving care of a cowboy for another. On the last day of the summer they work on *Brokeback Mountain*, Jack uses his lasso to rope Ennis, the gesture of which is, in fact, playing intimately with another cowboy to secure his heart metaphorically, using a potent and masculine gear that is normally employed for catching horses and cattle, in a simultaneous display of masculine prowess.

The visuals in the film have rendered the expansive landscape of the Wyoming terrain into the desolate outlooks of Western towns, and the suffocating and lonely vastness of the remote West. About the spaciousness of the sky, Ang Lee mentions: "You realize, when you place the camera you have to tilt it up a little bit; the sky is so grand. It's not only the big landscape, but the big sky." (Production Notes 2005, p. 19) Even though the landscape is vast, people's minds remain narrow, and love could still suffocate in wide-open spaces. Meanwhile, the production designer discusses with Ang Lee about "making the color palette slightly de-saturated and somewhat subdued for most of the movie." (Production Notes 2005, p. 14) The towns should be "colorless and cluttered". (Production Notes 2005, p. 15) The vastness and bleakness contrast

with the cramped rooms. And the two protagonists could only find themselves in an extremely homophobic and repressive environment. The effect is achieved, again as in *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, with the use of subdued and desaturated colours. The lighting also helps in establishing a contrast between the love scene of the two male characters and the scenes of married life; the former look all dreamy and gorgeous in golden light, while the latter are shot in flat lighting.

The visual attention on the cowboy's physique is amplified in the opening scene of the film when Jack fixes his gaze on Ennis through the rear-view mirror of the tractor parked outside the trailer office. This is a blatant unleashing of the normally repressed homosexual gaze rendered in the Westerns in the viewing experience of the male spectator through the accentuation of the cowboy's movements on screen, the sensuousness contributed by the tight-fitting jeans. Meanwhile, the last scene of the film ends on Ennis's final words of whispering a call on Jack after seeing their shirts hanging in the wardrobe, which wonderfully shows Jack's shirt tucked inside that of Ennis's. With the shirts soaked in blood and sweat from the fight on the mountain, they are symbols and extensions of the two protagonists, like the skin of their bodies. Jack's narcissistic desire to incorporate the other now becomes Ennis's desire. By "queering" the icon of the Westerns, this unspeakable same-sex eroticism has in effect emasculated the identity and masculinity of the cowboy.

In art, form ameliorates delivery of content. From the above discussion, it is seen that Ang Lee has employed the two genres as a masquerade, challenging and breaking away with the conventions, and reinventing the genres with new themes and visuals, while simultaneously also negotiating and adapting the traditional icons and images in new contexts. In *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, the martial arts genre was endowed upon with a twist—the sweeping mood of the feminist love story in the social milieu of the mandarin literati gently replacing the lethal action of the sword. Twisting another genre, once again in 2005, that is revered in American history—the Western, Ang Lee created uproar with the homoerotic content that is an adaptation of Annie Proulx's short story, *Brokeback Mountain*. The common theme in both *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* and *Brokeback Mountain* is the repression of desires and the price to be paid for not recognizing these desires. Through the dis/mantling of codes and his innovative reinvention of the genres in discussion, Ang Lee has been successful in sabotaging the identity of both the Chinese knight-errant and the Western cowboy, undermining and marginalising their masculinities for a reinvention of new identities with new narrative meaning.

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Who Are We Really? Linguistic and Cultural Expressions of Trinidadian Douglas

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Abstract

The peculiar histories of the colonies in the Caribbean brought together people from Europe, Africa and Asia in a common place where they frequently contested political, social and economic space. The mutual hostilities that developed out of these contests for prominence of one kind or another presented identity and loyalty issues for many persons of mixed heritage who were a natural development in the contexts of such a social structure. In Trinidad, for example, Douglas- the offspring of (East) Indian and African unions- find themselves in situations where the imperatives of social interaction require them to constantly negotiate between their parent communities. This is evidenced by their display of linguistic and cultural practices that either connect them to one or other of their ancestral groups or alienate them from either one or both groups.

This paper describes and examines some of the linguistic and cultural practices which Trinidadian Douglas use as markers of alienation or connectedness within the public domain as well as their private spaces.

Background

Trinidad is the larger island in the twin island republic of Trinidad and Tobago. The most southeasterly island in the Caribbean, it is situated between 10° 2' and 11° 12' N latitude and 60° 30' and 61° 56' W longitude. Trinidad is 4,768 km² (1,841 sq mi) in area with an average length of 80 km (50 mi) and an average width of 59 kilometres (37 mi).

The development of modern Trinidad dates to the late 18th century when the then Spanish administration invited French Antillean planters to settle in the island. Since then, development has been accompanied by continual contestation for power and access to resources among Spaniards, French, the British who captured the island in 1797, groups of West Africans who came as slaves and as free men, Indians who came as indentured labourers between 1845 and 1917, and members of other smaller racial/ethnic groups. Indians and Africans, the two largest groups, have been involved in direct contestation for several decades and this has marginalized the *Douglas*, the offspring of (East) Indian and African unions for many years.

Etymologically the word *Dougl*a is linked to *dogla* which is of Indic origin and is defined by Platts (1884, p.534) as a person of impure breed, a hybrid, a mongrel; a two-faced or deceitful person and a hypocrite. In Bihar, Northern India, from where many Indian indentured labourers migrated to Trinidad, *dogla* still carries the meaning of a person of impure breed related specifically to the “progeny of inter-varna¹ marriage, acquiring the connotation of ‘bastard’, meaning illegitimate son of a prostitute, only in a secondary sense” (Reddock 1994, p.321). The term, however, in its transplanted usage by Indians in Trinidad and Guyana, is employed to designate the offspring of an Indian and an African (Creole). The term *Dougl*a, has undergone processes of semantic expansion and amelioration to denote “all persons of mixed African and Indian descent” (Alleyne 2002, p. 230).

Introduction

In Trinidad the comparatively recent academic preoccupation with race and ethnicity and the corollary preoccupation with establishing right to presence and even to ascriptive privileged position have generated a considerable corpus of texts. In the press of race/ethnic concerns, however, *Douglas* have been almost completely overlooked by scholars as a bi racial community and there has been no self identifying spokesperson to voice a position (individual or collective) about the group. This may be due in part to the ways in which Douglas perceive themselves in relation to either of the ethnic groups to which they are linked and how they in turn are perceived by those around them, particularly African–and Indian–Trinidadians.

If we accept the eye-witness testimony of John Morton, the Presbyterian missionary who proselytised the Indians in central and south Trinidad. Douglas have been present in Trinidad since 1876, yet to date, even though the most recent (2011) census has recognised this particular mixture, Douglas are not seen as a people with a collective

¹ Varna is the Sanskrit word for colour, which was translated by the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to observe it, by the word *casta*, or ‘pure’. The Aryans, light-skinned people with sharp features, created this distinction because they did not want to mix with the darker flat-featured people whom they conquered. As such an elaborate caste system was built. See Daly 1974, p. 3.

identity. Further to that, the constant and persistent contestation for power both economic and social between their two ancestral groups have left many Douglas uncertain about their own personal identity such that at any point in time *Douglas* may align or connect themselves to one ancestor group or the other without claiming a separate identity. Or, because of personal circumstances and experiences, *Douglas* may disavow or alienate themselves from either community and declare themselves Trinidadian, thus claiming a national identity as an ethnic identity, as happens in Belize for reasons of affirming allegiance to national sovereignty (Le Page and Tabouret-keller 1995).

In the context of identifying markers of connectedness and alienation through language choices it is commonly accepted that ethnic and minority groups employ separate or private languages linked to their heritage but this is not the case in present day Trinidad, where minority and heritage languages have long lost their status as first languages. There is instead, an indigenous Creole language, Trinidadian English Creole (TrinEC), which is employed by most citizens. This language exhibits a lexical amalgam of donor varieties brought to the island during the period of its colonization. The extent to which Trinidadians employ these lexical items is linked to their affinity to the particular donor group. Such that, after more than a century, some lexical items linked to a particular racial/ethnic group have attained general currency while others have maintained a symbolic load of signaling connectedness to a particular group.

One Douglas response to this is the convenient appropriation of the varieties of languages exposed to and in use by them while growing up, but this itself presents the problem that Douglas do not have a uniform upbringing. Some have been nurtured in households where TrinEC was the mother tongue, while others may have been exposed to Hindi/Hindustani/Bhojpuri (all used interchangeably among the lay population) and or Arabic/Urdu. Whatever the exposure, though, TrinEC still seems to be their native language, but the fact that this holds true for the entire society poses a challenge for an unambiguous affirmation of Douglas identity through the use of a particular linguistic variety.

As a consequence of this, the markers of connectedness and alienation employed by Douglas are hypothesized as being expressed chiefly through the use of lexical items available to them via their socialization practices. This hypothesis is supported by the research posited independently by Bucholtz (1999) and Alleyne (2001). They affirm ethnicity can be expressed within a common language by the use of varying phonological features, morphosyntactic and/or phrasal categories, by lexical choices and by different frequencies of use of the same feature. This penultimate observation is more relevant to the linguistic situation in Trinidad, where there is no ethnically favoured language in the sense understood by Joshua Fishman (1997, p.332).

Who or What determines Douglas?

A major problem in the business of establishing a Douglas identity lies in the difficulty of determining who is a Douglas. Perception and self-perception play critical roles in assessing the Douglas identity. This is so because, in spite of the fact that the phenotype dictates that a Douglas is the offspring of African and Indian lineage, the degree of this mixture is always a cause for contention. The degree of Indianness, as Rahim (2007) asserts, is the major element in the ascription of Douglas identity. This assertion is corroborated by fieldwork undertaken for this study. Results of preliminary interviews among the sample population suggest that individuals are

styled Douglas based on the observable degree of Indianness in their phenotype “if they do(h)[n’t] have soft, wavy hair, you might think they still mix[ed] bu’[t] not wit[h] Indian”. There are Douglas who bear to a greater extent the distinguishing marks of their Indian heritage, but there are others who carry the physical characteristics associated with the African.

Age, class, education, gender, and regional location also figure prominently in perception and self-perception, and it is not certain how many of those categorising themselves in the official censuses as ‘Mixed’, ‘Other’ or ‘Not stated’ may be counted as Douglas by others, including Douglas. Trinidad’s hypersensitivity to colour is another determinant. Light-skinned Douglas may well escape the designation but their darker skinned counterparts - who in some cases may be their relatives - may be unable to do so.

What Others Say

Reddock (1994) confirms that for most of their existence, Douglas did not make their voice heard as Douglas about the issues in the country that were affecting them and fieldwork conducted during 2001-2010 also supports this. This noticeable silence is a phenomenon contrary to standard practice in Trinidad, where self-declared spokespersons aggressively claim to represent sections of the masses on all issues and especially the pervasive ethnicisation of said issues. But in spite of this, even when Douglas were the subjects of discussion, as happened in the national debate on Douglarisation in the late 1980s when African-Indian conflicts dominated social and even cultural life no collective Dougla voice emerged to participate in the prolonged national debate; also, Douglas were not invited qua Douglas to publicly pronounce on the issue. The heated debate arose when the National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR), the government of the day, proposed a plan for compulsory national service. This proposal foundered because purists, actuated by their own fears, anxieties and insecurities, represented it as a reprehensible scheme for enforced miscegenation. The term douglarisation, the process by which Douglas are birthed, was bandied about as potentially the most unwelcome outcome of the plan as spokespersons claiming to represent silent masses of Indians and Africans engaged in a protracted debate (Regis 2002). This debate ignored the sensitivities of Dougla individuals and they in turn allowed themselves to be generally objectified and treated dismissively and negatively.

This inability to find voice within the public arena, may be linked to their general feeling of alienation and marginalisation started by the circumstances of birth and the unrelenting latent hostilities between their parent groups brought sharply into focus during the periods of contestation for political power. This feeling of alienation and marginalisation is adequately captured in 1961 by calypsonian The Mighty Dougla’s “Split Me in Two” (see appendix), which highlights the predicament of the Dougla in a situation in which race/ethnicity was becoming more assertive and aggressive especially among the Indian and African Trinidadians. In “Split Me in Two” the narrator represents the situation of the Dougla as one of isolation from or of dangerous neutrality between the warring Africans and Indians intent upon positioning their group strategically in the soon-to-become independent state. Dougla’s protagonist recounts situations which may be characteristic calypso fictions or exaggerations and may not have been the life experiences of Dougla himself, who

was a native of Belmont, a tolerant district of Port of Spain. The narrator/protagonist of “Split Me in Two” describes his childhood as one of loneliness: “always by mehsself like a lil monkey/ Not one single child wouldn’t play with me”. He narrates a traumatic and perhaps fictional incident in adulthood when warring Africans and Indians equally but separately beat him as a member of the rival group. In the final stanza, however, he redeems Dougla identity in terms of its ability to boast not one heritage but two. This well-composed calypso elevated him to national Calypso King, the most prestigious award in calypsodom. This public recognition and acclaim, however, did not promote any sustained national interest in the predicament of the Douglas; neither did they promote the emergence of a collective Dougla voice.

Interestingly, Douglas’ feelings of alienation and marginalisation also appear to be perpetuated by the absence of an ancestral, or better, of one ancestral homeland which functions as a symbolic homeland and source of inspiration and consolation for the formation of a separate Dougla identity. Unlike other recognised racial/ethnic groups, Douglas lack an organization and a headquarters. In fact, they are denied that corporate identity because of what Schilling-Estes describes as the dominant culture’s belief that “‘authentic’ tribal groups must be of homogenous rather than multi-tribal origin” (167). It is quite possible that the failure on the part of officialdom to register the *Douglas* as a group may have resulted in the failure of the Douglas to recognize themselves as such. Lacking official recognition and sharing the categories ‘Mixed’ and ‘Other’ with individuals of any of the numerous permutations possible for so many years may have been a factor in their failure to declare themselves an ethnic group or a biracial minority.

Many purists refuse to accept that Douglas are a legitimate biracial group, rather they opt for labelling them as simply an unwanted consequence of inevitable mixing; a set of individuals existing in the margins without voice; tolerated, accommodated but not truly valid. In 2005, while delivering the feature address at the official launch of the Indian Arrival Day Heritage Village set up by the El Dorado Shiv Mandir, Elizabeth Rosabelle Sieusarran, a lecturer at what was then the School of Continuing Studies of The University of the West Indies, said

In our quest for establishing unity among our people it is imperative for us to note a rapidly increasing phenomenon from the rise of a western system of education and the consequential westernisation of the Indian community. This has resulted in the prevalence of inter-caste, inter-religious and inter-racial marriages. The Indian community has to decide how to handle the offspring of this significant group locally referred to as douglas. Do we accept them or ostracise them? Whatever course is adopted, the fragmentation of the Indian community must be avoided. Above all, we must always remember that Trinidad and Tobago is our patrimony. Our ancestors gave their blood and we have laboured to enrich our country. We live in a multi-cultural society and co-existence is a necessary ingredient for our success in the future (Bowman 2005, p.5).

Although Sieusarran invited her audience to reflect upon the problems caused by westernization, she reduced all of these to the fragmentation caused by “the prevalence of inter-caste, inter-religious and inter-racial marriages”. She then ignored the progeny of the many Indian–non-Indian relationships who are visible in the social

landscape and targets the Douglas as the source of the problem of fragmentation within the Indian community. While this acknowledgement of the existence of the Douglas and of their organic connection to the Indian communities goes beyond the traditional Indian perception of their community, Sieusarran's statement is rooted in 19th century prejudice against Indian cohabitation with Africans. According to the report, at one point during her address she stopped and looked around the mandir, allegedly to see if there were any Douglas present.

The alienation experienced within the public sphere during the years following independence, transfers into the private space. Mixed individuals, and Douglas in particular, have always been free to choose the group to which they feel akin or the group to which accommodates them. On the one hand, some Douglas negotiate both ancestral communities with ease, while others feel uncomfortable in both camps. This choice of alignment, neutrality or separation appears to be indexed to issues of upbringing, other personal circumstances and experiences. Some circumstances are so traumatic, however, that Douglas opt to alienate themselves from either ancestral groups. Rahim (2007, p.17) explains her Douglas father's predicament: "Trinidadian was the only identity to which he would subscribe- not Indian or African or *Douglas*" She adds that he claimed this nationality "with a kind of fervour that suggested a desperate compensation for some deep, unspoken suffering."

Generally, during this period (1960s – early 1990s) Douglas renounced their dual heritage and chose to subsume their identity into the ancestral group to which their phenotype subscribed. There were no attempts on the part of Douglas to employ any lexical items which signalled ethnic affiliation, that is to employ words used by any ethnic group to project an identity or to assert themselves as separate but equal members in the society.

What Douglas Say and Do

A general shift in the linguistic and cultural behaviour of Douglas occurred after 1995. This year is particularly important because it records the ascension of the first *perceived* Indian political party and Indian prime minister. With this shift in the balance of power, Indic terms once relegated to specific domains and in the company of like interests came to the forefront and began to appear in print and electronic media. Some Douglas, who would have naturally subsumed their identity within their Indian ancestry and others who felt that the political climate demanded it, aligned their speech to incorporate the 'new' terms that their Indian relatives were employing to signal their identity. In particular, words within the semantic domains of religion, kinship, kitchen, insult and taboo replaced commonly used TrinEC equivalent terms in some contexts. The word *happy* for example was replaced by the word *Shubh* in the Divali greeting and *Mubarak* in the Eid greeting on television and all daily newspapers. The Indic word *mandir* and the perceived Indic *masjid* replaced the more perceived English forms temple and mosque, respectively as attempts were made to project a distinct Indian identity. For the layman, terms such as *jhanjhat* and *koochoor*, the Indic terms used to express the act of causing mischief (locally termed 'making confusion'), replaced the TrinEC equivalent commess (itself a retention from French Creole) and baccahnal in the speech of some Indians and Douglas alike. The fact that these terms are consciously used to replace the alternative forms is an indication that a conscious attempt is being made to connect with an Indian identity.

Curiously, the same atmosphere that 'licensed' Indians and by extension Douglas, who subsumed their identity within this side of their ancestry, also 'licensed' other Douglas who sought to assert their ethnic title. The term *Dougl* and the person it stood to represent were now presented as a new way of interpreting and representing self. Douglas now employed the term to affirm their identity as well as raise the level of consciousness about the presence of *Douglas* within the society. In 2004 a private entrepreneur launched a campaign that proposed that *Douglas* were the only individuals capable of bridging the gap between the two major races and as such the only solution to quell the ethnic tensions that were resurfacing as a direct result of the shifts in the balance of political power in 1995 and then again in 2000, 2001 and 2002. It was felt that if Douglarisation were encouraged then citizens would be unable to deploy the race card in their contestations for access to resources and patronage. Thousands of jerseys were printed with the logo "race-busters" on the front and either DITA (an acronym for "Dougl is the Answer") or "Be Wise: Douglarise" on the back. These jerseys were distributed throughout Trinidad and Guyana where there is also a large number of Douglas. The *Dougl* executive director, as well as some staff members at the community television station Gayelle the Channel joined the bandwagon in February of 2004 by wearing these jerseys at the launch of the station. In the following months the entrepreneur appeared on radio talk shows and television promoting Douglarisation through talk, poetry and song. His initiative, however, was better received in the neighbouring Guyana whose racial/ethnic plurality mirrors that of Trinidad.

Other Douglas and persons of mixed heritage also embraced the opportunity brought about by the new political atmosphere. For some of them, they sought to conveniently appropriate the term *Dougl* as a metaphor. In September 2008 at the launch of a bi-monthly magazine *Dougl* a group of young persons of varying racial/ethnic backgrounds led by a *Dougl* executive producer stated that the aim of their magazine is to celebrate Trinidad and Tobago's perfect mix which, to them, is captured in the term *Dougl*. '*Dougl*', as re-defined by them, is a mentality and not an ethnicity; the etymology of the word has no bearing on the term and does not inhibit the possibility for expression and celebration. Some Douglas argue that this is now the very essence of their existence a complete balance with themselves and the society. In Trinidad, they believe being of mixed ancestry is the essential characteristic of the true indigene.

So...Who Are We Really?

Genotypically, a *Dougl* is the offspring of any of the following combinations:

- African mother/ Indian father;
- African father/ Indian mother;
- African mother/*Dougl* father;
- African father/ *Dougl* mother;
- Indian mother/ *Dougl* father;
- Indian father/ *Dougl* mother;
- Dougl* mother/ *Dougl* father.

This set allows for all possible permutations of *Dougl* including second and third generation Douglas in spite of the belief by some scholars (Hernandez-Ramdwars (1997); Reddock (1994)) that the term is only used to describe first generation offspring. Douglas are, as Narroll (1964) states in his definition of ethnic groups, a biologically self-perpetuating ethnic group whose membership identifies itself and is

identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

Douglas are individuals who select from among one of three or a mixture of three options in the formation of an identity. They opt to:

1. Form an allegiance to and alliance with one ethnic group to the exclusion of the other;
2. Form strategic alliances with both ancestral groups; and
3. Maintain a neutral position avoiding ethnic issues linked to either ancestral group.

Douglas manifest a polymorphous identity adding another layer to a society classified by some as stratified and by others as plural. The advocates of plural society theory claim that the several ethnic groups retain their separate spaces, mixing when necessary but not merging, while the proponents of stratification theory hold that the society is divided along lines of socio-economic class. Douglas display a series of identities existing along what can be called a continuum, the extreme points of which mark the sublimation of Douglas into their Indian or African race/ethnicity while the midway point marks a position of neutrality. Interestingly, when Douglas manifest an identity linked to their Indian ancestry they do so by employing Indic lexical items while their affinity to their African forebears is marked by an avoidance of said items. When Douglas appear to be neutral they exercise accommodative behaviour to either side by employing or avoiding Indic lexical items as is necessary or convenient. This necessary or convenient appropriation might itself be a distinctive feature of Douglas identity.

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Appendix

Split Me in Two (1961) (**The Mighty Douglu-Cletus Ali**)

Let us suppose they pass a law
They doh[don't] want people living here anymore
Jus suppose they pass a law
They doh[don't] want people living here anymore
Everybody got to find their country
According to your race originally
What a confusion I would cause in the place
They might have to shoot me in space

Chorus

Because they sending Indians to India
And the Negroes back to Africa
Can somebody please just tell me?
Where they sending poor me, poor Dougie
Am I neither one nor the other
Six ah one half ah dozen of the other
If they serious bout sending back people for true
They got to split me in two

From the time a small I in confusion
I couldn't play with no other lil[little] children
If I go by the Negro children to play
They say you little coolie now run away
Ah go by the Indian children next door
They say "nowherian what you come here for"
Ah always by mehself [myself] like a lil [little] monkey
Not one single child wouldn't play with me

Chorus

So if they sending Indians to India
And the Negroes back to Africa
Can somebody please just tell me?
Where they sending poor me, poor Dougie
Am I neither one nor the other
Six ah one half ah dozen of the other
If they serious bout sending back people for true
They bound to split me in two

Here what happen to me recently
I going down Jogie Road walking peacefully
Some Indians and Negroes rioting
Poor me didn't know not a single thing
But as I enter in Oden Trace
An Indian man cuff meh straight in meh face
I ran by the Negroes to get rescue
"Look a Coolie"

And them start beating me too

Chorus

So if they sending Indians to India
And the Negroes back to Africa
Can somebody please just tell me?
Where they sending poor me, poor Dougie
Am I neither one nor the other
Six ah one half ah dozen of the other
If they serious bout sending back people for true
They bound to split me in two

Some fellas having a race discussion
I jump in to give my opinion
A young fella watch meh in meh face
He say "You shut yuh[your] mouth
You eh got no race"
What he said to me was a real insult
But is not I to blame is meh father fault
When he say[said] I have no race
He did talking true
Instead ah having one race
Yuh [you] know I got two

Chorus

So if they sending Indians to India
And the Negroes back to Africa
Can somebody please just tell me?
Where they sending poor me, poor Dougie
Am I neither one nor the other
Six ah one half ah dozen of the other
If they serious bout sending back people for true
They bound to split me in two

*Identity and Values of Malaysian Muslims among Women and
Their Metaphor in Fashion*

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0316

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Abstract

In the Malay world, metaphors were commonly used to describe something indirectly, for example ones attire. Evidence of metaphors used to describe women's clothing can be found in many Malay literature and historical annals as the main source to suggest the looks of the Malay woman during that time. This is because; other solid evidence such as textiles had long perished within the years. The metaphors, symbols and belief in the Malay community was then visualised the identity of Malay through attire and the accessories at that time. The attire carried a coding system in the traditional society that indicated social status or hierarchy and developed to become the visual identity of the Malays. The post traditional era however had new sets of metaphors and symbols, reflecting new meaning and identity of the contemporary Malay. Being a Malay woman nowadays carries a bigger challenge; to identify herself as Muslim, Malay and a modern person. This study is to determine the later sets of symbol in the modern society that reflects the modern identity of the Malaysian Malays via clothing. It will use symbolic-interaction method (in the branch of ethnography) to describe the metaphors or symbol used in the past and present of women's attire. Data will be gained from series of interviews, documentation and visual evidences. All the data will be analysed and written as findings to conclude this study.

Keywords: metaphors, symbol, Malay women, attire

a. Background

Introduction

The word identity derived from the Latin word of 'Idem' that carry out the meaning of 'the same' (Hoffstaedter, 2011). Identity also refers to the individual's sense of self in relation to others and to society as a wholeⁱ. Identity will become an important issue once it is confronted with crisis, especially when the stabilisation or certain characteristic is being questioned, uncertain or changed. Changes are due to many cultural elements such as social, knowledge, technology and economy.

In general, the Malay is an ethnic group that lives in the Malayⁱⁱ Archipelago within the South East Asia (Zain, 2003). They inhabit the archipelago of Southern Thailand, Malay Peninsula, Singapore, Brunei, West Kalimantan, Temiang, east coast of Northern Sumatera, Riau, Jambi and Palembang in Indonesia. (Tuanku Luckman Sinar Basyarsyah, 2002). Etimologically, the Malays are known through their way of living such as clothing, eating, speaking, action or body language. All of this are considered as the language and sense of the Malays (Yusuf, 2009, p. 2).

After the independence of Malaysia in 1957, the definition of Malay had been generalised in Article 160 (2) of the Malaysian constitution as 'those who were born as Malaysian, a Muslim, using the Malay language, following the custom of the Malays and lives in Malaysia or Singapore'ⁱⁱⁱ. (Muslim, 2011) The Article 160 (2) had combined all the different Malay groups under one, known as *Melayu* (Malay). Due to this, many had a mix understanding about Malay values and how they should portray themselves collectively. In general, the Malays have similar values which are the Malay language, Islam (the religion of Malay) and the Malay monarchy (which also representing the Malay custom). The Malay is the largest ethnic group in Peninsula Malaysia, comprises of 66.7% in total of Malaysian population^{iv}. In Malaysia, the Malays are automatically become a Muslim by law^v thus this situation had created a dilemma for identity especially among the urban Malays. This group of Malays, that later refers as the "new Malay" has different approach in dealing with their visual identity which is almost opposite from the 'traditional Malays'. The traditional Malays are still dominant in the rural areas throughout Malaysia, but migration to big cities such as Kuala Lumpur and Johor Bahru had changed their 'mentifact' and artefact within the Malay concept, resulting a 'rebranding' in the Malay identity (Yusuf, 2009, p. 41).

A woman in Malay society (still in practise) is the mother of their children and also wife. Example of a common stereotype phrase dedicated to women is, "a woman should be in the kitchen no matter how high they had learnt." This reflects an example on how the Malay society depicts their woman should be in a family/ society. In the older days, young women in the Malay society are trained to become a good housewife and seldom get the chance to further their studies. They normally get married at a young age. As a symbol of a decent Malay, their way of dressing becomes very dominant in the eye of the society. Being a Malay and Islam made them carry a heavier duty as to uphold their identity as a good Muslim too.

Traditional attires such as *baju kurung*^{vi} and *baju kebaya*^{vii} (refer image 3 & 4) are some examples of decent clothing that reflect the Malay identity as a Muslim. The elements in these traditional clothing reflects the symbol of decent women such as, by covering the entire body except their face and hands, which are also part of the

teachings in Islam. The word *baju kurung* itself symbolised the meaning of “kurung” which is ‘to bracket’ or hide the body from others to see. In the past, the *sarong* (long skirt) is made to ankle length, so that the feet of unmarried maiden can be seen by their future husband. According to the Malays, they believe that pink heels symbolises a virgin.

Besides that, the way they wear a sarong also signifies their marital status, whether they are single or married. A traditional Malay sarong comprises of three main parts (refer image 1). The sarong itself becomes an indication or marital status among women and it can only be found in the traditional way of Malay clothing. Wearing the ‘head’ motif at the back means, she is married, wearing it at the side signify a widow and wearing it in front shows that the wearer is still single/ virgin. A sarong also used as head covering and to carry a baby. Some researchers said that the ‘head’ in the sarong motif representing the symbol of a mother for being the main individual in raising her children. The whole concept of the traditional Malay clothing is an evidence of acculturation between the religion of Islam and the Malay culture which later be visually translated as the Malay identity (besides language and custom).

b. Argument

The improving of Malay economy as the outcome of the New Economic Plan (NEP) had caused mass migration of Malays to urban areas, for betterment of economy. Being away from their ‘roots’ far from the villages and mixing around with a multi-ethnic environment eventually made them developed a new culture instead (Yusuf, 2009). Changes in idea/notion and action amongst Malays had also changed their appreciation on cultural objects. The change on cultural objects indicates the enculturation process had taken place in the society. The adaptation of cultural objects, (which in this study-clothing) is very significant to be examined since it reflects the internal faith and values among the Malays. The survival of Malay elements lies in the hands of the urban Malays which numbers are growing, due to the expansion of traditional villages into towns.

Attire reflects similarities of certain ethnic group and its uniqueness. Continuous changes however may eventually erode the ethnic identity. During the traditional era, Malays can be easily be recognised through their visual appearance such as clothing (apart from typical Malay face/skin features), but when they came into contact under the British occupation (1824-1957) during the colonial era, the traditional attires had been westernised especially by those who were living in major towns. Ultimately, on the 21st century, globalisation had forced the Malay culture to compete with other popular cultures throughout the world. Any culture that is unable to adapt will eventually replaced with more popular ones across the globe. With the introduction of internet, foreign cultures are no longer a stranger to the Malays, as they are given options to choose whatever culture they like to be adapted with their lives.

The current Malays are facing demolishing of identity and values in the areas of emotion, action and artefacts. Identity of the Malays becoming more and more ‘globalised’ and the world’s hegemony in fashion trend had made the Malays’ attire no longer unique but rather similar to others. Traditional symbols, metaphor or meanings are no longer significant to the modern Malay society, as it does not bring any meaning to the society. Pragmatism changed the peoples’ view towards

traditionalism; most prefer to be practical rather than sentimental. This study is to look into the changes among the ‘new Malays’ in Malaysia, targeted to those who live in major towns in the Klang valley (Kuala Lumpur and its vicinity).

In summary, the research statements can be summarised as below:

- a) Changes of values within urban Malays had caused modification of identity among Malay via clothing.
- b) Globalisation had demolished the intrinsic meaning in Malay attire such as symbol, metaphor and values which are the root of Malay artefacts (clothing).

c. Method and Analysis

Since this study covers the issues of social anthropology such as identity, values and cultural objects, qualitative method will be used to rectify the above-mentioned research statements. The method used is symbolic-interaction which can describe the relation between symbols and cultural object that reflect the identity of the Malays. Howard Backer in his book entitled *Art Worlds* (Saul, 1984) suggested that the segments in the art world should be seen from the perspective of sociology. The approach suggested that the art world should be analysed like an industrial product, meaning that it has to analyse in the aspect of form and function but not forgetting the aesthetics aspects during the process.

Theory related in defining “identity” such as “the labelling theory” by Becker (1963) is being used to understand the fundamental scenario among the Malays in Malaysia; since according to him, ‘labelling’ will enhance ones identity. (in George Ritzer, 2001, p. 441) In order to find the answers to the above-mentioned research statements, purposive sampling was used via interview as primary data, supported by text and visual documents. The informants (sample) will be answering matters related to the issues of Malay identity pertaining to the object of clothing. Respondents will be selected from modern Malays whom parents are/were from traditional villages (*kampung*). This is to make certain that, they are able to tell the changes or compare between the past and present. Respondents are those from the ‘stake holders’ such as designers, researchers/ writer (professionals), fashion students and end users. Observation using digital images or videos will be used as data that will support the claims made by the interviewers. List of the respondent groups are stated in the following table:

TABLE 1: Category of respondents

Category	Number of respondents taken for this study	Location
Researchers/ writers on Malay culture/ fashion lecturers	5	Kuala Lumpur
Malay fashion/ costume designers	2	Kuala Lumpur, Selangor
End users: professionals-	4	Kuala Lumpur

art related respondents		
Others: fashion students	4	Shah Alam, Kota Bahru, Seremban.

TABLE 2: Category of areas discussed

Category	Discussion:
Identity of a Malay woman	Malay in values or idea (mentifact), action and cultural object.
Metaphors or symbol in contemporary clothing among the Malay women: if any. (currently: the past 10 years)	Metaphor/ symbols related to current way of clothing Year:2000-2012
Symbols/ metaphor that they knew from the past	Symbols/ metaphor taught to them through generation(s)

d. Findings

Through series of interview among the respondents, the data indicated vast changes in the Malay livelihoods, contributed by massive improvement in information and transportation systems. Technology gave them easier access to fashion trends outside Malaysia with wider interaction to other cultures across the globe. Cheaper and improved transportation facilities had given them the chance of having actual experiences with other countries; (via holiday, staying abroad) or through working in other towns/ cities across Malaysia. In regional scale, cultural transformation was materialised through trade agreements such as AFTA, ASEAN, APEC, and others. Changes in daily activities had changed the way they look at things such as clothing. 'McDonaldization'^{viii} had taken away the uniqueness of Malay identity and changed the cultural object such as clothing into something alike to anywhere else around the world. Identity is no longer determined by ones ethnic group or through what they wear but more on the elements of what they think (idea) and how they will look collectively in a global society.

Modern metaphors and symbols had been taken away from the traditional concept, resulted loss of the Malay visual identity. But fortunately, it does not mean that they had forgotten their roots. Almost all respondent mentioned that they understand their custom very well, which connects them with the past. Most of them still wear the traditional attire during Islamic celebrations or functions such as *Eid Mubarak* (Aidil Fitri), *Eid Adha* (Aidil Adha) weddings, funeral or formal government occasions to reveal their Malay identity via clothing. But apart from that, it carries no social code or traditional meaning that refers to one's status or hierarchy in the society.

Modern metaphors and symbol in the contemporary society depict the followings findings:

- Habitual strategy: wearing a T-shirt stating a place meant “I had been here”. It also symbolises their rank in certain group/ community that they are able to be there. This theory is mentioned by *Pierre Bourdieu* in describing power through habitual strategy- a contemporary way to differentiate oneself in a community. (George Ritzer, 2001)
- In the past, the way someone wears a ‘sarong’ or placement of flower on the hair of a woman will give a clue about her marital status (refer image 2), but nowadays, marital status is quite hard to tell. A global symbol of a ring is mostly worn on the ‘ring finger’ to signify one is married or engaged. Most Malays still practices, wearing a ring on the left hand signifies that one is engaged, whereby wearing it on the right hand (ring finger) symbolises that one is married. Wearing henna on the bride’s hand is still largely being practice until today but with more intricate decoration on hands compared to just covering the nails the past. Most motifs are meant to ‘beautify’ the bride rather than ‘signify’ anything in the current practise.
- As for the younger generations (teenagers), some were asked to wear sarong or traditional attire during visiting their relatives in the villagers, so they will look decent through the eyes of the family/ community. Many of them mentioned, rather than that, no other reason or meaning was explained. To them, wearing traditional attire is just to respect their family’s request, but not to portray who they are as individual or Malay. (refer image 5)
- Modern symbols in contemporary attire like t-shirt prints, shows what they belief in, what they support (politically, sport’s team, etc), their interest (art, music), their status (single, alone, availability) that signifies their personality. Most of it shown in a form of visual such as writings, symbol of motifs on printed materials, such as t-shirt. Mostly has no relation with traditional symbols or meanings.
- Colours no longer reflect hierarchy in the modern society, but during certain formal occasions that involve the Malay ruler (Sultan or the king/ *Agong*), certain dress code and forbidden colours are always mentioned. Until now, colours like yellow and ivory white are forbidden during court functions as they are reserved only for the Malay ruler (Sultan)

e. Conclusion

The findings showed that there are different ways in perceiving life in the modern society which had changed the cultural object intrinsically. Result from the interviews showed that, the newer generations however still understand and respect their custom/religion very well, but it is not a must to show it off through clothing. Globalisation had won the hegemony in fashion compared to the traditional attires, resulting similarity in fashion and lessens their identity as an ethnic. But generally, they still have some essence of Malay notion when dressing up themselves especially among women; whereby wearing something too exposed is still an unpopular scene in general. Wearing something that covers the whole body including the hair is commonly seen among Malays, but the attire reflect them more as a Muslim rather than being seen as Malay (refer image 6). This is also due to the process of McDonaldization in the Islamic fashion scene that had somehow won the hegemony to most Malay women. Current fashion however does not have the richness of symbols and metaphors as seen in the Malay culture. Being a Malay is no longer determined by the appearance but more importantly in what they belief in

(notion/idea) collectively. Unfortunately, attire is no longer important as it no longer important or a must to show your racial identity; but the good thing is, it will always be remembered and used during Malay-related occasions until today.

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Source: <http://sociology.about.com/od/Works/a/McDonaldization-of-Society.htm>

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Image 2: <http://eliefibresz.blogspot.com/2011/02/selamat-tinggal-sanggul-bunga.html> (1.5.13)

Image 3: <http://www.glogster.com/thiirahatl/baju-kurung-teluk-belanga> (10.4.13)

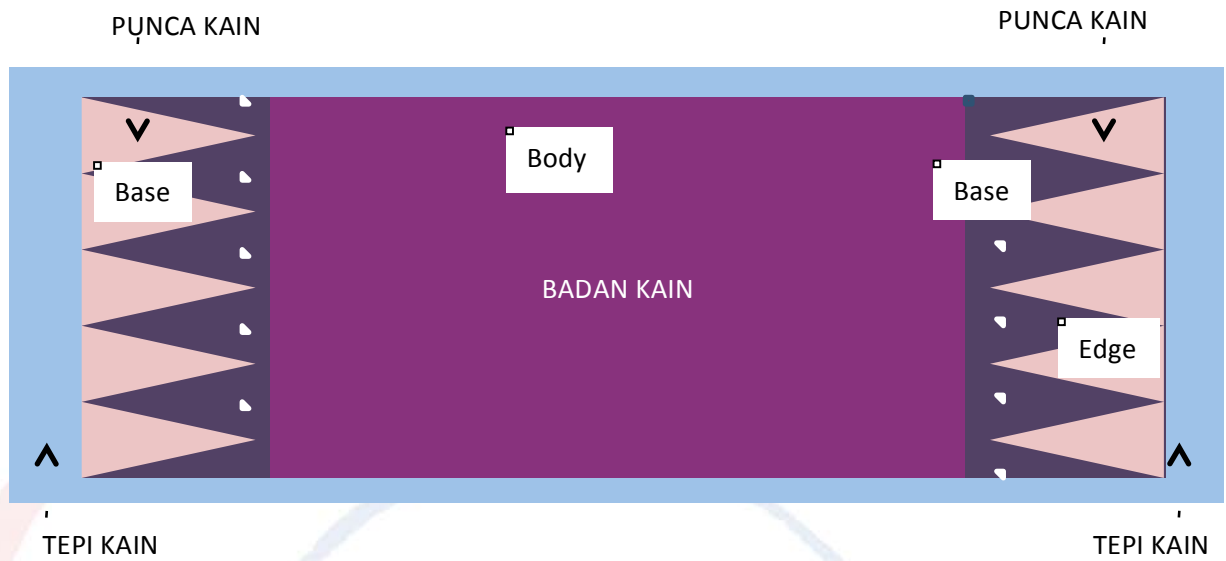
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List of Images

Image 1: The structure of a typical motif placement in Malay textiles found in sarong such as batik and *tenun* (woven) materials.: A: *Kain panjang* (long cloth), B: Kain sarong (*batik or songket sarong*)

A. *Kain panjang* structure



B: Structure for a typical Malay sarong

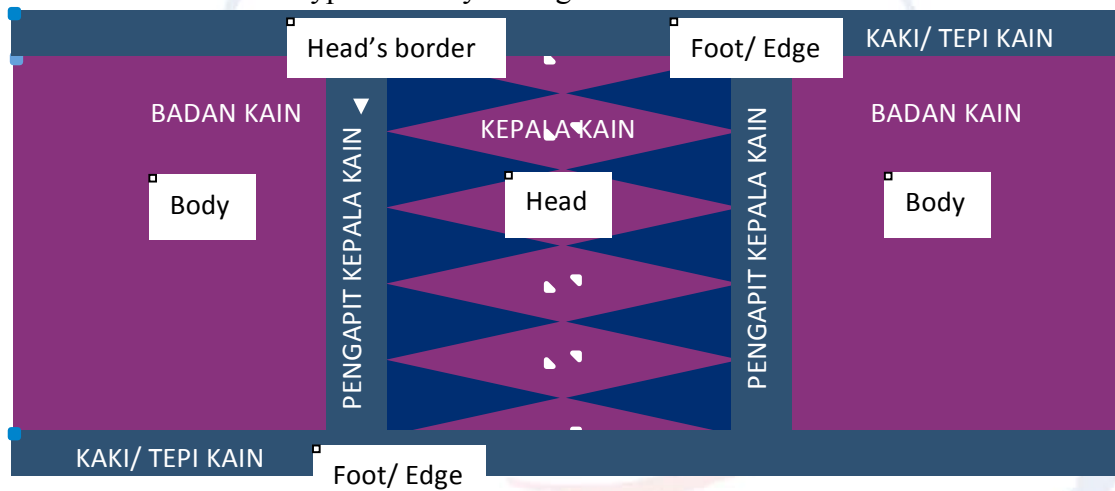


Image 2: Meaning of *WUJUH S HAH*oun in the past Malay society

		
A virgin: bun is placed	Widow: bun is placed	Married: either one or two

above the neck.	above the neck with a flower on the left side	buns, placed loosely on the neck. Flower is optional, but normally placed below the bun. (courtesy: Yustika Yusuf)
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Image 3: *Baju kurung teluk belanga* with *songket*



Image 4: *Baju kebaya*



Image 5: Wearing traditional attire for youth during formal function is more toward respecting the elders.



Image 6: Common sight of today's Malay teenagers. Wearing blouse and pants are more practical to them compared to the traditional Malay attires. Covering their body does not have to be traditional attire but can also be in modern fashion. Visual identity as a Muslim is more important than highlighting their race.

Footnote:

ⁱ Ewick and Silbey, *The Common Place of Law*: see Engel and Mungler, *Rights of Inclusion*

ⁱⁱ Gugusan Kepulauan Melayu sebagai “rantau Asia Tenggara yang hampir-hampir berbentuk segi tiga, bermula di Pulau Nikobar di Timur Laut ke Pulau Solomon di Tenggara, dan dari Luzon di Utara ke Rotti dekat pulau Timor di Selatan”. Kawasan yang luas itu dibahaginya kepada lima kumpulan: Kepulauan Indo-Malaya, Kepulauan Timor, Kepulauan Maluku dan Kepulauan Papua (Zain, 2003)

ⁱⁱⁱ Article 160(2) in Malaysian constitution stated that, “The Malays must be Muslim, Malaysian citizens who were born in Malaysia, using the Malay language, following the Malay custom and live in Malaysia or Singapore”. Source: *Jabatan Penerangan Malaysia*. (12.3.12)

^{iv} "Malays are the dominant ethnic, 66.7 percent, followed by the Chinese 24.6 percent and Indians. 7.4 percent.
Source: http://www.utusan.com.my/utusan/info.asp?y=2010&dt=0122&sec=Dalam_Negeri&pg=dn_07.htm#ixzz2MiYAaaVK © Utusan Melayu (M) Bhd (22.1.10)

^v Refer Article 160 (2) Malaysia constitution

^{vi} *Baju kurung*: The Malay women started to wear the *baju kurung* in the 19th century. The attire comprises of a tunic and a sarong, made by various materials such as batik or *tenun* (woven textiles). It is also known as *Baju kurung teluk belanga* (Shawal, 1994).

^{vii} *Baju kebaya*: *Kebaya* is famous among the traditional women since the 1800, was said influenced by the Portuguese and the merchants from the Middle East during the rise of Malacca. It comprises of a kimono-like tunic with opening on the front which always worn with brooches as fasteners. It is also accompanied with sarong made from batik or *songket* and also head coverings like shawl made from sarong batik. (Shawal, 1994)

^{viii} *George Ritzer* takes the central elements of Max Weber’s work and expands and updates them, producing an analysis of the impact of structural change on human interaction and identity. It is not about McDonald’s itself, but rather how the principles of the fast food industry have come to dominate all parts of American society and the rest of the world. Source: <http://sociology.about.com/od/Works/a/McDonaldization-of-Society.htm> (12.3.12)

The Intercultural and Psychophysical Pedagogy of Phillip Zarrilli

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Psychophysical actor training is a method of instructing performers in order to fully develop the relationship between the mind and the body. Though there are several artists who have explored psychophysical training, this paper is focused on the pedagogy of the accomplished teacher, philosopher, coach, actor, director, writer, scholar, and polymath Phillip Zarrilli. Zarrilli has developed a truly unique approach to psychophysical actor training. Throughout his career, he has melded a series of exercises that teach focus, discipline, the shedding of ego, and above all, awareness.

Zarrilli incorporates three Asian art forms to infuse his pedagogy: *yoga*, *t'ai chi*, and *kalaripayattu*. *Yoga* is a discipline formed in India, which incorporates meditation and breath control using specific body postures. *T'ai chi* is a Chinese martial art that uses slow and fluid movements that give the practitioner focus and discipline. *Kalaripayattu* is an Indian martial art form that developed in Kerala (Zarrilli, 2009). Through the use of exercises from these disciplines, the performer is able to engage her bodymind (lack of division between cognitive thought and physical action) actively. The disciplines have been transformed using practical actor training language, which allows for an understanding of how the principles which derive from these traditional disciplines can become helpful for the modern performer, for while these disciplines are traditional, Zarrilli's training is modern (Zarrilli, 2010).

In an interview, Zarrilli characterizes himself as 'cosmopolitan,' a philosophical ideologue of the acting world, airily treading—but with feet well grounded—on the ancient-but-arable terrain of many other Asian arts. He seeks to allow the growth of what an actor lacks as well as draw forth what is dormant present, using his own pedagogical ideas to bring awareness of the bodymind connection to his acting students (Zarrilli, 2011).

In other words, he is creating a structure for the actor to organize herself around, yet allowing freedoms that exemplify Western acting approaches. According to Zarrilli, traditional Western actor training involves an element of casualness and energy squandering. These traits can be a detriment to the actor. Zarrilli, however, sees value in the unifying complements of non-constraint within strict methodology (Creely, 2010: 217; Zarrilli, 2009: 99).

Before moving forward, it is important to define *psychophysical* as an approach in pedagogy and in acting. Zarrilli, in his writing and in interviews, associates the psychophysical with the theory of 'bodymind,' the operative inextricability of emotion, soul, and all aspects of the corporeal (Zarrilli, 2011).

It can be observed that while the word *psychophysical* itself suggests a duality, it is a conception of oneness. Actors can easily get caught up in the text of a script, and then consider movement, causing an awkwardness and disengagement within that duality. In psychophysical acting, the words are usually secondary to the effortless and without-thought concern of movement and emotion. Zarrilli presents the problem of dualistic thinking for many Western actors:

Acting is either too easily over-intellectualized or becomes overly subjective. This is due to our compartmentalization of mind, body, and emotion, it is commonplace to assume that mind is an absolute organ or category separate from the body or our feelings and emotions [...] To separate mental processes from the body and our feeling/emotional world or vice versa, is highly problematic from the perspective of understanding acting process. (Zarrilli, 2009: 76)

This plainly expresses what psychophysical acting must be in contrast, and how psychophysical training as an immersive process slowly dismantles the reflexive compartmentalizing of the self (and by extension, all else). In challenging Western approaches, influenced by many external factors such as cultural norms, Zarrilli attempts to shatter physical and metaphysical paradigms.

During an interview, Phillip Zarrilli discussed his background. He was born in Covington, Kentucky in 1947 and went from Midwestern boy to student of philosophy and religion, then seminarian to activist/existentialist, to poet and short filmmaker, theatre performer and director, martial artist and *yogi*, ethnographer and writer, playwright and teacher. All of these roles have served his psychophysical training approach, which is intercultural yet Western and stoutly pragmatic. This background has given him the ability to train actors in his unique way (Zarrilli, 2011).

In 1977 Zarrilli became the protégé of A.C. Scott, the director and founder of the Asian/Experimental Theatre program, which became active in 1963 at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Scott was formulating a psychophysical method of training actors by using the martial art of *t'ai chi* in the classroom. Scott had trained in Hong Kong with Master Cheng Yung-kuang, 'thus laying the foundation for his visionary work in using *taiqiquan* as a basis for the psychophysical training of the contemporary actor' (Zarrilli, 2011).

Zarrilli was invited to instruct alongside Scott in Madison as he had been studying the martial art of *kalarippayattu* in India and was discovering ways to infuse it into his own pedagogy. Zarrilli describes the Asian/Experimental program as, 'the nucleus of a newly established International Theatre Program, in its turn the result of an increased concentration on International Studies within the university as a whole' (Zarrilli, 2009: 215). He took tutorials from Scott, and upon being hired by the university as an instructor, was trained in *t'ai chi* by his new mentor for a full year. This allowed Zarrilli the opportunity to learn *t'ai chi* and benefit from Scott's immense knowledge of Asian theatre and cross-cultural training principles. Zarrilli discusses Scott in an interview:

Scott was a real visionary, in his own quiet way, he was really plumbing the possibilities of using *t'ai chi* for training actors in a way that no one else had really explored (or few other people had). (Zarrilli, 2011)

Zarrilli then, in 1979, took the helm of the Asian/Experimental Theatre Program, where he honored the tradition of rooting the practice in *t'ai chi*, but was given the freedom to, as he relates, 'formulate my own teaching methodology.' This occurred alternately with

ongoing training in India, allowing him to expand on Scott's intercultural and bodymind-based pedagogy. This portion of Zarrilli's life was critical in the formulation of his worldview and love of intercultural, transcultural, and crosscultural theatre, performance and training (Zarrilli, 2011; Zarrilli, 2002: 355).

Zarrilli first travelled to India on a Fulbright scholarship that he received in 1976 to study *kathakali*, a type of dance drama in the Kerala region of India. This was a revelatory process for Zarrilli, for during this time he began to focus on theatre pedagogy in the interest of resolving acting 'problems' in (primarily) Western students.

Zarrilli's work had already begun to concern ethnography of culture and performance as well as *kathakali*, but what came to the fore was *kathakali*'s attendant martial art *kalaripayattu*. The latter is one of the three physical training disciplines that Zarrilli has long employed. Zarrilli distinguished himself by being the first Westerner invited to train in this martial art, which has very entrenched, rarefied, and ancient cultural roots (de Gay and Goodman, 2000: 222; Zarrilli, 1998:18; Zarrilli, 2011). His training began in 1976 when he attended the Kerala Kalamandalam School for six months, training for eight hours each day under M.P. Sankaran Namboodiri. After that, he spent three months studying *kalaripayattu* under Gurukkal Govindankutty Nayar at the CVN Kalari Thiruvananthapuram (Zarrilli, 2009: 67-68).

Through observation of the work used by both his *kathakali* and his *kalaripayattu* teachers, Zarrilli began to notice the focus and power that his teachers embodied through practice of these disciplines. They exuded a presence of 'readiness' that Zarrilli wanted to understand (Zarrilli, 2009: 23-25). Zarrilli returned to train with Govindankutty Nayar over the course of seven years, devoting his time to train intensively in *kalaripayattu*. Zarrilli's humble origins as an inept beginner in an overwhelming, hot, and demanding eight-hour-a-day practice gradually evolved into master-level pedagogy. (Zarrilli, 2009: 23, 24). In 1977, Govindankutty Nayar granted Zarrilli permission to begin teaching what he was learning and in 1988, Gurukkal Govindankutty Nayar presented Zarrilli with the traditional pitham (stool) representing mastery (Zarrilli, 2009: 221; Zarrilli, 2011).

In 1989, Zarrilli began to train in *yoga* with Chandran Gurukkal of Azhicode, Kannur District. In 1993, Zarrilli furthered his *yoga* training with Dhayanidhi in Thiruvananthapuram (Zarrilli, 2009: 222).

Eventually through years of studying *kalaripayattu* as well as *yoga*, Zarrilli was able to 'weave together a complimentary set of psychophysical disciplines' that shaped his pedagogy (Zarrilli, 2009: 23-25). Zarrilli uses the three disciplines in his own way, but with little deviation from traditional form, not because of a sense of cultural favoritism but because he sees no cause to change forms that work for actors. India gave him a cosmopolitan lens with which to view the world, to view acting, and to understand that 'Asianness' and 'Westernness' cannot be reduced simply (Zarrilli, 2011).

Zarrilli has developed a pedagogy that is responsive to the split in consciousness between mind and body that sometimes exists in many actors. He sees potential in these

disciplines to remove blocks in performance. Zarrilli allows actors to challenge themselves at the level that they are capable of. He seeks to make the acting process healthy and accessible, 'providing a pathway' to solving these problems for each performer individually (Zarrilli, 2011).

Ultimately, what Zarrilli seeks is helping his students tap into a 'very immediate present,' where awareness and attentiveness can be located (short term) and a more long-term objective of an 'optimal state of readiness,' a centeredness and availability that can only be accessed sustainably through long-term practice. That is, practicing the three disciplines of his work: *yoga*, *t'ai chi* and *kalarippayattu*, in relation to performance.

According to Zarrilli's website (phillipzrilli.com), his students are asked to repeat exercises of the three disciplines daily in the classroom. Within each discipline is a tight structure that is repeated. Within each of those structures is a layering of detailed work. As the students are asked to repeat each exercise, then the surface learning of the discipline resides and an allowance for something within emerges (Creely, 2010: 223). Zarrilli describes the daily exercises of *t'ai chi*, *yoga*, and *kalarippayattu* as 'activation through breath in movement' and an awakening of energy through the body and of concentration. His goal in this pre-performative work is to lead students to an optimal level in a performance environment with themselves, their partners, and the audience (Zarrilli, 2011).

In the interest of achieving the aim of psychophysical preparation, Zarrilli has applied these particular modalities to his praxis in an integrated form. He discusses this synthesis in an interview when asked how the exercises are useful for actors, as follows:

What I brought to these traditional techniques and traditional models was a contemporary way of teaching - a Western way of teaching. I attempt to actually make things available to people very quickly. I do not want people to have to take as long as I took to find their way to a place of beginning to encounter this more transparent way of being fully engaged in what one is doing. I think it makes for better acting when one is able to sustain it. It is very useful to have these different kinds of experiences like with the opening breathing exercises, which are from simple *yoga*, then moving into the *t'ai chi* and then into the *kalarippayattu*. To me, it is all of those together and I wouldn't want to take away any of those things that I put together over time from the various teachers I had because they speak in a slightly different way to the same issue. They are all on the same track but they contribute to the kind of optimal awareness that I think is important for an actor and embodying that awareness is less likely to happen if one does not go into that particular progression. (Zarrilli, 2011)

He elaborates in an interview of the value of the Asian approaches that he uses that Western cultural training often misses. He has reverence for the approaches he uses of Asian origin; yet he also seeks to clarify that his goals are met through more than training with Eastern arts, and his pedagogy is not defined by the foreignness of his methods (Zarrilli, 2011). In other words, it is about what he has found to be effective without

affectations of otherness culturally speaking. Not only that, his focus on what works, over where the discipline originates, demonstrates his emphasis on integration and interculturalism in his pedagogy:

At a philosophical level, I think Asian thought is very useful because there is no bodymind duality in certain Asian philosophical traditions. In the West we do have the unfortunate legacy of Cartesian dualism and that is something that is so ingrained in Anglo-American culture in the way that we think, act, are inculturated, that makes it very difficult to get over. Having encountered things in non-Western cultures provides models and conceptual frameworks for a way to problem-solve and to do it clearly for people, not by romanticizing, but by challenging certain ways of thinking in the West that are problematic for actors. If somebody wants to be a dualist, [fine], but if you want to be an actor it is not going to help you. It is a pragmatic issue (Zarrilli, 2011).

This point alludes to why he chooses *yoga*, *kalaripayattu*, and *t'ai chi* as psychophysical training techniques. These are all Asian forms of training and expression, yet Zarrilli, a Westerner by birth, teaches elements from these to actors of myriad backgrounds. In the implementation of these three disciplines as psychophysical pedagogy, the emphasis is on physical immersion. In paraphrasing his sentiments about his Westernness, he understands that despite his time in India, to place too much emphasis on that cultural exposure in his pedagogy is to come across as a cultural dilettante. This does not mean he is at war with himself in his use of the forms or his admiration of them as he seeks to downplay them with a sense of pragmatism in preparing the actor for performance. It is most respectful, in his view, to not try to assume the cultural identity stemming from the disciplines he uses. He states in an interview:

In the acting studio, I am not teaching *kalaripayattu*, *taiqiquan*, or *yoga* as traditional disciplines in a specific Asian cultural context. The goal is not to make all who train with me expert martial artists. I am training actors to act. These disciplines are a vehicle to this end, and not necessarily an end in itself (Zarrilli, 2011).

Zarrilli gives a summarized description of his daily sessions and the gradual objectives in his book Acting (Re)Considered:

I guide actors through (1) a repeatable set of intensive psychophysical techniques (breath control exercises, *t'ai chi ch'uan*, *kalaripayattu*, and selected *yoga* exercises), which cultivates the bodymind toward a state of readiness, and an alternative psychophysiological relationship to the bodymind-in-action; (2) in a special space set aside... with an appropriate atmosphere ... (3) taking sufficient time to allow participants ... a new awareness of their bodies in and through "time" ... (4) providing an opportunity to actualize this psychophysiological paradigm of acting through the body via application of the training principles and techniques ... (Zarrilli, 2002:186).

Edwin Creely, in his study of Zarrilli's praxis, assesses the latter's use of *hatha yoga* for 'activation through breathing,' *kalaripayattu* to build structure and form, and *t'ai chi* for focus. 'Activation, form, and focus' is what Creely concludes are Zarrilli's 'key pedagogical goals,' 'us[ing] and adapt[ing] traditional Asian forms to suit his pedagogical needs' (Creely, 2010: 224). This balanced integration is what each daily session strives to cultivate and maintain (Zarrilli, 2011).

Of the three modalities, *yoga* is the most heavily rooted in antiquity, thought to be at least five thousand years old based on archaeological discovery, according to Shayne Bance in the article, 'History of Yoga: A Complete Overview of the Yoga History.' The other disciplines that Zarrilli incorporates in his pedagogy flow freely to and from *yoga*.

During this portion of training, he uses what he himself describes as 'basic *yoga*,' stating that it is most culturally adaptable and "Western-friendly." This is probably because in the *hatha* form that Zarrilli teaches tends to be more familiar and accessible to a Western audience (Zarrilli, 2011).

The basic *yoga* positions are called *asanas*. These are *yoga* poses that the practitioner moves into and holds for an extended period. *Asanas* are intended to simply bodily awareness to the actor, open the body, and increase physical balance and strength, among other benefits. This work allows the entry of emotional engagement, fluidity and ease of movement, and more ease in meditation (Carrico).

T'ai chi Ch'uan (often shortened to *t'ai chi*), is an ancient Chinese martial art, repurposed for Western acting preparation by A. C. Scott and Zarrilli. It is a hallmark of the innovative spirit of both teachers. That its movement principles are the psychophysical embodiment of Taoist philosophy adds a dimension that affirms the concept of union occurring through *yin* and *yang* (oppositional forces that are connected) harmony in the natural and metaphysical universe. It is a "soft" martial practice that is inner-focused to balance the 'hard' martial arts that are more externally focused (Zarrilli, 2009: 73).

Like *yoga*, *t'ai chi ch'uan* implements numerous poses, 'a continuous choreography of approximately thirty-seven basic movements elaborated into 108 movements' (Zarrilli, 2009: 73). Unlike *yoga*, advanced study can include the use of weapons such as swords and staffs in the movement exercises. In this sense, it has a kinship with *kalaripayattu*, which is also a martial art (Zarrilli, 2009: 73).

As an acting tool, the fluid grace and awareness of breath brings *t'ai chi* into distinct harmony with the practice of *yoga*. It is a perfect integration into Zarrilli's trifold movement pedagogy. *T'ai chi*, in unity with *yoga* and *kalipayattu*, is a representation of different types of Asian movement, which reflects the cultures from which it sprang just as it reflects diversity. By the time Zarrilli provides instruction, students ignorant of the disciplines' origins are having an immersive intercultural experience.

As with *yoga asanas* and *t'ai chi*'s flowing 'choreography' (Zarrilli, 2009: 73), with *kalaripayattu*, a series of sequential movements are the starting point of this discovery

of the 'body-in-practice.' While the initial results with intense practice are corporal, correct practice yields changes in the mind and behavior. This process is the genesis of the casting off of often-inhibitive 'Western' egotism in psychophysical acting pedagogy (Zarrilli, 1998: 85). Zarrilli addresses his own ego abandonment in an interview with a recounting of the 'humiliation' that he felt upon being the first Westerner to be invited to train in *kalarippayattu* while dealing with the difficulties of being in a room full of young boys and himself for eight hours a day: 'That was excruciatingly difficult, wonderfully difficult, very humiliating' (Zarrilli, 2011). He describes himself as having been a 'figure providing comic relief,' while acknowledging that the attendant ego battering and dismantling of such humiliating schooling 'can be an actor's greatest friend' (Zarrilli, 2011).

Exercises that are part of initial training involve putting the body into a sequence of postures, which not only help develop control, balance, and grace, as with *yoga* and *t'ai chi ch'uan*, they also help develop focus. Each sequence is given the title of an animal and its purpose is to embody the essence of the animal (Zarrilli, 1998: 211). Eventually, through whole-self-changing practice, 'the body becomes all eyes.' This is the culmination of the practices that lead to total psychophysical awareness: the intensity, mental courage, and unselfconsciousness, all effortless, are the rewards of *kalarippayattu*. Zarrilli maintains, 'Ideally, this increased mental calm is not something esoteric, but of great practical use.' Herein lies the key to accessibility for the reluctant Western actor (Zarrilli, 1998: 211).

In interviews, Zarrilli does not show a desire to be criticized for the natural dilution that would occur in using Asian modalities. He has had to work on making their approaches more intercultural and less Asian-centric. Just as importantly, they have to communicate this to prevent criticism for appropriating disciplines that are not of their cultures of origin. Zarrilli is emphatic in his writing and interviews about his approach being intercultural and 'cosmopolitan' rather than *strictly* Asian because he is conscious that he needs to bring more to his pedagogy than just an Asian approach that has necessarily been diluted:

My work is very intercultural because I try to pay attention to the fact that I teach all these things that have their sources in other cultures; but I am not Indian, I do not live there nor did I grow up there. I teach many places throughout the world and I am a Westerner and so part of that is recognizing first of all that as a Western teacher, I want to have a pedagogy that is addressing the issues and the context where I teach, which is in a cosmopolitan context. I am not a traditional teacher. I am not in India teaching village children and a few westerners who might happen by. I am teaching people from all over the world who want to be actors and dancers and so I am going to do a process of translation into this other context so that the underlying elements and principals of those traditional trainings are accessible to the people I work with (Zarrilli, 2011).

Certainly, ethical implications regarding the appropriation of Asian forms should be addressed. It must be asked: How does appropriation of influences skirt an ethical line?

Does the fact that Zarrilli adapted and even adopted techniques and forms with Asian roots really signify that there is some form of artistic colonization and cultural theft? Or is influence in itself not inherently unethical? If not, why would influence of an other-cultural nature be considered a breach of ethics?

Zarrilli credits fully during interviews the use of *t'ai chi ch'uan*, *yoga*, and *kalarippayattu* in physical pre-performative training as providing the bones of his training pedagogy; however, he is quick to explain that these forms 'happen to work,' and their origins are less of importance than their efficacy (Zarrilli, 2011).

Artists invariably are influenced by what surrounds them. This invites the question of whether being influenced by a fellow Westerner, by something alien but still within Western culture crosses an ethical boundary? Perhaps, if there is blatant imitation occurring, ethics would be a consideration, but influence would not break ethical rules by most standards. How then are these appropriations different from what one seeks in their curiosity about Asian practices and forms? One danger in being too conscientiously respectful of foreign culture and the art embedded within it is a bland homogeneity which can be the death of art and creativity, and arguably cultural sharing and understanding.

Phillip Zarrilli is consummately intercultural. He teaches all over the world; has protégés of many nationalities; stages performances of the West in the East and vice versa; and writes ethnographies and articles about Asian modalities. Zarrilli is a man of humility who offers himself to a work that he feels is greater than himself. In that sense, his work is a higher spiritual calling and he has answered the call. The students that teach his work are growing in numbers, and his generosity extends to his hopes for what they do as individuals to succeed. He states in interviews that he is 'excited that they are bringing something of them[selves] to [the] practice' (Zarrilli, 2011).

It is my hope that this paper will honor Phillip Zarrilli as a true theatre pioneer as well as a master theatre syncretist. I wish for Zarrilli's work on interculturalism in a performance context to be exposed to other theatre practitioners. To educate others about the pedagogical connections of East and West in theatre and teach about how culture impacts theatre and pedagogy and could help evolve and expand the current understanding of interculturalism in theatre to make it a more efficacious presence. Sharing creatively on that level could connect people on a different plateau and introduce new forms through fusion. The possibilities creatively and culturally are limitless.

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The Influence of Painting Education on Taiwan Folk Art during Japanese Colonial Period – Taking Landscape Painting of Colored Drawing for Building as Example

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Abstract

In general, Taiwan's folk art tradition is inherited from the local characteristics in Fujian and Guangdong areas of mainland China. However, after the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Japan began colonizing Taiwan, and also gradually reformed the education system, language, habituation, custom and religion that existed in Taiwan since ancient times. Moreover, during this period, the implementation of painting education was the most significant influence on Taiwan's folk art.

In 1912, elementary school students began to have painting class. It was not only emphasized the inspiration of children's intelligence, but also the learning of the basic pattern and perspective drawing technique; that is, the cultivation of their observation ability. In addition, these elements can be considered as integrating the basis of western painting into the painting education, and then become one of the key factors to change Taiwan's folk art style during Japanese colonial period.

This study is adopted the painting education during Japanese colonial period as the research subject to explore the influence of related historic background and the changes in actual artworks on Taiwan's folk art, which can also be used as the record reference to historic context.

Key word: art history, painting education, folk art, Japanese colonial period, colored drawing for building

Introduction

Early in the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese government had not begun to impose restraints on religious beliefs in Taiwan. Although the construction of temples and ancestral shrines continued, the regime change drastically reduced the number of artisans from “Tangshan” (i.e. mainland China.).

After 1910, successful agricultural and economic reform by the Japanese government contributed to a prosperous and stable society. As a result, the prospect of the building industry went from the gloom during early Japanese rule to one of optimism, in turn raising the demand for more artisans. Not only were local artisans busy with construction projects, Tangshan artisans from various trades also resumed coming to Taiwan for work. Some stayed behind and passed down their craft to their apprentices. Thus, the Tangshan painters who came to the island during this period can be regarded the most influential group in the development of Taiwanese architectural painting during Japanese rule.

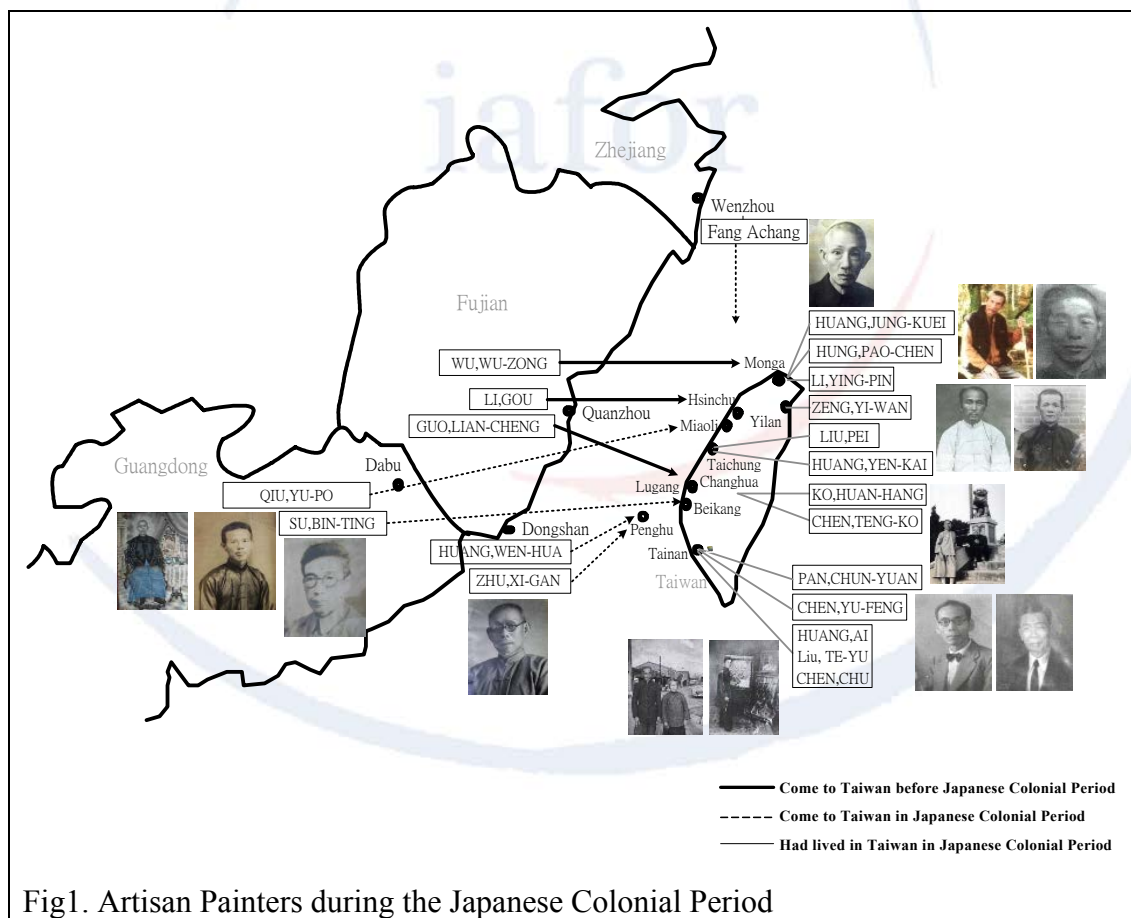


Fig1. Artisan Painters during the Japanese Colonial Period

Besides the economic factors, however, transportation also played a critical role.

Because the transportation system was still underdeveloped, architectural painters could only travel on foot or on cattle-drawn carriage. That coupled with the inconvenience of carrying tools and materials limited the range of area each painter could cover and indirectly caused distinct regional painting differences.

In addition to taking on a large quantity of projects, architectural painters during this period also took advantage of more open access to information. They began to transform their styles by injecting many new themes and stylistic expressions instead of simply replicating precedents. Several factors may have contributed to this evolution. Among them are the growing availability and acceptance of Western styles presented in newspapers and art magazines, and the dawn of fine art education on the island and launch of Taiwan Art Exhibitions (台灣美術展覽會) and Taiwan Governor's Art Exhibitions (台灣總督府美術展覽會).

Current studies showed that architectural paintings before 1920s basically adapted traditional Chinese ink wash painting styles. Landscapes and buildings were both presented using traditional techniques. However, what were the factors that caused large landscape oil paintings to appear in significant numbers in traditional houses? Past literature mentioned that western style paintings became widespread in government agencies, public clubs, department stores, schools and cafes as wall decoration around 1930. Western paintings, however, had yet to appear in private residences. However, if we limit ourselves to the concept of framed paintings for interior decoration, the assumption that western paintings have yet to appear in private residences in 1930 may be considered as truth. In reality, however, non-Chinese landscape paintings had already become popular amongst the general public. Painters created works that reflected popular western styles. The appearance of these works was a result of western culture introduced by Japanese colonization as well as influences of contemporary art education and artistic trends.



Fig2. Traditional Architectural Painting (1918)

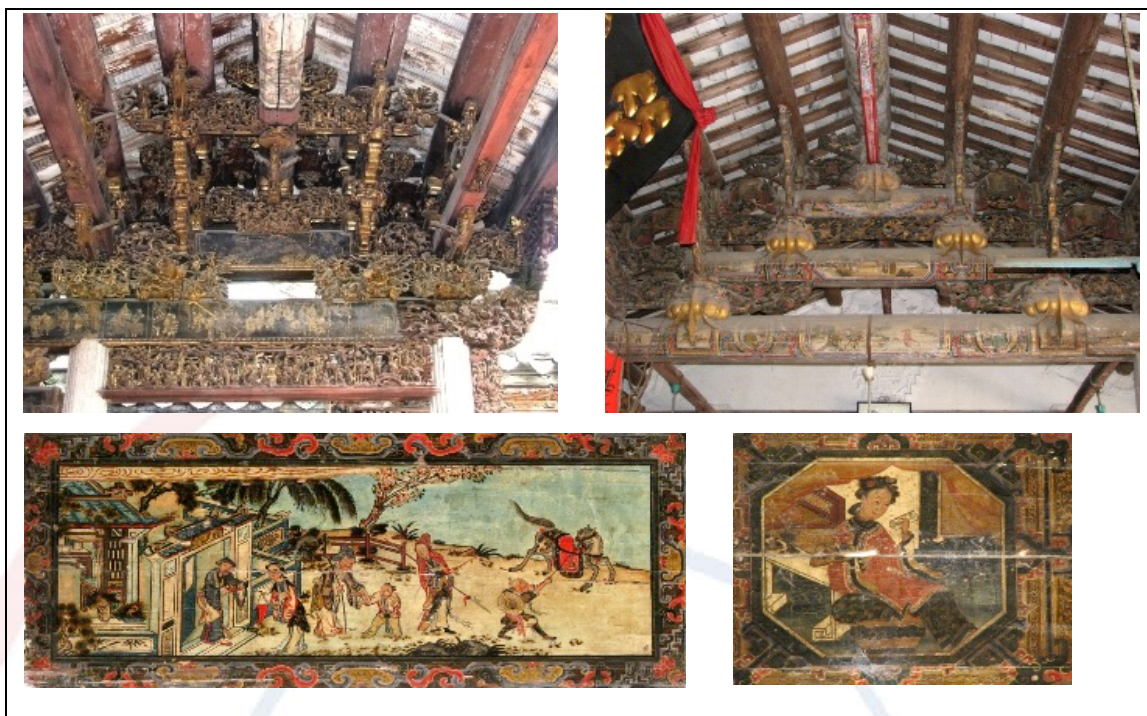


Fig3. Architectural Painting of Guangdong



Fig4. Architectural Painting of Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period (1910s to 20s)

1. Artistic backgrounds that influenced landscape paintings

(1) The implementation of art education

Although art education had begun in 1897 during Japanese Rule, the first Minister of Education of the Taiwan Sotokufu (Government), 伊澤修二, proposed the concept of "applicable academics". Subjects that were often neglected by traditional schools such

as painting, gymnastics, music and arithmetic were incorporated into the academic curriculum. Teacher training was initiated in 1902. By the time that there were students in painting classes of public schools, it was already 1912. During this era, painting classes taught students to draw using chalk and pencils. Special emphasis was taken to develop child intelligence and allow them to incorporate every object into their drawings. Children were taught about simple geometric shapes and perspectives, thus developing their observational skills. These units were also the fundamentals of western painting.

(2) Artistic trends inspired by the Taiwan Art Exhibition

Although no existing information clearly indicates that painters were influenced by art education provided by the Japanese in their architectural paintings, we knew that most of these non-Chinese styled works had appeared in the late 1920s. Several painters also learned about western art or were amongst the selected exhibitors of the Taiwan Art Exhibition (Taiwan Exhibition) and Taiwan Sotokufu Art Exhibition (Sotokufu Exhibition). Hence, even if these painters were not influenced by art education during Japanese rule, it would be difficult to neglect the actual impact caused by contemporary artistic trends. The key event responsible for this impact was the hosting of the Taiwan Art Exhibitions.

The Taiwan Art Exhibition of 1927 hosted by the Taiwan Education Association was one of the biggest events in the art community. Before the Exhibition, most Taiwanese art was based on mimicking traditional styles. Most architectural paintings were also composed using traditional painting techniques. However, works in Taiwan Exhibition successfully achieved a breakthrough from the conservative ideologies of painters in mimicking traditional styles. Realism (sketching) was adopted to replace the abstract ink wash works. Additionally, the transformation of art trends initiated by Taiwan Exhibition also caused painters to begin using oil painting techniques. Themes also reflected buildings of that era and made use of perspectives. These types of works were very rare prior to the Exhibition. The following section shall describe the characteristics of contemporary landscape paintings of that era.

2. Characteristics of contemporary landscape paintings

Under the influences of art education and impact to artistic trends caused by Taiwan Exhibition during Japanese rule, contemporary landscape works became distinctive compared to the traditional works that mimicked the styles of art anthologies. Most of these novel works appeared in the late 1920s and had two common major characteristics: (1) Illustration of actual scenery, (2) perspective.

(1) Illustration of actual scenery

It would be impossible to determine whether sketching had been a concept amongst painters of that time. However, it could be seen from existing works of several painters that sketching concepts had already been applied. The earliest existing work that used still life techniques would be a painting of a Minnanese complex residence drawn in 1918. This work exhibited an angle with a small forward scene and large rear scene, showing that the painter did not yet have the western concepts of perspective. However, the work was rather innovative in an era where most painters were still using traditional ink wash painting techniques.



Fig5. Traditional Architectural Painting (1918)



Fig6. Architectural Painting (1931), the actual scene depicted



Fig7. Architectural Painting (1931), the actual scene depicted



Fig8. Architectural Painting (1931), the actual scene depicted



Fig9. Architectural Painting (1935), the actual scene depicted

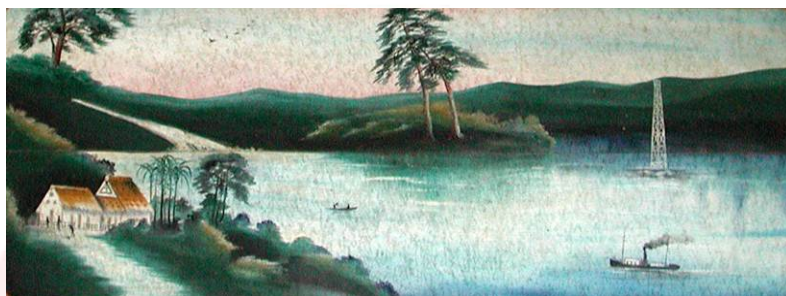


Fig10. Architectural Painting (1935), the actual scene depicted



Fig11. Architectural Painting (1935), the actual scene depicted



Fig12. Architectural Painting (1935), the actual scene depicted

(2) Perspective

It was previously described in this text that art education implemented during Japanese rule emphasized observation and perspective techniques. In 1918, Assistant Professor 安東豊作 of Taiwan Sotokufu Japanese Language School mentioned in his *Techniques and Examples of Blackboard Drawing* that: "Landscape drawing is necessary in the instruction of painting techniques. The horizon would decide the relationship between the image above and below it and the perspective. In other words, no mistakes are allowed when determining distances. This issue is also similar for objects and buildings." These concepts were critical points of contemporary art education and were implemented within text books. Actual landscape paintings also

clearly depicted the use of perspectives.



Fig13. Architectural Painting (1920), no perspective



Fig14. Architectural Painting



Fig15. Architectural Painting (1927)



Fig16. Architectural Painting(1929-30)



Fig17. Architectural Painting(1929)



Fig18. Architectural Painting(1932)



Fig19. Architectural Painting(1935)



Fig20. Architectural Painting(1935)

Conclusion

Increased regional identities had initiated rapid development in the research of Taiwanese folk art. However, this was carried out in parallel to the study of Taiwanese art history, as few studies discussed both topics. Folk art was mainly based on mimicking high art, and art education and Taiwan Exhibition hosted during Japanese rule both significantly influenced the themes and styles of architectural paintings.

Art education and Taiwan Exhibition in the Japanese rule were initiated in 1910s and 1920s respectively. In fact, observations of actual architectural paintings before 1920s found that most were composed using traditional painting techniques, and large numbers of modern works only began to appear in the late 1920s. Although this could be attributed to the personal backgrounds of the painters, the number of modern paintings made by each painter was rather uneven and most painters probably tried to adopt new painting techniques and themes to some extent. Most painters during the Japanese rule had contacts with artists. Styles of the works accepted in the Taiwan Exhibition gradually became the mainstream artistic fashion of that era. Architectural paintings with sketching and eastern-western painting techniques began to appear, showing that the painters were well aware of developments in the artistic fields. Even though the Japanese had changed painting traditions of the literati via education and art competitions, these modern works were still unable to completely replace traditional paintings. The most important factor was that traditional painting provided additional functions of ensuring fortune and giving moral lessons that could not be subverted by artistic development.

Hence, when discussing the relationship between architectural paintings and Taiwanese art during Japanese rule, I believe that art education and the hosting of Taiwan and Sotofuku Exhibitions allowed the painters to broaden their horizons and

adopt different drawing techniques. These changes were also reflected in their architectural paintings, enriching the styles of artworks created during Japanese rule. At the same time, architectural paintings, being a form of folk art, must also satisfy the people's demands. Traditional ink wash paintings contain hidden and metaphorical teachings and made use of various modern symbols to directly give impressions of wealth and modernity. This visual communication method was perhaps influenced by contemporary western culture.

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Behaviors of Menopausal Women within Nakhon Ratchasima District, Thailand

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Background

Developments in science and technology have been effective in the prevention and treatment of diseases. As a result, the general population has an increased life span and as a consequence of this there has been an increase of menopausal women. In 2005 there 7.86 million women in Thailand who at the age of 40 had reached menopause. It is estimated that there will be 9.43 million in 2015 and 9.91 million in 2020, an increase of 24 per cent in 2005 to 27 per cent and 28 in 2015 and 2020 respectively.

It can be seen that the trend of the increasing number of women entering menopause in Thailand reflects the importance and severity of the health problem in both the present and the future. Changes in postmenopausal women in the 3-5 years before menopause include ovarian hormone production which begins to atrophy and a decrease in estrogen causing significant changes in various organ systems including the cardiovascular system, autonomous nervous system, skeletal system, urology and external genitalia. Although the change is natural, postmenopausal women might have health problems if they are not treated properly.

If postmenopausal women use preventive health measures for symptoms and effects arising from the changes of menopause such as having an appropriate diet, adequate nutrition, exercise, check-ups regularly, having good mental health, proper amounts of sleep, and have good sexual health. These factors that help promote healthy postmenopausal women the ability to adapt to the changes occurred through menopause and be happy and maintain good health.

From Academic Services to Society

In 2010, Boramajonani College of Nursing, Nakhonratchasima, Muang, Nakhonratchasima started a study using a group of middle-aged women to look at health problems and how they are associated with changes in age. Researchers realized the importance of good health for postmenopausal women and therefore it is necessary to have some basic information on health and the health behaviors of postmenopausal women as a means to encourage postmenopausal women to have good health and better quality of life. This information will lead to the integration of research thus providing academic services to society.

Objective of the Study

To study the health of postmenopausal women in the district of Nakhon Ratchasima.

Research Methods

This research is descriptive. Data was collected using a questionnaire developed by the investigator. The method of operation is as follows.

1. Population and subjects

Population is postmenopausal women aged 40-59 years living in the district. 64,798 people of the province were selected from specific properties of the sample. A sample of 300 randomly selected by the District. By simple random sampling of 25 parishes, including four Districts Properties of the sample are as follows.

- Aged 40 – 59 years
- In the community to collect data for at least one year
- Communication, understanding and willing to cooperate in the survey

2. Research tools

The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The information includes the number of children, age, marital status, education, occupation, and health insurance. Part two includes questions on health behavior such as eating, exercise, sleep and hygiene, excretion, sexual relations, mental health and stress, health status of the family. The frequency response is as follows.

Practice on a regular basis means According to the message posted on a regular basis. (5 – 7 days per week)

Practice often means respondents often follow (3 – 5 days per week)

Practice from time to time means respondents practice according to the message posted occasionally (1 – 2 days per week)

Not always practice means respondents do not practice any of the message posted

Survey of postmenopausal women: The answer is as follows

Yes means Samples have knowledge

No means samples do not have knowledge

3. Validity and reliability of tools

3.1 To test the validity of the content. Questionnaire has been checked for accuracy by 4 experts. After verifying the accuracy of the content, the use of language is revised and brought to trial of a group of 30 individuals with similar characteristics to the study population.

3.1 The questionnaires were analyzed to determine confidence. Coefficients using Cronbach's alpha. The confidence level of the health behavior questionnaire was of 0.91

4. Data collection

The duration of the data collection was between the periods from October 4, 2553 to February 20, 2554.

4.1 Preparation of researcher team and research assistants: the researcher prepared the researcher team and research assistants of 5 people to collect data and perform data collection practices by working together with a researcher.

4.2 Data collection was carried out as follows. The researcher and research assistant explained the purpose of the research and got approval to collect data at Nhong Ya Rak district, Nhong Kai Nam district, Sri Moom district, and Ban Phra district Selected by simple random sampling. On Postmenopausal women completed a questionnaire. Questionnaires were collected. Data of record to verify the accuracy of the query. Preparation for the next analysis.

5. Data analysis

Using instant analysis program. The demographic data and health behaviors of subjects were analyzed using frequency and percentage.

Research results

33.33 percents of the subjects were in the age group of 40 – 44 years. 26.67 percents of the subjects were in the age group of 50 – 54 years. 79.33 percent of the subjects were married. 73.33 percent of the subjects were studied in primary school. 48 percent of the subjects had a family income of 5000 – 10000 Baht per month. 54.33 percent of them were satisfied with their income. 35 percent of them were housewives. 76 percent of them used a government health insurance card as shown in Table 1.

Health behaviors

Samples had appropriate consuming behavior; 67.3 percent of them ate breakfast regularly. 52 percent of them ate three meals a day, every day. 46.3 percent of them had fruit every day. 43.5 percent of them had five categories of food and had their meals on time. The inappropriate consuming behaviors samples had including 55

percent of them eating foods with MSG regularly. 18.7 percent of them ate sweet foods. 18.3 percent of them ate very salty foods as shown in Table 2.

Exercise

Most of the samples did not have strenuous exercise; 74.34 percent of them lifted heavy objects, did aerobic dance, and cycling. 16.33 percent of them had heavy activities 5 – 7 days a week. 35.67 percent of them had medium activities 5 – 7 days a week such as lifting light objects, did light cycling. 59.67 percent of them had light activities 5 – 7 days a week such as walking at least 10 minutes. 43.91 percent of them did some walking and practiced Tai Chi. 5.4 percent of them ran as shown in Table 3.

Sleeping

57 percent of samples slept 7 – 8 hours a night. 24.67 percent of them slept 5 – 6 hours a night. These people went to bed between 10 p.m. – midnight. They went to bed late because of watching a movie, listening to music, insomnia and anxiety, respectively.

Hygiene

92.7 percent of samples regularly cleaned themselves 2 times a day. 90.6 percent of them cleaned their hands before having meals and after urination and defecation. 90.3 percent of them cleaned their genital area thoroughly and regularly. 2.7 percent of them had inappropriate body cleaning and did not brush their teeth at least twice a day.

Urination and defecation

90.67 percent of samples had regular urination and defecation. 75.67 percent of them could not control the urinary excretion. 6.67 percent of them had constipation. 5.33 percent of them had urinary incontinence especially when they coughed or sneezed.

Sexual intercourse

34 percent of them had sexual intercourse 1 – 2 times a month. 32.67 percent of them had no sexual intercourse. 17.67 percent of them had sexual intercourse 3 – 4 times a month. 24.33 percent of them enjoyed having sex while 14 percent of them showed a decrease in sexual pleasure. 3.6 percent of them had pain during sexual intercourse as shown in Table 4.

Mental health and stress

49.3 percent of samples felt frustrated and annoyed. 88.3 percent of them felt that their lives had no value. 86.7 percent of them felt despair in life. 81 percent of them had shaking of voice, hands, and lips when not satisfied respectively.

Health status

99.3 percent of samples taught their family's members about morals and responsibilities. 98.3 percent of them took care of each other and trained family's member to be in discipline. 80 percent of them played sport or some form of recreational activities together.

Knowledge of menopausal women

79.3 percent of samples had knowledge of common symptoms of menopause. 87 percent of them had no knowledge of female hormones causing changes in the body such as an oily and/or hairy face. 79 percent of them had an infection of the urinary

tract and had urinary incontinence. 67.3 percent of them had symptoms of flushing and sweating a lot as shown in Table 5.

Table 1 Numbers and percentage of samples by demographic data

Demographic data		Number (n = 300)	Percentage
Age (year)	40 - 44	100	33.33
	45 - 49	72	24.00
	50 - 54	80	26.67
	55 - 59	48	16.00
Marital status	Single	18	60.00
	Married	238	79.33
	Widow/divorced/separated	44	14.67
Education	Uneducated	9	3.00
	Primary school	220	73.33
	Secondary school	45	15.00
	Diploma	15	5.00
	Bachelor or higher	11	3.67
Number of children	None	61	20.33
	1	131	43.67
	2	78	26.00
	3	26	8.67
	4	4	1.33
Occupation	Housewife	105	35.00
	Trader	95	31.67
	Employee	74	24.67
	Farmer	24	8.00
	Government officer	2	0.66
Health insurances	Government insurance	228	76.00
	Social health insurance	50	16.67
	Government health officer's insurance/ Employee's insurance	22	7.33

Table 2 Numbers and percentage of samples by consuming behaviors

Consuming behaviors	Not practice		Occasionally		Frequently		Regularly	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Eat breakfast every day.	29	9.7	51	17	18	6	202	67.3
Eat three meals a day.	30	10	66	22	48	16	156	52
Eat 5 categories of foods	12	4	49	16.4	108	36.1	130	43.5
Eat fish more than meat.	25	8.3	92	30.7	73	24.3	110	36.7
Eat high-fat diet.	60	20	158	52.7	48	16	34	11.3
Eat fruits every day.	13	4.3	71	23.7	77	27.7	139	46.3
Eat very sweet taste foods.	70	23.3	123	41	51	17	56	18.7
Eat very salty foods.	103	34.3	96	32	46	15.3	55	18.3
Eat uncooked meat.	180	60	80	26.7	23	7.7	17	5.7
Eat foods with	31	10.3	49	16.3	55	18.3	165	55

Consuming behaviors	Not practice		Occasionally		Frequently		Regularly	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
MSG.								
Eat fermented foods/ preservative foods	109	36.3	162	54	16	5.3	13	4.3
Eat charred grilled/ fried foods.	104	35	147	49.5	32	10.8	14	4.7

Table 3 Number and percentage of the sample by exercise.

Exercise	Number (n = 300)	Percentage
Activities with very much force such as aerobic, running	223	74.34
None		
1 – 2 days/week		
3 – 4 days/week		
5 – 7 days/week	49	16.33
Activities with immediate force such as biking	112	37.33
None		
1 – 2 days/week		
3 – 4 days/week		
5 – 7 days/week	107	35.67
Activities with little force such as dancing within 10 minutes	45	15.00
None		
1 – 2 days/week		
5 – 7 days/week		
everyday	1	0.33

Table 4 Number and percentage of the sample by sexual health.

Sexual health status	Never		Occasionally		Often		Regularly	
	Number	Percent age	Number	Percent age	Number	Percent age	Number	Percent age
Have the pleasure of having sex.	109	36.30	77	25.60	41	13.60	73	24.33
Have pain while having sex.	229	76.30	50	16.60	12	4.00	9	3.60
Not feel comfortable after having sex.	230	76.00	46	15.30	13	4.33	11	3.67
Decrease in libido.	147	49	70	23.30	41	13.60	42	14.00
Vaginal itching and inflammation.	243	81.00	43	14.30	5	1.67	9	3.00
Atrophy of the reproductive organs.	228	76.00	43	14.30	12	4.00	17	5.67

Table 5: Number and percentage of respondents with incorrect knowledge about menopause.

Knowledge	Number	Percentage
Common symptoms of menopause include hot flushes, sweating, palpitations, insomnia, irritability, fatigue, forgetfulness.	62	20.70
Other symptoms of menopause include urinary incontinence, vaginal dryness and pain while having sexual intercourse, wrinkled skin, hair loss, brittle nails.	152	50.70
Exercise regularly and take adequate calcium, the body can have a lot of bone mass. When entering menopause will have less chance of osteoporosis.	130	43.30
Intake of low-fat diet, dietary fiber helps control levels of fats in the bloodstream and the risk of ischemic heart disease.	146	48.70
When female hormone levels in the body drop suddenly, superficial blood vessel will dilate inducing symptoms of hot flashes, very sweaty at chest, back and neck.	202	67.30
When hormone estrogen in a woman's body is gone, other female sex hormones in the body will be outstanding. In some women that hormone will be very dominant, and act like testosterone, causing thin mustache and oily face.	261	87.00
Female hormone will decrease when menopausal time begins. The moisture and lubrication in the vagina gradually disappear. This material also prevents the growth of bacteria in the vagina. When these are gone, so there are symptoms of dry and itching vagina caused by infection.	192	64.00

Conclusion and discussion

Eating habits :Research indicates that 67.30 percent of the samples had a regular breakfast in the morning. This may be due to samples having to work all day. The reasoning is that they have to have breakfast every day to be able to work hard and efficiently.52.00 percent of subjects had three meals every day. 43.50 percent eat on time and with five categories of foods. 46.30 percent eat fruits daily. It may be because the samples lived in rural communities and therefore are not rushed. As a result, the samples eat properly. Consistent with the study of Tanyatorn Yongpanit who studied self – care of nutrition and health care of postmenopausal women. The study found that the sample’s quality of eating is at good level such as eating three meals a day. The study found that 55.00 percent of samples had inappropriate eating behavior on a regular basis such as eating foods with MSG. The interviews provided information that stir fry, curry, soup, and fried foods will have MSG added to improve

flavor. If there is no MSG the food will not be as flavorful and women will eat less. MSG has been part of the diet of menopausal women for many years.

Exercise and physical movement: The results showed that 21.33 percent of the samples had strenuous exercise, such as lifting heavy weights, aerobic, speed cycling for 30 minutes at least 3-4 days/week. 35.67 percent exercise with moderate force, such as lifting light weight, biking comfortably at least 5-7 days/week. 59.67 percent performed less strenuous exercises such as dancing for at least 10 consecutive minutes at least 5-7 days/week. Types of exercise women performed the most were Tai Chi and dance, accounting for 43.91 of women. The explanation is that the majority of women have to do the house work percent, prepare food, look after family members and do any other activities in the house. After the completion of work each day, women need rest rather than exercise. Moreover, the majority were married. So women have to take responsible for family tasks, there is no time to exercise and cannot allocate time for exercise regularly. Consistent with the study of Piyanuch Jittanont and Wannee Jansawang, who investigated the perceived barriers to exercise and found that the majority of samples recognized that fatigue from work or the burden of the family are a barrier to exercise. Also, consistent with the study of Ladawan Prateepchaikool who studied health status and health behavior of officers. The Faculty of Nursing at Prince of Songkla University study found that having a mission to perform approximately 7-8 hours/day cause fatigue and make women need time for relaxation and exercise.

Sleep: The study found that 57.00 percent of samples sleep 7-8 hours per day. Sleep through the night help the body and mind to relax completely, stimulating hormone secretion and stimulate growth to help repair the wear and tear of the body. Regularly sleep problems are snoring and going to bed to late. Common problems of sleep are the failure to get to sleep and inability to sleep through the night. Consistent with the study of Piyanuch Keawpu, who studied the relationship between family's health status and postmenopausal women's health status, family postmenopausal women. She found that one of the greatest physical health problems is insomnia or a sleep with periodical stirring. It can be explained as a result of changes in the body caused by menopause often associated with hot flushes.

Personal hygiene: The study found that 90.00 per cent of the samples had appropriate levels of hygiene including showering 2 times a day, washing their hands every time before eating and after defecation/urination, and cleaning their vagina regularly. Pender mentioned that behavioral factors related to the perceived benefits of action, the feeling towards the actions and results of operations help women to practice appropriate behaviors.

Excretion: The results from the study showed that 90.67 and 75.67 percent respectively of the sample had normal feces and urinary excretion daily. 6.67 percent have urinary incontinence. 3.30 percent urinate their pants when coughing or sneezing. It is because of a reduction of the hormone estrogen causing the muscles around the vagina to thin and lose strength resulting in a vagina is not tightened or a slackening of the vagina or by dropping down of the uterus. These cause a problem of the urinary

system such as urinary incontinence especially when coughing or sneezing or when having pressure in the abdomen.

Sexual health: 34.00 percent of the samples had sexual intercourse 1-2 times per month. 32.67 percent had no sexual intercourse. Sexual behaviors which occur on a regular basis are: 24.33 percent enjoyed sex. 14.00 percent had less sexual pleasure. This can be explained by the changing of hormones resulting in change in the reproductive organs. Women will have less sexual desire, less sexual response, less frequency of sexual intercourse, and less orgasms. There is only a minority of postmenopausal women who had sex as early menopause. Incidence and trends of sexual behavior in postmenopausal women are varied according to different social conditions, traditions, cultural beliefs, education, economic and living conditions.

Consistent with the study of Thai women, the study found that 47 to 79 percent of women do not have sex because of lack of sexual desire or libido.

Mental health and stress: 86.70 percent of the samples never feel lost in life. 88.30 percent feel that their life has worth. 80.70 percent have no feeling of anxiety. It may be due to the majority of the samples are adults. They are mature and able to deal with their own grief creatively. Accordance with the study of Srirueon Kaewkangwan who mentioned that the middle age is the age with maturity. This age had professional success in their lives and they were guided by the experiences that they have accumulated since the infants. This age is named as golden era of life.

Family Health: The results showed that 99.30 percent of samples taught their family members about moral teachings. 98.30 percent of samples take care of family members and train family members to have discipline. It can be explained that characterizes society in Thailand which is closely allied to the family, relatives, neighbors and colleagues. When there are problems they will help each other. This makes postmenopausal women feel good and feel they are not lonely. They have someone they can lean on. It can be said that family has a great influence on health.

Consistent with the study of Wipaporn Saksuriyapadung who found that the family relationship of postmenopausal women with family members influence health behaviors of postmenopausal women. This results in postmenopausal women having to struggle to adapt to the changes of the body and mind. Postmenopausal women care to meet the needs of family members resulting in the well-being of family members and good health.

Knowledge of menopause: The results showed that the majority of postmenopausal women knew more than 50 percent of the typical symptoms of menopause and age at menopause. It can be explained that public and private agencies provide this information through various media. Public health officials and health volunteers play a role in providing information for postmenopausal women. They are reliable source of information. Moreover, the relative friendly neighbors especially who are the same age as the samples help them to be able to communicate and consult with each other about postmenopausal women.

The study found that 87.00 percent of samples had no knowledge of the female hormones. This is probably due to lack of knowledge of the English terms such as

Estrogen which contribute to the lack of understanding. Appropriate health behaviors of postmenopausal women are proper consumption of food, personal hygiene and mental health and stress, family health. The inappropriate practices are exercise, sexual health and knowledge of menopause.

Recommendations from the research.

This study found that samples are less knowledgeable about the symptoms of menopause and female hormones. There are also restrictions on health practices including exercise. Therefore, nurses should collaborate with health team personnel in promoting women's knowledge about the changes and the correct practices when entering menopause. The activities provide training and the peer groups support the women in learning together.

As well as the knowledge of the broadcast tower for the villages and education through village health volunteers and to the media to give advice to women in the community, women should be encouraged to have social events such as postmenopausal women club and participate in social activities, so they can share their learning activities. Exercise clubs and field trips to help these women feel proud as a member of society and a better quality of life in the future.

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The Effects of Teaching Integration Approach on Nursing Students' Public Mind

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Abstract

Aims: The purposes of this descriptive study were to 1) examine the effects of the teaching integration approach on public mind of nursing students (NS) and 2) evaluate NS's public mind behaviors after teaching integration approach was employed. **Methods:** A total of 106 junior NS who enrolled for Health Promotion and Protection course at Boromarajonani College of Nursing, Nakhonratchasima, 2010 academic year participated in this study. Data were collected between December 2010 and January 2011. Public mind were evaluated by using questionnaires developed by researchers ($\alpha = 0.91$) measuring the NS's opinion on 5 dimensions including; 1) dimensional aspect of service skill development, 2) dimensional aspect of self development, 3) dimensional aspect of human being, 4) dimensional aspect of service, and 5) dimensional aspect of learning. Data then were analyzed using descriptive statistics. **Results:** Predominantly, participants were female (89.62%) aged 20 years old (67.92 %). All of them completed a 3-day period of the study. The results of study revealed that the NS's mean scores of all dimensional aspects were at good level; 1) dimensional aspect of service skill development ($\bar{X} = 4.24$, S.D. = 0.42), 2) dimensional aspect self development ($\bar{X} = 4.48$, S.D. = 0.40), 3) dimensional aspect of human being ($\bar{X} = 4.33$, S.D. = 0.46), 4) dimensional aspect of service ($\bar{X} = 4.37$, S.D. = 0.49), and 5) dimensional aspect of learning ($\bar{X} = 4.40$, S.D. = 0.51); respectively. **Recommendations:** Based on the results, the teaching integration approach in promoting NS's public mind should be carried on to enhance those desirable characteristics.

Key words: Teaching Integration Approach, Nursing students, Public mind

Background and Significant

According to the Act of the National Education B.E. 2542, Section 7, it is clearly indicated that the aims and process of learning must focus on cultivating the students' public mind (Ministry of Education, B.E. 2546). Therefore, the desirable feature of the curriculum for Basic Education B.E. 2544 is to provide students with mental public nature and its beauty and benefits to society (Ministry of Education, B.E. 2546). Later on, the Basic Education Core Curriculum BE 2552 requires that the public mind is one of eight characteristic schools must have an action plan to develop this important characteristic for students. It is of concern that human who live in the society of materialism will ignore a good public mind. Therefore, many educational institutions realize that social and moral development can raise the public mind. Public mind should be recognized as a good foundation of education in future (Dolprasit, B.E. 2543)

Public mind is defined as the individual's consciousness on society characterized by volunteering to serve the public such as donating time, money and/or using the intellectuality to help people in society expecting nothing in return (Sriboriboon, B.E. 2550). Public consciousness is one of public mind's characteristics which nowadays, people are interested in. The public mind is the strategy in developing people to take responsibility to social although the technology is continuing to grow (Waroonpitikul, B.E. 2542). In order to ensure that students have public mind, it is set as one of key performance indexes of the internal and external educational quality assurance (Wattanasiri & Sunjorn, B.E. 2543)

Nowadays, in Nursing Schools, teaching and learning focuses on the integration approach between learning objectives and social responsibility. It is believed that nursing students (NS) will value the public mind once they can apply their knowledge to serve the public. Moreover, by doing public service, NS's mind, behaviors, and life skills improved in a good way. Making good deeds changes students to be healthy adults who understand human beings. It is expected that by using the integration approach with NS. They will care clients with heart and practice by using critical thinking and become good nurses in future.

Objectives

This study aimed to:

1. Examine the effects of the teaching integration approach on promoting public mind of nursing students
2. Evaluate nursing students' public mind behaviors after the completion of the project.

Methods

Design:

This study was conducted by using a descriptive study design.

Population:

A total of 106 junior NS who enrolled for Health Promotion and Protection course at Boromarajonani College of Nursing, Nakhonratchasima, 2010 academic year participated this study. Data were collected between December 2010 and January 2011. All of participants enrolled for Health Promotion and Health Protection on 2nd semester of 2010 academic year.

Research Instrument:

Questionnaires used in this study were developed by researchers. They composed of 3 parts including:

Part I: Part one was a Demographic Data Form

Part II: Part two was the questionnaire about the students' opinion on the teaching integration approach which was divided into 2 components.

Component one composed opinions on the teaching integration of 44 items and opinions on public mind behaviors of 15 items.

Component two composed of 5 open ended questions asking the participants to reflect their thoughts regarding 1) academic knowledge, 2) health-related communication skill, 3) impression, 4) implications for practice, and 5) barriers and solutions.

Prior to data collection, research instruments were tested for validity and reliability. Content validity was determined for its accuracy by 3 experts. Thereafter, it was tested with 30 NS who had similar characteristics to the study population. Questionnaires then were analyzed to determine the reliability using Alpha Chronbach's Coefficient. The reliability was 0.91.

Data Collection:

Data were collected between December 2010 and January 2011. Public mind were evaluated by using questionnaires measuring the NS's opinion on 5 dimensional aspects; 1) dimensional aspect of service skill development, 2) dimensional aspect self development, 3) dimensional aspect of human being, 4) dimensional aspect of service, and 5) dimensional aspect of learning.

Data Analysis:

Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics. Qualitative data were analyzed using content analysis.

Results

Predominantly, participants were female (89.62%) aged 20 years old (67.92 %). All of them completed a 3-day period of the study. The results of study revealed that the NS's mean scores of all dimensions were at good level.

Aspect of service skill development: The overall mean score of NS's opinion on aspect of service skill development was 4.24 ± 0.42 . Considering by item, the highest score was the encourage students to learn from the community ($\bar{X} = 4.40$, S.D. = 0.67) and the lowest score was the readiness to provide service ($\bar{X} = 4.04$, S.D. = 0.62).

Aspect of self development: The overall mean score of NS's opinion on aspect of self development was 4.48 ± 0.40 . Considering by item, the highest score was being friendly ($\bar{X} = 4.74$, S.D. = 0.54) and the lowest score was creativity ($\bar{X} = 4.30$, S.D. = 0.62).

Aspect of human being: The overall mean score of NS's opinion on aspect of human being was 4.33 ± 0.46 . Considering by item, the highest score was respect others ($\bar{X} = 4.50$, S.D. = 0.73) and the lowest score was recognize others' capability ($\bar{X} = 4.32$, S.D. = 0.60).

Aspect of service: The overall mean score of NS's opinion on aspect of service was 4.37 ± 0.49 . Considering by item, the highest score was providing care willingly ($\bar{X} = 4.44$, S.D. = 0.68) and the lowest score was providing care with holistic approach ($\bar{X} = 4.25$, S.D. = 0.60).

Aspect of learning: The overall mean score of NS's opinion on aspect of learning was 4.40 ± 0.51 . Considering by item, the highest score was concerning others' benefits ($\bar{X} = 4.48$, S.D. = 0.57) and the lowest score was knowing the multi-dimensional problem solving ($\bar{X} = 4.33$, S.D. = 0.59) (See Table 1).

Table 1: Mean and Standard Deviation of NS' opinions on the teaching integration Approach characterized by item, dimension, and overall (N = 106)

Dimensions	\bar{X}	S.D.	Level
Aspect of service skill development	4.24	0.42	Good
1. The confidence in the knowledge and professional skills	4.14	0.56	Good
2. Regain knowledge and professional skills from practicing in real situations	4.34	0.58	Good
3. Learn to live with others in society	4.29	0.71	Good
4. Decision making and problem solving ability	4.30	0.65	Good
5. The ability to adjust attitude and image of nursing students	4.22	0.63	Good
6. The readiness to provide services	4.04	0.62	Good
7. Critical thinking	4.09	0.63	Good
8. Health-related communication skill	4.40	0.56	Good
9. Using rational to solve problems	4.08	0.57	Good
10. Using group process to learn and share experiences	4.26	0.72	Good
11. Facilitate the used of Nursing Process	4.13	0.63	Good
12. Encourage students to learn from the community	4.40	0.67	Good
13. Encourage community to take part	4.31	0.68	Good
14. Satisfaction in attending this activity	4.30	0.59	Good
Aspect of self development	4.48	0.40	Good
15. Being on time	4.38	0.58	Good
16. Being honest	4.42	0.59	Good
17. Being friendly	4.74	0.54	Excellent
18. Being polite	4.68	0.51	Excellent
19. Being kindness	4.61	0.51	Excellent
20. Being response to others	4.62	0.54	Excellent
21. Cognitive skill	4.32	0.63	Good
22. Having appropriate manners	4.50	0.60	Good
23. Creativity	4.30	0.62	Good
24. Professional development	4.45	0.57	Good
25. Professional ethics	4.42	0.60	Good
26. Respect patients' rights	4.44	0.59	Good
27. Maintain good attitude for others	4.42	0.57	Good
28. Practicing health promotion	4.50	0.58	Good
29. Team work	4.42	0.53	Good
Aspect of human being	4.33	0.46	Good
30. Health is affected by several factors such as environment, social, economic	4.35	0.57	Good
31. Recognize others' capability	4.32	0.60	Good
32. Recognize value and dignity of others	4.43	0.70	Good
33. Recognize individual's ability and the authority in making decisions	4.36	0.59	Good
34. Respect others	4.50	0.73	Good

Table 1: Mean and Standard Deviation of NS' opinions on the teaching integration approach characterized by item, dimension, and overall (N = 106) Con't

Dimensions	\bar{X}	S.D.	Level
Aspect of service	4.37	0.49	Good
35. Improve health care behaviors focus on client centered	4.34	0.58	Good
36. Providing care with holistic approach	4.25	0.60	Good
37. Caring	4.40	0.59	Good
38. Empathy	4.40	0.67	Good
Aspect of learning	4.40	0.51	Good
39. Providing care willingly	4.44	0.68	Good
40. Understanding own self and others	4.40	0.61	Good
41. Being patience	4.40	0.63	Good
42. Knowing the multi-dimensional problem solving	4.33	0.59	Good
43. Concerning others' benefits	4.48	0.57	Good
44. Having flexibility	4.41	0.59	Good

In addition, the overall mean score of public mind behaviors was at fair level ($\bar{X} = 3.98$, S.D. = 0.34). Considering by item, the highest score was being happy working as a group ($\bar{X} = 4.75$, S.D. = 0.44) and the lowest score was the regulations of the college allowing students to attend scheduled public events. ($\bar{X} = 3.50$, S.D. = 0.91) (See Table 2).

Table 2: Mean and Standard Deviation of NS' opinions on public mind behaviors characterized by item, dimension, and overall (N = 106)

Public mind behaviors	\bar{X}	S.D.	Level
Overall	3.98	0.34	Fair
1. I always giving an advice when seeing undesirable behaviors of others in using college's facilities	3.49	0.76	Fair
2. I solve the problem and do something useful for society	3.76	0.64	Fair
3. I know that I am capable in a particular matter and focus on helping others successfully	3.82	0.64	Fair
4. I think I am capable of doing things that benefits others	3.97	0.56	Fair
5. I am willing to help doing student activities	4.29	0.57	Good
6. I want to take part in doing public services that benefit others	4.32	0.54	Good
7. I am happy to work as a group	4.75	0.44	Good
8. I like to share my ideas and learn from others	3.82	0.77	Fair
9. I am willing to donate money or things to friends and those who are in need	4.33	0.70	Good
10. I am willing to share items with friends and younger generations of poverty	4.19	0.71	Good
11. I notified the appropriate authorities when witness public property were destroyed	3.72	0.90	Fair
12. It is students' responsibility in maintaining college's properties	4.37	0.97	Good
13. Personal business should be done prior to helping others	3.59	0.97	Fair
14. College regulations require students to participate in activities	3.50	0.91	Fair
15. Any activities that are being done as a group should be unpaid	4.35	0.94	Good

Reflective thinking

Reflective thinking was done by using open ended questionnaires. It composed of 5 open ended questions asking the participants to reflect their thoughts regarding 1) academic knowledge, 2) health-related communication skill, 3) impression, 4) implications for practice, and 5) barriers and solutions. Data were analyzed using content descriptive analysis. The findings illustrated as follows.

Academic knowledge: The participants reflected that they had learned the theory of health promotion and protection by doing variety activities such as small group learning, exhibition. Those activities helped them comprehensively conceptualized the concept of health promotion and protection in all ages, ranging from childhood to elderly. Importantly, they indicated that they had learned the way of encouraging people to stay healthy.

Health-related communication skill: The participants explained that they received direct experience regarding communication skill specifically on health-related issues by sharing and learning the health-related topics with people who attended the exhibition. They described that they dramatically gained their confident in establishing relationship between themselves and the individual. They mentioned that it was easier than before to communicate with people and their expressions were well understood.

Impression: Many impressions were described by the participants namely teamwork, unity, appreciation. They appreciated all of instructors who participated in the exhibition. They were thankful for the encouragements, support, and good advice to help them solve the problems. They were proud of themselves for a great successful.

Implications for practice: As the course had ended, participants explained that they will use the experience learned from this course in their daily life. Most participants reflected that teamwork was a key to success. Good communication was also mentioned as a good start of every process.

Barriers and solutions: Most participants reflected that barriers were related to group process. At the beginning of the 3-day project, everybody was confusing with their roles and their responsibilities. They did not know how to prioritize their tasks. Once the instructors gave them some hints, group process went well, eventually. They reflected that they were very happy working as a group because they got to know each other better than just sitting in class.

Discussion and Recommendations

Findings from this study showed that health-related communication skill and the encouragement to learn from the community were ranked highest ($\bar{X} = 4.40 \pm 0.56$, and 4.40 ± 0.67); respectively. It can be explained that participants had not been trained in community practice. By engaging the project, they were assigned to practice communication skill to simply convey the knowledge regarding folk wisdom to people attending the Red Cross fund raising exhibition. This assignment aimed to encourage students to use communication skill in real life situation. And they had done a very good job. For example, although questions from audiences were not the topics they were accounting for, they could find the resources from other disciplinary. Therefore, the development of professional started to grow.

In respect of self development, the top 4 highest mean scores were being friendly, being polite, being responsible, and being kindness ($\bar{X} = 4.74 \pm 0.54$; 4.68 ± 0.51 ; 4.62 ± 0.54 ; 4.61 ± 0.51), respectively. Establishing the relationship with audiences took time. However, once they became familiar, the activities went smoothly. The findings showed that students not only learned how to communicate, they also developed their human skills. They learned to respect people, accepted individual's value, and responded appropriately. This activity helped their spiritual grows strongly.

Findings from this study illustrated that students' public mind behaviors were good ($\bar{X} = 3.89$, S.D. = 0.34). However, of all, the public mind behaviors were the lowest. It can be explained that people with only 20 years of age have fewer experiences than those with older age. It may take times and a lot of activities to build up the desirable characteristics. Working together through good activities for society strengthen students' public mind behaviors (Worrakullatane, B.E. 2551). Data from open ended questionnaires reflected students' behaviors. Many impressions were described by the participants namely teamwork, unity, appreciation. They appreciated all of instructors who participated in the exhibition. They were thankful for the encouragements, support, and good advice to help them solve the problems. They were proud of themselves for a great successful.

Recommendations

Based on the results, the integration project in promoting NS's public mind should be carried on to improve those desirable characteristics.

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*A Case Study of the Impact on Reading Ability of Students with Learning Disability as
Using Multi-sensory Reading Materials in Elementary Schools of Taiwan*

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1. Introduction

Reading is not only the core of education and learning but also a lifelong instinct behavior. Through reading, we can stimulate the imagination of children, so that they enrich their lives through sound, pictures and words. As children read a book, they open their wings of imagination and creativity. Through September 1998 to August 1999, the Education Minister of the United Kingdom, David Blunkett, pointed out that: "Every time we read the books, we open a window toward the world. Reading is the foundation of various learning. Of all the things we do, reading frees our minds the most. "

In American studies, if a child learns no basic reading ability before third grade, he or she will encounter obstacles when learning all sorts of subjects in the future. Therefore, a good reading ability leads to a better learning result. A good reading habit benefits one in learning a lot. Thus, the advocate of reading is the key to a successful education.

In addition to visual reading, many studies have pointed out that a combination of verbal, listening, ng, kinesthetic and tactile learning leads students toward a wider learning aspect, and further enhances their reading abilities. Our study not only provides the students with reading books but also self-made electronic story books. With words, pictures, and sounds combination, we expect the students to correct the pronunciations through the electronic books. For those unfamiliar words, they can learn the meanings, usage, and pronunciation with simply a click on the Tablet PC . We hope that besides arousing students interests in reading, we will also be able to enhance their memory, literacy, reading fluency and reading comprehension.

In recent years, many countries including Taiwan uphold the principles----- "equal opportunities in education," and " have faith in every child ." Special educations gradually gets attentions. The sound of putting special students back in normal class arouses. People advocate "integrated education" and expect "the returning to the mainstream." Therefore, how to raise special students' learning ability is an important education issue.

In a word, this case study about how reading story books and electronic story books can help the students in lower grades with learning difficulties. And help the students with reading ability and learning characters through multi-sensory reading method. In these ways, we discuss the effectiveness of multi-sensory reading method has on students with learning difficulties.

2. Researching purposes and problems

2.1 Researching purposes

According to the phenomenon observed in the background of the previous section, the concrete researching purposes are as following:

- (1) To know how multi-sensory reading can affect literacy of students in lower

grades with learning difficulties.

(2) To know how multi-sensory reading can affect reading fluency of students in lower grades with learning difficulties.

(3) To know how multi-sensory reading can affect reading comprehension ability of students in lower grades with learning difficulties.

2.2 Researching problems

According to the above purposes, the concrete researching problems are as following:

(1) Does multi-sensory reading raise literacy of learning-disabled students in lower grades?

(2) Does multi-sensory reading raise reading fluency of learning-disabled students in lower grades?

(3) Does multi-sensory reading raise reading comprehension ability of learning-disabled students in lower grades?

3. Definitions

3.1 Multi-sensory

The multi-sensory reading method in the study refers to the apply of self-made electronic story books besides normal books. With the combination of words, sounds, and pictures, we expect the students to click on words or pages that they would like to learn on the tablet PC, and correct their pronunciation and learn the meanings. For those unfamiliar words or paragraph, students can also learn about them through information that pop out as they click on icons. If there are words of plants or flowers, we may as well offer them touching, smelling, and tasting experiences to help students understand.

3.2 Mentally disable

According to the definition of mentally disable and gifted students in Taiwan, learning disable is also known as neural abnormal function. It can cause memory, comprehension, focusing problems and further leads to difficulties on learning. The difficulties are not due to the lack of sensory, mentality, or emotional stimulations. Nor is it the result of bad education or environment factors.

The judgments of learning disable are as follow:

(1) Normal intelligence or above

(2) Significant differences in intrapersonal ability

(3) Significant difficulties in auditory comprehension, oral expression, literacy, reading comprehension, writing, math and other academic performance. After certain apply of educational method, the situation remain the same.

3.3 reading ability

Reading ability here in the research refers to word recognizing ability, reading fluency ability, and reading comprehension ability.

4. Research limitation

Limited by researching funds and academic issues, I only took three learning disabled students in lower grades as sampling study. Thus, the result of the research can only stands for certain part of fact, and cannot represent the other learning disabled students' actual learning situation

5. Literature Review

5.1 Metacognition

Metacognition means the awareness and understanding of a variety of thinking aspects. In the early stage and middle stage of childhood, children's pure minds significantly expand and construct the theory. It regard human as the body of mind and produce coherent comprehension which correct s it self in the face of new proof. Most research about mental theory mention children's "mind reading", and their detection of feelings among themselves and others. Metacognitive focus on the children understands of mental activity, or the meaning of thinking. In order to operate in the most effective way, the MHS must has self awareness. It should reach the sort of understanding level like "I have to write down the phone number or I might forget" as well as "this is a complex paragraph; I have to read again in order to grasp the author's point ". To make metacognitive more practical, children must monitor their own behavior, also known as "cognitive self-regulation (cognitive self-regulation), to arouse their understanding of thinking, and to overcome the difficulties.

In the face of complex job children's self-mediation situation is obvious in their comprehension monitoring ability. Compared with younger students, 12 and 13 years old teenagers show more attention on those paragraphs which they consider un reasonable. They do not continue reading, but slow down and look back to see if they miss any point. The more sensitive they are on mistakes, the more possible that they will correct their own writing performance.

When reading, many skills functions and adds burdens to MHS. We have to notice the combination of words when reading and transform them to the sound of language. A paragraph is composed of various meanings of words and they end up as a whole concept. In fact, reading requires a lot of skills and they have to function instantly and automatically on the spot. If one of the skills failed to function well, reading ability decline as well

In recent years, the topic "how to teach the children read" engaged in a fierce debate. Some scholars support whole-language approach, they advocate that reading should be taught in the natural way of language learning. Initially, the children should be exposed to the full article, including stories, poems, letters, posters, and the list, so that they know how to appreciate the written language in communication utility. As long as reading stays meaningful children will have incentive to find the specific skills required.

The other advocates phonics approach, and that the children should be given simplified reading material which translates written symbols to the basic rules of sound. But only after they are fully skilled can they start complex reading material.

The scholar noticed that children perform best in the combination of both of the above. The connection between pronunciation and the words help children to learn words they don't know. However, if the practices of basic skills are over emphasized, children might not be able to notice the key of reading----- to understand. Who can read out loud but has no aware of the meaning does have effective reading. For example, if they are to be tested, they should be more careful than simply reading for pleasure. We can also ask them to interpret the meanings of paragraphs in their own words to enhance their comprehension ability.

For kindergarten, first grader and second grader students, teaching including sounds can improve reading accomplishment, even for those left behind in reading. Students at this age experience critical moving of attention when learning. They are transforming from "learning to read" to "read and learn". Further more, after teacher's reading with writing and pronunciation and add in other practice (encouraging students to deal with difficulties they faced in learning and put reading together with all other subject), the first graders show excellent improvement in reading and writing.

Researcher refers to the two kinds of cognitive development theory mentioned above and processes them in reading. After that, they conclude the causes of pronouncing to word-recognizing to reading comprehension to vocabulary, background knowledge, realizing ability, memory, and focusing. Among them literacy ability is the most critical when learning to read. Reading comprehension ability' five factors help student gain knowledge as they have the reading ability.

3.2 Children reading development theory

Jeanne Chall (1983) pointed out six stage in reading development. The first three are about “Learning to read”, and the latter three are about “Reading to learn”.

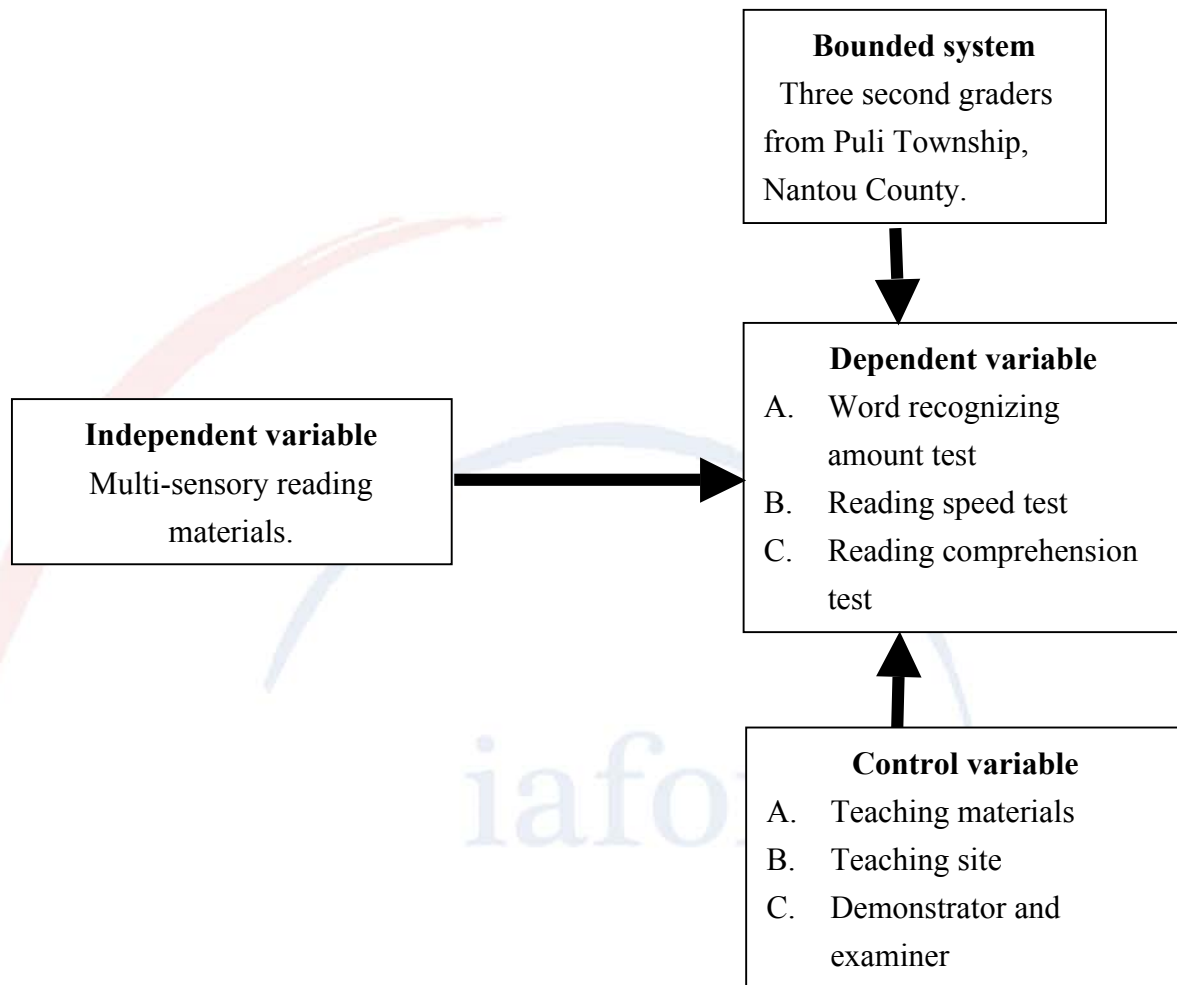
Further descriptions are as follows:

- (1) Preschool period: The learners start to get familiar with the connection between sound and language.
- (2) Word recognizing period (six to seven): The learner start to learn about the relation between word and sound.
- (3) Fluent period (7 to 8): children at this stage judge what they have learned in the previous stages and enhance fluency.
- (4) Reading new information period(9to 13): the goal of reading is no longer learning how to read but to get information through reading. Vocabulary they know expand at the period
- (5) Various aspect period(14 to 18): .they gradually learn to analyze the content they read, and think from different aspect.
- (6) Construct and rebuild period (over 18): learner can develop their own thoughts through reading and rebuild their knowledge through others experiences. The stage can be reach during college or even later and probably only smarter ones are able to reach the stage.

6. Method

This research is a case study of three elementary students with learning difficulties. We evaluate the influence on their word recognizing ability, reading fluency, and reading comprehension ability under our teaching method. This chapter is divided into three sections, the first section illustrates the choice of the object of study; Section II describes the researching tools; Section III describes the expected results.

Chart of the study is as follows:



In this study, three second graders from Puli Township, Nantou County were chosen. The screening criteria is normal intelligence or above average. And the literacy amount has been evaluated by "Chinese grade literate Scale (Wong Sau cream, 2002). They scored lower than 2.0. And in "reading comprehension difficulties screening tests (Ko Hua-wei, 1999), they score lower than the same graders by .45 .

The researching period is from September 2013 to January 2014, for about 20 weeks. The teaching is once a week, about 60 mins each time. For the first teaching, a test is held. Then an evaluation is held every four weeks. For the last teaching, the test was filmed and recorded, in order to present the testing situation.

The teaching materials chosen for the research are books recommended by education office in Taiwan----- the 101 worth reading books. And the electronic story books made by the author.

The research is to evaluate the first graders students performance on word recognition, reading fluency and reading comprehension ability. Chosen evaluation tools are as follows:

6.1 Word recognizing amount test

Researcher refer to the elementary school word chart and student's similar word recognition book by Nantou County Government and made her own word recognition testing materials, in order to test the student's ability on matching the right word with the right pronunciation.

6.2 Reading speed test

Select the text from the story in the book, and measure the average number of words the student pronounce correct per minute as reading it. The quiz has two version, context Edition and random version. The context one is tested in accordance with the normal sort of article content; random version has the text of the article content sequence randomly arranged .

6.3 Reading comprehension test

The researcher refers to the teaching materials of story book and made her own reading comprehension testing materials. 20 questions are made.

Example.

Johnny does none of his homework. The teacher said to him: "you are a headache to me! "

- (1) The teacher is sick
- (2) Johnny does no homework so the teacher doesn't know what to do with him.
- (3) Johnny had a headache so he didn't do th homework.
- (4) As The teacher touch Johnny, her head aches.

7. Expected results

- (1) Does multi-sensory reading enhance the case student's word recognizing ability?
- (2) Does multi-sensory reading enhance the case student's fluency in reading?
- (3) Does multi-sensory reading enhance the case student's reading comprehension ability?

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Enhancing Learning Ability among Deaf Students By Using Photographic Images

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Abstract

Education is one of the most important elements in a human life. Educations help us in learning and achieve new things in life. The ability of hearing gave us chances to hear voices and it is important in our communication. Hearing stories told by others; hearing news and music to create our creative and sense; seeing and hearing make us understand directly the message trying to deliver. But, what will happen if we are born deaf or having hearing loss while growing up? The objective of this paper is to analyze an appropriate image model in enhancing learning process by using photographic images among deaf students. This study also examines the possibilities of photographic images in enhancing learning abilities of deaf students. A case study was used to conduct the study. In order to learn and understand about the case study, interview and observation were utilized, to know the result of the research question. The result gathered from this study contributes towards in enhanced the deaf learning ability and education by using photographic images.

Keyword: Photography, Visual Communication, Education, Learning Ability

In Malaysia there were 283,512 disabled and 37,729 are registered for the hearing problems (Department of Social Welfare, 2009). Hearing problems is a neurological disability that most frequently occur in a human population. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that nearly 250 million people of the world are experiencing hearing problems (World Health Organization, 1999) (Che Lah, 2008). According to Chua and Koh (1992), deaf children can be said to be more accurate as a damaged hearing in most circumstances, e.g. it has a partial hearing, was unusual because it was not able to react to the level of surrounding sounds.

As shown in table 1, there are 6 types of disabled listed in Department of Social Welfare. Asmah Haji Omar (1984), defined as a person who was born deaf with hearing defects that could not recognize the sound of the language, cannot hear the conversation of others and not be able to experience and appreciate the thought and culture through language. While according to Bee H. (1995), children with hearing problems are those who have difficulty hearing or hearing a clear deficiency. Hearing problems caused by factors before birth, during birth and after birth.

List Of Disabled	Year
	2009
Vision	26,155
Hearing	37,729
Physical	94,331
Learning Disabilities	109,708
Cerebral Palsy	4,068
Others	11,521
Total	283,512

Table 1: Registration Disabled by Type of Disability (JKM, 2009)

Thus, this research study will focus on the issues related to enhance learning ability among deaf student by using photographic images. In particular, the researcher emphasizes on what types of photographic images use to enhance deaf students learning ability and why photographic images use in enhance deaf students learning ability nowadays. The interview session will be record and learning session will document in the form of images and video.

The Development History of Special Education in Malaysia

Interest in Special Education in Malaysia began in the 1920s among the volunteers involved in the opening of schools blind and deaf. Report of the Cabinet Committee on the implementation of the education policy through 169 Certificate is a turning point that led to an emphasis and focus more clearly on the development of special education in Malaysia. This certificate mentions,

"With the realization that the government should be responsible for the education of disabled children is recommended should then take over full responsibility for the education of the organizations that operate at this time. Moreover, the involvement voluntary bodies in the development of child education handicapped children should be encouraged. "(MOE, 2013)

Therefore, the literatures about history of deaf education in Malaysia are limited in this research. However, there are several books were found written about history of education development in Malaysia and remain as a references material. The first book is entitled "Pendidikan di Malaysia: Sejarah, Sistem, dan Falsafah" written by Sufean Hussin in 1996. According to Sufean Hussin in his book, he stated that the main problem of education in special education for the blind, deaf and dumb is language and communication problems. The problems for deaf students are more complicated because they cannot hear. At this time there is no one best method of communication for the deaf, but with the help of hearing aids. Method of sign language, cued speech, spelling and communication methods throughout is the methods used for children deaf or dumb. Method of sign language, cued speech, spelling and communication methods throughout is the methods used for children deaf or dumb. However, the entire communication method is said to be more effective than other methods (Sufean Husin, 1996, p.358).

The second book is by Marschark and Hauser entitled "How Deaf Children Learn: What Parents and Teachers Need to Know Perspective on Deafness". Everyone has both visual spatial memories (in form of visual images) and verbal memories (in form of language). For this reason, we continue emphasize both the importance of language and importance of deaf children becoming visual learners. Neither one is sufficient for optimal learning and academic achievement (Marschark and Hauser, 2011, p.87).

Photographic Images Use as Visual Communication in Education

According to Azahari (2011), society assumes photography as one of a hobby but it's been argue by several researchers as photography is need in pursuing in our daily life. Photography is also important as it teach without saying in complex word (window). The aim of his book is to make the society and tertiary education realize the important of photography in our daily life and in educating our future children.

Furthermore, Zainuddin, et al. (2009) stated visual communication is defined as using visual symbol such as pictures and graphic to express idea and convey meaning. And according to Jackson and Jackson (1988), Photography can be a valuable aid to the lives of people with learning disabilities: it can be used to resolve problems and improve understanding (Jackson and Jackson, 1988). From the statement above, we can realize the photographic images can be used as one of method in deaf student learning and way to encourage the deaf students in self-study and self-reliance to improve their learning.

Thus, recent research suggested by (Allen, Mayhew and Hill, 2012) visual literacy refers to the ability to comprehend, evaluate, and compose visual messages. Visual literate persons are able to read visual messages, compose visual language statements and translate from visual to verbal. Student will learn attitudes, behaviors, and question to ask which them to think abstractly and analytically. Therefore viewers will need to engage in a variety of viewing experiences, both in comprehending and composing. The media for visual communication is include photography, pictures, model, graphic, painting, logo and etc.

In conclusion, deaf student's education and learning need to be enhance as their learning ability can be develop more by using photographic images. Thus, researcher's effort in making this study is to analyze the role of photographic images as a medium of learning ability among deaf students. As it can be applied and help them in learning new skills, knowing new knowledge and ideas. They learn to comprehend, evaluate and compose visual messages.

Problem of Deaf Student in Education

In 2013, the data determine total of deaf students in Malaysia are only about 3,166 deaf students in several level of education (MOE, 2013).

No	Level	No of Students	
		SPK	PPKI
1	Kindergarten	64	9
2	Primary	1,117	483
3	Secondary	508	985
Total		1,689	1,477

Table 2: Disabled Students of Hearing in SPK and PPKI in Malaysia (MOE, 2013)

In Malaysia, the government has tried their best in increasing the level education of the deaf student. As one of the article written in 2012, Welfare, Women and Family Development Minister Datuk Fatimah Abdullah said they hope there will be a Vocational High School in Sarawak since there are only two of these types of school in Malaysia. She said that education is always the way forward speaks at the 30th anniversary celebration of Sarawak Society for the Deaf (SSD). They are trying to give a higher school education for the deaf (Tan, 2012).

"The fact is many of us fell in lessons and lost hope in the education system," said President of the Federation of the Deaf Malaysia (MFD), Mohamad Sazali Shaari. He first takes an example, according to the percentage of the total Malaysian Examination Board examination results of the Primary School Achievement Test (UPSR), Lower Secondary Assessment (PMR) and Certificate of Education (SPM) taken by the deaf students. Many of them fail every year, especially Malay subjects. "The deaf students quite difficult to pass in Malay Language. If you've failed the subject, automatically you failed to continue the study. How do I get higher education and then get a good job? (Abu Hassan, 2012).

In addition, Roslina Ahmad said the problem of communication with deaf people leads them to lose the right to share in favor of life. "As a human being, the deaf also have daily life. From the aspect of education, the government has provided facilities such as special schools, integrated schools and the teachers who teach them sign language, but the technique should be strengthened," she said (Ali, 2012).

This problem faced by deaf students. But now, researchers want to examine possibilities photographic images in enhancing learning ability among deaf students.

Educational Theory of in Photographic Education

There are several theory have been used in deaf learning. The theory of knowledge addresses what we think about photographic knowledge, as well as how we acquire it through the education process (Halabi, 2011). Vision is our extension to the external materialistic world, and thinking is its internal counterpart. Both elements are significantly importance in photographic education (Halabi, 2011).

The theory of constructivism is a theory of ongoing, active building-up of knowledge and cognitive processes from very simple starting points (Lee and Gupta, 1998 cited in Halabi, 2011, p.34). According to Cunningham and Duffy (1996), learning is an active process of constructing rather than acquiring knowledge; and instruction is a process of supporting that construction rather than communicating knowledge (Cunningham and Duffy, 1996 cited in Halabi, 2011, p.34). Hence, the constructivism development of the learners is through the process of adaptation coupled with the process of experiments, which involves trial and error (Halabi, 2011, p.35).

Thus, these studies do, to analyze an appropriate image model in enhancing learning process by using photographic images among deaf students. Indirectly, the researcher will know the types of photographic images used to enhance learning ability among deaf students

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Conclusion

This paper discussed ways to enhance the learning ability among deaf students by using photographic images. Deaf community is a minority group in a community in Malaysia; they cannot be ignored and excluded from the mainstream. This group is entitled to get action, services and supplies equal as the normal group. They were born and grew up in the normal group. Due to the differences, the right to have knowledge and information should not be set aside. This paper will look at their ability in learning using photographic images. The researcher wants is to analyze an appropriate image model in enhancing learning process by using photographic images among deaf students and also examines the possibilities of photographic images in enhancing learning abilities of deaf students. This is clearly to know what types of photographic images used to enhance learning ability among deaf students and why photographic images used to enhance learning ability among deaf students.

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«*And the gem-black night will come...*» - *About Phraseological Units
of the Old Japanese Language*

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Abstract

The paper describes special traces of phraseological units in so – called first Japanese written sources, considering the development and usage of one of the distinctive linguistic phenomena over the time during one particular era of ancient Japanese history by giving analyses of one collocation, as a representative of phraseological units, *nubatama no yo the gem-black night*. Special attention paid to semantics of phraseological units in Old Japanese language and its connection with special literary device of the Japanese literature – *makura-kotoba*.

Key words: phraseological unit; phraseme; collocation; Old Japanese language; first Japanese written sources

This research is devoted to the linguistic phenomena of phraseological units in so-called the first Japanese written sources. Here there are two concepts, which need to be explained. First of all these are the first Japanese written sources. According to the latest research of the History of the Japanese language, made by prof. Frellesvig in Oxford, the linguistic period of the Old Japanese language refers to the period of 700-800 AD [Frellesvig 2010, 1]. The first written sources of this period are Kojiki (Records of ancient matters) and Nihon Shoki (Chronicles of Japan), that consist of narrative and poetic parts. The narrative part of each source is presented in logographic written style (writing, which represents those elements of the language which carry the meaning) that incredibly influenced by or copied the Chinese written system. Thus, it is hard to analyze its language, having in mind Japanese grammar or morphosyntax. As for another part of the mentioned sources there were ancient songs – so called 古代歌謡 *kodai kayo*:. In the early chronicles, mentioned above, one can find songs, which comprise a part of the narrative, as the forms of the elevated speech representing the thoughts and words of the specific gods or historical figures. Some of these songs existed, however, as independent songs, before they were used by the editors of the chronicles. All songs were written in Chinese script to write Japanese words in the Japanese language, completely phonetically without a single use of a logogram. The language of the songs is very archaic, judging from both the spelling system and grammar. The so-called Kojiki has 3 scrolls and 112 songs. Nihon Shoki has 131 songs; it is ten times longer than Kojiki with thirty scrolls as against three. The songs of the both sources seem particularly close to the oral sources of myths, folktales and anecdotes and thus reflect life, culture and beliefs of the Japanese of that time.

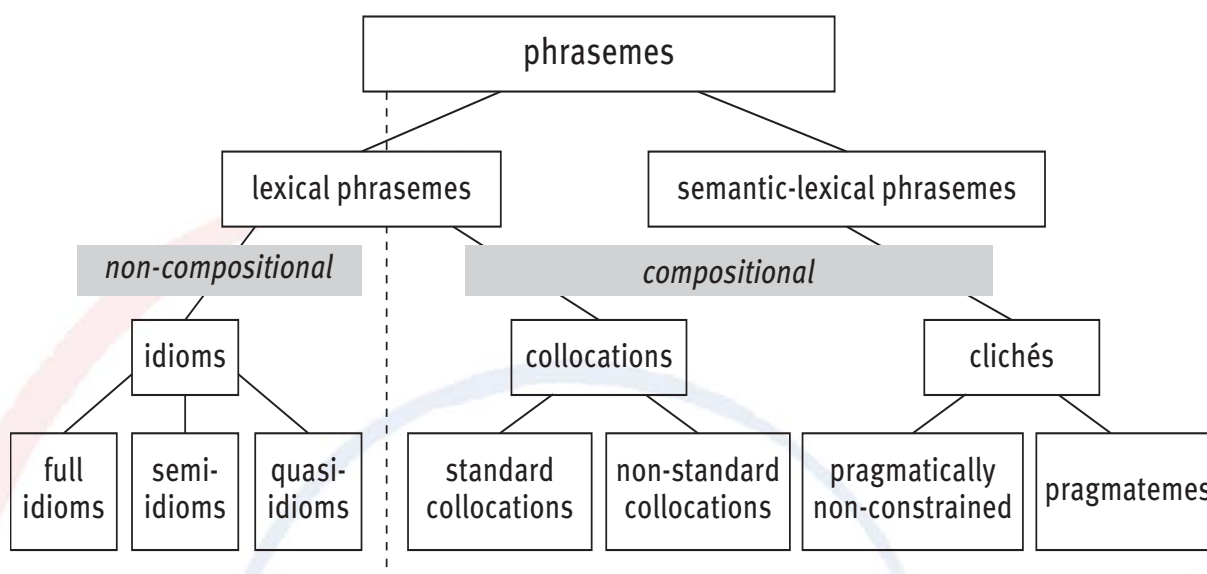
The second concept of our research is the term of a phraseological unit. There is no need to insist on the importance of phraseology for linguistic studies: on this point the linguistic community is in an agreement. But there is no agreement either on the exact content of the notion «phraseology», nor on the way phraseological expressions should be described.

In our research we used an approach of Igor Melchuk, which is as much universal to be applied to the phrases of Old Japanese language. However, classic researches of phraseological expressions by Vladimir Vinogradov and contemporary popular approach to the idioms of the cognitive linguistics can not be applied to the analyzing material because the main feature of phraseological units is considered to be invariability and repeatability. Igor Melchuk's approach is most profoundly influenced by the classics Bally, 1909 and Weinreich, 1969.

The literature on phraseology is too huge to be reviewed here even cursorily; here we can mention Everaert et al. 1995, Wanner 1996, Alvarez de la Granja 2008 and Anscombe and Mejri 2011. As for the approach of Igor Melchuk for phrasemes definition used in this research there are numerous publications of this author devoted to the theory of the phraseology. Here we shall limit ourselves to mentioning Melchuk 1995 (a sketch of theory of phraseology within the Meaning-Text framework).

Phraseme or phraseological expression is a phrase featuring some unpredictable properties, i.e. linguistically constrained phrase, or else a phrase that is not free. A phrase is not free (=phraseologized) if at least one of its lexical components is selected by the speaker in a linguistically constrained way - that is, as a function of the lexical identity of other component(s) [Melchuk 2012: 33].

Figure 1. Typology of phrasemes [Melcuk 2012; 42]



According to the abovementioned definition phrasemes are considered to be of the two subsets: lexical phrasemes and semantic-lexical phrasemes. Natural language has three major classes of phrasemes: idioms, collocations and clichés, where idioms are non-compositional, while collocations and clichés are compositional.

Giving a particular definition of each phraseme class we can say, that an idiom can be characterized by the degree of its transparency or opacity. All idioms are non-compositional, but the degree of their transparency varies.

A lexical phraseme is a collocation if it is compositional¹. A collocation is binary – it consists of two major elements: a base, lexical expression chosen freely by the speaker, and a collocate, lexical expression chosen as a function of the base to express a giving meaning bearing on the base. A collocation is semantically compositional, since its meaning is divisible into two parts such that the first one corresponds to the base and the second to the collocate [Melcuk 2012; 39].

As for Kiki songs phrasemes, traditionally scholars consider only a few idioms to be its phraseological units. Giving an exact example this is Takahikaru Hi no miko (多迦比迦流比能美古) *Divine Child of The High-Shining Sun* (“Kojiki” songs ## 28, 47, 72, 100, 101), used only in “Kojiki” songs for five times or Yasumishishi Wa ga o:kimi (夜須美斯志和賀意富岐美) *Mighty lord ruling the land in peace* (“Kojiki” songs ## 28, 66, 97, 98, 104) also used in the mentioned source for five times.

All expressions and lexemes are analyzed in Tsuchihashi Yutaka’s fundamental “KiKi” songs edition and commentary (Tsuchihashi, 1957) or Kurano Kenji’s edition

¹ Compositionality – word expression is compositional when meaning of a whole expression is determined by the meanings of its constituent parts and the rules used to combine them.

and commentary of the whole Kojiki text (Kurano, 1958) in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* [Series of the Japanese Classical Literature] from the Iwanami publishing house. There are also numerous whole songs texts or their expressions analyses in different “Kojiki” and “Nihon Shoki” editions and commentaries. In English we can find deep literal research of Old Japanese literature by Konishi Jun’ichi and waka anthology by Edwin Cranston or Alexander Vovin and Bjarke Frellesvig researches in linguistics of Old Japanese language.

In the mentioned fundamental works, for example, expression **Nubatama no yo** (奴婆多麻能用) **Lily gem night (song 3 strophe 20-21)** is considered to be the metaphorical expression of the “KiKi” songs. In the anthology “Gem-glistening cup” we can find the following translation of this phrase: “...Gem-black night...” [Cranston 1993, 9]. *Nubatama* expression has been translated as a “gem-black” what is semantically absolutely correct. *Nubatama* itself is an expression, which consists of two lexems - *nuba* and *tama*. *Nuba* is a noun – name of a plant – (blackberry) lily and *tama* is a noun, which means “gem”. Whole expression is an attribute for the *yo night* base. When making a word-to-word translation of *nubatama no yo*, we receive an expression *lily gem night*. There is no *black* meaning deriving from the meaning of expression lexemes components meaning. Then, why it is *black* gem night and a part of what linguistic phenomenon is it?

While reading “Kojiki”, “Nihon Shoki” and “Man’yo:shu.” songs we can find following examples of *nubatama no yo* expression. In “Kojiki” song # 3: 20)Nubatama no 21)Yo wa idenamu (20)奴婆多麻能 (21)用波伊傳那牟 *The lily-gem night will come*; Man’yo:shu: songs # 0169 (2): 3)烏玉之 4)夜渡月之 3) *Nubatama no 4)Yo wataru tsuki no*; Through the jet-black night The moon no longer sails the sky [Cranston 1993, 210]; song # 0525 夜干玉之/黒馬之 *Nubatama no Kuroma no* On your blackberry steed [Cranston 1993, 535]; # 0573 野干玉之/黒髮變 / *Nubatama no Kurokami kawari* Black as a berry, The locks of a young man’s hair [Cranston 1993, 564].

Researchers of the native language in Japan consider these expressions to be *makura-kotoba*².

For instance, in one of ancient treatises, *Yamato-uta sakushiki* [Codex of creating Yamato songs], written by Fujiwara-no Kisen in the 830's we can find some explanations about *makura-kotoba*, also this phenomenon was mentioned in

² One of the most specific and difficult phenomena in Japanese poetics, along with such literary techniques as *kakekotoba* and *jo*, is *makura-kotoba* (*the pillow-words*). It’s a common practice to define *makura-kotoba* as a constant epithet, but such definition doesn't cover all characteristics of this difficult stylistic phenomenon. Moreover, not all constant epithets are *makura-kotoba*, they exist outside the limits of this term. As to *makura-kotoba* they act in various and very difficult forms. Among *makura-kotoba* there are some constant epithets, for example, “*hisakata no*” *sun radiant* about the sky (MYS III; 382); “*ashihiki no*” *the leg-cramping* (MYS III; 417) etc, but there are also such phrases, which play the role of a constant beginning “*Kamukaze no*” *of the Divine Wind* for Ise (MYS II; 163), constant comparisons etc., for example, “*Shiranami no*” *white waves (splash)*(MYS I; 34). *Makura – kotoba* reflect interconnection with working tools, rite culture elements, and everyday life elements. Thus, “*Aoyanagi*” *green willow* (MYS V; 825) is a *makura-kotoba* for the wreath, because commonly wreathes were made from willow. Thereby, *makura-kotoba* often provides a rather concise picture of the whole nature, everyday life, thus becoming a comparison or constant epithet. In written records of various ages this technique have been used in different ways up to its transformation into the stylistics device of sound reduplication without any meaning.

numerous treatises of the Heian era, for example, *Etsumeisho*, *Shunhisho*, *Ogisho* etc. In XVI century Sanjonishi Sanetaka wrote a treatise, fully devoted to the *makura-kotoba* (1537). At the Tokugawa era Motoori Norinaga and Kamo no Mabuchi wrote there fundamental researches on *makura-kotoba*. At the end of XIX – beginning of the XX centuries appeared first western works about mentioned phenomenon. B. H. Chamberlain (1878) and V. Dickins (1908). In 1927 appeared fundamental research of Fukui Kyuzo. Contemporary researches of *makura-kotoba* are numerous; here we will limit ourselves to mentioning researches of Tada Kazuomi, prof. of the University of Tokyo. As we can see from the definition in the footnote analyzing expression is considered to be either *makura-kotoba* or metaphor, both of which are literal devices of the songs. While considering the definition of *makura-kotoba*, involuntarily you ask a question: «What these phrases were used here for?»

The religious complex of ancient Japan, which subsequently became of what is known as Shinto, actually assumes that it consists of the deities of local character (their power was limited by certain region). Because of that most of ancient poems have to have a “splinter” part in it with references (e.a "prayers", "hymn") to a local deity. Without these components a poem would not possess the needed magic force (a.k.a *Kotodama*). The phenomenon of *Kotodama* evolved into a leading expressive ideal, resulting in the development of such specialized expressive techniques as the “pillow – word” (*makura-kotoba*) and the “preface” (*jokotoba*). Jin’ichi Konishi in his research, devoted to the history of Japanese literature, named this techniques as “guide phrases” (*doshi*) [Konishi, 235].

Despite the immense amount of research which has been carried out since Edo period on the subject of the pillow-words, no one has adequately explained why people of the ancient ages were moved by the expressions produced by pillow – words and prefaces. If people had not been moved by them, ancient poets would not have made regular and frequent use of them over centuries.

Similarly, why were “prefaces” used in such large quantities. Konishi in his research offers a following explanation:

1. Both pillow-words and prefaces are almost identical and differ only in length.
2. Both once imparted the action of the *Kotodama* to the words they modified, so as to create lively expressions.
3. As ancient Japanese gradually lost touch with the *Kotodama* and its actions, considered reception has undergone to irreversible transformations of the functions, as a result *makura-kotoba* have transformed into rhetorical means of a poetic expression.

For this reason the author suggests to define the ancient *makura-kotoba* as the "phrases-indexes" to underline their indissoluble communication with religion and culture of ancient Japan [Konishi, 254].

One the leading Russian specialists in ancient Japanese folklore, prof. Lioudmila Ermakova in her research of ancient Japanese songs gives an opinion, based on some texts, that “...*makura-kotoba* ascended from sacred formulas, about which we can judge from the most ancient poetic texts” [Ermakova 1995, 175]. Also the researcher offers to define *makura-kotoba* as accreted parts of archaic ritual of cosmological puzzle, i.e. question and answer dialog between sacrificer and esoteric. Such puzzles

cannot be solved, answer should be known a priori, i.e. such puzzles serve as an important part of metalinguistics language function³, serving to prove that all community participants use the same cultural⁴ and language codes⁵. [Ermakova 1995, 180]. Some Japanese researches consider *makura-kotoba* to serve in ancient Japan as a kind of proverbs that lost their direct meaning and became some kind of cliché.

From the linguistic point of view analyzing expression is not an idiom. As we can see from the mentioned examples of the analyzing expression it is at some degree invariable, because *nubatama* predicts the appearance of a restricted group of words. In “KiKi” and “Man’yo:shu:” songs these are the *yo* lexeme – a noun means “night” and one more is *kuroki* – blackness. The usage of the predicted bases of Nubatama collocate in Man’yo:shu: are shown on tables 1 and 2.

The logo for 'iafor' is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is surrounded by several overlapping, semi-transparent circular arcs in shades of light blue and light red, creating a stylized, circular frame around the text.

³ Metalinguistics is a study of language in relation to its cultural context [Britannica, 2010].

⁴ Cultural codes are defined as symbols and systems of meaning that are relevant to members of a particular culture (or subculture) [Britannica, 2010].

⁵ Language code is a code that assigns letters and/ or numbers as identifies or classifiers for languages [Britannica, 2010].

Scroll	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bases of <i>nubatama</i> collocate with the meaning of the <i>night</i>	夜渡月 夜床 暮	夜渡月 其夜	夜夢 其夜 昨夜	用流	夜霧	夜渡月	今夜	夜霧 宵渡月	宵霧 夜霧 夜 夜渡雁
Scroll	11	12	13	15	17	18	19	20	
Bases of <i>nubatama</i> collocate with the meaning of the <i>night</i>	其夜、 夢、每 夜、夜 渡月	彼夢、 宿而 之晚、 今夜 夢	彼夜、 夜、 宵	欲、欲 流、比 登夜、 欲和多 流月	欲流、 欲、 伊米、 都寄	欲和多 流都 寄、夜 床	夜	欲流、 己与 比の 月夜	

Table 2.

Scroll	2	4	7	9	11	13	15	16	17
Bases of <i>nubatama</i> collocate with the meaning of the hear	吾黒髪	黒髪	吾黒髪 玄髪山	髪	我玄髪 妹之黒髪 吾黒髪 黒髪 黒髪山	黒髪	伊毛	黒髪	黒髪
Scroll	19	20							
Bases of <i>nubatama</i> collocate with the meaning of the hear	黒髪	久路加美							

Outside mentioned usage area *nubatama* expression was not used.

Using the abovementioned definitions of phrasemes and its classes for lexems and its expressions in “Kojiki” and “Nihon Shoki” songs we received about 50 phrasemes, which we divided into structural and semantic classes. To do this it was necessary to make word for word translation of 239 “KiKi” songs. Using a collocation (as a

representative of the subclass of phrasemes) (Kojiki song # 3) *Nubatama no yo* (奴婆多麻能用) *The gem-black night* (E. Cranston translation) we will show the analysis of the functioning of phrasemes in the song of “Kojiki”, “Nihon Shoki” and some songs of “Man'yōshū”. This will allow us to show existing phraseological units in Old Japanese with made structural and semantic analysis. As a future perspective it is possible to analyze functioning of the received phrasemes in “Kokinwakashu.” and “Shinkokinwakashu.” to make a diachronic research of phraseological units of the Japanese language.

«Kojiki» song # 3

1)夜知富許能 2)迦微能美許登 3)奴延久佐能 4)賣迹志阿禮婆 5)和何許許呂 6)宇良須能登理叙 7)伊麻許曾婆 8)和杼理迹阿良米 9)能知波 10)那杼理爾阿良牟遠 11)伊能知波 12)那志勢婆多麻比曾 13)伊斯多布夜 14)阿麻波世豆迦比 15)許登能 16)加多理碁登母 17)許遠婆 18)阿遠夜麻迹 19)比賀迦久良婆 20)奴婆多麻能 21)用波伊傳那牟 22)阿佐比能 23)惠美佐迦延岐弓 24)多久豆怒能 25)斯路岐多陀牟岐 26)阿和由岐能 27)和加夜流牟泥遠 28)曾陀多岐 29)多多岐麻那賀理 30)麻多麻傳 31)多麻傳佐斯麻岐 32)毛毛那賀爾 33)伊波那佐牟遠 34)阿夜爾 35)那古斐岐許志 36)夜知富許能 37)迦微能美許登 38)許登能 39)迦多理碁登母 40)許遠婆

1)Yachihoko no 2)Kami no mikoto 3)Nuekusa no 4)Me ni shi areba 5)Wa ga kokoro 6)Urasu no tori zo 7)Ima koso wa 8)Wadori ni arame 9)Nochi wa 10)Nadori ni aramu o 11)Inochi wa 12)Na shisetamai so 13)Ishitafu ya 14)Amahasezuke 15)Koto no 16)Katari-goto mo 17)Ko o ba 18)Aoyama ni 19)Hi ga kakuraba 20)**Nubatama no** 21)**Yo** wa idenamu 22)Asahi no 23)Emisakae kite 24)Takuzuno no 25)Shiroki tadamuki 26)Awayuki no 27)Wakayaru mune o 28)Sodataki 29)Tadaki managari 30)Matamade 31)Tamade sashimaki 32)Momonaga ni 33)I wa nasamu o 34)Aya ni 35)Na koikikoshi 36)Yachihoko no 37)Kami no mikoto 38)Koto no 39)Katarigoto mo 40)Ko o ba

1) Yachihoko 2) Mighty lord 3) Tender grass 4) I am a woman 5) My soul 6) Is a bird 7) At the moment 8) I am a free bird 9) Later 10) I would be your bird 11) Life 12) Do not lose 13) Fast and flying 14) Ama – couriers 15) Words 16) The words of the story 17) Were told 18) In the green hills 19) When the sun will hide 20) **Lily gem** 21) **Night** will come 22) Morning sun 23) Smiling in splendor, come 24) These rope 25) White arms bare embrace 26) Soft snow 27) My young breast 28) Take in hands 29) Lie close and interlaced 30) Pearl white arms 31) Interlace with white hands 32) Stretch out your legs 33) You will lie and sleep 34) Therefore 35) Do not yearn 36) Yachihoko 37) O, deity lord 38) Words 39) Words of the story 40) Were told



Pic. 1 Blackberry lily (Belamcanda chinese)

Nuba – a noun – a name of a blackberry lily (Belamcanda Chinesis)

Tama – a noun – a gem

No – a

Yo – a noun – night

As we can see from the given analyses expression can be translated as

Nubatama no yo – (blackberry) lily gem night. Gems of this plant as it is shown at Pic.2 are of extremely black color. Meaning of this expression is the night of extremely dark (black) color. We consider this expression to be not free or to be the phraseme - one of its lexical components, *nubatama no*, is selected by users in a linguistically constrained way. In a non-free phrase, at least one of its lexical components is selected depending on other particular lexemes building up this phrase; in this particular case this is *nubatama no lily gem*. This phraseme is lexical – “extremely” dark (night) meaning is constructed freely, we can find *yo* lexeme usage in the songs of “Kojiki” # 78; in the “Nihon Shoki” songs #65, 66, 69, usage of this lexeme in “Man’yo:shu.” is numerous.

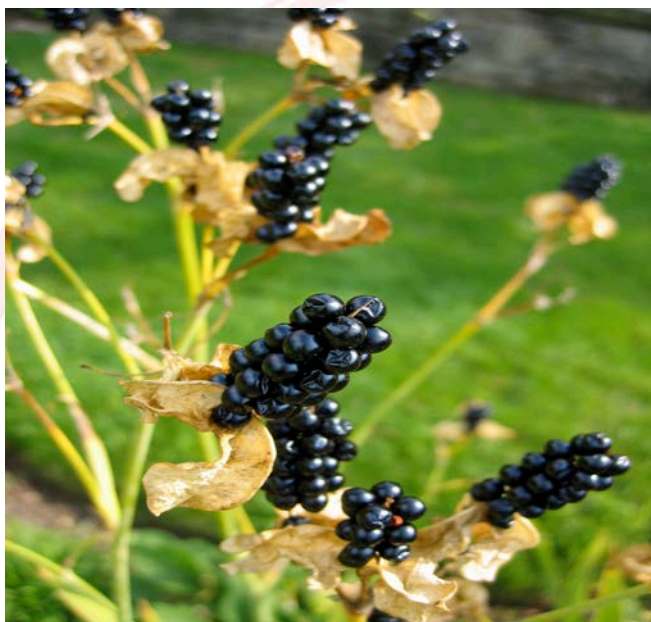
So, in the analyzed expression only one of its lexical components – *nubatama* a lily gem – is selected in a constrained way.

This lexical phraseme is compositional – its meaning *lily gem night* is divisible into two parts - *extremely dark* corresponds to the collocate and *night* corresponds to the base. The meaning of the base is always a semantic pivot⁶ of the collocation. Lexical compositional phrasemes are collocations as we can see from the Fig 1, page 2.

⁶ Semantic pivot of a meaning – the part of the meaning that defines what sort of referent the idiom has (person, place, thing, event, etc.)

Thus, *Nubatama no yo* lily gem night phraseme is a collocation. In this case *yo night* lexical component is a base of the collocation and *nubatama lily gem* is a collocate.

When speaking about this phraseme functioning in songs of “Kojiki” we couldn’t say, that it is invariable. While analyzing it’s functioning in further records (Nihon Shoki; Man`yo:shu: etc.) we notice that invariability became more obvious with the time past. Meaning of this collocation, as we said earlier, is *extremely dark night*. *Extremelly dark* collocate, because of which this phrase is not free, is connected with ethno-specific concept of the plants⁷.



Pic. 2 Blackberry lily (Belamcanda Chinese) gems

Plants influence the culture of different nations. This thesis is more than correct when speaking about Japan, the culture of which is considered to be phitonimous, because even in ancient times the country was agricultural. Most of plants, image of which used in Japanese written sources are not useful from the practical point of view their image has symbolic, religious or esthetical meaning.

Nature cult obviously plays an important role in Japanese culture and has been a research subject for centuries. Motoori Norinaga said, that «...kami (gods) – these are, first of all, Gods of Earth and Heavens and there souls, deified in sanctuaries, and human beings, birds and animals, trees and plants, seas and mountains have special power and have become an object of worship [Norinaga, 2006 115]. We could find reflection of this ethno-cultural specific trace even in «Kojiki», also some reflection could be found in phraseological units of «Kojiki» songs.

When speaking about analyzing collocation, its denotation is correlated with the «extremely dark», while the significatum with the exact plant. We can say that in this case connotative meaning is positive since with the usage of this collocation we can fill the beauty of the night.

⁷ Ethno-specific concept – is a mental phenomenon, some typical fragments of human opyt. Typies of this edinic zakreplyayut in human memory different stereotypes.

Some researchers of a native language in Japan say that Japanese in Nara period did not compare night with these gems but consider the night to be “berry lilyed” [Nakanishi 1992:]. Moreover, *tama* lexeme component could be considered as a base of *tamashii* (魂) spirit, soul. In this case, *nubatama* could be understood as extremely dark (black) spirit.

One more hypothesis concerning the meaning of this collocation could be found in the most recent works of Prof. Tada Kazuomi, who follows version of Prof. Satake Akihiro (佐竹昭広氏) described in *Manjyo:shu: nukigaki* (万葉集抜書). There we can find an explanation that *nuba* lexeme component from the collocation *nubatama no yo* has the meaning of a swamp, a marsh, a bog, dark black color of mud from the bottom of which is compared with the darkness of the night. Thus, when reading *nubatama no yo* phraseme it happens to feel that extreme darkness enveil the body grain by grain. When a person entered a swamp the feeling of thickening its dark mud becomes bigger and bigger with the every step.

The same way extreme darkness of the night becomes blacker and much blacker with the every moment of the night.

As for the conclusion, we can say, that Igor Melcuk approach to the phrasemes and there types could be applied to the expressions of the songs of the Old Japanese language. Using the mentioned approach we determined approximately 50 phrasemes in the songs of *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*. We limit ourselves by analyzing poetic part of mentioned sources because of special traces of written language in Nara period Japan. Here we spoke about one unit *nubatama no yo* to show process of analyses and functioning of the phrasemes in Old Japanese sources.

Some of the *Kojiki* songs word combinations, determined by researchers as *makura-kotoba* could be called phraseological units or phrasemes. We can hardly say, that *makura-kotoba* are the kind of phrasemes, because this phenomenon exists outside phraseology limits. Anyway, one cannot ignore the fact, that phrasemes and *makura-kotoba* are interrelated. Probably, this relation is influenced by the culture, because both phenomena were kept by it. Tsuchihashi Yutaka in his detailed research of ancient songs said about close connection of *makura-kotoba* and proverbs at the field of invariability given some examples from “Fudoki” songs [土橋 1960: 43]. We can suggest, that word combinations that are phrasemes and *makura-kotoba* at the same time, are the different sides of analyzing word combinations, which are interrelated, viz. cultural aspect (*makura-kotoba*) and phrasemes (linguistics aspect).

If to compare phrasemes of two mentioned sources, about 70% of the units determined in *Kojiki* songs were used in the similar songs of *Nihon Shoki*, but were written phonetically using another hieroglyphs. Probably, we can consider this repetition to be at some extant the trace of forming invariability. If so, then we can say that *Kojiki* phrasemes tend to the center of the phraseological field by acquisition of invariability. So, some of the collocations could become idioms in the next sources.

As for the future perspective of this research it is necessary to analyze functioning of determined units in the following sources, such as *Fudoki*, *Kokinwakashu* and *Shinkokinwakashu*. Such diachronic analyses will allow us to see changes of determined phrasemes (are they tend to center of the phraseological field or they lost the restrictions of usage and became free phrases inspite of phrasemes. Besides, it will

be possible to distinguish new phrasemes, which were used, for example, in Man'yōshū for the first time.

Conclusions

1. It is possible to use Igor Melchuk approach for the expressions of the Old Japanese language
2. Due to the special traces of the written language of the first sources only poetic text (songs) was selected as a material for linguistic analyses
3. There were determined approximately 50 phrasemes in the texts of the songs.
4. To see the development of the mentioned expressions it is necessary to analyze their functioning in the sources such as Man'yōshū and Kokinshū.

Sources:

1. «Kojiki» A records of ancient matters, 712 AD
2. «Nihon Shoki» Chronicles of Japan, 720 AD
3. «Man'yōshū» Collection of ten thousands leaves, after 759 AD

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The logo for the International Association for Oriental Research (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a large, stylized circular graphic composed of two overlapping, curved lines. The upper line is light blue and the lower line is light red, creating a sense of a globe or a circular path.

*The role of media in the deconstruction of Portuguese Empire
The case of Cipriano Barata*

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Abstract

This article intends to discuss how the media, in their particular expression of print journalism, contributed to the construction of certain realities that shaped Brazilian independence, thus deconstructing the Portuguese Empire in America. To that end, we made some discussions about the emergence of the press. its arrival in Brazil, and the way the journalist Cipriano Barata, by appropriating certain interpretations of the Enlightenment, assisted in public discussions that took place in this turbulent time the country's history.

Introduction

The printing press in the western world arose in the fifteenth century, a moment in which can be established the transition from a world marked by the Middle Ages to what has been called the Modern world. While the temporal boundaries that establish this transition are questionable, one should realize that many processes in the cultural, economic, political and social set up took place, generating this new configuration. Thus, the appearance of the printed word does not occur in a vacuum, but in a particular context of the establishment of new structures, which appear in a completely connected structure. Benedict Anderson called it the emergence of print capitalism, a particular phase of European development in which the media played a key role, that was the establishment of new market relations, by influencing and promoting, for example, religious change, by boosting Reform, or, in the cultural level, the shift from a predominantly oral society to a new context of written culture (2008, p. 71).

However, we cannot think the emergence of the press only from the economic point of view, which Anderson even hints in his work. We need to think it as a product of culture, embedded in a web of relationships that connect to politics, social organization, among others. Thus, attention should be paid to the study of the press as a preferential source for knowledge of ideas in a period about the world, but also understand that the analysis of their material conditions of production, the intended audience, the forms of reading, are fundamental aspects to this understanding. (CHARTIER 2007, p 38).

In Brazil, the emergence of the press was a late phenomenon, occurring only in the nineteenth century, but whose installation has made several changes to occur or to consolidate. As Isabel Lustosa says, " A imprensa foi, na transição de Reino Unido para país independente, o laboratório onde tiveram lugar embrionárias e imprevisíveis formas de competição política " (2000, p.16). In the words of the same author, "Com o progresso econômico viera também o intelectual. A abertura das mentes era facilitada pelo acesso a obras antes proibitivas por serem tão raras e tão caras, além de literalmente proibidas pelo próprio obscurantismo da Coroa portuguesa" (2000, p. 24). Although José Marques de Melo approach various aspects that have contributed to this delay (2003, p. 113), reinforcing an already established vision from the important study by Nelson Werneck Sodré (1973), it can be said that the political changes of the early nineteenth century are influenced by the emergence of this form of communication.

In this context, several characters have gained prominence, since they were responsible for the emergence of public opinion, and may be treated as a new literate elite, who settled in the country. As Marco Morel says, " é na criação de um espaço público de crítica, quando as opiniões políticas assim publicitadas destacavam-se dos governos, que começa a se instaurar a chamada opinião pública " (2011, p. 30). It is in this particular context that comes a new figure that Morel calls "escritor patriota, difusor de idéias e pelejador de embates e que achava terreno fértil para atuar numa época repleta de transformações " (p. 31).

A character

Among the many journalists who produced debates in this period, we found the figure of Cipriano Barata. He was born in the state of Bahia, in 1762 or 1763, since there are two records for this event. His father was a lieutenant and, like her mother, white people, who constituted a representative of a middle class whose acting was long neglected by the Brazilian historiography. Thus, one of the ways to change this social situation, which was not absolutely comfortable within a society marked by a dichotomy between land masters and slaves, was the opportunity to study in Europe at French and Portuguese universities in particular, like the case of Coimbra. At this location, particularly, Brazilian students had contact with the ideas of Enlightenment that was spreading across Europe. However, the path followed by the Portuguese Enlightenment differed in stimulating scientific and economic activities in order to strengthen the royal power.

This concept, also present in the reformulation of the idea of royal power, through the action of the Marquis of Pombal, was based on the ideas of authors such as Italian jurist Carlo Martini, which defended the natural law theses, stating that the society was founded up from their set of needs, and for its satisfaction, this social body need the figure of the king, who commands based on the law and encouraging scientific and commercial activities, thus building the design of the so-called Civil Empire. However, we should not assume that such a view comes unchanged for Brazilian students who attended the university, since their own conceptions of the world comes loaded from the context from which emerge, namely the American colonial world. Again, these ideas will be absorbed and restructured in accordance with specific mental utensils. So reading the Enlightenment made by Brazilians passes through two different screens: the Portuguese context and the colonial origin of the students.

Barata studied at the University of Coimbra in the period after Pombal's reforms, which reinforces the character of its illustrated formation. After his return to Brazil, he was indicted and arrested on suspicion of being a mentor of a social movement called Conjuração Baiana, an emancipacionist movement occurred in Bahia in 1798. This movement followed some lines of ideals already launched in Minas Gerais, nine years earlier. It proposed independence, but also had several concerns, like the French Revolution in 1789. Thus, the historiography devoted to see this movement more like a social concern, which is quite different from the movement in Minas Gerais, nine years earlier, which had already proposed independence, but that was composed by its land owners and rich men, instead of poor people, like at Bahia. After his arrest and subsequent release in 1800, the biographical aspect of Cipriano Barata is taken by a vacuum, since there are very few documents of that period. We can assume that at this time he acted as a doctor and sugar cane farmer, in which one of the few documents available would be a letter to a friend, which, among other things, refers to blacks in Brazil, saying it is not possible to rely on this "African bastards". This passage in particular could raise numerous discussions on the effective participation and involvement of Barata in the 1798 conspiracy, since it would be inconsistent with the movement participants composition, mostly blacks and mulattos. However, Jesus Martin-Barbero, in his study about the media, presents an interesting passage in which it takes the ideas of people, class, mass and popular culture, trying to understand the audience to which they relate communication theories. In the beginning of his work, Barbero said that, in Enlightenment age, the people is understood as an instrument of

power legitimacy, and not as a set of people who have a visceral and deep connection with the earth and a common destiny, ideas that would prevail under Romanticism (1997, p. 24). This people, despite their vital role in limiting royal power, is also seen as a formulation which is intended to be overcome, due to their ignorance and superstition. The people is necessary, but it's not understood in its autonomy and creativity, ideas that later it would be given in studies of popular culture. Thus, the thought of Cipriano Barata links to this kind of thinking, even if, on a personal level, he does not present particular sympathy for African people, what is relatively common in a slave society.

However, we can not underestimate the extent of Barata's influence during this period, since as the time that unfolds in Portugal the Liberal Revolution of 1820, his name will be chosen as a representative of his state in the Cortes that were formed. Along with other members chosen at Bahia, he embarked towards Europe with the aim of defending the interests of his state, and, just after the reluctance of the Cortes to await the arrival of Brazil Deputies, he began to advocate an effective "Brazilian cause".

After a tumultuous participation in the Cortes, during which he physically assaulted a Brazilian deputy because of their pro-Portugal positions, Cipriano Barata returns to his country in the end of 1822 and cannot land in Bahia due to the conflict that unfolded between local troops and the forces of General Madeira de Melo. At that moment, he settles in Pernambuco, where edits and publishes his newspaper, called Sentinel of Liberty.

A context

The newspaper's publication is only possible because of the changes caused by the coming of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil, in 1808, in the context of the Napoleonic wars in Europe. Beset by the threat of declaring war on England, because the Continental Blockade, the Portuguese opted for transmigration towards America, setting up an unprecedented situation in the colonial setting. The presence of the king and his entourage in America caused the phenomenon called by historian Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias as the "internalization of the metropolis", what is meant in the sense that the royal family also brought to the country its statal bureaucratic structure and create a new social environment, in which the inhabitants of Brazil began to meddle in public affairs and thus seek upward mobility in a context marked by the relationships derived from the Old Regime (2005).

In this scenario, seriously modified by the presence of the Portuguese nobility, some innovations emerged, such as the creation of the Royal Press, responsible for the emergence of the first publications in Brazil. Although José Marques de Melo, as well as other authors claim that such a move was not a novelty (2003 p. 142), we can say that this experience is configured as the first authorized by official power. Serving initially as a channel for disseminating news about the royal family and the role of the king, the press is controlled by censorship, a situation that lasted until 1820, when the Revolution erupts in Portugal. Encouraged by liberalism and sense of abandonment that was raging among the Portuguese, the Cortes were assembled and made several demands, as the immediate return of the king to Europe, at the risk of losing the

throne, the request for approval of a constitution, and amid such huge changes, also demanded the return of Brazil to its former colonial status. Also appeared in the set of requirements the need of press freedom, which was granted by the king in 1821 and became effective also in the colony. This way, it opened up the possibility of a public discussion of ideas, which contributed to the emergence of public opinion in the country, a phenomenon spurred by the huge amount of papers that emerged at that time, bringing to the public the policy discussions, so far restricted to small groups that monopolized power.

In this context, all existing political ideas found their place amidst this public space for discussion, as called by Marco Morel (2003). These thoughts were expressed through a particular kind of printed media, which characterized as the stage of manual printing, in the timeline proposed by Nelson Werneck Sodré (1973, p. 34). These early newspapers have particular characteristics, such as being affordable to most of people; its small format; having a fickle periodicity; being hand-made, usually by only one individual, called the editor. It also featured a virulent language, bringing to the printed media many of the expressions found in the informal oral language, showing that the two universes do not dissociate completely.

The political stance of these newspapers followed two basic lines of ideas: in one hand, discussing the possibility of union with Portugal, in maintaining the situation of United Kingdom established in late 1815; on the other hand, advocating the separation of Brazil from Portugal. These positions became more or less strong due to the events that unfold in the Cortes and also because of the political positions taken by D. Pedro. However, it must be realized, as Isabel Lustosa points, that the periodicals of this period not only reported about the events, but produce facts (2000, p. 16)

So, one could call the staying of prince D. Pedro in Brazil, which was consecrated as the Dia do Fico, as one of the first facts produced by the press. In that event, the significant position taken by Pedro at that moment, was just possible thanks to various signatures obtained by the group headed by Gonçalves Ledo and José Clemente Pereira through their newspaper, the *Revérbero Constitucional Fluminense*. Another key moment in the process leading to independence concerns the installation of the Constituent Assembly.

Conceived as a place for the discussion of the bases that would form the new society and the new Brazilian State, Renato Lopes Leite highlights how the role of the newspaper *Correio do Rio de Janeiro* was decisive for this event. In his words "a consequência da ação pública veiculada pelo periódico *Correio do Rio de Janeiro* acabou desencadeando o processo de convocação da *Assembléia Constituinte e Legislativa do Brasil*" (2000, p.25).

In this sense, one can say that the whole process of independence is marked by the discussions that took place among the periodicals, which brought the political discussions into the realm of public discussion. Werneck Sodré pointed out that the role of the press in that period was developed primarily in places where political activity had greater relevance (1973, p. 122). Thus, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Bahia, Pernambuco, were provinces in which this activity became more important. So we find Cipriano Barata. at Pernambuco, founding his journal in 1823, and also participating in the discussions that permeate the political landscape. However, in the

strict view of the dates, its publication would be after the *fait accompli* of the *Sete de Setembro*, but one should reopen discussions on the meanings and markers of Brazilian independence.

When we talk about the subject of the independence of Brazil, there are several questions that historiography raises and has raised over almost 200 years. What would have been your fundamental milestones? In that time we could actually say that Brazil has become really free? There is a whole history of independence that takes several dates and facts as landmarks, like the works of Caio Prado Junior, which holds that freedom of Brazil is established at the time when the colonial system bonds are broken with the opening of the ports to the friendly nations, in 1808. After the end of the commercial monopoly, Brazil would maintain only one loose and unimportant connection to its metropolis, which would break soon. A more traditional historiography, in its conservative background, preferred to see the September 7th, 1822, as the founder of Brazilian liberation since D. Pedro, at that time, decided by the breaking of ties with Portugal and declared independence, at the banks of the Ipiranga creek. However, as stated by Eduardo Romero de Oliveira, such date only becomes important by the time of the abdication of the emperor, in April 1831, because, until this epoch, the October 12th, the emperor's birthday and the date of his coronation, was seen as the founder moment of the country (2005, p. 61).

However, we believe that independence has developed over the years too, as a process and not just in the form of a "fact", as Cecilia Oliveira pointed (1999, p. 13), since the very concept of independence that encouraged the participants of the liberation movement is linked to the construction of a state that can guarantee the rights of the population, even if in this discussion there is a clear distinction between those who may be considered citizens and those who will be limited to the non-citizens category. That would be done by the establishment of a Constitutional Charter, which had the intent of limiting the powers of the Emperor, to ensure a greater exercise of freedom to the people. It is understood that even the conception of the people that prevails at the moment could be debatable, but this discussion does not fit within the limits of this work.

Thus, we understand that the newspapers published by Barata still falls within that process, which could be completed in 1824, at the time it establishes a Constitution for Brazil, founding this new society based and regulated by the laws' action.

A newspaper and its discussions

The *Sentinel of Liberty* was released in April 1823, amid the struggles for the liberation of Bahia, Barata's homeland, as well as in the process of accession of the provinces of Rio de Janeiro's command. Once Cipriano Barata was a sharply critical of the direction the government was taking, he was imprisoned for long periods, which explains the stages of fragmentation in his newspaper. However, we should remember that, despite the intermittency in the publication, this journal is a publication whose duration becomes remarkable, since it will remain being written until 1835. In its first phase, it has 66 editions, which extend until November 1823, when he is arrested. A very striking feature of the newspaper *Sentinel of Liberty* is its

construction, since the writer shows a story, a fact, and about the same he weaves opinions, often quite critical, which take up most of the text. The subjects on which he writes are varied, since the subject of street lighting in editing May 15, 1823, until political issues in which he compares the ministry of Joseph Boniface to the work of the Marquis of Pombal in Portugal, in the periodic of May 28, 1823.

There are some excerpts from Cipriano Barata's newspapers we selected in this first moment of its publication in order to analyze the discussion that it promotes, in line with the process that was being developed in Rio de Janeiro. On June 25, 1823, Barata launches its *Sentinel* #24, which begins with a important statement, that shows the impact the newspaper has had on his formulations of a particular nation project. So says the editor: "Muitas são as pessoas que abençoam a nossa Sentinela da Liberdade porque dizemos verdades, gritando contra coisas tortas a fim de que se procurem os meios de melhoramento" (2009, p. 289). It is an important passage in regard to the character of the periodicals of the time acquired, in order to intervene in reality and even educate the people, pointing out the problems that exist in the country, in order to alert the authorities to do something about it. In what follows, Barata makes a compliment to the military officers who have worked for the good of the country, citing the state of Pernambuco. It is one of the important distinctions that appear in his work, since it always refers to the Fatherland as the place of birth, and that is the expression that ends up being dominant in his texts. Subsequently, cites that Deputies from Ceará that are traveling to Rio de Janeiro, to take a seat in the Constituent Assembly, and this news adds a critic to a member of the entourage. In this passage, whose criticism is irrelevant at this point, Cipriano hints at one of the points of his political views, stating that "se em uma Revolução o povo reassume sua autoridade e os seu Direitos imprescritíveis, e destrói o seu Governo, aniquila os Reis, as Leis e tudo velho para criar o novo, segundo sua Soberana Vontade" (p. 291). To explain his vision of the Revolution, the author demonstrates that if the people do not have their rights guaranteed, they have the right to seek the reformulation of all forms of government, deposing royal authority, remaking the laws, in order to maintain these same rights. Barata takes his inspiration on John Locke's theory, of what is the revolution and about the government guidelines that must be followed. More than that, it promotes a public discussion, when removes this thoughts from the pages of books and brings it to the newspapers, to be seen, heard and discussed among the readers.

In another quote, the author takes up the importance of the provinces' fight against the former Portuguese government, highlighting the character of the independence that Brazil had been gaining. Benedict Anderson points out that a major feature in the discourse of and about nation formation is its supposed antiquity, compared with its real novelty (2008, p. 31). Therefore, it is necessary to reaffirm a particular past that opposes the situation that seeks to be validated in the present. Barata seems to confirm this hypothesis by highlighting past while the attitudes of Portugal, which had made Brazil a hostage in its colonial situation, stating "ódio ao Governo Velho, à Aristocracia de Fidalgos e ao Despotismo Ministerial" (p. 292), marks that the author wants to highlight in the past in order to create a new identity for the country that is arising, which would be possessed of "absoluta e perpétua independência" (p. 292). In yet another newspaper, Cipriano Barata brings this issue about the past to the discussion, as on 26 July 1823, when his text is a harsh criticism against celebrating the birthday of D. João VI, highlighting an ancient practice that should be forgotten, because it fits with what he wants to create for the country, forgetting about old habits.

This passage also emphasizes the sovereignty of Brazil, which by virtue of their wealth and capabilities, should not need to wait for "cerimônia quimérica das Nações Européias, chamada reconhecimento" (p. 292)

However, the passage that draws the most attention is referred to the role of the Emperor and his legitimacy when he says: ""E assim os mesmos Brasileiros, só por sua vontade, escolha e graça, fizeram que o Senhor Dom Pedro I fosse promovido igualmente ao posto de Imperador por maneiras extraordinárias e de salto" (p.293). In another publication, on July 23th, the author would place this issue again in slightly different terms, saying "pois um Rei ou Imperador, seja qual for, na presença de uma Nação, é poeira, é fumo, é vapor, é mero nada" (p. 348). It is emphasized the Emperor's condition as a instrument, since his choice and legitimacy resides in the people, which is sovereign and puts the ruler in its position, "para servir de Chefe do nosso Poder Executivo, segundo as leis fundamentais que nós todos fizemos e lhermos por meio de nossas Cortes liberais, Soberanas e livres" (p. 293). One should note that the choice of some words are crucial, as the idea of serving, since sovereignty resides in the people, that can therefore make laws they deem necessary and give them to the ruler, that can do nothing more than that, namely, to represent his people.

There is also, as might be found in another passage, no preference for D. Pedro to be the Emperor, not being recognized the dynastic question as a needed basis for his power, since the people, free and sovereign, "poderia escolher outra qualquer pessoa estranha e dar o posto ou Ofício e dignidade de Imperador se as circunstâncias o encaminhassem a esse fim" (p. 293).

In this troubled time of separation of Brazil from Portugal, and establish new bases for the independent country, leap to the eye such propositions, working towards building a new political legitimacy, through the action of a people, who chooses and dignifies their rulers, but that is also free to change them if it is necessary. It is this people, through their discussions and exposure to ideas that "fez a independência do Brasil e que criou o seu novo Império" (p. 302), as Barata would state in a newspaper published on July 2, 1823, a remarkable date on the process of liberation of his homeland, the state of Bahia.

Some final statements

These brief considerations concerning the words of Cipriano Barata, in his newspaper, gets into a larger process, that is the Brazil' independence . In several editions of his newspaper, the journalist reaffirms the idea of the sovereign people, whose power assured the monarch in his position. Takes up several times the question of the need to respect the laws that should start from the Emperor, responsible for the care, safety and quiet of the nation. We realize that, contrary to what some historians claim, that the positions of Barata did not fit in a Republican bias, and also disagreeing to the prosecution of some contemporaries who came to call him a Jacobin.

Barata expressed in his writings, as pointed out by the brief examples above, a notion of natural law inherited from the study in Portugal, where the Enlightenment served to a very specific purpose. In its reading, we can see the new filter that this theory is inside, to constantly reaffirm that the Emperor is necessary, but cannot put himself above the law, since that emanates from the people and serve them, and the ruler must be the instance which articulates that power. Thus, we can say that through Cipriano Barata's works, still little explored in Brazil, we can discern the fundamental role played by the media in the deconstruction of the Portuguese empire in America, bringing to the public these so far private discussions, the role of the emperor, the origin and legitimacy of laws, among other subjects. Barata was persecuted and spent long years in the empire prisons, but the seed that was launched, in search of freedom, cheered the spirits of the time, even if it was not, at first, the winning project.

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*The Study of New Ideas and Integrated Proposal for Sustainable Development of
Future Children Television Programs of Thai Public Broadcasting Service*

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Abstract

This research is an in-depth interview study to get opinions from twelve experts on child development. The research findings are as follows: 1) Six characteristics a good children program must have are 1. Entertaining and captivating; 2. Containing beneficial content; 3. Promoting audience's positive thinking and self-esteem; 3. Promoting imagination and inspiration; 5. Stimulating participation, action, and interaction; 6. Stimulating continued learning after watching. 2) There should be another set of rating symbols with more detail, which can carry additional signs indicating desirable values that the program promotes. 3) The biggest obstacle to the development of children program is the difficulty of finding sponsors, which comes from unfavorable time-slot, thus limiting the number of audience. 4) A good program for the whole family could also be considered a good children program. 5) A children program should also provide advice for parents. 6) Using theme songs that reflect desirable values can help children learn through sub-consciousness. 7) Although ThaiPBS is perceived to be the leading television station for children, there are several areas for improvement, including the appeal of the programs, the time-slot for children programs, the short trial period, and the transparency of the program evaluation.

Keywords: Children program, television program, ThaiPBS

Introduction

Thai Public Broadcasting Service (ThaiPBS) was founded in 2008 to be Thailand's first public television. Since then, ThaiPBS has become the leading broadcaster of children's program, constituting to about 5-10% of airtime, while other free-to-air stations air children programs less than 3% of all programs. ThaiPBS employ the system of program selection committee for all programs, including children programs, to ensure the quality of the programs

Because the committee can only consider the finished programs, to further improve the quality of future programs, ThaiPBS's Academic Institute of Public Media (2012) sees the need to conduct a research to get new ideas for sustainable development of future children television programs to help guide prospective producers for the benefit of Thai children.

Research Objectives

1. To find new perspectives, suggestions, and new ideas to produce children television programs from experts in various fields
2. To use opinions and suggestions of the experts to analyze to get practical conclusion for sustainable development of future children television programs

Research Methodology

This research is an in-depth interview of twelve experts on child development in five related fields as the following:

Youth Idols

- 1) Phra Maha Wudhijaya Vajiramedhi (V. Vajiramedhi) : Famous Author and Thinker, Spiritual leader
- 2) Mrs.Kamolchanok Kemayothin: Actress, Mother and Former Host of Children Programs
- 3) Mr. Noppadol Songsang: Comedian and Host of Popular Children Programs "Jor Jee" and "Tum Sib"

Producers of Children Programs

- 4) Ms. Pattarajaree Aiyasiri: Former Producer of Popular Children Programs "The Little Bee Club" and "Smiling Apple." Now Producer of "The Magical Mushroom Gang" Program
- 5) Mr. Wiwat Wongpattaratiti: Producer and Host of Popular Children's Program "Super Jeev"

6) Mr. Raywat Sangchuay: Host of Popular Children's Radio Show "Morning Kids"

7) Mr. Pakorn Santisoontornkul: Founder of "Dek-D.com," No.1 Website for Thai Students

Experts on Child Psychology and Development

8) Police Lieutenant General Anchulee Teerawongpaisal, M.D.: Child Psychologist and

Consultant for Popular Children Program "Om Yim"

9) Associate Professor Dr. Sairudee Worakitpokatorn : Director of the National Institute for Children and Family Development, Mahidol University, and Former Host of Popular Family Program "Rak Look Hai Took Tang"

Government Official Overseeing Media and Children

10) Ms. Ladda Tangsupachai: Director of the Center of Cultural Surveillance, Ministry of Culture (title held at the time of interview)

Non-Profit Organization for Children

11) Ms. Khemporn Wiroonrapan: Manager of Child Media Thailand

12) Ms. Sudjai Promkerd: Manager of Thai Cartoon Institute, and Manager of Thailand's Reading Culture Promotion Program

Research Tools

The interview questions are composed of five general questions, asked in the following order

1. Current situation of Thailand's children's programs
 - Strengths, weaknesses, problems and obstacles
2. Characteristics of a "good" children's program
 - Definitions, differences between good children's programs for younger and older children
3. Children's programs you would like to see
 - What would like to see more and less? What are some of the new ideas or technology that can be used to make good children programs
4. Solutions and factors that can help develop children's programs
5. Other recommendations

Research Findings

The research findings can be concluded into seven main points, as the following:

1. Six common characteristics that most experts agreed a good children program must have are
 - 1.1 Entertaining and captivating all through the program
 - 1.2 Containing beneficial content, not necessarily academic-oriented, but it must be appropriate to the audience's age range
 - 1.3 Promoting audience's positive thinking and self-esteem
 - 1.4 Promoting imagination and inspiration
 - 1.5 Stimulating participation, action, and interaction, both during and after the program, among the audience, especially through the use of senses, other than seeing and hearing
 - 1.6 Stimulating continued learning after watching.

These six characteristics can be adapted to create criteria for the evaluation of children television programs, along with the evaluation of production quality.

2. Almost all of the experts interviewed emphasized on age-appropriate content. However, the children might not be able to know what age group the program they are watching is designed for, because the rating symbols for children programs are not specific enough, and ThaiPBS's programs are not rated. Therefore, the researchers believe that it will be helpful to create another set of rating symbols with more detail, specifically for children programs, which can also carry additional signs indicating desirable values that the program promotes.
3. One of the main obstacles to the development of children program is the difficulty of finding sponsors, which comes from unfavorable time-slot, thus limiting the number of audience. Therefore, all of the involved parties, especially producers and organizations for children, or even ThaiPBS themselves, should come together to ask the Office of the National Broadcasting and Telecommunications Commission (NBTC) to issue policies that can help the children programs to get better time slots, and also to call for the legislation of the safe and creative media fund. Moreover, ThaiPBS could consider allowing some types of unintrusive commercial sponsorship (not commercial breaks, or product placements or tie-ins) for children programs, to allow the program producers a chance to improve production quality.
4. Several experts believed that "children programs" are not necessarily about children, but it could be a program that can be viewed by any anyone in the family. The development of the children will come from interaction among family members while watching the program, which in some cases might have better effect than letting the children watch the program alone. Therefore, the producers of children programs can

think about creating a family program that aims to promote healthy relationship in the family, which is likely to get a better time slot than children programs and thus better sponsorship.

5. One expert suggested that children learn better through the sub-consciousness, especially through the use of bodily senses. The more senses used, the more likely that the children absorb the content into long term memory. Therefore, children programs can also be designed to repeat the same message in the program, or even across program or across media to help emphasize the common desirable themes. Moreover, the program should help stimulate action during and after viewing, along advice for parents.

6. One of the best approaches that help children learn through sub-consciousness is by using theme songs that are written specially for each program. The songs' lyrics should reflect desirable values that are the key concepts of the program, and played repeatedly in each episode. Many programs that the interviewed experts mentioned as their favorite programs, especially "The Little Bee Club" (Samosorn Peungnoi), and "Mr. Myna" (Chao Khunthong) had used this technique successfully before. Theme songs are also a key success factor for many popular international children programs such as "Sesame Street" "Dora the Explorer" "Blue's Clues." Theme songs can help digest difficult materials into bite-size chunks for children. But theme songs for current Thai children programs are quite rare. Consequently, the content might seem too dry in some parts that aim to feed children new data. Theme songs will invite children to get up and move their body parts, sing and dance with the rhythm. This is a clear example of expanding the learning besides only watching and listening. The producers can also make an album of songs in the programs, as well as use them for the program's websites or games, to increase channels of revenue.

7. ThaiPBS is perceived by all of the experts as the leading television station for children. However, there are several rooms for improvement, including the appeal of the programs. Surveys of young audience satisfaction should be done to create the "must watch" children programs. The aim should also be placed at international level. Moreover, the 3-month trial period should be extended to at least 6 months to ensure continued development of the producers. Awards should also be given to quality programs and should be promoted to better time slots. ThaiPBS could provide morning time slots to children program, starting from dawn to about 10.00 am., then followed by morning news, just like the schedule of PBS network in the USA. The children programs might start at 5.00 am. for babies, followed by programs for increasing age ranges. Also, some popular children programs could produce merchandises to increase their channels of revenue. Moreover, many experts expressed their views that the evaluation process must be transparent, perhaps with a help of a standard evaluation criteria that will be made specifically for children programs. This will create confidence among production companies that are interested in producing children programs.

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*The Effects of the Cross-age Peer Tutoring Program on English Learning
Performance of Taiwanese Elementary School Students*

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INTRODUCTION

Ever since English education launched in elementary schools in Taiwan in 1998, many instructional challenges have been in existence. One of the thorniest problems is the large number of students in an English class, leading to the difficulty meeting the individual student's need. What is more, the great gap of students' proficiency has also been a disputed point assailing teachers for years, resulting in the negative attitude toward English learning and disadvantaged English academic performance (Chen, 2006). Consequently, to overcome these long-standing problems as well as to foster students' learning efficiency, peer tutoring has been recommended by many educators in recent years. Though peer tutoring has been implemented widely by Taiwanese educators and researchers, most of the research on peer tutoring has focused on same-age peer tutoring; little has been noticed about cross-age peer tutoring in elementary schools (Chia, 2004; Chen, 2006). Cross-age peer tutoring has still been a very new issue in Taiwan. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the impacts of the cross-age peer tutoring program on the Taiwan EFL English learners' performance and attitude toward English learning, and further to probe into the feedback from the tutors and tutees to the program.

METHODOLOGY

This study was a quasi-experimental study, in which participants were twenty Taiwanese elementary school students, acting as ten tutees and ten tutors. The ten tutees were the 3rd-grade English low achievers who needed the remedial instruction. The ten tutors were the higher graders who performed well in English learning and volunteered to get engaged in the experiment.

Before the program, all the ten tutors were required to attend the pre-training sessions three times, 30 minutes per time at the noon breaks. The content of the pre-training involved brainstorming, teacher demonstration and tutoring skills practice, to make sure that the ten tutors could get acquainted with the tutoring skills.

During the intervention of the experiment, the ten 3rd-grade tutees received the cross-age peer tutoring program three times per week for twelve weeks, 120 minutes per week. As to the instructional activities, based on the steps suggested by Fimian, Fafard, and Howell (1984), the procedures of the cross-age peer tutoring program were designed as followings.

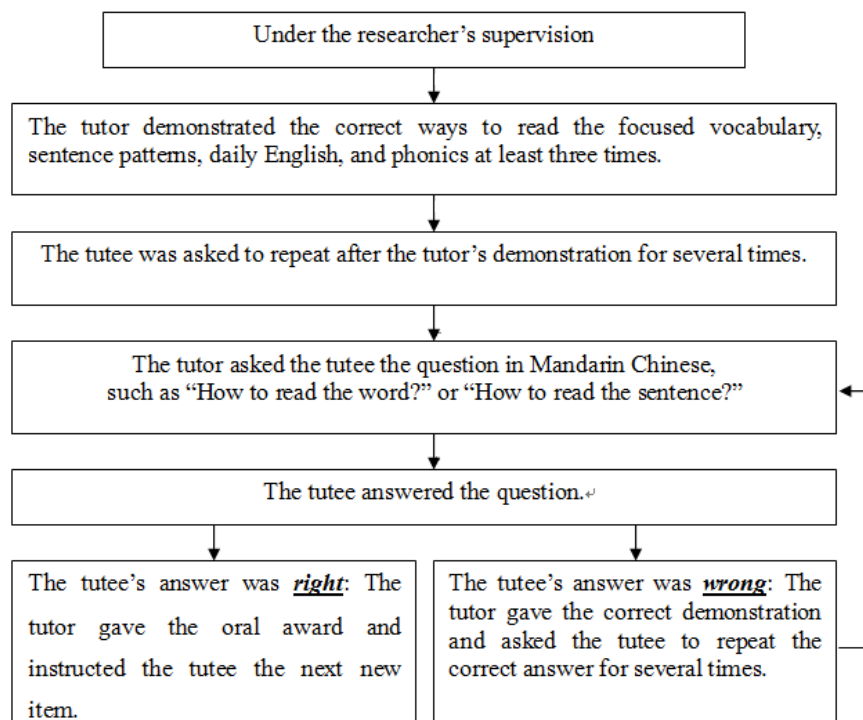


Figure 1 The procedures of the instructional activities

Throughout the program, research data were collected through the pretest and posttest of English learning performance, attitude questionnaires, and individual interviews. The English learning performance tests were standardized assessment tests designed by the Committee of English Education at Educational Bureau of Taipei City in 2003. And the attitude questionnaire was reliable and valid, in which the coefficient of internal consistency was .94 while the test-retest reliability was .70. Based on the results of the factor analysis, the total variance explained could be up to 52.93%; accordingly, the questionnaire had construct validity. Besides, all of the data were analyzed with descriptive statistics and paired-sample *t*-test to explore the effects of the cross-age peer tutoring program.

RESULTS

Tutees' English Learning Performance in the Pretest and the Posttest

After the intervention of the program, the data of the ten tutees' performance in the pretest and posttest of English learning performance was analyzed as follows.

Table 1

Comparison between the Pretest and Posttest of English Learning Performance

test	Mean	N	SD	df	t-value	Sig.(2-tailed)
pretest	49.10	10	17.67	9	-7.38	.000**
posttest	72.00	10	12.52	9		

Note. Mean scores of the pretest and posttest of English learning performance are presented in terms of the scores the ten third-grade tutees got in the English learning performance tests in which the total scores were 100.

** $p < .01$

As shown in Table 1, the results of the paired-sample *t*-test revealed that there was a significant difference between the pretests and posttests, $p = .000$ (two-tailed). It was suggested that the cross-age tutoring program could enhance tutees' English learning performance.

Tutees' Attitude toward English Learning in the Pre-and Post-questionnaires

After the practice of the program, the statistical data of the attitude toward English learning the ten tutees possessed before and after the administration of the cross-age peer tutoring program are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Comparison between the Pre-and Post- attitude questionnaires

Questionnaires	Means	N	SD	df	t-value	Sig.(2-tailed)
Pre-questionnaire	120.70	10	22.81	9	3.36	.008**
Post-questionnaire	148.40	10	18.70			

** $p < .01$

As shown in Table 2, the results of the paired-sample *t*-test revealed that there was a significant difference between the pre-and post-questionnaires, $p = .008$ (two-tailed). It implied that the cross-age tutoring program could impose a positive effect on the tutees' overall attitude toward English learning.

Tutees' Positive Response to the Cross-age Peer Tutoring Program

After the program, all the tutees and tutors had interviews with the researcher. On the basis of the data collected throughout the interviews, all of the ten tutees expressed their preference for having cross-age tutors to help their English learning and the main reasons for their likeness were (1) the tutors' nice company, (2) the tutors' immediate assistance in English learning, (3) more concentration on learning, and (4) the extra English application. The exact ways the tutees expressed their preference for the cross-age tutors are summarized in the following excerpts.

“The reason is that my tutor treats me very well. He is very nice and funny.”
(Kevin, Cindy);

“My tutor teaches me very well; he can help me immediately. I can learn more.
The tutor can

teach me when I have some questions I don’t know how to answer.” (Fanny,
Sammy, Win);

“My tutor can make me concentrate on learning rather than on playing.” (Win,
Tina, James).

Tutees' Favorite Issues in the Program

Furthermore, when the tutees were asked what they liked better or what the advantages they have found in the cross-age peer tutoring program, most of them responded positively. And the most popular features that the tutees like best were (1) the increases of their English knowledge and proficiency, (2) the nice and helpful company of the tutor, and (3) the appealing activities of the program.

Tutees' Disliked Issues in the Program

In addition to the positive response, the tutees also expressed their negative opinions on the certain aspects of the program, involving that (1) They felt nervous when being asked to present in public, (2) they were distracted by the tutors occasionally, and (3) they could not handle the learning load from other subjects at the same time. The exact ways the tutees expressed their complaints are listed in the excerpts as follows.

“My tutor asked me to pronounce the letters aloud; it makes my feel embarrassed (Jack). “Sometimes the tutor is lack of attention in class. Playing and rumbling among the tutors detracts me from learning. ” (Tina); “Sometimes I can not be here because my teacher asks me to complete unfinished homework.” (Cindy).

Tutors' Positive Response to the Cross-age Peer Tutoring Program

As to the tutors’ comments on the cross-age peer tutoring program, similar to the tutees’ positive feedback, they were delighted to act as the tutors in the cross-age peer tutoring program and the major reasons for their fondness were (1) their personal passion for learning English, (2) the acting as a teacher, (3) the chance to help others, and (4) a sense of achievement and satisfaction. The exact ways the tutors expressed their preference for the cross-age tutors are summarized in the following excerpts.

“Teaching others can fulfill my own learning in English. Additionally, I can review English

I have learned before” (Frank, Christine, Rex, Jasmine, Petty, Patricia).

“I can learn how to act as a teacher. I can make my tutee have more self-confidence to learn English and help my tutee not to fear to learn English.” (Brian, Greg, Will, Sonny)

Tutors' Disliked Issues in the Program

However, despite their affection for the cross-age peer tutoring program, the tutors still expressed some complaints about (1) the tutees' occasional lack of concentration on learning tasks and (2) the tutees' silence to their instruction. The exact ways the tutors expressed their complaints are listed in the excerpts as follows.

“My tutee sometimes distracts her concentration from learning. It is annoying that sometimes the tutee wants to play with me.” (Patricia);

“I find it annoying when my tutee keeps silence without answering my questions.” (Frank)

Generally speaking, all of the tutors and tutees not merely enjoyed participating in the cross-age peer tutoring program but also were eager to return to join the program again as tutees and tutors again in the future although there were still some negative feedbacks for future studies to overcome.

DISCUSSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Effects of the Cross-age Peer Tutoring Program on Tutees

Based upon the analysis of the data, the principal findings suggested that cross-age peer tutoring could (1) facilitate tutees' English learning performance significantly and (2) promote tutees' English learning attitude effectively.

As to the positive effects on tutees' English learning performance, the possible reasons for this result might be that in the cross-age peer tutoring environment, each correct or incorrect response to questions made by the tutees could be given a prompt feedback from their tutors. As Behaviorists proposed, learning increases if every response the learners have made receives spontaneous feedback, and that learning is reinforced if every correct response is systematically rewarded (Goodlad & Hirst, 1989). Besides, according to *Vygotsky's theory* (Vygotsky, 1978), children' learning

takes place in the “zone of proximal development” which exists in the area between the child’s actual capability and his potential level. On account of scaffolding, children could reach their potential level with assistance of more capable tutors. Fortunately, through the scaffolding atmosphere of the cross-age peer tutoring program, tutors could have their strength for demonstrations to assist the tutees in these possible cognitive gains. Moreover, tutors’ higher status also promoted the effects of modeling to stimulate the tutees’ English learning.

As to the positive effects on tutees’ English learning attitude, the possible reasons for this result might be that tutees felt more secured in the presence of older tutors with similar cultures and experiences of learning (Goodlad & Hirst). Friendly interactions between the tutees and their older tutors could construct a friendly atmosphere of a low affective filter to help the tutees to conquer the fear of learning English. In such a nice atmosphere, the tutees did not need to face the embarrassment of incorrect response to questions in public; consequently, they could hold more positive attitude toward English learning. Up to this point, these results are consistent with Cloward’s comment in 1967 that a cross-age tutorial situation, where the emphasis was placed on interactions between peers and basic skills training, has been proven in enhancing the younger tutees to gain a substantial progress in learning.

Effects of the Cross-age Peer Tutoring Program on Tutors

In addition to the tutees, the study also found that the cross-age peer tutoring program could (1) help the tutors obtain higher attainment in their English proficiency and (2) increase the tutors’ self-concept in English learning.

The positive results agree well with Cohen’s comments that cross-age peer tutoring could contribute to organizing materials to facilitate long-term retention, as well as aiding in the formation of a more comprehensive and integrated understanding for the tutors (1986). When the older tutors struggled to express the teaching materials meaningful to their tutees, thereby provided themselves chances to reflect on their own learning and to resolve problems in new and different ways (Bruner, 1963).

Furthermore, the possible reason for the tutors’ positive responses might rest in that knowing they are making a meaningful contribution was a powerful experience for the tutors. In other words, through social tutoring and contribution to tutees’ learning, tutors’ self-esteem increased positively (Gaustad, 1993). Moreover, the results might be evident to shorten the bimodal distribution in English learning for the reason that

the older tutors, through the experiences of cross-age peer tutoring, could come to sympathize with the role of their teachers and cultivate a deeper respect for learning (Goodlad & Hirst, 1989).

Suggestions for Pedagogical Implications

On the basis of the research results, cross-age peer tutoring is highly recommended to be implemented in English remedial education, especially for the EFL low achievers. However, despite some valuable findings, there is still some negative feedback proposed from the tutors and tutees after the program. Accordingly, some suggestions for preparing an effective cross-age peer tutoring are also provided as follows.

First, tutors' teaching skills should be further reinforced before the implementation of cross-age peer tutoring; the tutors are suggested to receive the pre-training of the teaching strategies about how to elicit the shy tutees' response to questions and how to cope with the instruction of long sentence patterns and phonics. Additionally, the teacher is recommended to serve as a consulter during the process of the program, providing the tutors with the supportive resource of tutoring.

Secondly, tutors' self-constraint should be emphasized in the future program. According to the tutees' response, some of them were distracted by their tutors on rare occasion. Hence, the self-constraint of the tutors is highly recommended to be taken into consideration in the administration of the future studies.

Thirdly, cross-age peer tutoring is suggested to seek the support from other subjects' teachers. On the basis of the tutees' response, they could not handle the learning load from other subjects at the same time, resulting in their occasional absence in the program. Therefore, it is proposed for the future researchers to seek the support of the tutees' homeroom teachers to allow the tutees to attend the cross-age peer tutoring program on time without absence.

Suggestions for Future Studies

In the end, the results of the present study suggest two dimensions that might profitably be addressed by future researchers in the areas. First, it is highly proposed to investigate the comparison of cross-age tutoring and same-age tutoring in the future. Secondly, a qualitative and comprehensive investigation for a set of programs for training qualified cross-age tutors is worth further studying to seek for the proper

sequence of tutor training.

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Botho/Ubuntu : Perspectives of Black Consciousness and Black Theology

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Abstract

Botho/ubuntu is a philosophy that is as old as humanity itself. In South Africa, it was a philosophy and a way of life of blacks. It was an African cultural trait that rallied individuals to become communal in outlook and thereby to look out for each other. Although botho or ubuntu concept became popularised only after the dawn of democracy in South Africa, the concept itself has been lived out by Africans for over a millennia. Colonialism, slavery and apartheid introduced materialism and individualism that denigrated the black identity and dignity. The Black Consciousness philosophy and Black Theology worked hand in hand since the middle of the nineteen sixties to restore the human dignity of black people in South Africa.

Key words: Botho/Ubuntu, Black Consciousness, Black Theology, religion, culture.

1. INTRODUCTION

The contributions of Black Consciousness (BC) and Black Theology (BT) in the promotion and protection of botho/ubuntu values and principles are discussed in this article. The arrival of white people in South Africa has resulted in black people being subjected to historical injustices, cultural domination, religious vilification et cetera. BC and BT played an important role in identifying and analysing the problems that plagued blacks as a group in South Africa among the youth of the nineteen sixties that resulted in the unbanning of political organisations, release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and ultimately the inception of democracy. The ubuntu for which freedom fighters fought should be lived out in the democratic dispensation and society that was born in April 1994.

2. BOTHO/UBUNTU

2.1 Definition

It is not very easy to define the concept of botho/ubuntu because so many elements go into making a person humane. The other problem is that ubuntu is not only an intrinsic concept but it is also extrinsic something that is being worked at, both inwardly and externally. Nonetheless, one will make an attempt at giving ubuntu some shape and form. Botho or ubuntu in the South African context is derived from Sesotho and Nguni languages respectively. Tshivenda and Xitsonga languages also have derivatives of the concept. For Shutte (2001: 2), ubuntu means “humanity”. It is rather confusing as the term humanity can also refer to humankind. The concept becomes rather clearer when he says,

... the concept of UBUNTU embodies an understanding of what it is to be human and what is necessary for human beings to grow and find fulfilment. It is an ethical concept and expresses a vision of what is valuable and worthwhile in life (2001:2).

According to Broodryk (2008: 41), “ubuntu means humanness, the ideal of being human”.

2.2 Ubuntu and morality

What one gathers from Shutte(2001), Broodryk(2008) and others such as Ng’weshemi (2002); Mcunu (2004) and Bujo(2003) is that although people are born human, their humanness can either be enhanced or depreciated by individuals themselves or by other people. It is therefore the quality of humanness that is at stake. As Bujo (2003: 114) says, “It must be recalled that African ethics does not define the person as self-realization or as ontological act: rather, it describes the person as a process of coming into existence in the reciprocal relatedness of individual and community”. One important aspect of ubuntu is that although the article will use South Africa as its context, it should be noted that as a way of life, ubuntu is not a monopoly of South Africans or Africans. It is global in that,

“...They are values of humanity as such, and also universal” (Shutte 2001: 2) and ubuntu cuts across centuries and cultures (Mkhize in Nicholson 2008:36).

It is generally agreed that an organising principle for ubuntu is that, “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu”, meaning a human being is and becomes human through interactions with other humans.

Broodryk (2008: 42-45) traces ubuntu back to ancient Egypt about one thousand five hundred years ago. Most beliefs of ubuntu were transferred to the other parts of Africa during the cultural movement to the southern parts of the continent. He points out that Central and Eastern people who were iron working migrated down South and settled in the present day Limpopo and Mpumalanga. About a thousand and fifty years ago, a new culture, the Leopards Kopje culture moved to Mapungubwe and by the sixteenth century hundreds various Iron Age settlements were established throughout the current Gauteng province and highveld areas.

Ubuntu has a very strong moral foundation as evidenced by the Netchar Maat in Egypt. There were seven cardinal values: truth, justice, propriety, harmony, balance, reciprocity, order and these and other Maatian admonitions were the bases and guidelines for correct and moral behaviour (Broodryk 2008: 42 - 43). As Shutte (2001:2) expresses it, ubuntu “...is an ethical concept and expresses a vision of what is valuable and worthwhile in life”.

3. RELIGION AND CULTURE IN AFRICA

3.1 Relationship between religion and culture

The backbone of ubuntu has been religion and culture and the two entities have been regarded as two sides of the same coin. But this kind of relationship seems to have existed in all societies throughout the ages. We are put in a situation that compels us to ask which came first, religion or culture. Was religion used in ancient and modern civilizations to sacralise culture or did culture issue out of religious myths and rituals?

In Africa one cannot separate religion and culture although one can say that without religion culture would not be as moral as it should be. As Bujo (2003:123) says, “As Africans see it, it is impossible to define the human person in purely secular or purely religious terms since he is both at once. Where one of these two dimensions is lacking, one can no longer speak of human person *qua* human person...”. Through religious rites and rituals culture finds its moral foundation. As Mafunisa in Nicholson (2008: 57) says, “Ubuntu can be understood as the essence of God’s presence within humanity” and continues to say that “...African traditional religion is a way of life and a search for well-being within the community in the here and now of everybody experience” (in Nicholson 2008: 120). Chitando (in Nicholson 2008: 45 -63) however, does point out that some postcolonial philosophers in Africa are challenging the notion propagated by people such as John Mbiti that religion in Africa is the basis of all ethical

considerations. He gives an example of Kwesi Wiredu, a Ghanaian philosopher who seeks to separate religion and morality. For Wiredu African ethic might be called humanistic, as opposed to the supernaturalistic. This school of thought submit that religion has not been helpful to African struggle for scientific advancement. Chitando suggests that a middle path between the two schools of thought is possible,” ...where certain ethical principles are seen as derived from religion without having to subsume all ethics under religion (in Nicholson 2008: 46).

3.2 Denigration of the African religion and culture

Wherever colonialists and Christian missionaries went, the following things happened:

- (a) The religion of the people was declared pagan and the Christian religion was imposed on them sometimes forcefully.
- (b) The culture of the people was declared barbaric and the people were regarded as savages and the Western culture was imposed on them. That is why Biko from the cultural point of view says, “Wherever colonisation sets in with its dominant culture it devours the native culture and leaves behind a bastardised culture (in Stubbs 1978:46).
- (c) Where the people resisted invasion and wars of conquest, they would be decimated.
- (d) The people were dispossessed of their land, especially fertile portions of the land and land that was rich with mineral resources. In most cases, those people who did not flee or not killed were made slaves.
- (e) The history of the people was deliberately distorted in order to justify and rationalise the acts of conquest and domination

In South Africa white people arrived in 1652 and Africans, full of ubuntu welcomed them warmly by allowing them first, to grow vegetables at the southern tip of the continent as a halfway station to India and when they got more comfortable they, second, kept livestock etc and started demanding more land that was graciously given. Missionaries later arrived and gave black people the Bible in “exchange” of their land. As Odendaal(2012:9) aptly puts it,

Colonialism and conquest brought about immense changes in the African societies of southern Africa, impacting radically on their economies, cultures, thoughts, and ways of life. A crucial part in this process of incorporation and change was played by European missionary societies, particularly through the churches and schools they set up.

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 practically and literally stripped black people of eighty-seven percent of their land (Changuion and Steenkamp 2012:130-139, 163-175). With the rise to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948, Apartheid which legally entrenched racism in South Africa was promulgated (Changuion and Steenkamp 2012:186-200). To make sure that blacks were permanently kept out of the eighty-seven percent of the land that white people have given themselves and black people were contained in the thirteen percent of the land given to them by whites, homelands were created by which each of the South Africa's ethnic groups would be given some autonomy to govern themselves (Changuion and Steenkamp 2012:214-231). Later, these homelands would be sovereign and independent of "white" South Africa with Transkei being the first of such homelands to be independent in 1976 (Changuion and Steenkamp 2012: 232-250). Through the tricameral parliament Indians and Coloureds were represented in the white South African parliament (Changuion and Steenkamp 2012:252-253).

The blacks in South Africa were not only divided according to their ethnic groupings but also according to their ancestry as Indians/Asians and so-called Coloureds. Blacks suffered an identity crisis, particularly the Coloureds. Blacks were ideologically divided and weakened, and psychologically confused.

The Nationalist Party led government used various strategies to suppress the black resistance to racism and white domination. For example, political parties that fought for liberation such as the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were banned in 1960. But they went underground and formed armies of resistance called uMkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo respectively. The racist government of the day was relentless in crushing the opposition forces. The nineteen sixties to the early nineties were particularly bad for the forces of liberation, both in exile, on Robben Island as well as in the country. The countries, the SASO trials, consecutive states of emergency were all government's attempts at instilling fear in the black community and these whites who fought with the black liberation movements (cf also Brotz 1977; Davenport 1987; Lodge 1983; Motsoko 1984).

4. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND BLACK THEOLOGY

4.1 Definition

Black Consciousness (BC) and Black Theology (BT) were initiatives for liberation by the students and youth of the nineteen sixties. They are regarded as sides of the same coin (Pityana in Motlhabi 1972:41; Duncan in du Toit 2008:116) and others regard Black Theology as the religious arm of BC (Cone in Motlhabi 1972:28).

Briefly, BC is defined by Biko in Stubbs (1978:92):

Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind and a way of life, the most positive call to emanate from the black world for a long time. Its essence is the realisation by the black man of the need to rally with his brothers around the course of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude. It is based on a self-examination which has ultimately led them to believe that by speaking to run away from themselves and emulate the white man, they are insulting the intelligence of whoever created them black.

Whilst Motlhabi in Motlhabi (1972:56-57) defines BT indicating its inseparability from BC thus,

Black Theology is not a new theology nor is it a proclamation of a new gospel. It is merely a re-evaluation of the gospel message, a making relevant of this message according to the situation of the people. ...Its advocates believe that Christ not only has something to do and offer to my 'soul' but to 'me' in my entire situation and condition here and now. ... Its true meaning is co-extensive with suffering, and as the suffering lot of the majority in this country is 'not white'. 'Black' is rightly used, affirming that whiteness is not the only value in relation to which everything else should be considered.

Biko (in Stubbs 1978:5) says, "Black Theology... is a situational interpretation of Christianity" and Mpunzi (in Motlhabi1972:188) concurs that "Black Theology is a situational theology...of black people in South Africa".

As a philosophy and doctrine immersed in ubuntu, BC and BT respectively, advocate and still advocate for black people a total liberation brought about by addressing their loss of identity, cultural alienation, religious denigration, socio-political oppression and exploitation etc.

4.2 Black Consciousness and Black Theology Perspectives

4.2.1 Socio-political domination

Racism seems to be a universal phenomenon. As Mzimela (1983:192) says,

Everywhere where people have been colonised, they have been economically exploited, politically oppressed, and racially discriminated against.

As Davenport (1987:315-338) observes, racial segregation was not merely a separation of the colonisers and the colonised, but a policy aimed at ensuring white supremacy and survival. Biko (in Stubbs 1978:28) pushes the argument further when he says that a black person has been prepared for a subservient role in South Africa. Blacks were convinced by whites that they were inferior, they had inherent inabilities and they were a defeated and cursed people. This was the extent to which the process of dehumanisation had advanced.

As alluded above, South Africa was exposed to colonialism since 1652 and with the entrenchment of Apartheid in the South African Constitution in 1948 and the subsequent repression of the forces of liberation against the white minority rule, there descended a paralysing fear on the South African society (Biko in Stubbs 1978:73-79;Pityana in du Toit 2008:5).

The political vacuum that resulted during the nineteen sixties was filled by the youth and students at high schools and institutions of higher learning. This movement was known as Black Consciousness and in theological seminaries the religious counterpart was the Black Theology. As indicated above, the aim was to instil pride in the black community, and to mobilise them to stand up and fight for their liberation, as whites, even white liberals would not be trusted completely (Sono 1991:66-69; Biko in Stubbs 1978:89-91). Although white liberals may not have be voted for the Nationalist Party, they still enjoyed the protection and privileges offered by the government, hence Biko in Stubbs (1978:23) says, "...in the ultimate analysis no white person can escape being part of the oppressor camp".

BC and BT were not trusted by the white community including the white liberals (Biko in Stubbs 1978:26; Biko in Stubbs 1978:63-66; Biko in Stubbs 1978:89-90; Pityana in du Toit 2008:6-7; Sono 1993:5-9 and 66-67). But even liberation movements such as the ANC and PAC regarded with suspicion the strategies of the BCM. As the main intention of BC and BT was the political liberation of South Africa and creation of a democratic state, many people, even among themselves believed that BC and BT were time bound and therefore would be irrelevant or redundant with the dawn of democracy (Sono 1991:131).

But what was not realised was that the fact that national liberation was first and top priority for BC, that did not mean that the other items and issues on gender justice, eco-justice were not important. It was a strategic move in that other items on the agenda would be attended to after racism had been defeated; something along the lines of "seek ye first the national liberation, and all these things would be added unto you".

- Many leaders today are products of the BC and BT, and they do mention how without their background of BC and BT they would not have become what they had become as for example political, business and religious leaders. They also believe that the BC and BT values, principles and the way of life is still influencing the way they do business irrespective of party political affiliation (Sono 1991:109-115; Moore 1996:14,24). From a political point of view, BC and BT fought for the restoration of the dignity of the black person who was treated as a sub-human by the racist minority governments. They were fighting for the black person's UBUNTU. According to BC all human beings are equal and according to BT all human beings are created in the image of God and hope for a national

liberation was the source of strength for BC and BT and obviously also for the other liberation movements (Biko in Stubbs 1978:55; Buthelezi in Motlhabi: 1972:71–75; 121-129). Demolition of Apartheid was a must because it was tied up with white supremacy, capitalist exploitation and deliberate oppression (Biko in Stubbs 1978: 28). And as Halisi correctly asserts (in Pityana and Ramphele 1991: 102), “Black consciousness philosophy openly confronted the pathology of racism in the South African society and its impact on both black and white South Africans”.

When white people arrived in South Africa, they also brought their culture and traditions as well as their civilization that they deemed as superior to that of the indigenous people. The indigenous culture was regarded as primitive, barbaric, savage and backward et cetera. Motlhabi (in Motlhabi 1972: 2) encapsulate this notion rather succinctly when he says in his forward to the collection of essays on black theology.

This collection of essays is clearly geared at killing the notion both within ourselves as blacks and in those who call us non-whites, that our history was a history of barbarism in which we are supposed to have lived by senseless and cruel violence alone; our religion was ignorant superstition filled with dark deeds and reeking Macbeth-like witches brews; our corporate tribal life was a foul impediment in the way of individualistic conversion; our music was unable to contain fresh content; our illiteracy was taken to be a sign of our stupidity and the emptiness of our heads of wisdom, intelligence or reason; perhaps which regarded us as little more than troops of baboons with remarkable human resemblances.

Rejection of the Anglo-Boer culture and reverence for African culture was a project at the forefront of BC and BT. Black history was depicted as a long list of defeats and failures, such history was distorted in such a way that it was biased in favour of white people, such as the untruth that when they arrived in South Africa, there were no people or at best, that they arrived at the same time; whites arriving by the sea and black people through Africa’s thick forests from the Great Lakes, that blacks stole from the white people et cetera. Heroes such as Makana were regarded as trouble makers, nation builders such as King Shaka were regarded as cruel tyrants (Biko in Stubbs 1978: 95; Khoapa in du Toit 2008: 77)

These myths served to justify the dehumanisation of the black people not only in South Africa but all over the world. For Biko the destruction of these myths was a pre-condition for the psychological liberation of black people (Khoapa in du Toit 2008: 78)

The communal way of living has been replaced by individualism and materialism. Ubuntu is the realisation that a person cannot be an island_ *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu/motho ke motho ka batho* “Because the self exists only in relationships with

others there are as many sides to the self as there are relationships (Shutte 2001: 23). The European idea is that individuals have free choice whereas the African one is that of a community. As Shutte (2001: 26-27) explains:

Each individual is...related to the community, not as part to the whole, but as a person related to themselves. Each member of the community sees the community as themselves, as one with them in character and identity. Each individual sees every other member as another self.

Not the individual but society or community is a point of departure and as Ng'weshemi (2002: 17) asserts, it is in group relationships that one discovers one's full personality.

The other example is that of *Kgoro* in Sesotho, which is a traditional space where people or leaders of a clan, tribe, meet under a leadership of an *Induna* (an Nguni term for a clan or tribe leader) chief or king. At such a forum, conflicts and disputes are settled; general matters and issues of the community are discussed and resolved. The role of the traditional leader is to guide the discussions in such a manner that decisions are taken on the basis of consensus (Shutte 2001: 20; Motlhabi 1972: 95) There is a Sesotho saying that goes like "*Kgoshi ke kgoshi ka batho*" which means that a king is a king through his subjects. The king cannot make decisions involving his subjects by himself without proper consultation.

Biko, taking South African's political history into consideration calls western culture, the Anglo-Boer culture because South Africa has a history of colonialism and apartheid with the British and the Dutch. He says, "To justify its exploitative basis the Anglo-Boer culture has at all times been directed at bestowing an inferior status to all cultural aspects of the indigenous people" (Biko in Stubbs 1978: 41)

Biko (in Stubbs 1978: 41- 46) briefly discusses some aspects of African culture that are an embodiment of *ubuntu*:

- (a) African culture is centred around human beings. They are therefore "man-centred". There is in Sesotho languages a saying that goes like, "Feta kgomo o sware motho", meaning that people are more important than material possessions. This value has since been adopted by the government in their "people first" principle.
- (b) House visits were done not necessarily for specific reasons. "It was all part of our deep concern for each other... Hence in all we do, we always place man first and hence all our action is usually joint community oriented action rather than the individualism which is the hallmark of the capitalist approach" (Biko in Stubbs 1978: 42).
- (c) Private ownership of property such as land was unheard of. Land belonged to the chief or the king. The land belonged to the community and it was held in trust by the chief or king.

- (d) *Letsema* (a Sesotho word) was a practice whereby groups of people would work together to assist one another in projects such as ploughing fields, harvesting and building houses et cetera.
- (e) Through the process of sharing and caring, poverty was a foreign concept. Orphans and widows were taken care of through systems and mechanisms set up and devised by families and communities.
- (f) Africans are closer to nature than whites. This reverence of nature and creation helped Africans to shy away from degrading the environment and furthermore, according to Biko (in Stubbs 1978: 46)

This close proximity to nature enables the emotional component in us to be so much richer in that it makes it possible for us, without any apparent difficulty to feel for people and easily identify with them in any emotional situation arising out of suffering.

As Buthelezi (in Motlhabi 1972: 8) says, “Africans strive for the wholeness of life and Africans must take pride in their traditional heritage”. Motlhabi (in Motlhabi 1972: 59) says that BT challenges blacks to reassess their present socio-political situation in the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ. He continues by saying that:

Christ’s message therefore to black theology means taking resolute and decisive steps to free the black people not only from estrangement to God but also from slave mentality, inferiority complex, distrust of themselves and continued dependence on other men culminating in self-hate.

4.2.3 Demonisation of African religion

Pityana in (Motlhabi 1972: 38) does not mince his words when he says:

The acceptance of the Christian church, the triumph of the missionary endeavour, meant the rejection of the African customs ...The coming about of Christianity brought about a real upheaval in African norms and values, a disintegration of families and tribes and the cancerous money economy.

Indeed, when the missionaries arrived in Africa they aimed at emptying Africans of their religion and to fill them with Christianity and all means were employed to achieve their goal including bribery and physical violence. Before Christianity, blacks had their own religion and believed in one God but missionaries rejected their religion and offered them in return the white conception of divinity according to Biko.

Biko (in Stubbs 1978: 93) as rephrased by Duncan (in du Toit 2008:127, Biko in Stubbs 1978:93). Many African practices were rejected as pagan by missionaries. Even African leaders because of their Western education and training perpetuated Western culture as a norm. African bishops were largely ignored by the missionaries, according to Akin (in Motlhabi 1972:63). Biko (in Motlhabi 1972:56) asks the question as to why Africans were required to cast away their indigenous clothing, their customs et cetera. As Zulu (in Motlhabi 1972:87) complains, the reading of the nineteenth century missionary literature,

...reflects an attitude of superiors dealing with inferiors when they pitied, despised, sometimes and often found enigmatic in spite of their apparent simplicity. There seems to have been little appreciation of cultural settings that could have helped proclamation of the gospel.

The rise of African Indigenous churches could be attributed to rejection of African religious practices, denigration of African culture by the missionaries and white domination (Akin in Motlhabi 1972: 63; Zulu in Motlhabi 1972: 85-90; Ngubane in Mosala and Tlhagale 1986:71-90). When BC and BT arrived on the scene in the nineteen sixties, the loose form of the opposition against the missionary activities was given a more coherent shape and solid content and sound methodology. Buthelezi Manas (in Motlhabi 1972:30) referring to the development of BT says that no one can "...doubt the legitimacy of the quest for a theological assessment of the incarnation of the Word of God in the peculiarities of the life and thought of the black people of South Africa". As Motlhabi (in Motlhabi 1972:59) says, that BT challenges black theologians to review what has been lost historically, culturally and religiously. It challenges them to reassess their present socio-political situation in the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ. For Biko (in Stubbs 1978:60),

No nation can win a battle without faith, and if our faith in our God is spoilt by our having to see him through the eyes of the same people we are fighting against then there obviously begins to be something wrong in that relationship.

But he was hopeful that, "In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible – a more human face" (in Stubbs 1978:98).

5 CONCLUSION

For BC and BT liberation should be understood in a holistic manner as alluded above that is, psychologically, politically, socially, economically, religiously and otherwise. Fighting for their ubuntu black people would also liberate white people from their bondage of greed, capitalism, superiority complex and fear of black people. In the culture of human rights, all people have inalienable rights to enjoy freedom in its totality (Mosala and Tlhagale 1986). Basic belief in our common humanity, that all humans are created in the image of God, should make us uncomfortable and angry even when inequality among us is promoted, when tenets of botho/ubuntu are violated and when the dignity of the human person is trampled underfoot. We know that not everything in African culture and religion was good, but those elements that are liberating should be retrieved in order that our humanness can be restored; and as culture is not static, we should accept that new influences have entered our cultures and therefore it might not be desirable or feasible to retrieve all of them. Obviously those that are good in the western culture should be considered and those that are enslaving in African culture and religion should be dropped as we make our diversity to work for us.

True liberation of both the oppressed and the oppressors in South Africa will entail a recognition by both parties of the full humanity (ubuntu) of each individual, regardless of race, class or gender (Sibisi in Pityana and Ramphele 1991:136).(parenthesis mine)



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*The Influence and Remaining Japanese Cultural Elements in Raku Artworks of
Contemporary Non Japanese Artists/Potters*

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1.0 Introduction

This research examines the extent to which Japanese cultural elements –specifically the ‘spirit’ or philosophy of traditional Japanese Raku– are retained and evidenced in contemporary artworks by non-Japanese artists/potters in Australia. This research is conducted in reflection of my own art practice as a ceramic artist/potter who was exposed to the Western/American style of Raku in the beginning of my career, but later experienced the making of Raku in its traditional form in Japan. Through analysis and reflection of contemporary Raku artworks together with my own art practice, this research will identify the extent to which the spirit and philosophy of original Raku either direct or indirectly influences artists/potters in their art practices and remains in the artworks. In this approach, the artists’/potters’ artworks will be analyzed as the trace of cultural interaction. This line of critical enquiry develops in relation to a body of creative work, which serves as a practice – led method of research.

Unlike conventional ceramic firing approaches, which may take several days to complete, Raku is a method where work is rapidly (often under an hour in duration) fired and removed from the kiln when glowing hot. Raku has become popular amongst contemporary artists/potters internationally since it was introduced to the West in 1940s. Historically, Raku referred to the spiritual, religious, philosophical, ceremonial and functional characteristics of a specific style of ceramics. First developed in the city of Kyoto, Japan in the late Sixteenth Century during the Momoyama period (1573-1615), in its traditional form, Raku was used to produce ceramic ware for the tea ceremony.

The tradition of Raku in Japan was surrounded by cultural concern that strongly affected the end product. The aesthetic of original Raku is exemplified in the Zen concept of *wabi-sabi*: the idea of an intrinsic humble beauty and ‘thusness’ that transcends individual human intention.¹ Raku ceramics supported the notion that the simplest object posses great beauty and great significance.



Figure 1: The traditional Raku firing in Japan²

¹ Margot Osborne, Jeff Mincham : *Ceramics, Living Treasure: Masters of Australian Craft*. Craftman House, 2009 pg. 13.

² Image taken from http://article.wn.com/view/2012/05/12/46000_tecup/

For four hundreds years, Japanese people have seen Raku as being both simultaneously utilitarian and aesthetic. According to John Dickerson, any attempt to divorce the object from its practical purpose (for instance, by placing it in museum) is inevitably detrimental to both the bowl itself and to its appreciation.³ Such appreciation of the function of Raku ware is very important to the Japanese connoisseurs. The current head of the Raku family in Japan, Raku Kichizaemon XV,⁴ believes that the tea bowl is a 'living thing' and should be handled and used continuously, indeed, has been able to reclaim several Raku tea bowls from museums, claiming the gallery case to be a 'dusty glass coffin'.⁵ In this sense, the Raku tradition in Japan is rooted in the beauty of utility, not in style or a specific technique or glaze.



Figure 2: The Tea Ceremony (*chanoyu*)⁶

For contemporary non-Japanese artists/potters, Raku is a rapid firing ceramic process that is usually appreciated for its aesthetic, tactile, sensory qualities and non-functional, sculptural application. The 'non-functional' here stands in opposition to 'function' understood as that which is usable (utilitarian).

Non-Japanese/Western artists/potters such as Paul Soldner, Rick Hirsch, and Robert Pipenburg in the 50s and 60s encountered Raku and through their practices have developed alternative approaches that maybe said to give a variety of 'new' meanings and most agreed that indeed, an appraisal of their work indicates that superficially at least, contemporary (American) Raku has been distanced in terms of style, technique and purpose from its traditional form. This research seeks to investigate the extend to which any residue of original, traditional Raku sensibilities have been passed down to non-Japanese artists/potters and still remain/resonate in/with the work of contemporary artists/potters and their practices.

1.1 Research Background

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, the practice of drinking tea had assumed an important role in the life of Japanese warrior leaders and the *elites*. At that time

³ John Dickerson, *Raku Handbook- A practical approach to the ceramic art*, Studio Vista, London, 1972, pg. 5.

⁴ The 14th generation of Raku family and the modern representative of his family, his opinions carry a great deal of weight. And he is certainly the closest thing there is today to an "orthodox" Raku voice, as conversation with Morgan Pitelka, 27th June 2012.

⁵ Rick Hirch, *The Raku Family Tradition*, Studio Potter 7 (2), pg. 28-33.

⁶ Image taken from http://www.singlestravel.com.au/Japan_2013_home.htm

they began holding gatherings at which tea was prepared and drunk in a ritualized, performative fashion.⁷ Performative tea practice had gained popularity by the sixteenth century and potters developed the Raku technique to meet the demands of the tea practitioners for objects to be used in the tea ceremony (chanoyu). One of these potters, *Sasaki Chojiro* (1516-1595), a Korean migrant, was selected by the tea master *Sen no Rikyu* (1522-1591) from a group of ceramic tile producers to collaborate on the production of ultimate rustic, *wabi*⁸, teabowls.⁹ Raku wares were popular with a small group of tea practitioners in and around Kyoto, Japan's capital city at that time. The tea ceremony proved to be the vehicle that stimulated the highest level of attainment in many aspects of Japanese culture and Raku certainly owed its development and prestige to the cult of tea.¹⁰



Figure 3: Chojiro's black Raku tea bowl named 'Koto', 16th Century, collection of Mr. Raku Kichizaemon XV, Japan.¹¹

In Japan Raku has been mainly restricted to the traditional forms of those articles used in the tea ceremony, primarily tea bowls, incense boxes and dishes.¹² Tea masters specified certain dictates in design and function in accordance with the Zen ideal for the tea bowl; the qualities admired were the unique, unrepeatable marks and imperfections imparted through hand forming and the consequent irregular, asymmetrical vessel forms. Japanese Raku was made in response to nature and natural forms.

The Raku tradition was transmitted to the West first through the lectures and writings of Bernard Leach (1887–1979) and later through the popularizing or 'fusing' efforts of artists/potters such as Paul Soldner (1921-2011). During the 1960s, Soldner adapted the Raku technique, modifying many aspects including style, process and even glaze formulae.

⁷ Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture*, University of Hawaii Press, 2005 pg 5.

⁸ Loosely translated as austerity or simplicity, Wabi is the natural expression of feelings that are neither ostentatious nor imposing, and its spirit is the essence of the tea ceremony.

⁹ Morgan Pitelka, *Flame, Smoke, Clay, Glaze*, Ceramic Review 230 March/ April 2008, pg 38.

¹⁰ John Dickerson, *Raku Handbook- A practical approach to the ceramic art*, Studio Vista, London, 1972, pg. 31.

¹¹ Image taken from <http://www.raku-yaki.or.jp/e/kichizaemon/index.html>

¹² John Dickerson, *Raku Handbook- A practical approach to the ceramic art*, Studio Vista, London, 1972, pg. 5.



Figure 4: Paul Soldner, Pedestal piece, Raku.¹³

Contemporary Raku can be described as encompassing five layers or groups. The first is the Kyoto Raku lineage, early exponents of the Raku process, which continues to operate the wealthiest¹⁴ and most powerful kiln in the Raku tradition. A second layer is made up of a handful of other traditional groups such as Ohi ceramics¹⁵ that operate Raku kilns and are accepted as having some legitimacy within the Japanese tea community. Following that is a group of Raku potters who serve the less sophisticated ceramic consumer in Japan- the potters who make the cheaper, somewhat fake-looking¹⁶ Raku tea bowls that can be bought for a low price. Then we have Western potters who are interested in the tea ceremony and Japanese traditions and make a version of Raku that is close that which is made in Japan. Finally, we have the layer of Western potters who do a version of the so-called American/Soldner style of fusion Raku, which has much less in common, technically speaking, with Japanese Raku.

Raku is not merely a practical technique that involves fire, speed and performance. In the work of Rick Hirsch (one of the first Western/non Japanese potters use Raku in his practice) that was reviewed by David Jones had a strong symbolic and metaphoric resonance that in a way it parallels what happens in *chanoyu*.¹⁷

¹³ Image taken from <http://artfortheblogofit.blogspot.com.au/2011/01/paul-soldner-this-his-his-technique.html>

¹⁴ The workshop was sponsored by the warlord for gala Raku performances on their estate and is still supported by the tea masters who traced their lineage back to Sen no Rikyu. In the post-war period (world war II), the potters from the Raku family established a non-profit museum in Kyoto and became involved in organizing exhibitions and writing books about Raku.

¹⁵ Ohi Ceramics (*Ohi yaki*) is a pottery with a style unique to Kanazawa, a branch kiln (*waki gama*) that was developed in the Raku tradition founded by the Raku family members or potters.

¹⁶ The design and technique of making the bowl does not exactly follow original Raku bowls.

¹⁷ David Jones, *Raku Alchemy*, Ceramic Review 230 March/April 2008, pg 27-29.



Figure 5: Rick Hirsch, 'Mortar and Pestle', Raku.¹⁸

According to Jones, because Raku is always associated with the *chanoyu* or 'the way of tea', that it is informed by the Zen Buddhist and Taoist attitudes of life and implies an emphasis on a state of being or a state of mind that the words 'ceremony' or 'ritual' do not. He further explained that this refinement of a difficult translation of a foreign cultural concept, which has occurred in the West, is a process that has also informed Rick Hirsch's own recent thinking.

In 2001 I had the opportunity to travel from my birthplace of Malaysia to study ceramics for an extended period in Japan. When I first encountered Raku in Japan, I was instructed in making tea bowls without using a mechanized pottery wheel – the traditional method of crafting tea bowls for the tea ceremony – that were then fast fired in a process unique to Raku. In many ways it was the opposite of what I had known of Raku in the Western context.

Before coming to Japan, I also learned the technique in a way that involved post-reduction¹⁹ in the firing process, and assumed it had been always practised in this way. Later, I discovered that post-reduction was never used in the old tradition of Raku; American potter Paul Soldner, firing in America, introduced this aspect of the process in the 1960s. It should not be assumed, however, that such changes in traditional Raku through culture and time diminish the significance of contemporary Raku. Rather contemporary Raku should be appreciated with respect to the impact of cultural interaction and different understanding towards Japanese culture.

My experience in Japan elicited a deep interest in exploring Japanese aesthetics. Although I was exposed to many other Japanese traditional techniques, the aesthetic of Raku and its tradition has always fascinated me. I noticed that after 400 years of continuous practice in Japan, Raku has been given a variety of 'meanings' and interpretations among contemporary artists/potters especially when it has been transferred to the West. It is one art form that, I believe, has not suffered in its revival-

¹⁸ Image taken from <http://cias.rit.edu/faculty-staff/110>

¹⁹ Post-reduction is a process where the fired pieces are placed in a container filled with combustible material for reduction. In the traditional Japanese process, the fired Raku piece is removed from the hot kiln and is allowed to cool in the open air.

rather it has been strengthened.²⁰ The strengthening of Raku has involved beyond its technical context. To a certain extent, the spirit and philosophy of original Raku has somehow influenced the way of thinking in making of artworks by the contemporary artists/potters of non-Japanese and ultimately has become the main factor for attracting towards an appreciation.

For some time, I wondered how contemporary non-Japanese artists/potters actually respond to aesthetic elements from foreign cultures. Having been brought up in the multi cultural society in Malaysia, I have had to accept and adapt to elements from other cultures. It is important to understand the 'meaning' behind every aesthetic element that is brought into our own culture. Raku artwork has to be appreciated together with the 'spirit' and philosophy that accompanies it.

1.2 Raku – The Spiritual Aesthetic

In this section I will discuss the concept of *wabi sabi*, understood from the idea of spirit in aesthetic, while attempting to define them along with Buddhist concept. I consider these as the key elements that compose the "spiritual" meaning in Raku production. To do this I will focus on perhaps the most important of Japanese aesthetic concept – the *wabi sabi*; which consists of two words; *wabi* a concept of beauty found in austerity and simplicity; and *sabi* which also denotes a concept of beauty of antiquity. As defined in a most reliable Japanese English dictionary, *wabi* is "taste for the simple and quiet" and *sabi* is "patina" and "an antique look".²¹

Wabi sabi is essentially a nature-based aesthetic paradigm that is central to Japanese culture.²² (pg 9) It is a notion of beauty that is linked to the *chanoyu* or the tea ceremony, and it is also associated with the Zen Buddhism. The tea masters, priests and monks who practised Zen were the first people in the Japanese tradition to become involved with the development of the philosophy of *wabi sabi*. Zen practitioners incorporated a sense of appreciation of these concepts and experiences into their life and for some time into their work and teaching.²³ Tea masters of the Momoyama period developed the simple custom of tea drinking into the tea ceremony by synthesizing other artistic activities such as architecture, garden design, crafts, painting and calligraphy, as well as through the cultivation of a religio-philosophical awareness transcending ordinary reality.²⁴ This emphasis on spirituality has continued to be felt in many aspects of Japanese life and culture. It was this art that inspired the appreciation of *wabi sabi* as an aesthetic.

²⁰ Christopher Tyler and Richard Hirsch, *Raku, Techniques for Contemporary Potters*, (Watson-Guptill Publications), 1975, pg 11.

²¹ Masuda, K. (1974). *New Japanese-English Dictionary*. New Japanese-English Dictionary. Tokyo, Kenkyusha Tokyo.

²² Koren, L. (1994). *Wabi-Sabi for Artists, Designers, Poets & Philosophers*. Berkeley California, Stone Bridge Press.

²³ Maxwell, C. *Wabi- Sabi: The Essentials of Japanese Aesthetics*. Omusubi, The Japan Foundation, Sydney.

²⁴ Raku, K. (1997). "Raku: A Dynasty of Japanese Ceramists." Ceramic: Art and Perception(22).

The inspiration for *wabi sabi* metaphysical, spiritual, and more principles came from ideas on simplicity, naturalness, harmony with nature and the acceptance of reality found within Zen, which is a philosophy that developed from Mahayana Buddhism (Koren 1994). According to Leonard Koren, one of the first author who introduced the concept of *wabi sabi* to the West, *wabi sabi* is essentially a nature-based aesthetic paradigm that is central to Japanese culture (Koren 1994). It is a notion of beauty that is linked with the traditional Japanese tea ceremony and also associated with Zen Buddhism.²⁵ In Zen, essential knowledge must be transmitted from mind to mind, and not spoken or written, because its meaning would be both diminished and possibly be misunderstood.²⁶

Zen principles of simplicity, naturalness, harmony with nature and the acceptance of Zen's notion of reality, all found within the philosophy of *wabi sabi*, were synthesized by the Japanese and fully realized within the context of the tea ceremony (Koren 1994). Koren suggests *wabi sabi* as the "most conspicuous and characteristic feature of what we think of as traditional Japanese beauty", comparing its importance in Japanese aesthetics to the "Greek ideals of beauty and perfection in the West".²⁷

Traditional beauty in Japanese culture is composed of various experiences or states of beauty that range from 'lower levels' with elaborate ornamentation and vivid colour usage, to the 'higher levels' of a simple and subdued elegance that is known in Japanese as *shibumi*.²⁸ The adjective form of the word *shibumi*, that is *shibui*, is a beauty that is represented by the notion of 'less is more'. This is a beauty that, in a simple word is characterized by the greatly reserved, astringent, sober and quiet.²⁹ It is also a beauty that is in harmony with nature and it has a calming effect on the viewer. When the highest state of the whole beauty is achieved, it becomes *wabi-sabi*.³⁰

While a modern work of art is a finished result, *wabi sabi* is incomplete and imperfect. We are forced to realize that it as a work in progress – not just a finished product for us to look at, but something that we can engage in ourselves. The concept of *wabi sabi* artwork often point to this process. Koren writes "corrosion and contamination make its expressive richer".³¹

²⁵ Koren, L. (1994). *Wabi-Sabi for Artists, Designers, Poets & Philosophers*. Berkeley California, Stone Bridge Press.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Crowley, J. S. (2001). *Wabi Sabi Style*. Salt Lake City, Gibbs Smith.

²⁹ Tierney, L. (1999). *Wabi sabi: A new look at Japanese design*. Layton, Utah, Gibbs Smith.

³⁰ Crowley, J. S. (2001). *Wabi Sabi Style*. Salt Lake City, Gibbs Smith.

³¹ Koren, L. (1994). *Wabi-Sabi for Artists, Designers, Poets & Philosophers*. Berkeley California, Stone Bridge Press.

The art of *wabi sabi* is not flamboyant, colourful or spectacular but relatively quiet and assimilated into nature or circumstance. The *wabi* aesthetic is charged with philosophical and religious spiritual unique in the history of Japanese art. Central to the philosophy of *wabi cha* are notions of 'nothingness' deriving from Zen Buddhism and the 'isness' of Taoism.³² The notion symbolized by the term '*wabi*' lay at the heart of Japanese medieval aesthetics and pervaded literary as well as theatrical fields such as *waka* (31 syllable poetry) *renga* (linked-verse poetry) and Noh theatre.³³

Wabi sabi was systemized and established as an aesthetic of Japan in the Meiji era (1868-1912) and the modern period, the post Meiji era to the present.³⁴ (pg 49) But the word "wabi" and "sabi" first appeared in Heian period (794-1192) and had been used in Kamakura period (1192-1333) and the following period. *Wabi sabi* is composed of two words. "Wabi" originally meant the misery of living alone in nature and "Sabi" originally meant chill. In the 14th century the meaning evolved to more positive connotations. According to De Mente (2006), *wabi* derived from the Japanese verb *wabu* and the adjective is *wabishii*.³⁵ (pg 33) *Wabu* literally meaning "to languish", represents a feeling of loneliness and its adjectival form, *wabishii* represents being lonely and comfortless.³⁶

According to De Mente, the notion of *sabi* is related to aspects of the Japanese philosophy of Shinto pertaining to the reverence of nature with its seasonal changes, and especially within the weathering and aging process.³⁷ (pg 31) In comparison to *wabi*, *sabi* is more objective and it generally refers to material things. Put simply, *wabi sabi* can be understand as a way of thinking and living and it is a state of being which needs to be felt, to be evoked rather than to be explained.

Wabi sabi received its artistic and philosophic value in the 16th century when Rikyu established *wabi cha*, a tea ceremony in a simple and austere manner. Rikyu did the *wabi cha* as the countermeasure to the trend of the tea ceremony of the 16th century, which was sponsored by the samurai lords and was completely tawdry. Since Rikyu was deeply steeped in Zen Buddhisme, the ostentatious and pretentious display of wealth by Hideyoshi and his aristocratic vassals had always been distasteful to him and was totally contrary to the *wabi* concept of tea teaching. *Wabi* can also mean 'poverty', though in this context not lack of food or possession, but state of mind that voluntarily accepts an austere existence. According to Lester (2006), as meritorious way of life, Rikyu advocated man's return to and living in harmony with nature and finding beauty not in flawless "artificialities" but in the unpretentious, the inspired

³² Raku, K. (1997). "Raku: A Dynasty of Japanese Ceramists." Ceramic: Art and Perception(22).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Yoshimatsu, J. (2011). The art in the everyday: A spiritual journey of aesthetic experience within Western and Japanese Context. Teachers College. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses; 2011; ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT), Columbia University. **PhD**.

³⁵ De Mente, B. (2006). Elements of Japanese Design. Vermont, Tuttle Publishing.

³⁶ Maxwell, C. *Wabi- Sabi: The Essentials of Japanese Aesthetics*. Omusubi, The Japan Foundation, Sydney.

³⁷ De Mente, B. (2006). Elements of Japanese Design. Vermont, Tuttle Publishing.

spontaneity of imperfection.³⁸ For Rikyu the refined tea bowls and thrown to perfection on the potters wheel and tightly controlled glaze were inconsistent with the concept of *wabi*. Instead, explained Lester, he envisioned rustic shapes a man could cradle in his palms to relish the feel of the weight, the undisguised marks left by the potter, the texture of the fired clay and the sensuous flow of the glaze.³⁹ These ideas that were brought to life in Raku tradition that played a very significant role in his reform in the tea ceremony.

Apart from the concept of spirit/spiritual in the aesthetics that I have explained before, it is difficult to really define the meaning of spirit/spiritual in traditional Raku in Japan. Looking at its history, it is hard to describe how the different generations of Raku family, say Chojiro, Nonko, and Sanyu- understood the 'spirit' of Raku. To overcome this dilemma, I would rely on the writings of Raku Kichizaemon XV, the current head of the Raku family, who has written extensively about his perspective on the family tradition. Since he is the modern representative of his Raku family, his opinions carry a great deal of weight and certainly the closest things there is today to an "orthodox" Raku voice.

For Raku Kichizaemon XV, no tea bowl could be made other than with the same sort of clay and rock as his ancestor Chojiro had dug out of local beds 400 years ago. The tea bowl also could only be formed by the pinch-pot method, which Chojiro had evolved and it should not be shaped other than as a simple functional bowl. The criteria listed by Kichizaemon IV have made Raku exclusively to be associated with the tea ceremony. According to Kichizaemon XV, Chojiro was not satisfied with the tea bowl as an "embodiment of simple and direct expression" but elevated it into a "manifestation of abstract spirituality".⁴⁰ The concept of spiritual and artistic consciousness that was developed by Chojiro is still relevant and valid in the contemporary world. The piece is removed from the kiln while glowing hot has been the significance characteristic of Raku wares all over the world. The interaction of the technique and such spirit lead to the preserving of Raku tradition. The admiration for the work of the Raku family is manifold. The late potter and writer Daniel Rhodes, in his book *Pottery Form*, respectfully called Raku tea bowls "unassuming forms that represent the quintessence of Japanese sensibility."⁴¹ Rhodes honoured the Raku family and their genius for investing a simple object with an inner mystical spirit.

For more than 400 years the Raku family has preserved a unique ceramic tradition yet the issue of spirituality and artistic consciousness addressed by Chojiro are as valid as ever. For Kichizaemon XV, this tradition has not been a matter of recycling traditional forms but a "process of constant reinvigoration and invention".⁴² For him tradition is not simply something to be preserved and inherited but how we perceive the tradition and traditional techniques. It is our viewpoint that determines what we

³⁸ Lester, G. (2006). "Raku The Beauty of Imperfection." *Arts of Asia* 21(4): 90-96.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Raku, K. (1997). "Raku: A Dynasty of Japanese Ceramists." *Ceramic: Art and Perception*(22).

⁴¹ Rhodes, D.-. (1976). *Pottery form*, Radnor, Pa. : Chilton Book Co.

⁴² Raku, K. (1997). "Raku: A Dynasty of Japanese Ceramists." *Ceramic: Art and Perception*(22).

create and give rise within the realm of the traditional work to something completely new and fresh.⁴³

The issues brought up by Raku Kichizaemon XV on the inheritance of tradition are important in understanding not only Raku and the culture of tea in Japan, but as Pitelka said, the “apprehension of cultural change and continuity across a broad temporal and geographic spectrum”.⁴⁴ It is not understatement to claim that the Japanese culture that includes Raku tradition has survived by the bestowing of traditional technique through family legacies. The lineage of Raku potters has remained basically unbroken for fifteen generations since Chojiro. Kichizaemon XV is seen on a transcendental path that awakens not only his own creative energies but also directly connects him with the cosmic essence of Chojiro's *chawan* or tea bowl.⁴⁵

Like I have described earlier on, the aesthetics of a Raku tea bowl is centered around the foundation of *wabi* and *sabi*. *Wabi* forms are quiet, simple, imperfect yet absolutely suitable for their function and accordance with nature, while *sabi* represents the quality of mellowing with age. To Kichizaemon IV, Raku bowls in their most aesthetic sense, must be judged and ultimately appreciate through use. The following aesthetic preferences are found in Dickerson's, *A Raku Handbook*.⁴⁶

A suitable tea bowl, or the *chawan*, should have the quality of *keshiki*, a slight dampness that remains during and right after use. The material used to create *chawan* is porous and poor conductor of heat. Its slight roughness- *zangurishita*, produce a soft sensation to the touch. The sound the *chawan* conducts is dull and natural due to its crackle glaze and porous composition. Its form should include slight irregularities that offer tactile and visual ‘happening’. The visual aesthetic is a direct relationship between what the *chawan* appears to be and what qualities it actually has. It means if it appears heavy it should be heavy. A *chawan* should feel comfortable when held in the palm of the hands and when tilted for drinking. The undulating lip contains five to seven hills or waves, known as *gaku*. A drinking point is placed opposite the front of the *chawan*. The inside of the bowl contains a spiral *cha-damari*, or tea pool representing the depressions in rock that collect rainwater.

In Japanese ceramics particularly within the Raku tradition, the idea of ‘spirit’ plays a crucial role in explaining artistic beauty. The beauty of Raku work and tradition lies in its ‘spirit’. Raku should not be seen as merely a ceramic technique that has been passed on for more than 400 years. Beside the complex technical parts of Raku, it is important to underline that if technique is not linked to an exact idea, or what Claudia Sugliano terms as an ‘interior preparation’, it may appear satisfactory but it will always remain superficial.⁴⁷ In this context I will explain the idea of ‘spirit’ on the basis of Japanese aesthetics and review concepts of ‘spirit’ in the Western context.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Pitelka, M. (2005). *Handmade Culture*, University of Hawaii Press.

⁴⁵ Yellin, R. (2005). Raku's Hand-Held Universes, Unseen Pots of Kamoda Shoji, & Kiln Firing by Mori Togaku. *The Japan Times*. Tokyo, Japan.

⁴⁶ Dickerson, J. (1972). *Raku Handbook- A Practical Approach to The Ceramic art*. London, Studio Vista.

⁴⁷ Sugliano, C. (2006). Raku by Fausto Gervasi. *Ceramics Technical*. 23.

The intimate and spiritual aspect of the tradition of Raku is the most complex. This aspect forces an intimacy with the Raku tradition and its philosophy that lies in the Zen culture and *wabi sabi*, “a lifestyle, an aesthetic ideal and a way of thinking that covers every aspect of existence itself”.⁴⁸ The tea bowls created by *Rikyū* and *Chōjiro* as a collaborative venture for the tea ceremony was designed to suit the highly sophisticated spirit of *wabi*. It was developed on the two Zen aesthetic foundations of *wabi* and *sabi* that has been explained in this chapter. The hand-formed Raku bowl increases the potential for sculpting and allows the spirit of the maker to express through the finished work with particular directness and intimacy. Raku pottery is fired in such a way to leave the object appearing irregular and rough, its colours simple and muted, typically shades of brown and cream. The glaze that is applied on Raku pottery fades and loses its lustre over time and rather than attempting to retain the colours and polished sheen of its initial firing, eventually transforms into an entirely new set of objects. The elements of Raku pottery described above participate in both irregularity and the simple beauty. In this, Raku pottery and other utensils used in the tea ceremony become expressive elements that draw the sensitivity of the participants heart thus inviting the participants to look beyond the objects that they used in the tea ceremony and towards an aesthetic that encapsulates the unlimited potential for an objective feeling to reveal.

The concept of *wabi sabi* is different from the Western concept of beauty that is/was always intended as something ‘big’, ‘monumental’ and ‘long lasting’. While seen as a philosophy in the Western world, the concept of aesthetic in Japan, in this scope, *wabi sabi*, is seen as an integral part of daily life. Thus, the concept of *wabi sabi* is a question of not seeking or pursuing the perfect or materialistic result but instead, the beauty of imperfection and the balance to be found in the imperfection that lies behind it. Contemporary artists/potters can create works with highly technical quality, but they are not necessarily understand its fundamental and inexorable element, which is the spirituality.⁴⁹ Raku encapsulates a centuries old tradition of spiritual and materiality, creativity and dexterity, rites and customs.⁵⁰

Raku wares invented by *Chōjiro* reflect more directly than any other kind of ceramics the ideals of *Wabi cha*, the form of tea ceremony based on the aesthetic of *wabi* advocated by *Rikyū*.⁵¹ To understand the aesthetic of Raku ware for the tea ceremony, first we have to look into the concept of *Wabi Sabi*. However, in order to have the appreciation on the concept of *wabi sabi*, one may need cognitive ability, open and flexible mind as well as spiritual maturity.

The beauty and aesthetic of ancient Raku were based on symbolic reference to *chanoyū*. *Chanoyū* or the tea ceremony was a reflection of the Zen philosophy and

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Raku, K. (1997). "Raku: A Dynasty of Japanese Ceramists." *Ceramic: Art and Perception*(22).

teaching of Rikyu. According to Okakura, the old sixteenth century Raku tea bowl may be considered crude to the Western people, but in the eyes of an early Japanese elites, the same bowl would be considered a rare work of art to be treasured through use and valued above a large grant of land as a reward for victory.⁵²

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⁵² Kakuzo, O. (1964). *The Book of Tea*. New York, Dover Publications.

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The Visual Element, Combination and Image Perception of Online Auction Photos of Female Clothing

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Abstract

In this study, female consumers aged 18 to 28 were selected as subjects to investigate the relationship between the presentation of online auction photos of female clothing and the perceptions of female consumers. The purpose of this study was (1) to make an analysis of the presentation of online auction photos of female clothing; and (2) to demonstrate different images perceived by female consumers towards clothing photos in various constituent elements. This study was carried out on the basis of Kansei Engineering and morphology. The results indicated significant differences in perception of photos between people with different demographic backgrounds such as age, area of residence, monthly income, frequency of browsing online auctions and purchase amount. The effectiveness of a photo was significantly correlated with key factors including shot, composition, angle of view, and location. If you want to convey romantic sense in photo, the best combine is the white walls in the room and shops with Full Shot, and restaurant, lawn with Full Shot or Medium-Full Shot. If you want to convey sense of fashion in photo, the best combine is the restaurant, urban streetscape, shops with Full Shot. If you want to convey youthful and sweet sense in photo, the best combine is the restaurant, lawn, shops with Full Shot or Medium-Full Shot. If you want to convey sense of simplicity in photo, the best combine is the white walls in the room, lawn with Full Shot. If you want to convey sense of softness and smoothness in photo, the best combine is white walls in the room, shops with Full Shot, and restaurant, lawn with Full Shot or Medium-Full Shot.

Keywords: Female Clothing, Image Perception, Online Auction Photos, Visual Element.

1. Introduction

People in Taiwan engaging in online shopping have reached more than 90% of the national population, where women was the majority (Institute for information Industry 2009). Women valued more on the shopping web page design compared to men. Therefore, creating a shopping environment attractive to women is critical to online marketplaces (Yu 2004).

The store image is a crucial factor influencing consumers' choice of stores. The product displays of online auctions are similar to the concept of store image. Atmospherics refer to the factor influencing consumers' affect and behavior through designing and controlling the interior space of stores (Liao 2007).

Consumers evaluate a website based on affective and cognitive qualities. Consumers purchase products and remember the place where they purchase the product (Liao 2007). Lokman & Noor (2006) highlighted that consumers' affective responses of their first impression on products is the main basis to evaluate ideal shopping environments. In the marketplace of online auctions, the primary element to build atmospherics is the visual element. Studies have indicated that the way images shown in web pages create the first impression of their potential consumers on the shopping website. The quality and specialty presented by the web page images further improve consumers' confidence in the shopping website (Kim & Moon 1998). Consequently, online product photos first impressed consumers and influence their inner feelings and decisions. To explore female consumers' image perception regarding visual element combinations, this study uses morphological analysis to establish morphological and visual elements of product photos of women's apparel in online auction.

2. Literature review

2.1 Characteristics of female consumers

Consumer can be categorized as rational and sensitive consumers. Sensitive consumers are mainly women aged between 10 and 40 years, comprising three stages (Lin 1989): (1) between 10 and 19 years of age: extremely easily influenced by all types of consumption; (2) between 20 and 29: extremely easily influenced by consumptions of apparel and maintenance of interpersonal relationships; and (3) between 30 and 39: sensitive-based apparel consumption. However, women at the

third stage already learn to adopt a rational consumption attitude regarding foods.

Institute for information Industry (2009) indicated that the majority of online female consumer groups were aged between 20 and 39 years. This study explores women's perception regarding visual elements of apparel product photos during their sensitive consumption process based on the survey on the second stage of female consumers conducted by Lin (1989).

2.2 Presentation of the Photos from On-line Clothing Stores

At present, the main presentation on a store's website is as follow: (1) Floor photography: It means photograph an object which lies on the floor. Notomi (2007) indicated that it was used by the web seller in the early stage. (2) Hang clothes on a hanger. This method is usually used by the seller of a small company or second hand seller in the event of a clearance sale when there is zero cost of human resource (Kumon 2010). (3) Mannequin: Misawa (2010) once addressed that using a mannequin could be more effective and three-dimensional than (1) and (2) above. (4) Self-portraits by seller. Recently, sellers of much smaller companies have taken on the role of model and photographer in presentation due to budget considerations. They usually dress themselves in the company's products and take pictures from the reflection in mirror. The angle of the photograph is well positioned so their facial features are not exposed in order to create a mystical feeling. (5) Model. Pictures can either be shot indoors or outdoors. When photography shoots take place indoor; lighting, composition, and the posture of model need to be considered. When photography shoots take place outdoor; climate, framing, and scenery need to work together with the composition and the posture of model (Lee, et al. 2009). Besides, this study about photography styles will process based on the survey on the difference between traditional frame photography and photography styles from on-line stores by Chang, et al. (2011).

3. Research method

To explore female consumers' image perception regarding apparel product photos with various visual elements and combinations, this study comprised two phases. (1) The objective of the preliminary experiment was to extract lexicon regarding image perception and establish experimental sample photos of women's apparel of online auction. (2) The objective of the formal experiment was to understand female consumers' image perception regarding apparel photos of various visual elements and

combinations.

3.1 Preliminary experiment

3.1.1 This study recruited 30 women aged between 18 and 28 years as participants and selected 20 words most suitable to describe women's apparel photos of online auction products from 60 adjectives describing perceptions regarding apparel photos of online auction. Consequently, a focus group comprising five people combined with the KJ (Kawakita Jiro) method was used to determine representative words of each group.

3.1.2 Establishing women's apparel photos of online auction

(1) Collecting women's apparel photos of online auction

According to four major indicator surveys, such as ARO, MIC, Nielsen, and NetWatch, Yahoo! Auctions is the online auction platform with the highest popularity in Taiwan. Therefore, this study used Yahoo! Auctions as the target to collect photos from online marketplaces that already operated online auctions regarding popular brands of women's apparel for more than 3 years.

(2) Creating experimental sample photos

Through morphological analysis, this study established morphological and visual elements of women's apparel photos of current online auctions products. To control the experimental accuracy, this study controlled factors influencing perceptions except visual elements and combination of photos. Table 1 shows the control variables of experimental sample photos.

(3) Selecting experimental sample photos

To avoid overly similarity between experimental samples, photo discrepancy selection was conducted using the focus group method.

Table 1. Control variables of experimental sample photos

Control variable	Explanation
Model and posture	Models are women aged between 18 and 28 years, standing straight with hands down and a smile (Fig. 1).
Apparel	Five sets of apparel of top sales volumes are selected from the online auction marketplace of experiment. The final sample is the set of apparel most suitable for the current season voted by 50 women aged between 18 and 28 years (Fig. 2).
Distance	Distance of camera: A distance of 2 m between the model and the camera in both straight-looking and 45° look-up shots.
Display	To avoid slight differences in the angle of view and model's posture and smile between shootings, this study uses photo editing to control variables.
Weather	Photos are taken at sunny days.
Time	The time for shooting is fixed at 9:00 am and 3:00 pm.
Camera equipment	Camera: all photos are taken using Panasonic GF1 with a prime lens.



Figure 1. Model for experimental demonstration



Figure 2. Apparel for experimental demonstration

3.2 Formal experiment

- (1) Experimental sample: Female apparel photo sample of online auction was established in the preliminary experiment
- (2) Questionnaire design: Female apparel image perception words of online auction were extracted in the preliminary experiment. The Likert scale was used to measure the subjects' perception, based on selection items with 1 to 5 scores.
- (3) Subjects: Female students at the college level or above and employees who graduated from university within 3 years aged between 18 and 28 years were recruited (N = 60).
- (4) Experiment implementation: This experiment was conducted using an online questionnaire system between May 15, 2011 and June 15, 2011.
- (5) Statistical analysis: Statistical analysis was conducted using statistical software SPSS.

4. Results of the preliminary experiment

4.1 Extracting female apparel image perception words of online auctions

Representative words extracted are shown below: romantic, fashionable, youthful and sweet, simple, and soft and smooth.

4.2 Establishing visual elements of female apparel photo of online auctions

- (1) Female apparel photo sample of online auction and morphological analysis

We summarized the analysis of light source, shot method, composition, angle of view, shooting location, and apparel product display proposed by Chang (2011) and collected 40 female apparel sample photos from the Yahoo! Auction. Table 2 shows the four groups of experimental variables in this study (shot method, composition, angle of view, and shooting location environment). Cross-combination of the four variables was conducted to create experimental samples.

Table 2. Morphology of experimental samples

	Light source	Shot	Composition	Angle of view	Location	Product display
a	Side-front lighting	Full-shot	Central composition	Horizontal view	Indoor white wall	Model display
b		Medium -full shot	Rule of thirds	Upward view	Indoor wooden wall	
c			Bisection		Indoor restaurant	
d					Outdoor grassland	
e					Outdoor area in a city	
f					Outdoor area in a countryside	
g					Outdoor stores	

Figure 3 shows the angle of view regarding the model. To prevent the model display from influencing the visual perception, this study synthesized this photo with other variables in the experiment. The sample locations of the experiment were based on the reference of the best-selling female apparel marketplaces on the Yahoo! Auction website. Figures 4 and 5 show the environment of the shooting locations. Figure 6 shows the full-shot image. Figure 7 shows the medium-full shot image. Figure 8 shows the composition based on the rule of thirds. Figure 9 shows the bisected composition.



Figure 3. Figure shot (horizontal view at the left side, upward view at the right side)



Figure 4. Shooting location environment (Left: indoor white wall; middle: indoor wooden wall; right: indoor restaurant)



Figure 5. Shooting location environment (Left: outdoor grassland; middle-left: outdoor area in a city; middle-right: outdoor area in a countryside; right: outdoor store)

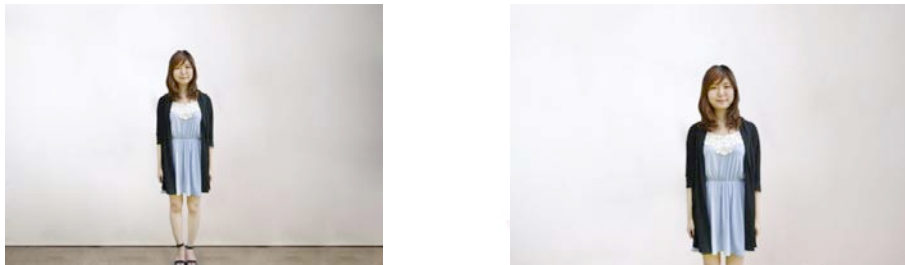


Figure 6. Full-shot central composition with a horizontal view at the indoor white wall

Figure 7. Medium-full shot central composition with a horizontal view at the indoor white wall



Figure 8. Full-shot composition based on the rule of thirds with a horizontal view at the indoor white wall



Figure 9. Full-shot bisecting composition with a horizontal view at the indoor white wall

- (2) Difference screening of the experimental photo samples: Based on the cross-combination of variables in Table 2, 84 model display photos were obtained. Excluding photos with excessive resemblance as a whole, a total of 40 photos with significant differences were selected and used as the photos for the final experiment.

5. Formal experiment result

5.1 Relationship between visual elements of photos and image perception

- (1) Shooting location: Analysis results indicated that significant difference existed between subjects' perceptions of various locations ($.000 < \alpha = 0.05$).
- (2) Shots: Significant differences existed between subjects' perceptions of shot methods, reaching a p value of $.000 < \alpha = 0.05$. The subjects' perceptions of the full-shot sample in the experiment were stronger than those of the medium-full shot samples.

- (3) Composition: Significant differences only existed in “romantic” ($.029 < \alpha = 0.05$) and “fashionable” ($.025 < \alpha = 0.05$) variables of composition.
- (4) Angle of view: Differing angles of view generated significant differences between all perceptions ($.000 < \alpha = 0.05$). The strength of subjects’ perceptions regarding the horizontal view was stronger than that of the upward view.

5.2 Relationship between combined photo visual elements and image perception

Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) regarding location, shot, composition, and angle of view were conducted. The statistical result indicated that significant and simple main effect ($p = 0.000$) existed in location, shot, and angle of view variables, but not in composition ($p = 0.797$). In addition, significant interaction effect existed between location and shot ($p = 0.005$), whereas no interaction effect existed between other variable combinations.

The mean of display perceptions of all elements were calculated. Image relationship between location and shot was combined and all visual elements with an image mean above 2.792 were extracted as shown in Table 3. The result showed the combinations of location and shot that exhibited stronger images.

Table 3. Image relationship of combination of location and shot

Dependent variable	Location	Shot	Mean	Standard deviation
Romantic and beautiful	Indoor white wall	Full-shot	2.792	.104
	Indoor restaurant	Full-shot	3.239	.085
		Medium-full shot	3.178	.085
	Outdoor grassland	Full-shot	3.067	.085
		Medium-full shot	2.794	.085
	Outdoor store	Full-shot	3.283	.085
Popular and fashionable	Indoor restaurant	Full-shot	2.900	.083
	Outdoor area in a city	Full-shot	2.978	.083
		Outdoor store	Full-shot	3.522
Youthful and sweet	Indoor restaurant	Full-shot	3.133	.085
		Medium-full shot	3.106	.085
	Outdoor grassland	Full-shot	3.194	.085
		Medium-full shot	2.922	.085
	Outdoor store	Full-shot	3.756	.085
		Medium-full shot	3.067	.085
Simple	Indoor white wall	Full-shot	3.167	.104
	Outdoor grassland	Full-shot	2.844	.085

Soft and smooth	Indoor white wall	Full-shot	3.133	.104
	Indoor restaurant	Full-shot	3.033	.085
		Medium-full shot	2.944	.085
	Outdoor grassland	Full-shot	3.150	.085
		Medium-full shot	2.878	.085
	Outdoor store	Full-shot	3.161	.085

6. Conclusion and suggestions

6.1 Conclusion

6.1.1 Relationship between visual elements of female apparel product photos and perceptions

- (1) Location: Outdoor street scenes can be used to create a sense of fashion. White or wooden walls can be used as the background to present a sense of simplicity. Indoor restaurants can be used to create a romantic sense. Moreover, a youthful and sweet sense can be conveyed by shooting in environments such as outdoor grassland, outdoor areas in the countryside, and outdoor stores.
- (2) Shot: Medium-full shot can be used when the background of the location is simple and monotonous. Full-shot photos can be used in locations with richer elements to intensify the photo as a whole.
- (3) Composition: To present a sense of fashion, the composition rule of thirds can be used. To create a romantic sense, bisecting composition can be adopted.
- (4) Angle of view: The horizontal view is the angle mostly accepted. Simple postures combined with differing locations, composition, and shots, a stronger perception can be attained with the upward view.

6.1.2 Relationship between perceptions and combination of location and shot of female apparel photos

- (1) To create a romantic sense, indoor white wall or outdoor store combined with the full-shot method and the combination of indoor restaurant or outdoor grassland and full-shot or medium-full shot methods can be used. The combination of outdoor store and the full-shot method generated the best effect.
- (2) To create a sense of fashion, combinations of indoor restaurant, street scene in a

city, or outdoor store and the full-shot method can be used. The combination of outdoor store and the full-shot method generated the best effect.

- (3) To exhibit a youthful and sweet sense, combinations of indoor restaurant, outdoor grassland, or outdoor store and full-shot or medium-full shot can be used. The combination of outdoor store and the full-shot method generated the best effect.
- (4) Indoor white wall and outdoor grassland can be combined with the full-shot method to create a sense of simplicity.
- (5) To create a sense of softness and smoothness, combinations of indoor white wall or outdoor store and the full-shot method and the combinations of indoor restaurant or outdoor grassland and full-shot and medium-full shot methods can be used. The combinations of the full-shot method and indoor white wall, indoor restaurant, outdoor grassland, and outdoor store exhibited the best effect.

6.2 Suggestions

A comprehensive online shopping space is composed of various stores with various templates, styles, fonts, color schemes, and layouts. This study understands that the various elements composing a product photo influence subjects' perceptions regarding the product photo. Future studies should further explore the visual effect of the space planning of the marketplace to understand whether consumers prefer certain conditions of the online shopping space (e.g., templates, styles, fonts, color schemes, and layouts) and whether these conditions influence consumers' purchasing power.

7. Acknowledgements

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*The Many Faces of Popular Culture and Contemporary Processes: Questioning
Identity, Humanity and Culture through Japanese Anime*

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Abstract

In a highly globalized world we live in, popular culture bears a very distinctive role: it becomes a global medium for borderless questioning of ourselves and our identities as well as our humanity in an ever-transforming environment which requires us to be constantly "plugged in" in order to respond to all the challenges as best as we can. Vast cultural products we create and consume every day thus provide a relevant insight into problems that both researchers and audiences have to face with in an informatised and technologised world.

Japanese anime is one of such cultural products: a locally produced cultural artifact became a global phenomenon that transcends cultures and spaces. In its imageries we discover a wide range of themes that concern us today, ranging from bioethical issues, such as ecological crisis, posthumanism and loss of identity in a highly transforming world to the issues of traditionality and spirituality.

The author will show in what ways we can approach and study popular culture products in order to understand the anxieties and prevailing concerns of our cultures today, with emphasis on the identity and humanity, and their position in the contemporary high-tech world we live in. The author's intention is to point to popular culture as a significant (re)source for the fields of humanities and cultural studies, as well as for discussing human transformations and possible future outcomes of these transformations in a technoscientific world. A case study will be presented: Mamoru Oshii's *Ghost in the Shell* and *Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence*.

Key Words: bioethics, popular culture, Japanese anime, technology, Ghost in the Shell

Introduction

When I started the research around four years ago, I found myself in my usual daily mode, working on my laptop, writing one of the earliest papers related to this topic. My three-year old nephew who just entered the room, curious as he was, approached the laptop, peeking into the screen, trying to take a glimpse of what I was doing. At this point he heard the buzz sound coming from my laptop: a mere product of my laptop's microprocessors and electronics in its working mode. Without a second of delay, he turned to me amazed and said: "Auntie, he breathes!" As he was exclaiming this, he didn't take a second to choose words: it was an immediate reaction to what he just experienced, formulated within a world of a three-year old boy. I then explained to him that my laptop doesn't breathe, but his reaction and his words remained part of my memories and, in a form of inspiration and encouragement, also a part of my past and present research work. It is this boy's reaction that made me realize that children are born and raised in a different kind of world today: it is a world immersed in technology and science, a world of rapid change; many choices, doubts and dilemmas, and a world with less anchors which can provide them (and us, for that matter) with a sense of belonging; sense of home; identity and environment. This is the reason why I continue my research and don't doubt its usefulness in the contemporary world we all share today.

Although technological changes from bioethical¹ and popular culture (Japanese animation in particular) perspective are in focus of this paper, I also use the opportunity to advocate the use of popular culture products in pedagogy and argue for its validity as a discussion area where social issues arising from the contemporary processes² may be brought forth and analyzed. As I argue further in my paper, we are unable to deal with the world we constantly produce because we lack theoretical "machinery" for this kind of activity. We emphasize practice over theory, which marginalizes Humanities in present education and daily practices. Therefore, I see popular culture as an important (re)source for educators and cultural researches because it enables us to talk about the World, using popular culture products as valuable contemporary tools. In order to prove consistency, I focus on Japanese anime, choosing two films directed by Mamoru Oshii: *Ghost in the Shell* (1995) and *Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence* (2004) which I find most inspiring as loci where bioethics, philosophy and popular culture most intensively of all Japanese anime come to the same terms.

So, I draw lines between Japanese animation, its global context, and contemporary issues which arise from imageries of one of the most popular anime authors: Mamoru Oshii. From a philosophical and bioethical perspective, I engage with issues of

¹ It's not an easy task to define Bioethics, due to its many aspects and relation to Philosophy and Medicine. A leading Croatian ethicist and bioethicist, Ante Covic, defines Bioethics as "specific, relational and multiperspectival ethics", exploring further its development and extent in relation to Peter Singer's theory (2004, 9-35). Covic also defines Bioethics as "a pluriperspective area of interaction between various disciplines which provide anchors and criteria in questioning life or conditions and circumstances of its preservation" (11).

² By *contemporary processes*, I mean all processes emerged as products of the contemporary world and its modernization which began with Industrial Revolution. In particular: globalization, technologization, informatization, urbanization, commodification and all other processes given from interaction between biology, technology, informatics, politics, economy, medicine and mass media.

technology and biotechnology; posthumanism and ecology in relation to human identity, environment and culture.

Japanese Animation and its Global Popular Culture Context

The first book I referred to at the beginning of my research in Japanese animation (*anime* in short) was *Anime: From Akira to Princess Mononoke* (2001), written by Susan J. Napier. This book has been a valuable tool for me, and the one I always liked going back to. In the first chapter of the book, Napier poses a question referring to her own research: *Why anime*, not so much to provide a justification for her research as much as to point to this global popular culture phenomenon as a relevant medium in addressing some of the issues I raise in this paper. Napier states:



The cover for Astro Boy vol 1-2

“Anime is a popular cultural form that clearly builds on previous high cultural traditions. Not only does the medium show influences from such Japanese traditional arts as Kabuki and the woodblock print (originally popular culture phenomena themselves), but it also makes use of worldwide artistic traditions of twentieth-century cinema and photography. Finally, the issues it explores, often in surprisingly complex ways, are ones familiar to readers of contemporary “high culture” literature (both inside and outside Japan) and viewers of contemporary art cinema. Anime texts entertain audiences around the world on the most basic level, but equally importantly, they also move and provoke viewers on other levels as well, stimulating audiences to work through certain contemporary issues in ways that older art forms cannot. Moreover, precisely because of their popular reach they affect a wider variety of audiences in more ways than some less accessible types of high cultural exchange have been able to do. In other words, anime clearly appears to be a cultural phenomenon worthy of being taken seriously, both sociologically and aesthetically.” (2001, 4).

She further continues thematizing popularity of anime on a global scale, pointing to *statelessness* and its background in *photocentric* Japanese culture as its core characteristics which make anime so widely accepted³. She is not the only one to

³ Napier explains *statelessness* of anime: “But one of anime’s most popular genres, science fiction, is the one that is far less likely to be culturally specific. (...) In fact, a number of Japanese commentators have chosen to describe anime with the word “*mukokuseki*”, meaning “stateless” or essentially without a national identity. (...) Unlike the inherently more representational space of conventional live-action film, which generally has to convey already-existing objects within preexisting context, animated space

draw attention to these characteristics, as Tze-Yue G. Hu in her book *Frames of Anime* (2010) builds up a theory on anime as local, but global *visual language* and communication, derived from rich high cultural products traditions.⁴ This shows that anime, as an internationalized media, is more than qualified to become a contemporary world agora, enriching global popular culture with opportunities for more philosophical dialogues.

As Irwin (one of the contributors to *Popular Culture and Philosophy* book series) points out: “we reach out to one another and discuss life, current events, politics, and religion through popular culture” (2007, 1). In that sense anime, with its odorless *operational mode* makes a perfect case-study.⁵

A Very Short Overview of Rise of Anime

Anime has been a global popular culture phenomenon for quite some time already: it's been labeled as new *soft power*, a term coined by Joseph Nye who focuses on cultural politics and a new kind of interaction between cultures which emerges from globalization and the shift from military power to cultural power. Other scholars, such as Anne Allison, adopted his concept in their own research on cultural imperialism and cultural power:

“At work here is a new kind of global imagination, or new at least in the way it differs from an older model of Americanization. Joseph Nye has defined latter in terms of

has the potential to be context free, drawn wholly out of the animator's or artist's mind. It is thus a particularly apt candidate for participation in a transnational, stateless culture.”(2001, 4).

Also, on *photocentric* property of Japanese culture: “Images from anime and its related medium of manga (graphic novels) are omnipresent throughout Japan. Japan is a country that is traditionally more pictocentric than the cultures of the West, as is exemplified in its use of characters or ideograms, and anime and manga fit easily into a contemporary culture of the visual (ibid. 7).

⁴ Tze-Yue states: “Animation is a visual language and an act of communicating. Technically defined, it is a movement-based medium in which image is captured through the camera in order to create a series of alleged movements.(...) Other forms of traditional hand-manipulated images include the use of wood puppets, clay figures, and cut-out paper puppets. To animate is essentially to communicate, to tell a story for oneself or others or for both, via a chain of manipulated and designed images.” (2010, 13)

⁵ According to Koichi Iwabuchi, who created the concept of *cultural odor*, “In a globalized world, for a non-Western cultural product to become successful, it must lose much of its original “cultural odor” so as to be promoted in the international market as a neutralized product to gain wider audience reception” (quoted in Lu: 2008, 175.). Lu further points out at the difficulty for any cultural product to completely lose its cultural specificity (that is, specific cultural “smell”), but anime does a good job by its representations of internationalized characters and universal themes (ibid.).

Amy Shirong Lu is one of the most elaborative authors to talk about anime in an international, global, context. She speaks of cultural politics behind anime's global success, consisting of *de-politicized internationalization*, *occidentalized internationalization* and *self-orientalized internationalization*, which, according to Lu, produced odorless and glocalised products for global consumption: “The three cultural politics of anime suggest that appropriation changes the cultural mix in many ways. A local product thus has the potential to go abroad and create, through unexpected cultural clashes, novel ways to think through issues of identity, exchange, and politics (...) Different from Western animation, anime has undergone a unique developmental trajectory that allows creative borrowing of various cultural and political elements to build up its stylistic properties and narrative framework along the way. This process is further complicated by the dynamics of the mobilization and circulation of anime products among international audiences who endow anime consumption with various cultural possibilities. As a result, anime is able to engage multiple cultural politics, whose interplay with its mixed signifiers results in an interesting postmodern landscape.” (169-183).

what he calls soft power, the “ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments.”” (Allison 2006, 17)

At this point, the sudden shift from Western science fiction and envisioned images of futuristic worlds towards its Japanese “double” might seem a bit unusual, but if we observe anime as this new global cultural phenomenon and soft power that everybody is talking about, then it doesn’t seem so extraordinary. If we are talking about popular culture, anime takes a significant place in it and becomes as relevant for its contribution to science fiction genre as any other non-Japanese and non-animated popular culture product. The extent and intensity of anime’s contribution to the global sci-fi film doesn’t come by surprise, as this genre is one of the prevailing in anime, along with fantasy and cyberpunk.⁶

Popular culture is now obviously recognized as *something powerful*, usually taken into consideration in terms of *cultural politics* and *economy* of popular culture. It has become a dialectical space producing opportunities for “cultural imperialism” and, according to scholars; the two struggling powers on the global cultural scene today are *Americanization* and *Japanization*. Though I will leave the discussion on cultural politics for another paper, I would like to highlight the word *power* here, but not in its political sense. The power I’m referring to is the power of popular culture to produce images, raise questions, and respond to challenges of the contemporary world: to discuss and to explore. It’s not a coincidence that there has been a series of books on *Popular Culture and Philosophy* published as a response to this new cultural “condition”, with its first volume issued in 2000. The series is dedicated to dealing with philosophical aspects of popular culture and includes different authors in each volume: contributors who discuss about philosophical issues in a variety of popular culture products, ranging from *The Simpsons*, *Monty Python* and Quentin Tarantino to *Pink Floyd*, baseball, manga and anime.

One prevailing theme among writers in *Anime and Philosophy* issue were cyberpunk and posthumanism, in which most authors referred to *Ghost in the Shell*, the same film that I refer to in my paper (for more information on the book series, please refer to the official website of the Open Court Publishing Company: <http://www.opencourtbooks.com/categories/pcp.htm>).

This paper is not focused on *history* of anime, but I believe a (very) short overview would be in order, not only to provide a more complete picture of this phenomenon, but also to note that anime has a quite long history, evolving through a variety of cultural forms (both high and low), always responding to local changes and cultural needs. But let me first say that, even though “high culture” and “low culture” are mentioned on couple occasions in the paper (usually by quoted authors), I do not agree with the distinction: especially not today when popular culture has widely taken over the global art scene. This is not to equate more traditional (cultural or art) forms with the contemporary ones, but to suggest that both cannot be valorized and

⁶ *Cyberpunk* is a term coined out of two words: *cyber* (coming from the word *cybernetics*) and *punk* (implying its focus is on marginalized individuals, urbanized culture and distopic landscapes). In his book, Dani Cavallaro attributes the cyberpunk cultural movement to the writings of William Gibson and Bruce Sterling in the 1980s. As he poetically says: “In cyberpunk, the shiny hardness of metal, of sturdy and imposing machinery and of industrial technology at large (hardware) favored by traditional sci-fi cinema and literature gives way to the murky softness of junk-infested urban settings and of often undependable postindustrial technology (software)” (2006, 27)

dichotomized as in the past cultural studies, as was the case with Frankfurt school.⁷ It might be my academic background, in Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, that made me erase such etiquettes as “high” and “low” when it comes to *culture*, but even so, I don’t think this dichotomy works anymore (if in reality ever did work).

If I was to argue against the dichotomy further in this paper, anime would probably be my joker card, as it is one of the best examples of being an offspring of both cultural dimensions.

Its history goes back to Japanese-style paintings, *yamato-e* in general, and *emakimono* or picture-scrolls in particular. It is further traced to *chinzō* or portrait painting, *ukiyo-e*, *kabuki*, *bunraku*, *nō*, *kyōgen*, picture-card storytelling and especially interesting *utshushi-e* or magic lantern, with its most contemporary predecessor: *manga* or Japanese comics.⁸ Why I find magic lantern shows especially interesting is because they were based on certain technologies imported from the West and were probably one of the first Japanese popular culture forms to bring two-dimensional inanimate object into life, starting its internationalization and adoption of Western techniques. It also evokes some irony, as story-telling started being dependant on technology which I thematize in this paper. This irony rises from anime being dependant on technology and offering critical narratives on technology at the same time.



To continue with a more recent history, in 1917 first locally made anime works began to appear, but what followed in 1960s was a fascinating boom with manga-artist Osamu Tezuka who would change the world of anime, both visually and narratively. Tezuka created one of the first internationally accepted anime, *Astro Boy* or *Tetsuwan Atomu* in 1963, thematizing relationship between technology and human beings. Back then, one could still notice positive attitude of anime artists and their audiences towards technology. After economic crisis and environmental problems rising in Japan, the attitude radically changes. This new view on technological development was probably best pictured in works of Hayao Miyazaki, who is also

⁷ Frankfurt school, with its “Critical theory”, strongly distinguished between pop or mass culture and high culture, seeing masses as rather ignorant consumers and criticizing the rising of mas - popular culture content.

⁸ In her book, *Frames of Anime* (2010), Tze-Yue dedicates a whole section to exploring connection between magic lantern shows, anime and Japanese culture. She states: “In general, Japanese animation scholars, teachers and film historians acknowledge *utsushi-e* as Edo’s form of anime (or simply called “Edo anime”), one of the pre-modern ancestors of today’s Japanese anime.” (43).

In *Frames of Anime*, she explores in depth the evolution of anime through earlier art forms and relates it to visualness as the specific feature of Japanese culture. While *yamato-e*, *emakimono*, *chinzō* and *ukiyo-e* are pictorial art forms, *bunraku*, *kabuki*, *nō* and *kyōgen* are Japanese traditional theatre (see chapters *Origins of the Japanese art of Animating*, 13-23, and *Continuity of Art Forms and Their Visualness*, 24-43).

known as Mr. Environment for adopting shintoistic⁹ and ecological approach in his narratives.¹⁰

*Japanese theatrical poster for
Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind (1984)*

Hayao Miyazaki wasn't the only one to speak of changes brought on by technology, urbanization and "progress", but with Otomo Katsushiro's *Akira* (1988), and Miyazaki's own *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind* (1984), the science fiction genre started to bloom. It's no wonder it happened in Japan, where Japanese people experienced many atrocities of the *brave new world* and could now produce stories from their own experiences. Many of the animated works pictured dystopic worlds and post-apocalyptic futures which came to be after world wars or nuclear disasters. Posthumanism somehow "naturally" followed these narratives: and as a posthuman scholar Rosi Braidotti puts it, "One needs to turn to 'minor', not to say marginal and hybrid genres, such as science fiction, horror and cyber punk, to find fitting cultural illustrations of the changes and transformations that are taking place in the forms of relations available in our post-human present. Low cultural genres, like science fiction, are mercifully free of grandiose pretensions – of the aesthetic or cognitive kind – and thus end up being a more accurate and honest depiction of contemporary culture than other, more self-consciously 'representational' genres." (2006, 203)

The most influential representative of the genre, a cyberpunk creation by Mamoru Oshii, is without doubt his masterpiece *Ghost in the Shell* (1995).

Brave New Uncanny World & Ghost in the Shell

***O, wonder!
How many goodly creatures are there here!
How beauteous mankind is! O brave new***

⁹ *Shintō* is an indigenous Japanese religion/philosophy (most authors agree it can't simply be referred to as religion or a form of spirituality only), whose followers worship *kami* deities. It is pantheistic and animistic, with a strong ecological aspect. Though "*kami*" stands for numerous *shintō* deities, it can also signify any kind of life force or energy which can reside in all things, live or dead. Because of this potential, environment; plants and animals need to be respected as they can also be messenger from gods. The most common and distinguishable feature of *shintō* are orange *torii*-gates which are put in front of temples and all places believed to be sacred grounds. *Shintō* also includes many festivals which used to reaffirm relationship between people and nature.

¹⁰ Miyazaki's narratives are well known for adopting *shintō* beliefs and values, especially in form of promoting respect towards nature and bringing forth ecological problems. He himself stated that there are more and more Japanese who abandon belief in *kami*-potential of all things, which he wishes to preserve in his animated works: "In my grandparents' time, it was believed that spirits [*kami*] existed everywhere – in trees, rivers, insects, wells, anything. My generation does not believe this, but I like the idea that we should all treasure everything because spirits might exist there, and we should treasure everything because there is a kind of life to everything." (Quoted from *Japan Times Weekly*, 9/28/02 In Boyd and Nishimura (2004))

Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind (1984) for example, speaks of a world after a huge disaster which destroyed almost all living beings, and of struggle of princess Nausicaä to revive life on the Planet. Another example is the award-winning *Spirited Away* (2001) which speaks against capitalism and commodification and advocates for a more sensible and sensitive approach to our world and our lives, through a young pure-hearted girl Chihiro and her adventures in a *kami* bathhouse.

world,

That has such people in't!

--Miranda, in *W. Shakespeare's The*

Tempest, Act V, Scene I

Somehow, it turned out that throughout my studies in popular culture and bioethics, the focus has always been on the essential change of the world we inhabit and the way this feature of our world affects us. I have also been interested in the ways *we* affect the world, with emphasis on ecology and technology, both producing the most visible large-scale changes among the rest of areas that bioethics is concerned with. Following a statement made by Hans Jonas, that we have found ourselves in *an unknown land of collective practice*, that is, in an *ethical vacuum*¹¹ because there are so many contemporary changes to our lives that we are unable to deal with properly, this paper leans on Hans Jonas' philosophy of technology in order to resonate my personal strong belief that we are *lost* in a sense that the many contemporary processes, such as informatization, globalization, urbanization, commodification, technologization, etc. offer us plenty of answers to our everyday needs, but they also raise issues which we are unable or unwilling to deal with. Why are we *unable*? Because everything is happening too fast and we don't give ourselves the time to follow the process by reflecting on it. Why *unwilling*? Because the world's logics relies heavily on neo-liberal capitalism, and the narcissistic culture we share today doesn't allow "unnecessary" questioning.

Another issue I'm concerned with rises directly from the unknowingness we have (or *knowledge we do not have*) about the world we inhabit. If the world has ever been anything familiar to us, and I believe to some extent it has been, then the world we inhabit today still carries this familiar feeling, but is actually a very un-familiar place. It is transforming all over again, creating a chaotic image of our home which doesn't even represent our home all that much: our thoughts are directed towards Universe, with our interests shifting from the Earth towards the Space. One consequence of this shift is the false premise of Earth being exploitable; a temporary station on its way to the stars. In that perspective, Kant's statement "Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing admiration and awe, the more often and steadily we reflect upon them: the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me"¹² (Quoted from Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788) in Schönfeld: 2012) now bears slightly different implications.

¹¹ Hans Jonas stated that Technoscience found itself in an *unknown land of collective practice*, thus producing a sort of *ethical vacuum* which is supposed to bring us to a no man's land in terms of ethical theory. Juric, one of the leading bioethics scholars in Croatia emphasizes Jonas' thought on this *ethical vacuum* being the very no man's land; a discrepancy between imagined absolute power that man gained thanks to technology, and man's absolute feeling of being disoriented in this man-made world (Jonas: 1990, 42-43 in Juric (2008, 9-10).

¹² Kant would develop a metaphysics whose claims anticipate scientific discoveries, "and an ethics that culminated in the Categorical Imperative". His friends chose to put this quotation from the *Critique of Practical Reason* on his tombstone (Schönfeld, 2012).

Talking about familiar in un-familiar, or un-familiar in familiar: of course it is derived from Freud's concept "unheimlich"¹³, but in this paper it's not so much applied to notions of "the frightening, or what evokes fear and dread" (Freud, 1997, 123), as much as to losing one's grip in the world we know no more. Even though Freud had a slightly different definition of the concept on his mind, I believe I don't do him any injustice by expanding his definition. He himself implied that the uncanny is linked to the scientific or to say, lack of the scientific. As one aspect of the uncanny emerges from uncertainty of science, then the term is very applicable in the present technoscientific world.

In his writing, Freud will argue that many people link the uncanny to death and afterlife, which is due to "the uncertainty of the scientific knowledge" (ibid. 148), as both death and afterlife were, remain and probably will be unresolved by scientific knowledge. It is to say that we escape to the realm of uncanny and mysticism whenever we meet questions and problems to which our technoscience is unable to provide answers and solutions.

In today's technoscientific world, not many people would claim that we lack scientific knowledge, quite opposite: we produce so many wonderful things using all newly attained scientific knowledge, followed by a collective hallucination of absolute power over the world. But the fact is that our knowledge still cannot, and perhaps never will, answer all of our questions (life, death, identity, humanity...) These have all been evading scientific framing from beginnings of Philosophy. Now when science has adopted these terms for its own use and definitions, we might feel more secure and less provisional about it, but the truth is that they not only remain unresolved, but are due to new (bio)technologies even more ambiguous, and that is the reason why *the uncanny* remains functional even today. Not only it's still functional, but it acquired new modes of existing in the contemporary world. The reason why adopt it here is to define the contemporary world as a space that is our home, but doesn't feel like it anymore or it feels like home, but it changes so rapidly that we are simultaneously aware of our space of belonging and not fully recognizing it as familiar anymore. This is probably more literal translation of the German world "unheimlich" that Freud uses, but it still contains Freud's thought: only expanded to new modes of human existence.

I see it as ironic to some extent: that for Freud the uncanny was linked to the mythical, superstitious and infantile, while for us it also includes all familiar-unfamiliar things that the *adult* world of Science and Technology creates. Still, Freud himself pointed to this aspect of the term's applicability, by analyzing E.T.A. Hoffmann's short story *The Sandman* (1816). The story actually has much in common with *Ghost in the Shell* and *Innocence*, but I will come back later to it.

¹³ Freud analyzes the term "unheimlich" starting from its linguistic aspect, with focus on its etymology and various vocabulary definitions of the term. After doing so, he continues with his psychoanalytical analysis. Following the term's relatedness to *death, dead bodies, revenants, spirits and ghosts*, it almost evokes to be linked with scientific uncertainty and especially technological devices, such as automata, which will be further discussed in the paper. Also, going back to Jonas' *ethical vacuum*, the term uncanny bears a different kind of contemporary significance as "It is not equally beyond doubt that the word is not always used in a clearly definable sense, and so it commonly merges with what arouses fear in general." (1997, 123)

I'm far from being the only one in contemporary cultural studies who links the term with technology, informatics and globalization (exempting Freud who, as its creator, was the first one). And it's not like it wasn't as popular before, with its reference to man-made organic, but mostly in-organic things. The use is not new: it's just further expanded. This expansion however also links with the fact that today humankind creates and produces much more of organic and inorganic than ever before. The world is being manufactured in many new ways and beings we create become omnipresent. That is why I fuse this term with Aldous Huxley's 1931 novel *Brave New World*. In his popular novel, Huxley presents us a fictional world with certain technological developments – the kind that are no longer fictional today. A satirist, Huxley produced a parody which is not funny anymore. Our new world (if measured by quantity of destruction of it, then it certainly *must* belong to us), is *the* brave new world Huxley is talking about. Maybe not because everything Huxley imagined has become true, but because it reflects to great extent Huxley's vision of the futuristic-now world we inhabit. Basically, I am suggesting that our "brave new world" has become a highly-developed unfamiliar home to us. This is not to say that we should denounce all our achievements or live "more simple" lives; it is to say that we must work harder to understand the world, to think about it and reflect on it more. Otherwise, we are becoming more estranged in our present home - if it's our home at all – maybe we should consider ourselves as *guests* here and respect more the space we inhabit.

Aldous Huxley (1894-1963) isn't a lone case making his (unintentional) sci-fi legacy in the fields of popular culture and bioethics: Herbert George Wells (1866-1946) was his contemporary, while Jules Gabriel Verne (1828-1905) was their earliest predecessor. Their novels have been made into films and their visions of the (future) world remained a significant part of popular culture and a valuable resource for science fiction authors who followed. It's interesting how many posthumanist and science fiction theorists forget about Verne, but at his time his novels were quite fantastical in presenting human achievements which were beyond imagination (and reason). At his time, his novels were quite posthuman already because they anticipated that humans would technologically evolve into species which can easily move in the water and through air. If posthumanism is about enhancing human abilities with the use of technology, then Verne deserves his place in the posthumanist theory. This is significant because contemporary popular culture that thematizes technology and futuristic worlds isn't something new. Jules Verne deserves to be given credit (though I did it only briefly) before moving on to two films which are in focus of the paper: *Ghost in the Shell* and *Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence*.

Ghost in the Shell

Ghost in the Shell (*Kôkaku kidôtai*) is an animated film made by Mamoru Oshii in 1995 and the discussions on it haven't stopped ever since (Not only the discussions but other works in the field too were strongly influenced by it, i.e. the revolutionary *Matrix* trilogy, made by the Wachowski brothers in 1999, intensively drew its inspiration from it). From my own experience, I can say that the film can be seen tens of times without being fully explored: that is its depth and its power.

The plot is very simple: a full-cyborg with human brain, Major Motoko Kusanagi, is a female protagonist in the film. She works as a top operative for Public Section 9, an anti-crime government organization. Together with her team (cyborg Batou, almost-completely-human Togusa and Chief Aramaki are most prominent ones), she fights global crime in the post-apocalyptic world of 2029, which is now dominated by Asia. However, though the film is abundant with action and all sorts of (bio)technological gadgetry, the focus is on Kusanagi who is trying to identify herself in her uncanny environment. Her search for identity and self-defining intensifies as she crosses paths with Puppet Master, an apparent ghost-hacker, but actually a life form *born in the sea of information*: evolving from Project 2501 to a self-conscious being.

What is special about this anime is the way it reflects on universal human struggles, but also questions future of humanity in a highly-technologized world. The philosophical notions of selfhood, existential crisis, and search for answers to ontological questions are being set in a futuristic world which provides Oshii with a source for problematizing identity and humanity in a way it has always been part of the Philosophy, but also in a way as a response to the contemporary world and its technological promises to humans and other possible life-forms. Oshii complicates the old, never-resolved issues of who we are by offering an answer to what we can become. And this *becoming* is no longer a concept observed within fields of nurture, pedagogy, education or didactics: it is now observed within field of technoscience in general and biotechnology in particular. If we ever were uncertain about what we are, the uncertainty is now further expanded due to technoscientific changes through which we, together with our world, go burdened with doubts and uncertainty. Science was meant to give us certainty, but it only increased the feeling of unfamiliarity about the world and especially about ourselves. This post-war future of Oshii's focuses on the feeling of unfamiliarity about ourselves through the character of Kusanagi, but even though it's future that Oshii is depicting, the fact that we are being altered by technology to the extent that many scholars consider us post-human already remains and further reaffirms. N. Katherine Hayles and Donna Haraway are most prominent figures of this kind of posthuman thought and they both argue that we indeed are posthuman already: cyborg is just a metaphor.

Posthumanist theory indeed deals with coexistence of technology and humankind to great extent: its alterations and post-human conditions in terms of the technological. It is about fusing organic and inorganic; or even prevailing inorganic in the new virtual and cyber realities. Our cyborg Kusanagi is a creature of such a post-human world: a world where everyone can plug in and communicate almost telepathically or dive into other personae's ghosts; a world where Puppet Master manipulates biotechnologically enhanced cyberbrains and everyone can become half-immortal by replacing their organic body parts with inorganic ones. But do androids dream of electric sheep? Yes, they do. And even though what we see in Oshii's masterpiece is fully imagined, the questions are real and relevant. Some of those questions were already raised in two of Oshii's forerunners: Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* in 1982 and already mentioned William Gibson's *Neuromancer*, both cult cyberpunk-noir works.

At the end of the film, Kusanagi and Puppet Master merged, creating a new life-form, non-dependant on the body and free to join the *vast and limitless Net*. This was the point when Donna Haraway's promise of creatures in a post-gender world became anime-realized. This is also the point when Cartesian mind-body dualism came back

to life (if it ever was overcome in the Western tradition in the first place). It is because the film evokes this dualism: first by replacing bodies and externalizing brains, that is to offer the possibility of switching inorganic bodies while human brains remain intact, and second: by offering a “happy ending” when body is no longer needed and mind can exist on its own as part of the Net.

We’ve been struggling with this dualism quite a lot in the past, for which Haraway anticipates a posthuman solution in her *Cyborg Manifesto* (1985). This dualism however didn’t make impact on human beings only: implications of such a philosophy extend to the Universe. René Descartes made a huge impact on Western philosophy and science with his well known mind-body dualism. To ancient Greeks, human being belonged into the Whole, together with nature (*physis*) while Descartes, instead of observing human beings as inclusive, decided to oppose human beings to nature. Further, by dividing the Whole into *res cogitans* and *res extensa*, he laid

foundations for the new natural science (Höslle, 1996, 40)¹⁴ That division has had its major consequences in fields of natural sciences, which remain till the present - especially in terms of our relationship with the world we inhabit.

Another philosopher who “contributed” was Descartes’ predecessor, Francis Bacon, who calls for exploration of nature - a servant that needs to be tamed.¹⁵ But as I mentioned earlier, the film *Ghost in the Shell* has a happy ending, seemingly resolving the raised issue of dualism by creating a new software-like life-form that doesn’t need its hardware anymore.

Cyborgs and these disembodied life-forms might be promising a better future, but whether or not it resolves the problem that Cartesian dualism creates is yet to be seen.



Promotional poster for *Ghost in the Shell* (1995), digital version

Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence

Innocence (2004) follows up the *Ghost in the Shell* film, but with focus shifted away from *humanity* and directed towards biocentric ethics and non-human life forms.

¹⁴ In his *Meditations* (1996) Descartes has clearly divided everything in existence into two matters: *res cogitans*-thinking matter and *res extensa*-non-thinking matter. While a man belongs into the first category, everything else: plants, animals, and nature included, belongs into the second category. If the latter category implies that all beings included are mere mechanisms and of lesser value, it is obvious what it means from the modern scientific perspective.

¹⁵ In his major work *The New Organon* which was part of his great project of *the Great Renewal*, supposed to modernize science, Francis Bacon writes: “Human knowledge and human power come to the same thing, because ignorance of cause frustrates effect. For Nature is conquered only by obedience; and that which in thought is a cause, is like a rule in practice.” (2000, 33)

Oshii however, still refers to humanity, increasing the feeling of uncaniness by “playing” with all kinds of automata and their human doubles.¹⁶

Innocence takes place in 2032 and revolves around the main Public Section 9’s team, Batou and Togusa. Major Motoko Kusanagi has disappeared into the Net but remains a Guardian Angel for Batou who, together with his new partner, investigates murders and suicides committed by gynoids produced by a company owned by Kim, the main perpetrator in the film. The gynoids, kind of androids, were intended for sexual pleasure, but the producer “enriched” them with ghosts he dubbed from kidnapped children.

If popular culture, cultural research, literature, philosophy and technoscience ever met in one *nodal point*¹⁷, to use Francois Lyotard’s term, it was this film. This is most apparent in use of citations which are so abundant that make it hard for viewers to follow the dialogue (even with excellent subtitles).

Steven T. Brown, author of one of the most elaborated articles on *Innocence* states: “I would argue that Oshii’s use of citationality in *Ghost in the Shell 2* also serves a larger philosophical purpose in relation to ventriloquism of the puppet theater. Such citationality foregrounds not simply the ventriloquism of the director or screenplay writer but, more importantly, the ventriloquism of the flows of transnational cultural production, as has been discussed by numerous contemporary critical theorists. “Who speaks and acts?” asks philosopher Gilles Deleuze. “It is always a multiplicity, even within the person who speaks and acts.” In short, the subject becomes a tissue of citations.” (2008, 228)

Though *Innocence* too speaks of relationship between humanity and technology; organic and inorganic; familiar and unfamiliar; human and non-human (but alive), I find it most interesting on three interconnected levels.

The first level is the mentioned intertextuality or citationality as Brown refers to it. Second is the evocation for transhumanist ethics, that is biocentric ethics, and the third level is Donna Haraway’s signature throughout the film (which made me *doubt* whether she co-authored it).

The second level is interesting because it further expands bioethical issues of posthuman world and of impacts of the development of (bio)technology on human and non-human lives.

¹⁶ Steven T. Brown wrote an excellent article on this topic, which was published in *Mechademia* series. Brown links *the uncanny* to automata in *Innocence*, ranging from traditional Japanese puppets to such technological creatures as gynoids. He states: “The uncanny blurring of boundaries between the animate and the inanimate, the living and the dead, is clearly exemplified by puppet-like characters, but the uncanny is also evoked in scenes involving cyberbrain hacking and e-brain communication.” (2008, 225). He then goes further to explore the uncanniness of these puppet-like characters, also categorizing automata we encounter in the film. Brown cites Oshii on this: “*There are no human beings in Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence. The characters are all human-shaped dolls.*” (ibid. 222) On another occasion, he writes: “Each instance of the uncanny that unfolds at Kim’s mansion (the repetition of déjà vu, the blurring of boundaries between life and death, animate and inanimate, and the doppelgänger) evokes a feeling of unhomeliness in the home, a defamiliarization of the everyday that destabilizes our assumptions about what it means to be human in a posthuman world and how we are to relate to all the *ningyō* (dolls, puppets, automata, and androids) that inhabit the world with us.” (234).

¹⁷ “Young or old, man or woman, rich or poor, a person is always located at “nodal points” of specific communication circuits, however tiny these may be. Or better: one is always located at a post through which various kinds of messages pass.” (Lyotard: 1984)

Transhumanist and *biocentric* in the syntagm suggests that other life-forms besides human should be taken into consideration. This especially becomes evident in the use of the word *biocentric*, coined from two terms: *bios* – which means life and *centric* – in the center: defining ethics as a discipline which deals with ALL life-forms, as opposed to traditional anthropocentric ethics.

If we are to face the brave new uncanny world, then it's apparent that there is a whole bunch of issues we need to deal with. Imagining possible futures, just like Oshii does, provides great means to do just that. Besides, it's not only future we are talking about because we always reflect contemporaneity in products we create and futures we imagine. Visions always come from minds that are present *here* and *now*, so the visions may tell us more about our own struggles and reactions today than about future ones. In *Innocence*, for example, Oshii poses a problem of human relation to non-human life forms: not only gynoids and cyborgs, but also animals. So when we put all these new-imagined and old-existent life forms into one sphere, it's apparent that our task is to provide a new kind of ethics and orientation tools to re-define life which only seemingly still revolves around a man. This projection of pre-Galilean and pre-Copernican self-centered/human-centered Universe onto ethics requires revolution. Humanist and anthropocentric ethics no longer works.

Now we arrive to the third level: it's *Donna Haraway's level*.

Haraway is likely the most famous cyber feminism author, whose *Cyborg Manifesto* remains the reference point for all authors engaging in posthumanist and particularly cyborg studies. Besides *Cyborg Manifesto*, Haraway wrote another interesting work, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (2003)¹⁸ which might be even more interesting as a reference point to *Innocence* than the *Cyborg Manifesto*.

When one reads through her work and then watches *Innocence*, one cannot resist but to draw a very distinctive parallel between the two authors. *Innocence* is concerned with dogs as much as it's concerned with people and automata. Oshii would even say that this film is about him and his dog.¹⁹ With that in mind, Oshii and Haraway both speak about species closely related to humans, calling for new ethical consideration and re-definition of relationship between humans and animals (here dogs). Oshii further adopts Haraway's concept of cyborg²⁰, its potential (post-genderness) and its characteristics (non-Innocence). Related to the latter, it's ironic (again) that Oshii

¹⁸ In her *Companion Species*, Haraway's goal is to show "1) how might an ethics and politics committed to the flourishing of significant otherness be learned from taking dog-human relationships seriously and 2) how might stories about dog-human worlds finally convince brain-damaged US Americans, and maybe other less historically challenged people, that history matters in naturecultures? (...) The story here is mainly about dogs. Passionately engaged in these accounts, I hope to bring my readers into the kennel for life." (2003, 3)

¹⁹ Dani Cavallaro explores the world of *Innocence* in his book *The Cinema of Mamoru Oshii* (2006), in which he brings the following statement made by the director: "Since people are all starting to lose part of or all of their 'bodies', they need to associate themselves with something else to identify themselves. It could be dogs like myself, or it could be cats or other animals. It does not need to be living things. It could be machines, cars, computers, cities, just about anything but yourself. That's how you find your lost 'bodies' ... people are definitely losing their human forms. Animals have always stayed the same, and continue to do so in the years to come, but humans are always changing, and they need to change, with the development of technology. However, they should not fear the change or evolution, but rather accept it and learn to live with it... This movie is about me and my dog [Oshii 2004c]." (209).

²⁰ Haraway's cyborg is "a cybernetic organism, a hybrid of machine and organism, a creature of social reality as well as a creature of fiction. (...) Contemporary science fiction and modern medicine is full of cyborgs." (1991, 150-151).

names his film *Innocence*, when it's actually about pursuit of human attempted reproduction(s) of innocence (through dolls and other automata) which is always inscribed in animals and children, but which always eludes all human attempts. Oshii draws on Haraway's words when adopting the concept of *innocence*: "A cyborg body is not innocent; it was not born in a garden; it does not seek unitary identity and so generate antagonistic dualism without end..." (1999, 181)

This is not the only concept we find in both authors' works: Haraway also speaks of textualization,²¹ mentioned earlier, which Oshii elaborates and applies in his story of innocence. In a way, Oshii uses his puppet-like characters' bodies and their language to embody and express the fact that we are always covered with layers of meanings as well as that the postmodernist world we share is all constructed from inscribed texts and interpretations.

And to conclude this short exposé on the account of the third level, I will draw attention of a potential viewer to the character of coroner Haraway, a female cyborg Oshii creates, thus establishing the most apparent connection with Haraway's work, and to whom he grants her wish that she stated in the final sentence of her *Cyborg Manifesto*: "I would rather be a cyborg than a goddess."²²



²¹ In *Cyborg Manifesto* Haraway states: "Technological determination is only one ideological space opened up by the reconceptions of machine and organism as coded texts through which we engage in the play of writing and reading the world. 'Textualization' of everything in poststructuralist, postmodernist theory has been damned by Marxists and and socialist feminists for its utopian disregard for the lived relations of domination that ground the 'play' of arbitrary reading." (1991, 153)

²² "Cyborg imagery can suggest a way out of the maze of dualisms in which we have explained our bodies and our tools to ourselves. This is a dream not of a common language, but of powerful infidel heteroglossia. It is an imagination of a feminist speaking in tongues to strike fear into the circuits of the supersavers of the new right. It means both building and destroying machines, identities, categories, relationships, space stories. Though both are bound in the spiral dance, I would rather be a cyborg than a goddess." (154).

Promotional poster for Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence (2004), digital version

Conclusion

At a first glance, the fusion of Bioethics and Popular Culture might seem a bit odd, but hopefully this paper showed the validity for bioethical questioning of popular culture products and the use its analysis can have for humanists, cultural researchers and scholars engaged in bioethics. In this particular case, the focus is on Japanese animation (*Ghost in the Shell* and *Ghost in the Shell 2: Innocence*), but the whole range of popular literature, film, art, and the rest of pop-culture artifacts can be used for the purpose.

Early science fiction novels of Jules Verne, Aldous Huxley and G. H. Wells prove this vividly. I didn't want to go into cultural politics or analyze the global dialectics between *Americanization* and *Japanization*: for the purposes of this paper, I have fully dedicated the topic to dealing with rising bioethical issues in the contemporaneity of the world we live in. And what better way to do that, than to use such mediums, which are (in)direct products of the contemporary environment and technological development! In that sense, famous cyberpunk animated works of Mamoru Oshii can serve as both subject and object in this kind of bioethical questioning.

Ghost in the machine is an idea that's been haunting us for quite some time now, starting with Western Philosophy and Descartes' mind-body dualism. Today, this idea transforms due to need to deal with techno-others and the human radical involvement in manufacturing and transforming the world.

Though bioethics deals mostly with ethical dilemmas arisen from technoscientific development (most visibly in the field of medicine), this multi-perspective discipline also deals with the life itself: its conditions, transformations and conditions of preservation. One of the most recent bioethical concerns is certainly the impact of technology on (human) lives and the ways that technology shapes our world and our selfhood today. This impact becomes most apparent in change of narratives and discourses we use when addressing the issue of living beings: *The human genome project completed* in 2003 proved that we've long been translated into codes and data: becoming objects which call for de-cyphering and further experimental uses. Our collective consciousness today rises from the hallucinated feeling of absolute power and the need to colonize every single corner of our Universe, including our own genes.

Using popular culture narratives in the form of Mamoru Oshii's distinguished works, I've tried to point my *questioning* finger to some of these issues, and will hopefully trigger further interest in scholars coming from different disciplines.

As stated in the previous segments of the paper, our contemporary condition consists of radical and rapid transformations to which we don't have answers to and with which we do not yet know how to deal with. Issues that are in focus here are by all means nothing new: ever since a first human felt marvel for the world (thus beginning

of Philosophy), such questions existed, but framed with their own time's needs and possibilities.

We continue to reflect on it further, but we have to consider it in a quite different context, since technoscience offered some new answers and deepened old doubts. This is not negative criticism turned against technology and science: it is a call for more cultural research, more reflections, and definitely more inclusion of marginalized Humanities into the contemporary world.

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Splendor of “Songket” in Freeze-Dried Mangosteen (Garcinia Mangostana L.) Dye

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Abstract

In the past, dyeing *Songket* with natural dye was the traditional technique used among the Malay dyers in Peninsular Malaysia to express its brilliant colour, natural beauty and aesthetic value of the textile. The integral processes involved had contributed to the uniqueness of this traditional textile in the Malay culture. However, the activity slowly began to diminish due to its tedious process and the introduction of synthetic dyes into the country. This research was conducted to determine the suitability of simultaneous mordanting and dyeing silk yarns with mangosteen rind's extract obtained through the freeze-drying method. As a result, *songket* textile characteristically harmonious within the contemporary context of the Malay culture was successfully produced.

Key words: Natural dye, traditional textile, mangosteen, colour

1. INTRODUCTION

Prior to the introduction of synthetic dyes in 1926, dyeing textile yarns with natural dyes played an important role among the Malay dyers in Peninsular Malaysia (Barkeshli et al. 2003). The process starts with the gathering and selecting of raw materials which are then dried under the hot sun for many days before they are being processed further. Depending on the type of raw materials, some are processed immediately after collection so as to stabilize their dye content (Vankar n.d.). Parts of the raw materials (roots, barks, leaves, flower, fruits, seed or wood) are later sliced thinly, chopped, pounded, soaked and squeezed into smaller particles before they are boiled. This boiling process will result in the production of natural dyes for the *songket* textile.

Kain songket or *songket* as defined by Siti Zainon Ismail (1999) is a unique Malay textile that has originated from the process of *sungkit* or the art of embroidering gold thread. The gold thread as a weft is wound around a weaving needle and transverses alternately between the warp threads which are in an upright position. This thread acted only as the embroidery elements to enhance the base fabric which was coloured in natural dye. The beauty of the colour became the preference among the royals and aristocrats of the Malay sultanate in the past as it embodied strong natural aesthetics related to their status, dignity and pride (Siti Zainon Ismail 1999).

However, natural dyes today have lost their popularity mainly due to the complex, tedious and slow process of producing them. The traditional making of natural dyes that has to undergo the painstaking process of collecting raw materials (mainly from parts of plants) and then processing them to produce dyes is no longer in practiced by the local craftsmen. Their decision is influenced by the availability of synthetic dyes which can easily be bought at the local markets at any time.

The purpose of this study was to determine the suitability of mangosteen rind's extract invented through the freeze-drying method for simultaneous mordanting and dyeing *songket* yarns (silk). The fruit contained a high level of major and minor anthocyanin pigments which are Cyanidin-3-sophoroside and cyanidin-3-glucoside which responsible for colouring the rind red (Du and Francis 1977).

2. FREEZE-DRIED MANGOSTEEN EXTRACTS

The sole source for developing natural dye discovered from this research is anthocyanin, which is the name for the extract obtained from fresh mangosteen rind. The extract is proven to be a suitable choice for textile application since it contains abundant amounts of natural colourants. Selected mangosteens from and *Index Color* 5 (Figure 1) are considered the most suitable to be adopted for the research (Ahmad Tarmizi Sapii and Pauziah Muda 2005).



Figure 1: Mangosteen *Index Color 5*.

After transforming and freezing of the aqueous solution of *Index Color 5* extract, the frozen extract samples were transformed into dyeing powder using the freeze-drying methodology. Freeze-drying, according to Mellor (1978) is a method to preserve biological materials without causing any injury to the subject by freezing the contained water and then removing the ice via the process of *sublimation* (transition of a substance from the solid phase to the gas phase without undergoing intermediate liquification) and continue in another stage of *desorption* process (the removal of excess moisture or bound water). Rey (1975) has described freeze-drying as the final goal to find ways and means of keeping the materials in their solid structure, where no interstitial or concentrated fluid shall remain. They would then remain solid during the whole process and drying can therefore be carried out from the solid state.

Karel (1975) and Mellor (1978) describe two successive procedures as part of the methodologies applied:

- a) Primary Drying: The ice crystals formed under the freezing state are sublimed by vigorous and then gentle heating under a vacuum.
- b.) Secondary Drying: With the disappearance of the ice, the residual moisture is desorbed at a temperature higher than the primary drying, under low vacuum pressure.

The operating conditions such as pressure, temperature and time for each step are carefully observed. At the primary drying phase, the pressure is lowered and temperature supplied is sufficient to remove the water from its solid state (ice) to a gaseous state (water vapour). Karel (1975) explains that under this initial drying phase, this operation can only achieved success when the vapour pressure and temperature of the surface of the ice at which the sublimation takes place are below those at the triple point (4.5 Torr and a temperature of approximately 32°F or 0°C). The primary drying process was slow so as to ensure that the material's structure was not altered because of overheating.

The Secondary Drying phase is a process where the temperature was higher than the primary drying temperature in order to break any physico-chemical interaction that

may develop between the water molecules and the frozen samples (Rothmayr 1975). Meanwhile, the pressure applied at this stage was lowered to encourage the *desorption* process. Mellor (1978) stated that this phase requires less time for the extract samples to completely dry and be ready for use (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Mangosteen rind extracts from *Index Color 5*.

3. MATERIAL AND METHOD

Three skeins of raw silk yarns at 100 gm each were utilized in this procedure. They were later immersed into 4500 ml of very hot (90 °C – 95 °C) soft water (distilled water pH 6) with a ratio of material to liquor of 1: 15 together with 60 gm olien soap flakes. The yarns were left to boil for 1½ hours to remove the sericin gum and other impurities (Cardon, 2007). The mixture was stirred from time to time to ensure that the soap was fully dissolved. At the same time, in a separate container, a mixture of 18 gm soda ash (weak soda) and soft water was prepared to rinse the skeins after the boiling process was completed.

Once the skeins were removed from the boiling water, they were taken to be rinsed and this procedure was carried out in two stages. First, they were rinsed in a mixture of soda ash and soft water which was then followed by only soft water. The process was repeated until the rinsed water remained neutral. Then, the excess moisture was gently squeezed out and the skeins were dried in an open area. Once the skeins were completely dried they were used in the next procedure where simultaneous mordanting and dyeing took place to fix the colour onto the yarns (Table 1).

Table 1:

The Formulation for Simultaneous Mordanting and Dyeing of the Silk Yarns

No.	Preparation	Condition
1.	Alum (Salt Mordant)	30% of the weight of the sample fabric.
2.	Material-to-liquor	1:10
3.	Temperature	Room temperature
4.	Weight of silk yarns (100 gm of each skein)	300 gm

After dyeing, the yarns were washed lightly in water to remove any unfixed dye and then were air dried. All the processes took place at room-temperature. The dyed yarns were later setting-up on the loom for the process of weaving and embellishing the surface of the textile, using the *songket* technique.

4. RESULTS

Visual evaluation from the colours and shades established, showed that the colours from the freeze-dried mangosteen rind *Index Colour 5* was sensitive to light. Variable such as light had caused the dye to fading significantly. The pink shades (Figure 3) established on the dry yarns after they were washed to remove unfixed dye had changed significantly upon constant exposure to light during weaving and embellishing process. The condition has affected the colour properties of the textile piece.



Figure 3: The pink shades of the dry yarns.

Nevertheless, the appearance of the soft and subdued colours had contributed to the “*natural*” beauty of the overall finished textile product (see Figure 4). The original colours and shades that were based on local traditional methods, potentially inspires

modern designers and perhaps allows some insights into the social structure, rituals and values of many others in various cultures. The experience of using the mangosteen dye extract in the making of a piece of textile creation in the *songket* technique significantly brought about the suitability of natural resources into a new dimension of dyeing process.



Figure 3: The overall finished *songket* product.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The dye extracts obtained from the freeze-dried mangosteen rinds have their intrinsic beauty of colours which contribute to the success of the finished textile product. The dried fine particles of the material with brilliant colour properties and fastness facilitated a unique and desirable effect on the dyed silk yarn. In spite of this, the process has shortened the time spent using traditional methods which require several time consuming stages of manually chopping, pounding and drying the materials prior to boiling them in an aqueous solution. The creative thought in utilizing the natural dyes, using the *songket* technique, will bring about a new form of textile creation that is characteristically harmonious with the contemporary context of the traditional Malay textile.

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The Practicability of Adopting Standard Chinese Characters in Hong Kong

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Abstract

As the outcome of the reform of Chinese characters in China during the 1950s, the system of Standard (Simplified) Chinese characters has established its international status and is one of the official languages of the United Nations. However, the conventional use of Traditional Chinese characters in Hong Kong has never been affected, not even after the return of sovereignty to China in 1997. While China has had the vision of unifying written Chinese, the apparent direction is not toward resuming the use of Traditional Chinese characters. As the contacts of people between China and Hong Kong get more frequent, will Hong Kong go after China adopting Standard Chinese characters in conventional use?

Ever since the colonial days, the use of the Chinese language in Hong Kong has been rather flexible; the government has made no attempt toward standardization. In the community, people's primary consideration is on the communicative function, whether the written texts are in the standard forms or just some popular forms is not much a concern. Whenever accuracy of a script is considered, the traditional form is the basis of judgment. This all-encompassing, practical attitude toward written scripts not only does no harm to the latter's communicative function, but also facilitates the passing down of cultural traditions.

This paper is an analysis of the future development of the use of Chinese characters in Hong Kong, in particular, the feasibility of adopting Standard Chinese characters.

I

Hanzi is a system of ideograms that encodes the Chinese language built on the representation of form, sound and meaning of matters and deeds. Over several thousand years, it has been playing important roles in noting down the life and thought of the Chinese people, in the passing down of culture and the recording of history. Only until the 19th century that some people regarded *Hanzi* as scripts difficult to remember and write, and hence a backward system which hindered the progress of China. This view evolved into the demand to reform *Hanzi*, and with less than ten years' research and preparation, a scheme of standardized Chinese characters was implemented in the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the 1950s. The scheme was constructed primarily by simplifying the form of the traditional scripts. The scheme of simplified characters has now been in use for over half a decade. The number of users has been increasing. It is also one of the official languages in the United Nations. In a nutshell, the scheme of Standard Chinese characters has already developed into a dominant form of written Chinese. This dominant form, nevertheless, is not conventionally used in Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan, where the traditional Chinese characters are the regular form of Chinese texts.

Since the coming on stage of the "reform and opening up policy" in the 1970s, there were voices among the Chinese communities in the Greater China advocating the use of the same scripts in writing Chinese (*shū tóng wén*). Coming to the 1980s, the atmosphere of discussion on the theme is generally academic and open. Several mild proposals on how to achieve *shū tóng wén*, such as "writing in traditional scripts while recognizing the simplified scripts," "be it traditional or simplified [scripts], don't bother," received serious attention. On the other hand, scholars in the mainland also admitted that there were still defects in the Standard Chinese characters. Hence, there was no reason why the standard characters should override the traditional *hanzi* then. Whether or not to abolish Traditional Chinese characters stayed within the realm of academic discussion. However, the situation changed moving onto the 1990s, the study on "*shū tóng wén*" developed into the polemic between standard and traditional characters. The avocations for non-standard scripts were criticized; thus originally an academic subject was politicized.

In October 2000, PRC adopted the *Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language* which provided the legal foundation of language use and biased the controversy in favor of the Standard Chinese characters. The law states that,

“The State popularises Putonghua and the standardized Chinese characters.” (Article 3, Chapter 1)

“The standard spoken and written Chinese language shall be used in such a way as to be conducive to the upholding of state sovereignty and national dignity, to unification of the country and unity among all ethnic groups, and to socialist material progress and ethical progress.” (Article 5, Chapter 1)¹

The research and adoption of Simplified Chinese characters was unarguably a political task. The legislation in 2000 was a further step in this direction. It brought academic discourse into the political arena, and put the public's use of language under state regulation.² Since then, the discourse on “*shū tóng wén*” tended to be predominated by the Standard Chinese characters.

Even though the people of Hong Kong are able to continue using Traditional Chinese characters for the time being under the “one country, two systems” policy since the return of sovereignty of Hong Kong to China in 1997, it is clear that the direction of development would be that of *shū tóng wén* (writing with the same scripts) for Hong Kong and Mainland China, in which the simplified scripts will displace the traditional scripts.³

It would be unlikely for the people of Hong Kong to totally resist the Standard Chinese characters. Nevertheless, it would not be easy either to fully implement the standard scripts in Hong Kong. This is because the social context of Hong Kong and the people's inclination on language use are not ready for the change yet. What is most crucial is that people's knowledge about Standard Chinese characters are generally inadequate. The existing psychological barrier among the people of Hong Kong has discouraged them from acquiring more knowledge about the simplified scripts. They think the forms of the scripts do not look nice, and the scripts are alienated from ancient culture. Moreover, there are incurable defects in the scheme of

¹引自中国政府门户网站 www.gov.cn 2005年08月31日 Quoted from the government of PRC Government website on 24 March 2013.

http://www.moe.gov.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_2803/200907/49851.html

²立法之後，中同國家語言及工作委員會於2001年開始商議編訂《規範漢字表》，作為規範漢字的依據。惟遲至2009年8月教育部才能推出《通用規範漢字表(意見徵求稿)》，過程漫長，猜想爭議不少。就目前所見，大部分建議反響極大，例如“木”字的豎筆是否帶鉤，也爭論不休。由此可見，規範並不容易，規管更是吃力不討好的工作。參見中國網

http://www.china.com.cn/culture/node_7074921.htm

³龔嘉鎮據王鐵琨說補充：“我國實行的是「一國兩制」，港、澳、臺地區現在主要使用的是繁體字。但是，今天研製《規範漢字表》，就要放跟明天全球實行通用漢字的「書同文」而為之作準備打基礎。”見《龔嘉鎮文字文化論文選》(成都：四川出版集團巴蜀書社，2008年)，頁40。以簡代繁的意圖非常明顯。

Standard Chinese characters which the people of Hong Kong find them unacceptable and problematic in using.

II

Hanzi is an ideographic language, the nature of which is completely different from those of the many phonetic languages used in the world. The meaning which a script signifies underlies the form or shape that the script is written. In other words, the representation of the meaning in the form of a script is the main principle in constructing scripts. When logograms denoting both meaning and sound were developed, scripts categorized as phono-semantic compounds form the major part of the set of scripts. The traditional *hanzi* with the meaning and sound of a script embedded in its form had then developed into a mature system of ideographic language with its sound theoretical foundation laid down in *liushu*.⁴ It is unnecessary for *hanzi* to go the phonetic language way. These are the conventional perspective of the people of Hong Kong.

Traditional Chinese characters are a means to record and construct Chinese culture. People get to know concrete matters and abstract ideas by accurately comprehend each and every script. Traditional Chinese characters have gone through several stages of evolution, and the style of scripts changes from the more pictorial oracle bone scripts and bronze inscriptions to the more abstract styles of seal scripts (*zhuan shu*), clerical scripts (*li shu*), running scripts (*xing shu*), regular scripts (*kai shu*), and cursive scripts (*cao shu*). The change in semantic structure is from simple to complex, whereas the strokes of a script change from complex to simple. The scripts became more or less stabilized towards the Eastern Han Dynasty. In the one thousand and eight hundred years after, there were no further styles developed nor any apparent change in the composition of each script. However, more scripts were created as necessitated by wider application. As time goes by, *hanzi* and the related art and craft have become an object of adoration and a cultural tradition of the Chinese, including the people of Hong Kong.⁵

It is a natural phenomenon for language to change over time, driven by its own vitality and adapting to the social context. However, subjecting language to change by

⁴ 自東漢許慎《說文解字》出現後，一般人都認同把傳統漢字分類為“六書”：象形、指事、會意、形聲、轉注、假借；前四者是造字法，後二者是用字法。

⁵ 清末時期，人們對漢字的崇拜達至頂峰：“國家之建造與成立，所以顯明之者，土地也，人民也，文字也……有土地然後有人民，有人民然後有文字，有文字然後有國。”見田北湖：《國定文字私議》，《國粹學報》1908年第47號，轉引自趙黎明《漢字革命》，北京：中國社會科學出版社(2010年版)，頁47。

political force would just diminish its vitality and could even cause damage to the system. After the establishment of PRC in 1949, the Communist government promoted revolutionary ideas which advocated overthrowing the social institutions of the old regime. It was against such political scenario that the reform of Simplified Chinese characters was known to the people in Hong Kong in the 1950s, who unavoidably would associate the reform with more drastic cultural and political movement. Therefore, the implementation of simplified characters in the mainland was never welcomed by the Chinese in Hong Kong. People's concern of more drastic cultural change was later confirmed in the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, in which cultural heritage and artifacts such as literary works were purged. Coming to the 1980s with China's opening up policy, even though the purge of cultural tradition stopped, and the second scheme of simplified Chinese characters which violated the principles of *liushu* was suspended, the resistance against simplified characters, however, had already psychologically rooted in the people of Hong Kong. This mindset changed little if at all even upon and after the return of Hong Kong to China.

Both the British Hong Kong Government before 1997 and the Hong Kong SAR Government now have never prohibited the use of Traditional Chinese characters, nor have they actively promoted the use of Standard Chinese characters. The government officials in charge of education never expressed their stand on the use of Chinese scripts, not even after the return of sovereignty of Hong Kong to China in 1997. No measures on standardizing the use of Chinese characters have ever been taken in Hong Kong. The government was not active in the groundwork of Traditional Chinese characters either. There were only a few projects in the research and enhancement of the writing system. During the 80s, a Chinese Language Art lecturer of the College of Education under the Department of Education, Li Xueming and his colleagues compiled a "*List of the Forms of Frequently Used Characters.*" (original in Chinese: 常用字字形表) A committee comprising scholars from various institutes was also set up to audit the list. The committee, however, declared that they were not playing an authoritative role in defining what the correct forms of the Chinese characters should be, but was just an attempt to alleviate the burden of the many variants on primary school teachers. Then in 1990, a "Frequently used characters of the primary school" the Department of Education issued for teachers' reference a "*List of frequently used characters for primary schools*" in the appendix of the "*Syllabus of Chinese Language for primary school (first draft)*" (original in Chinese: 小學中國語文科課程綱要(初稿)), in which 2600 Traditional Chinese characters were included. The projects mentioned in this paragraph could be regarded as the only

few efforts representative of Hong Kong in standardizing Chinese characters.⁶

As the communication between Hong Kong and the mainland gets more frequent, the students of Hong Kong also be in contact with, or as in writing public examinations, even write simplified characters themselves. However, the status of affair is far from satisfactory and there are many errors and mistakes in their use.⁷ A “*Learning kit of simplified characters*” (original in Chinese: 簡化字學習套) accompanied with a self-learning software was issued by the Curriculum Development Institute (CDI) of the Education Department in 1996. This seemed to be an act encouraging the learning of simplified characters among students. However, it was stated in the direction for use of the kit that “the objective of the kit is to help students to *read* [*emphasis added*] simplified characters,”⁸ the target learners were students of the primary and secondary schools in Hong Kong, where “Traditional Chinese characters is mainly used in the curriculum.”⁹ To individual students, the document stated, “positive and pragmatic attitude is: while being able to master Traditional Chinese characters, also attempt to read simplified characters.”¹⁰ Therefore, one can see that the learn kit is not so much as to promote the use of simplified characters; and interestingly and to the contrary, some schools made use of the conversion software to teach mainland immigrant students, who were used to Standard Chinese characters, to learn traditional characters. This, of course, was an unintended outcome then.

In 2007, CDI of Education Bureau built on the previous *List of frequently used characters for primary schools*, published another *List of characters and words for learning of primary school students* (original in Chinese: 香港小學學習字詞表), which appeared to be a further step for standardizing Traditional Chinese characters. Nevertheless, a list of simplified characters was added to the appendix of the booklet, which suggested an implicit objective to encourage the learning of simplified characters. Yet the forms of some of the simplified characters in the list did not follow the most up-to-date standard then, thus cannot be used as a reference for learning.

In the higher education arena, most institutes have incorporated the instruction of Standard Chinese characters in their language courses since the 1990s. However, the

⁶ 是節參考《維基百科·常用字字形表》：

<http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%B8%B8%E7%94%A8%E5%AD%97%E5%AD%97%E5%BD%A2%E8%A1%A8#.E7.9B.B8.E9.97.9C.E6.9B.B8.E7.B1.8D>

⁷ 學生常犯的筆誤例子，可參見陳熾洪：《香港高校規範漢字教學管窺》，程學蘭、賴蘭香主編：《經濟全球化與高校中國語文教育的回應》（武漢：湖北人民出版社，2005年），頁343-344。

⁸ 課程發展處：《簡化字學習套》（香港：教育署課程發展處，1996年），頁1。

⁹ 同4，頁2。

¹⁰ 同4，頁37。

teaching and learning have been less than enthusiastic judging from the inadequate teaching hours and the fact that students do not have a sense of urgency in learning simplified characters.

III

As a matter of fact, the people of Hong Kong are seriously lacking the background knowledge about the Standard Chinese characters including some of the defects. A simple survey on 300 undergraduates in October 2012 that the author conducted during a language lesson found that less than 10% of the students were aware of the legislation regarding the use of Standard Chinese characters by the PRC government. Most would roughly know that Standard Chinese characters are derived by reducing and simplifying the strokes of traditional characters. Few would know that the initial objective of the language reform in the 1950s was to transform *hanzi* into a phonetic language, which was only given up when feasibility was challenged. Then the focus was turned to the simplifying character forms and the ‘merging’ of variant characters in order to reduce the number of characters in the subsequent reform actions. In other words, few people would attend to the means and ends of the language reform, nor would they understand the related reform measures and the problems encountered.

1. The Means and Ends of the *Hanzi* Reform

In fact the simplification of Chinese characters is not the goal of the reform of written language but just an agenda in the reform process. The ultimate goal was to phoneticize *hanzi*, that is, transforming the characters into a phonetic language like English and many other foreign languages.¹¹ Thus, simplification at most would only be regarded by the reformers as an end in the short-term, which is a compromise in face of limitations yet to be overcome. As such simplification was regarded as a temporary solution and hence will be scraped ultimately. Therefore the simplification project was taken lightly by the reformers. As a consequence, the outcome of the simplification project could hardly be of top quality and the product, Simplified Chinese characters would inevitably have much faults.

The simplification of Chinese character has to be a grand project. Yet the PRC government spent just one year, from the publishing of the draft scheme “*Chinese Character Simplification Scheme (Draft)*” in January 1955 to the adoption of the

¹¹ 魏建功《漢字發展史上的簡體字的地位》：“簡體字是文字改革的一個環節。”見丁西林等編：《漢字的整理和簡化》（北京：中華書局，1954），收入《語文彙編》第30輯，頁24。

finalized scheme in January 1956, in working through consultation, revision and implementation of the then newly invented writing system; and then together with the subsequent reform actions would be an attempt to complete a task that has not been attempted over a thousand years. Therefore, people would query if that would be too radical, or if the rationales were adequate for the action. The people of Hong Kong have never shown enthusiasm in using Simplified Chinese characters. In the same token, if the people of Hong Kong do not see the rationale for the change, or was not clear about the means and ends of the written language reform, how could they identify with the reform and why should they cooperate fully?

Problem with Variant Characters and Synthesis of New Character Forms:

The people of Hong Kong regard variant characters (e.g., “強 vs 强,” “跡 vs 迹,” “韻 vs 韵,” “杰 vs 傑”) as correct forms, which are commonly used without any confusion semantically. However, the standardized characters reform aims to eliminating the variant characters as a way of simplifying the character set. The policy is so rigid that there is no exception even if the variant characters were being used in people’s names or of well known personalities. In my experience teaching in the university, students challenged the measure, queried why characters with theoretically sound structure, being in use by people for a long time are abandoned. This reflected that people of Hong Kong do not accept this harsh measure.

Another simplifying measure that the people of Hong Kong can hardly understand is the the synthesis of new character forms.¹² In order to unify the hand-written character forms and that used in printed matters, the Chinese authority (a joint committee comprising Ministry of Culture, Language Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Language Reform Committee) issued the “*List of Chinese Character Forms for General Printing*” (original in Chinese: 印刷通用漢字字形表) in 1962. The list came to the public’s attention in 1986 when it was formally published. The conventional hand-written forms were eliminated (e.g. “花” is replaced by “花”; “角” replaced by “角”; “差” by “差”; the surname “吳” by “吴”). One can see that the changes are very little and subtle, but it is exactly these subtle changes that the people of Hong Kong find confusing and can not see why the change is needed.

Problem with Homophonic Substitution:

The reduction of scripts leads to the need of homophonic substitution, that is, the use of one script to replace several scripts which sounds the same. To do so, some original

¹²見《香港高校規範漢字教學管窺》，頁 346。

scripts' ideographic and phonetic functions are 'eliminated' together with the scripts themselves, e.g., in replacing 薑 (ginger) with 姜, the ideographic function eliminated; 摺 (to fold) with 折, phonetic function eliminated. Often times the simplification is to such an extent that all the logographic principles of Chinese character construction are ignored, e.g., replacing 葉 (leave) with 叶. Moreover homophonic substitution results in greater semantic confusion because the same characters may mean different things, e.g, 海里 may mean both 'nautical mile' and 'in the sea' whereas as written in traditional Chinese characters, they are different (in the sea, 海裏). Being used to the grammar of Traditional Chinese character, the people of Hong Kong considered it a mistake if one is not able to employ an appropriate character based on the textual context among several homophonic characters. Now the use of homophonic substituted characters forcing people to give up the sound ideographic logic (i.e., use the appropriate character based on the context) for a somewhat arbitrary symbol. There is obviously an irony and would be faced with psychological resistance to be overcome..

Problem with Modifying Cursive style (caoshu) to Form Regular Scripts (kaishu):

Some standard scripts formed by emulating cursive style are (inside the bracket are the respective traditional character and an English translation): 长(長, long), 东(東, east), 车(車, car), 书(書, book), 韦(韋, Wei-a family name), 风(風, wind), 凤(鳳, phoenix), 关(關, to close), 开(開, to open). Some of these simplified scripts have structures rarely found in Chinese characters, hence are disadvantageous to being written (e.g., 长), whereas others are very similar to one another, hence are disadvantageous to being recognized and distinguished from each other (e.g., 风 and 凤). The cursive style characteristically has more connected strokes; in contrast, the regular style has more disconnected strokes. It is precisely in this approach of simplification that the connected and disconnected strokes collectively make people confused (e.g., for “东” and “车,” the top component in cursive style, the bend stroke, is one continuous stroke in cursive style, but left-downward stroke at the top is usually written separate from the lower component “木” of the bottom component). Emulation of the cursive style in the 'regularized' simplified scripts also generated many new components which do not follow the *liushu* principles. These new components, even though their structures are always simple, are hard to identify and awkward to write. For instance, the component on the left hand side of both “师” and “帅” are the same, containing a long left-downward stroke; whereas in “临” and “坚”, their corresponding components both have two vertical strokes, one long and one short. These two slight different components are easily mixed up. On the other

hand “马” and “鸟” are awkward to write because the component at the top of each is a rare structure in Chinese characters.

Problem with Replacing Components of Characters by Symbols:

This refers to the use of very simple symbols to replace components of traditional characters. These symbols are composed of very few strokes, and usually perform no semantic or phonetic functions. Some of these symbols are by themselves a Chinese character, e.g., “又” (as in 邓), “丁” (as in 灯), also “一”, “才”, and “云”; whereas others are not. The latter are not even morphemes or phonemes, examples are symbols consist of two dots or three dots (but not functioning as radicals as they are in traditional characters, locating on the left side of a script), or an ‘X’ (as in 区). While the symbols do successfully reduce the complexity of traditional characters in such a way that less literate people can write with them; they are, however, hard to be anchored in memory. This is because the symbols are used rather arbitrarily and the replacements do not pertain to a pattern. For instance, 登 is replaced by 又 in 鄧 (邓), but by 丁 in 燈 (灯); also there is hardly any rationale that “X” but not 又 is used in 区, but vice versa in simplifying 樹 to 树. As such, the simplification has to be considered script by script and cannot be generalized into groups of scripts, thus standardization process is inefficient. As this process of script construction is applied to a large number of scripts, the only way for people to remember the scripts would be by rote memory in repeated use of specific scripts.

IV

Realistically speaking, it is impossible for the people of Hong Kong to totally reject Standard Chinese characters under the increasing influence of China. Within this decade, more and more mainlanders come to Hong Kong for a tour and Simplified Chinese characters appear in more and more places; the phenomenon, nevertheless, has aroused much discontent.¹³ As a matter of fact, Traditional Chinese characters play an important role in the pass-down of Chinese culture, and they are the media with which the ancient history, culture and the classics of China are recoded and passed down. Moreover, till today Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan are still using traditional characters effectively and do not see any need for change. Therefore, unless it is carried out by force, say, by means of legislation, otherwise it would not be a easy task to implement Standard Chinese characters in Hong Kong, especially

¹³

<http://www.search.ask.com/web?q=%E7%B0%A1%E9%AB%94%E5%AD%97%E5%91%8A%E7%A4%BA&o=10000027cr&tpr=2&gct=bar>

doing it in a hasty manner (as it was carried out in the 1950's in Mainland China).

If Standard Chinese characters are to be implemented in Hong Kong to whatever extent, the authority should understand that the difficulty in recognizing and writing of simplified scripts is but a technical matter. It can, of course, be overcome by drilling. What is most disturbing is the psychological resistance in people's mind. It would be better to win people's acceptance and understanding by convincing them of the meaning and benefit of a unified writing system to the country and people of greater China, rather than just emphasizing the direct instruction of the rules and patterns of standard scripts.

However, the most essential task is to solve the intrinsic problems of set of the Standard Chinese characters. This has to do with the review of the basic principles in the construction of the standard scripts. We have to strike a balance between the basic principles "be simple," "be conventional," and "be easy to write" on one hand, and the *liushu* rules on the other hand. Also pick out those scripts with controversial forms or constructed with inconsistent simplification methods. If these suggestions can be done, Standard Chinese characters would become more acceptable to them.

Connectedness, Identity and Alienation and the Japanese 2012 Election

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Introduction

The most recent Japanese national election on December 16th 2012, for the Lower House of Representatives, saw a heavy defeat of the centre-right Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) [*Minshuto*], returning the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) [*Jiminto*] to power, with its leader Shinzo Abe unexpectedly becoming Prime Minister for a second time. Despite a sweeping electoral victory for the LDP, the results delivered by the electoral system, from a historically low voter turnout, were more a vote against the DPJ, reflecting widespread disillusionment with the previous Noda Government, rather than being an enthusiastic endorsement for the LDP. This remains reflected in the divide between LDP policy and popular opinion on issues such as nuclear power, consumption tax increases, and changes to the role of Japan's Self-Defence Forces (SDF).

The fate of smaller parties also demonstrates a sense of wider disappointment with electoral politics in Japan. For example, the third largest party, the ultranationalist Japan Restoration Party (JRP), was formed from an amalgamation by Osaka Mayor Toru Hashimoto, with former Tokyo Governor Shintaro Ishihara; however, Hashimoto's policy backflips to accommodate Ishihara following the alliance generated a great deal of public cynicism. Such political manoeuvrings have further generated disillusionment, as these blatantly opportunistic alliances were at the expense of consistent, well-thought out policy positions. The Upper House elections due in July 2013 will therefore test whether disconnectedness with Japanese politics will continue, as the various political parties reposition themselves for the next electoral contest.

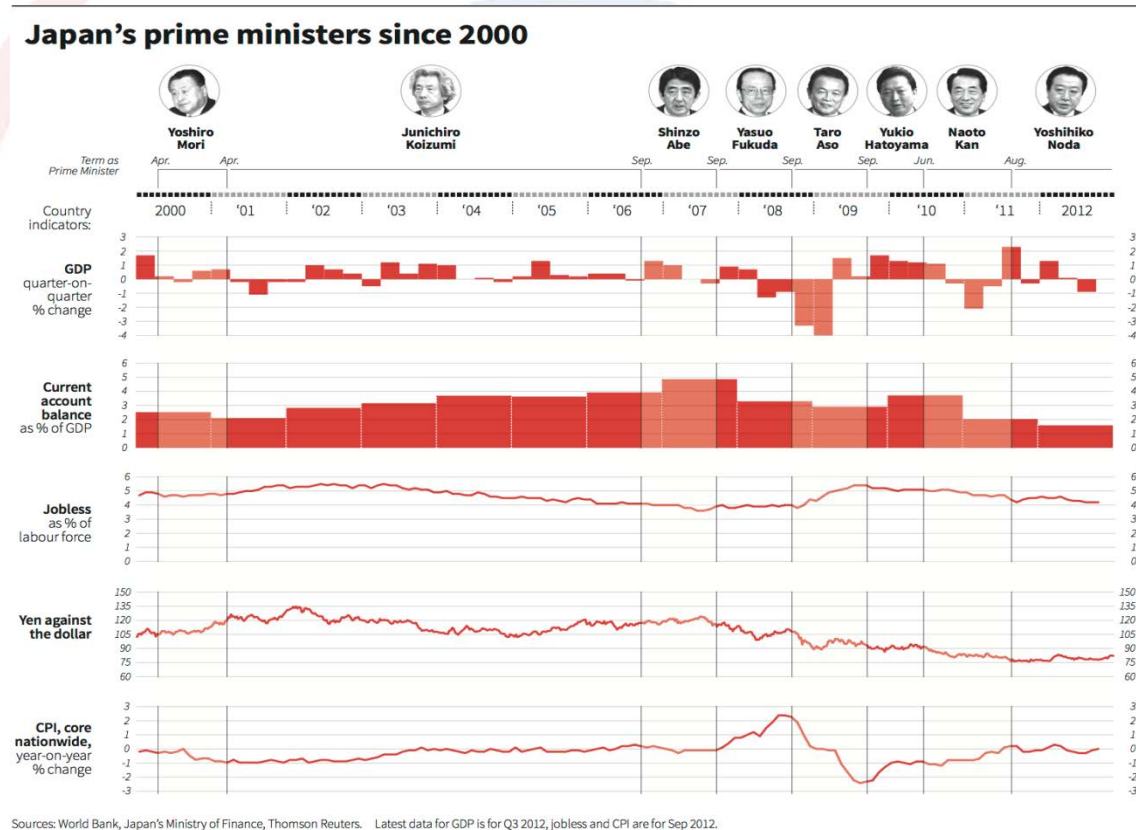
Lead-up to the 2012 Election

The severe loss of the DPJ in the 2012 election, led by Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda, saw the LDP return to power after a three-year hiatus, retaining control of government (with the support of its traditional coalition partner, the New Komeito Party [NKP]), as it has done for the great majority of Japan's postwar democracy (briefly interrupted in 1993-94). (Bouissou, 2002: 284-288) LDP leader Shinzo Abe has again become Prime Minister, having served a previous term in 2006-07, before stepping down due to 'illness'.

Despite the LDP winning with a large majority, the election still exposed the widespread extent of relative voter alienation, a weak sense of party identity, and a

general disconnectedness with politics among Japanese society. This political malaise has been effectively entrenched over the past couple of decades of relative economic stagnation, since the collapse of the ‘bubble’ economy (seen in a real estate and equity market crash) from 1989 (economic figures since 2000 shown in Table 1). Effective public policy and even genuine ideological contests over the future direction of Japan seemed to always be subservient to factional infighting and securing political patronage, often in league with entrenched interests in the corporate sphere and the bureaucracy, to the exclusion of the genuine interests of the ordinary members of the public. (Zakowski, 2011: 200-203)

Figure 1: Japan’s prime ministers since 2000 (with economic data)

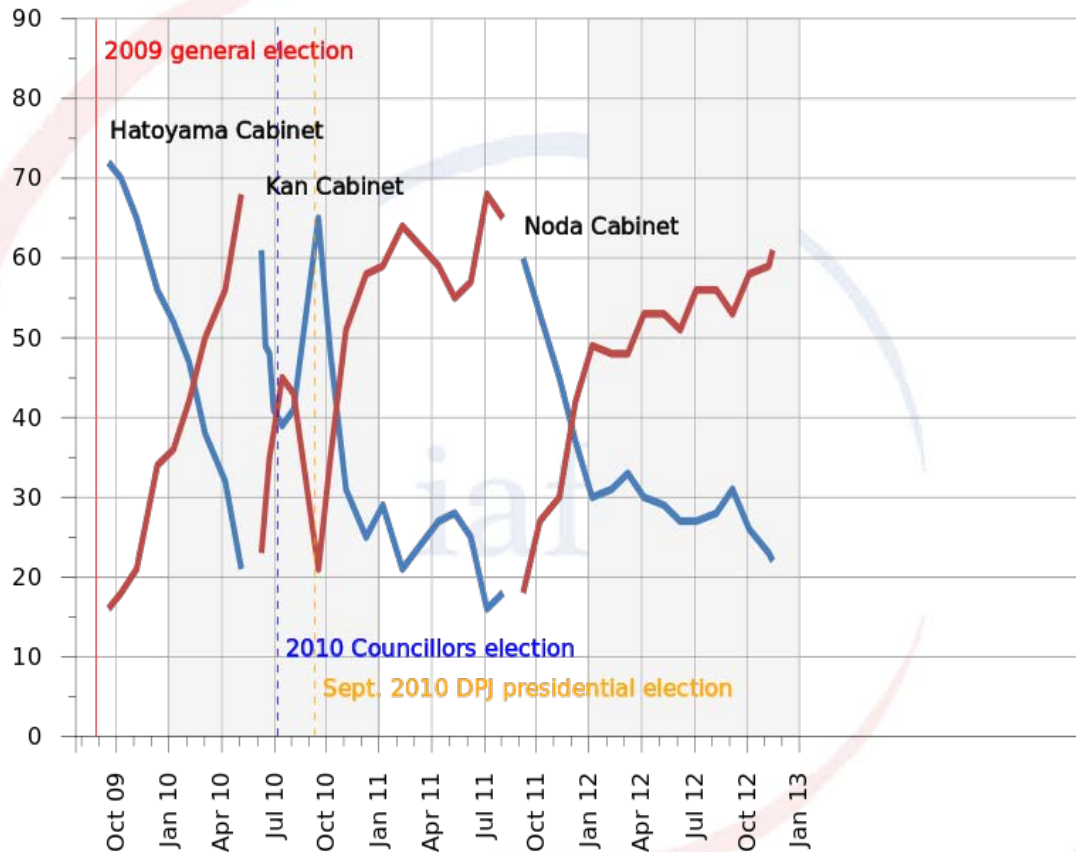


(source: Reuters)

The DPJ had won a sweeping victory in 2009, ending a long period of LDP dominance. LDP Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi had been a relatively popular and long-serving leader, lasting for five years before stepping down in 2006. There has been a new prime minister every year on average since then, adding to the sense of instability and mistrust in politics, and the eventual disillusionment with the DPJ Government. While it had secured a commanding majority in the 2009 election, the DPJ failed to secure a majority in the Upper House of Councillors in its separate 2010 election, which hampered any ability to pass legislation. (Stockwin, 2012: 471-489)

This sense of disillusionment with the political process was further worsened following the Tohoku disaster on March 11, 2011. Each new DPJ Prime Minister (first Naoto Kan replacing Yukio Hatoyama, then Noda) had brought a temporary increase in approval ratings, before public disillusionment rapidly set in, as shown in Figure 2.

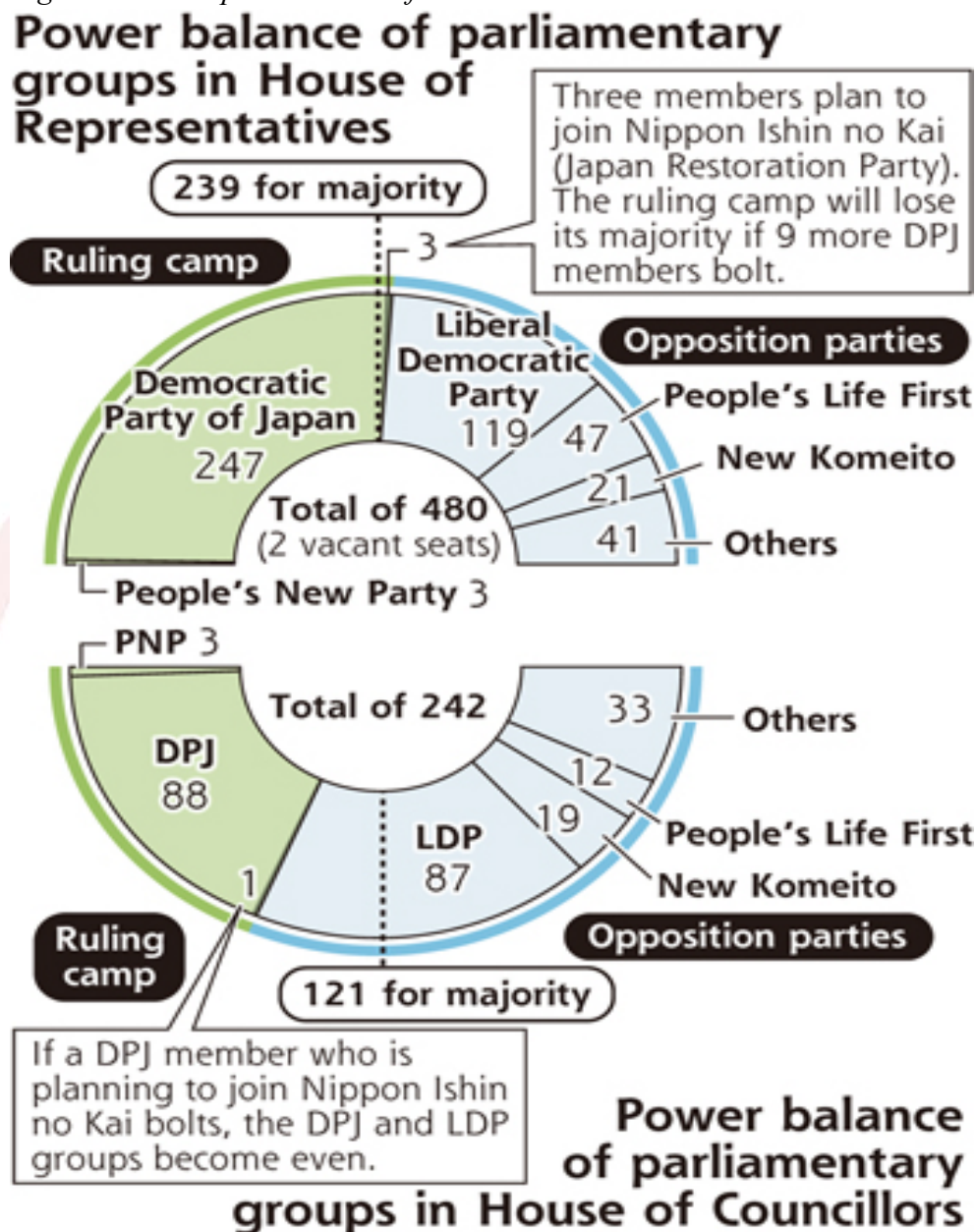
Figure 2: DPJ Cabinet Approval Ratings (Blue) & Disapproval Ratings (Red), 2009-12



(Source: NHK)

By the time the Noda Government was approaching the end of its term in 2012, its Lower House majority had already been badly narrowed by splits and defections, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: The Japanese Diet before the 2012 election



(Source: The Japan Times)

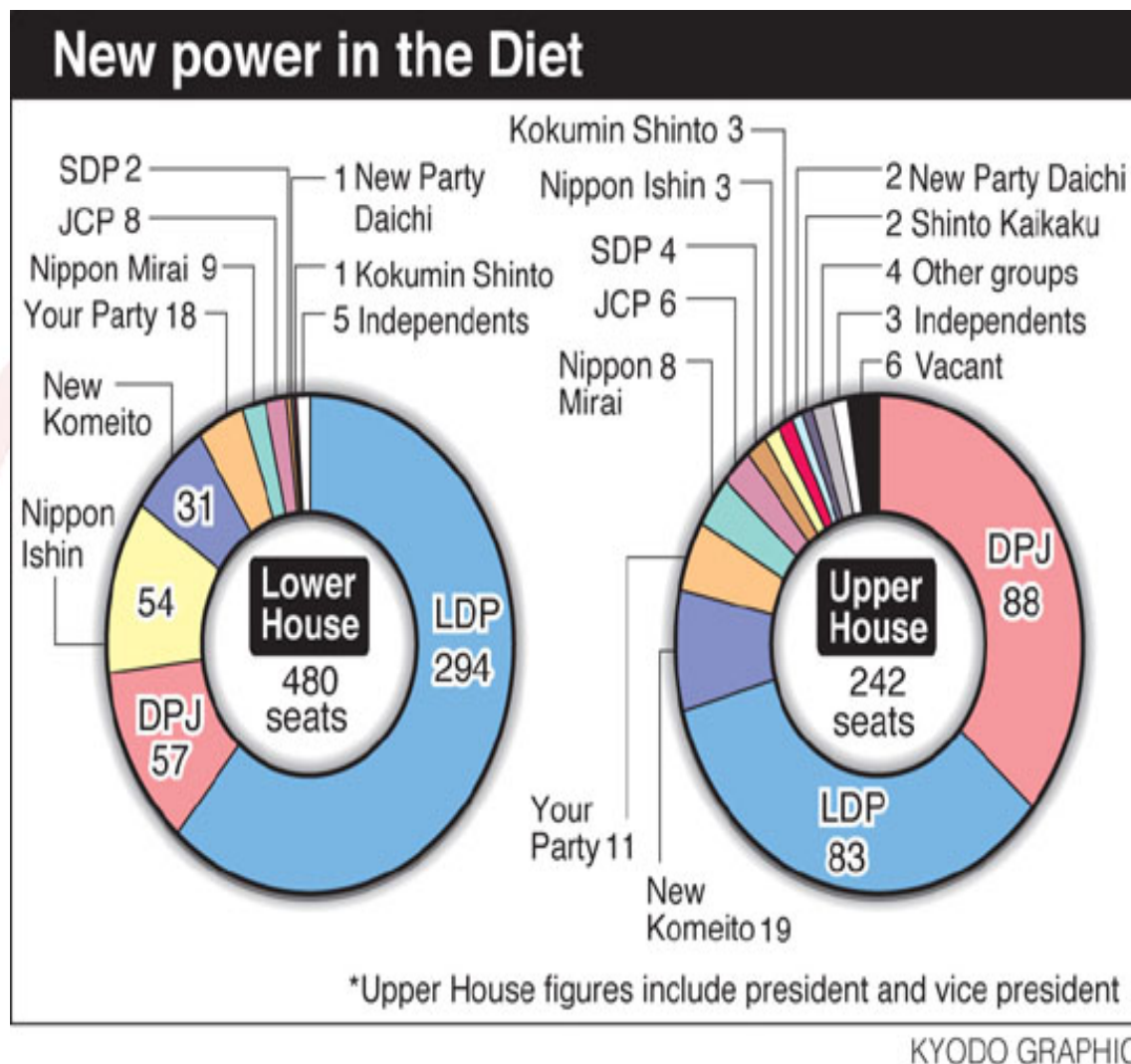
[The House of Representatives has 300 Single Member Districts and 180 Proportional Representation seats. Half the House of Councillors (121 out of 242) faces re-election at each election; 73 from Prefectural Districts, 48 from national Proportional Representation.]

The 2012 Election Defeat of the DPJ

Under increasing pressure, Noda promised to take dissolve the Lower House ‘soon’, in return for gaining support from the LDP and NKP, to pass legislation in August, to

increase the consumption tax rate. The election held in December 2012 delivered the results shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: The Japanese Diet following the 2012 election:



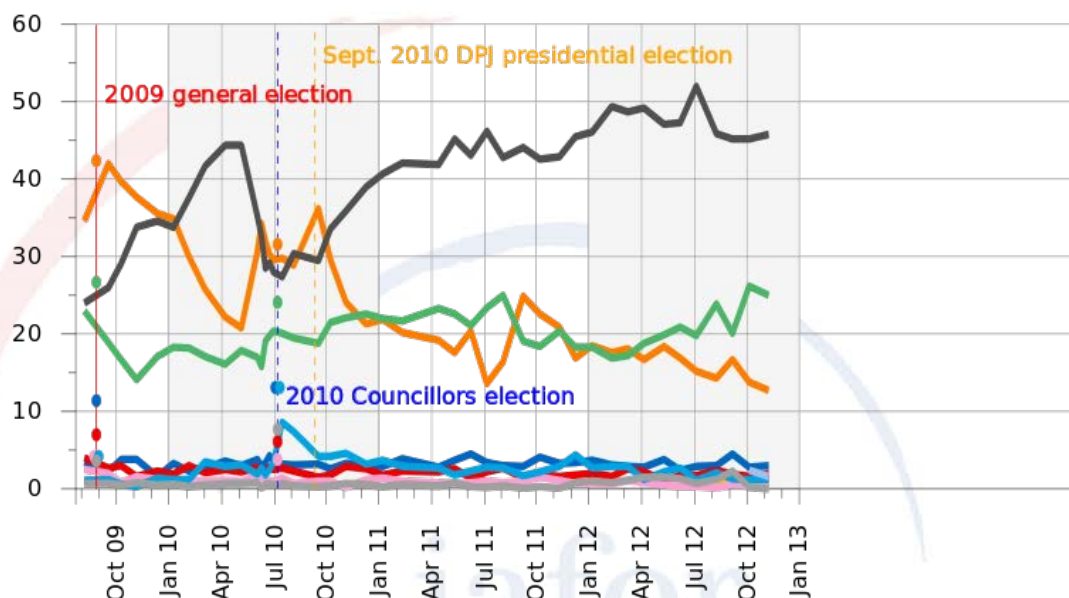
(Source: Kyodo News Agency)

The major reasons for the DPJ's huge loss included:

- The continuous sluggish performance of the economy;
- Lack of action on the DPJ's promise to reform the powerful and opaque bureaucracy;
- The unpopular hike in the consumption tax implemented by the Noda Government in August 2012 (even though this had the bipartisan support of the LDP, the DPJ took the electoral blame, as the presiding government);
- Factional disunity and splits within the DPJ, which included the defection of numerous DPJ members to new splinter parties, such as: the People's Life First

- Party (PLFP), led by factional powerbroker Ichiro Ozawa; and the ultranationalist Japan Restoration Party (JRP), among others;
- Overall dissatisfaction with the government response to the Tohoku disaster, which occurred during the DPJ's administration.

Figure 5: Japanese political party poll results, 2009-12



DPJ – Orange
 LDP – Green
 NKP – Dark Blue
 Social Democratic Party (SDP) – Pink
 Your Party – Light Blue
 Communist - Red
 Others - Gray
 No party preferred – Black

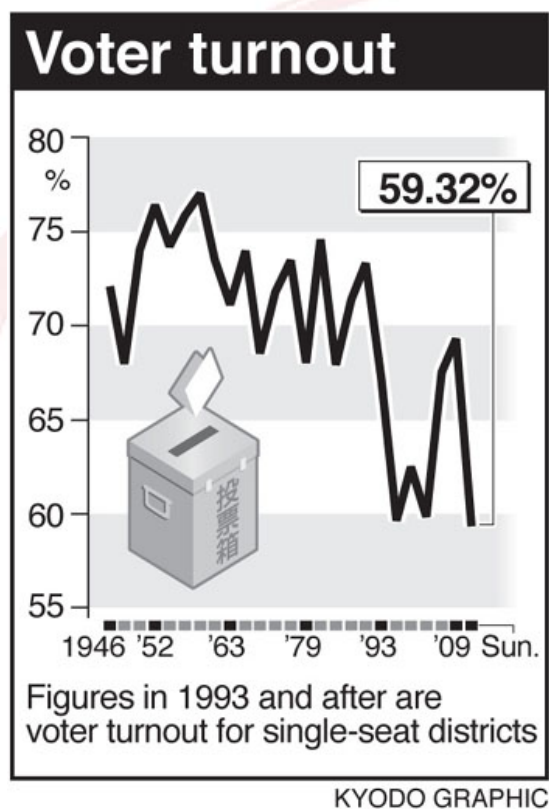
(Source: NHK)

The overall decline of the fortunes of the DPJ Government can be seen in Figure 5: a steady decline in the opinion polls soon after its election in 2009 was followed by a brief resurgence in 2010, with the LDP contesting for advantage through 2011; from 2012, the LDP gradually gained ascendancy, although neither party polled support above 30% since 2011 (the numerous minor parties struggled to rise above a few percentage points). However, the sense of disconnectedness, weak identity and alienation with the party system can be seen in the polling for those preferring no political party: this rose sharply from around 25% after the 2009 election, to 45% by the 2010 election; another dip below 30% was again soon followed by a steady rise to around 40-45% since 2011, even exceeding 50% at one stage in 2012. This is one of the highest enduring 'no party preferred' rates of any democracy.

The clearest indication of disconnectedness, weak identity and alienation with

Japanese politics can be also seen in the historically low voter turnout shown in Figure 6. The 2012 election had the worst voter turnout in Japan's modern history, since the Meiji Restoration saw the inception of parliamentary democracy from 1890 (interrupted by the military-dominated imperialist period of the 1930s, until Japan's defeat in the Second World War, in 1945). (Paine, 2012: 44-46, 209-212)

Figure 6: Japanese postwar election voter turnout



(Source: Kyodo News Agency)

Voter turnout in Japan's voluntary voting system has fluctuated between around 70-80% for most of the postwar period; 2012 election saw a record low of 59.32%. With such a widespread level of dissatisfaction with the party system among the electorate, the defeat of the DPJ was therefore not due to an enthusiastic endorsement of the LDP, as can be further discerned by a closer analysis of the voting result (outlined in Table 1).

Table 1: Japanese Lower House Voting Results 2003-2012

Table 1: Percentage of Lower House Votes (top) and Seats (parentheses) by Party: 2003-2012

	2003			2005			2009			2012			Raw Number
	PR	SMD	Total Seats	PR	SMD	Total Seats	PR	SMD	Total Seats	PR	SMD	Total Seats	
LDP	35.0 (38.3)	43.8 (56.0)	49.4	38.2 (42.8)	47.8 (73.0)	61.7	26.7 (30.6)	38.7 (21.3)	24.8	27.6 (31.7)	43.0 (79.0)	61.3	294
DPJ	37.4 (40.0)	36.7 (35.0)	36.9	31.0 (33.9)	36.4 (17.3)	23.5	42.4 (48.3)	47.4 (73.7)	64.2	15.9 (16.7)	22.8 (9.0)	11.9	57
JRP										20.3 (22.2)	11.6 (4.7)	11.3	54
Kōm	14.8 (13.9)	1.5 (3.0)	7.1	13.3 (12.8)	1.4 (2.7)	6.5	11.5 (11.7)	1.1 (0.0)	4.4	11.8 (12.2)	1.4 (3.0)	6.5	31
YP							4.27 (1.7)	.87 (.7)	1.0	8.7 (7.8)	4.7 (1.3)	3.8	18
TPJ										5.6 (3.9)	5 (0.7)	1.9	9
JCP	7.8 (5.0)	8.1 (0.0)	1.9	7.3 (5.0)	7.3 (0.0)	1.9	7.0 (5.0)	4.2 (0.0)	1.9	6.1 (4.4)	7.8 (0.0)	1.7	8
SDP	5.1 (2.8)	2.9 (0.3)	1.2	5.5 (3.3)	1.5 (0.3)	1.5	4.3 (2.2)	2.0 (1.0)	1.5	2.3 (0.6)	.7 (0.3)	0.4	2
Other/ Indep.	0.0 (0.0)	7.0 (5.6)	3.5	4.7 (2.2)	5.6 (6.7)	5.0	8.1 (2.2)	6.6 (4.0)	3.3	1.7 (0.6)	3 (2.0)	1.3	7

Party Abbreviations: LDP = Liberal Democratic Party; DPJ = Democratic Party of Japan; JRP = Japan Restoration Party; Kōm = New Kōmeitō; YP = Your Party; TPJ = Tomorrow Party of Japan; JCP = Japan Communist Party SDP = Social Democratic Party. **Other** includes People's New Party, New Party Daichi, and New Party Nippon, as well as independents and minor party candidates who ran in SMDs.

(Source: Yomiuri)

Table 1 shows the shifting electoral fortunes of the major parties: the LDP managed relatively small majorities in 2003 and 2005, before suffering a large defeat to the DPJ in 2009. While the LDP secured a large majority of seats in 2012, this was largely due to the high number of Single Member District (SMD) seats won. These are contested through a First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral system, where the party with the highest number of votes wins the seat, but this may not be the majority of votes, or the preference of the majority of voters in that electorate. This can be seen in the relatively skewed results; the LDP won 79% of SMD seats, with only 43% of the vote, not even a simple majority.

A more accurate depiction of voter sentiment is reflected in the Proportional Representation (PR) seats, elected by proportional voting based on regional districts, where the numbers of seats won aligns more closely with the number of votes cast. For the PR seats, the LDP secured 27.6%, winning 31.7% of the seats, the largest number of any party, but still far short of a simple majority. The position is somewhat improved once the LDP's partner the NKP is included, adding 11.8% of the PR vote, and 12.2% of the PR seats, although even this still does not deliver a simple majority

of the PR vote to the ruling coalition. Once the SMD seats are included though, the LDP-NKP coalition enjoys over a two-thirds majority in the Lower House, 325 out of 480 seats.

For its part, the extent of the DPJ's decline is reflected in its poor results: 22.8% of the SMD vote, and 15.9% of the PR vote, resulting in only 57 seats, down from 247, a dramatic loss of *over three-quarters* of its Lower House representation. This placed the DPJ behind the new nationalist JRP in its PR vote of 20.3%, with 11.6% of the SMD vote, winning 54 seats in its national election debut. The remaining 9.1% of seats were shared between the small parties and independents; the best performing of these was the neoliberal Your Party (YP), with 8.7% PR vote, and 4.7% SMD vote, winning 18 seats.

Another factor in the Japanese electoral system that has been undermining its legitimacy is the voter-value disparity in numerous electorates, particularly where rural areas have greater weightings per voter than in urban ones. Such was the extent of these disparities (which have traditionally tended to favour the LDP, which receives more support in the more socially conservative and economically protectionist countryside), that the High Court found the 2009 election results to be unconstitutional. Rather than overturn the election result, or demand a new election, the High Court directed that the necessary redistricting reforms be carried out, but no progress was made by the beleaguered DPJ government.

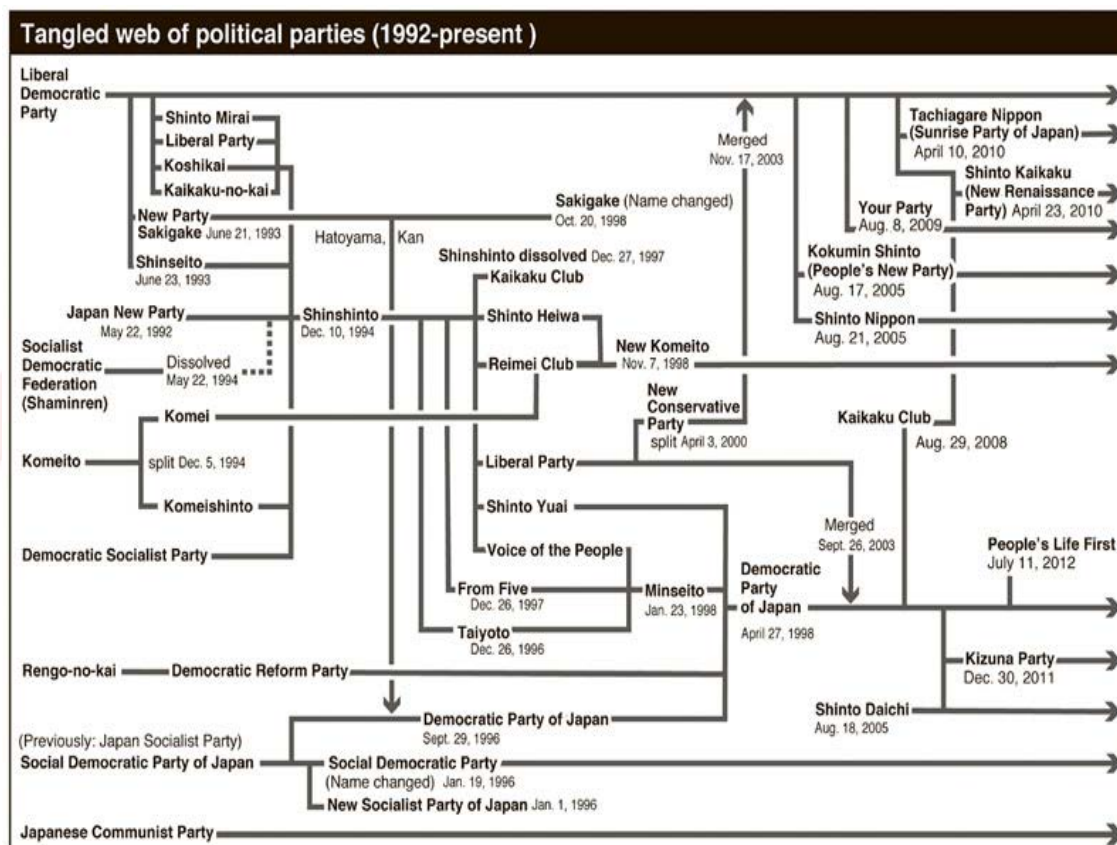
Following the 2012 election, the High Court has again ruled that the results in numerous constituencies were again unconstitutional. To finally resolve the issue, the LDP has proposed cutting the proportional representation section of Lower House from 180 to 150 seats, with 60 seats going to parties other than the highest vote-getter. It remains to be seen whether these proposal will be followed through, however; while the unconstitutional voter-value disparities remain unresolved, it will be just another underlying issue that erodes voter confidence in the political system. (Soble, 2013)

The Fate of Smaller Parties in 2012

The political machinations of the smaller parties during the 2012 election would have further contributed to a sense of alienation and disconnectedness with the Japanese political system. Japan's party system has become more fractured since the 1990s; the major parties have been commonly subject to splits and reformations, with smaller

parties forming, and then often themselves splitting and reforming, in an often confusing mélange of factional mergers and realignments, as portrayed in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Japanese political party changes 1992-2012



(Source: Japan Times)

The JRP

These frequent changes have not only confused the electorate, but have entrenched the image of politicians as self-centered factional powerbrokers, covertly making deals and alliances for their own interests, with the public having no real say or involvement in determining the leadership of these parties, or in any direction of their policy platforms.

The actions around of two of these new parties, the Japan Restoration Party (JRP) (*Nippon Ishin no Kai*), and the Tomorrow Party of Japan (TPJ) (*Nippon Mirai no To*), during the 2012 election clearly demonstrate an example of such behavior, which generated extensive cynicism among the electorate.

The JRP was formed through an amalgamation by Osaka Mayor Toru Hashimoto, with former Tokyo Governor Shintaro Ishihara. Before the election, the relatively

youthful Hashimoto (aged 43) was often considered one of the most popular political figures in Japan, having also served as Governor of Osaka, and often polling approval ratings of over 70%. His populist policies have included recommendations for abolishing the Upper House, direct elections for Prime Minister, and overall deregulation of government powers and services from the national government in Tokyo, to the regional prefectures. (McCurry, 2012)

Ishihara has been an even more controversial political figure, espousing ultranationalist views, often being accused of xenophobia against foreigners, and other minority groups. In April 2012, he attempted to purchase the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea, on behalf of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. This was widely blamed for escalating the ongoing tensions with China over these disputed territories. After resigning as Governor of Tokyo in October, Ishihara merged his briefly-enduring Sunrise Party (*Taiyo no To*) with Hashimoto's regionally based party, the Osaka Restoration Association, to form the JRP in November 2012, in order to contest the national elections, with the older Ishihara (aged 80) formally leading the party, and Hashimoto as 'co-leader', while retaining his position as Mayor of Osaka. (Aoki, 2012)

However, to accommodate Ishihara following the alliance, Hashimoto engaged in a number of major policy backflips, in order to accommodate Ishihara. In the most prominent of these, Hashimoto had previously opposed restarting Japan's nuclear reactors, following the 2011 Fukushima power plant disaster; he then reversed this decision, following the merger, as Ishihara strongly advocated nuclear power. Hashimoto had also previously supported Japan joining the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) free trade talks; he again reversed his position, as the strongly protectionist Ishihara opposed it. (Johnston, 2012)

While this sudden policy reversal worsened public cynicism overall, and damaged Hashimoto's popularity and credibility in particular, the JRP was nevertheless able to make a fairly successful debut in the 2012 election, effectively becoming a 'third force' in the Diet (to which Ishihara was elected). However, the large size of the LDP's majority has meant the JRP has been denied the chance to play any power-brokering role with the government, which had been its hope before the election.

The TPJ

An even more blatantly cynical exercise was the unfortunate experience of the TPJ,

which also was hurriedly formed in November 2012. The TPJ began when the Governor of Shiga prefecture, Yukiko Kada, allied her political support base with the People's Life First Party (PFLP). The PFLP had itself only formed in August 2012, when faction leader Ichiro Ozawa split his bloc from the DPJ, in protest at the increase in the consumption tax by the Noda Government. As well as opposing the consumption tax hike, the TPJ portrayed itself as a pro-environment, anti-nuclear party, hoping to ride the wave of sentiment against nuclear power, which had swept Japan following the Fukushima crisis. (Asahi Shimbun, 2012)

However, Kada's fateful decision to join forces with Ozawa, seemingly out of desperation to increase the TPJ's potential support base, turned out to be a severe political error. A Diet member since 1969, starting out with the LDP, Ozawa has long been regarded as a symbol of the shadowy, 'backroom' factional machinations that have persistently damaged the image of Japanese politics. After quitting the LDP in 1993, Ozawa established, then split and reformed three new political parties over the next ten years, before merging with the DPJ in 2003. He served as DPJ leader from 2006 to 2009, stepping down before the election due to a financial property scandal. While being credited for organizing the DPJ's election campaign victory in 2009, his career has long been dogged by scandals, the most recent of which was an indictment in 2011, over again misusing political funds (although he was acquitted in 2012, largely on a technicality). (Tabuchi, 2012)

Given this dubious political record, voters had good grounds to regard the TPJ merger as a typically opportunistic ploy by Ozawa. He embraced the pro-environment platform of the TPJ, despite having no real previous policy inclinations towards the issue, attempting another openly populist appeal for electoral support. He also hoped to benefit from latching onto Kada's image as a relative 'cleanskin', who was firmly against waste and corruption.

The TPJ started the election with 61 members in the Lower House, and 12 in the Upper House, predominantly former members of the PFLP who were already in the Diet. Led by Kada, with Ozawa as deputy leader, the performance of the TPJ in the election was dismal, only gaining 5.6% of the PR vote, and 5% of the SMD vote, resulting in only 9 seats (see Table 1). Showing his utter political cynicism, Ozawa split the TPJ immediately afterwards, taking what remained of his former PFLP bloc to form the Lifestyle Party (LP) (*Seikatsu no To*), leaving behind just one lone TPJ member. Kada resigned as TPJ leader, remaining Shiga Governor, but under pressure from the prefectural assembly. (Japan Times, 2013)

‘Abenomics’

Having achieved dominance of the Lower House, the next challenge and ambition for Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and the LDP is to replicate this success in the Upper House of Councillors election, due in July 2013. Abe is hoping this will be achieved on the back of his economic policy, popularly termed ‘Abenomics’, which has so far proved to be politically successful. (Aso, 2013: 2-3)

Abenomics is the LDP government’s attempt to stimulate the economy, aiming to finally drag Japan out of its almost quarter-century long stagnation. The plan is commonly considered to comprise three parts:

1. ‘Unlimited’ Quantitative Easing (QE) conducted by the Bank of Japan (BoJ), selling government bonds to effectively ‘print’ money and at least double the money supply, with the aim of achieving a 2% inflation target, ending decades of deflation. This also aimed at devaluing the yen, making export industries more competitive;
2. Fiscal Stimulus spending (¥13.1 trillion in the initial government budget for FY2013, up to ¥200 trillion over ten years), particularly through infrastructure repair and public works construction, and increased defense and education spending; although this will be largely funded through increased public debt, which at over 240% of GDP, is already the highest of any developed country;
3. Various structural reforms, including encouraging greater R&D in science and technology, promoting higher levels of English literacy, and encouraging more workplace participation by women, among other proposed regulatory improvements aimed at raising productivity in the economy. Related to this is participation in regional free trade talks to open up the economy to greater international competition. Most prominent of these is the TPP, but it also includes the RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership) talks, and potentially a trilateral China-Korea-Japan Free Trade Agreement (FTA) (although the latter seems unlikely at this stage, given the other diplomatic disputes Japan currently has with its neighbours). (Stiglitz, 2013)

Abenomics seems so far to be delivering required results: the Nikkei Index has lifted over 40% following the election (but still remains well below the peak of the 1989 ‘bubble’); Government bond yields are at 10-year lows, near their lowest ever (0.56% for 10-year bonds, 0.13% for 5-years); the yen has depreciated against the US\$ by at

least 18%; manufacturing and services output has risen, with an overall increase in business and consumer confidence. The corresponding relative political success of the LDP Abe government is indicated by recent opinion polls, with approval ratings for the Abe cabinet and Abenomics trending at over 70%. The Abe government has thus so far enjoyed a longer 'honeymoon' period than its DPJ predecessors, which tended to start out with high approval ratings, before rapidly dropping. (Takenaka, 2013)

A big test for the Abe administration will be whether it can transfer this high level of support to achieve progress towards more controversial issues, which enjoy far less public support. For example, 70% oppose re-starting nuclear power plants, which the LDP regards as a vital economic necessity, to secure the nation's energy supply. Even potentially more contentious, and certainly far-reaching for Japanese foreign policy, are proposals for constitutional reform allowing wider use of the Self Defense Forces. This issue has gained more traction in the wake of the escalating Senkaku (Diaoyu) Islands dispute with China, tensions over North Korea's missile and nuclear tests, and the hostage crisis in Algeria in January 2013, which saw several Japanese hostages killed. (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2013)

However, only around 50% polled support changing Article 9 of the Constitution, which limits Japan to maintaining 'Self Defense' Forces, with a purely 'defensive' doctrine and structure. The LDP has long desired to restore the SDF to a 'National Defense' Force, able to operate as a regular military, in particular being able to participate in 'collective security' with its allies, namely the US. While the LDP justifies this policy as reflecting the more uncertain and unstable security environment Japan faces in the region and the wider world, such a historic change would be highly controversial, both domestically and internationally; many of Japan's neighbours, especially China, but also the Koreans, would be fiercely opposed, to say the least. (Asahi Shimbun, 2013)

The 2013 Election

The Upper House elections due in July 2013 will therefore be the next test of whether the long-running pattern of disillusionment with Japanese politics continues, or if the LDP under Abe has finally managed to reinvigorate a higher level of engagement with and enthusiasm for the political system (an example of forthcoming campaign material can be seen in Figure 8 below). The ultimate achievement for the LDP will be whether it can secure a two-thirds majority in Upper House, either in its own right, or at least with legislative cooperation from the JRP and Your Party. This would

allow the Abe government to enact widespread constitutional and legislative change. While having over a two-thirds majority in the Lower House does allow the Government to overturn any legislation that is blocked in the Upper House, this process is cumbersome and virtually untested, and would certainly be politically challenging.

However a two-thirds majority in both Houses could allow change to Article 96 of the Constitution, which itself authorizes the procedure for Constitutional change. Reforming the Constitution currently requires a two-thirds majority in both houses, followed by a national referendum, requiring a simple majority of the public's vote to pass (Abe reduced this from a two-thirds majority required in referendums, in legislation passed in his first term, in 2006-2007). The LDP favours altering Article 96, to allow legislation to change the Constitution to pass with a simple majority in both houses of the Diet. This would allow controversial measures such as altering Article 9 to potentially be achieved more easily. (Kersten, 2013)

The 2013 Upper House election could therefore prove to be even more decisive in the long term than that of 2012. If Shinzo Abe is able to transfer the current popularity of the LDP, based on its economic policies, to a commanding majority in the Upper House, then more confronting and unpopular legislation and policies may then be implemented, particularly on constitutional change and foreign and defense policy. Should this come to pass, the LDP may then find its present popularity under challenge; the long-standing sense of voter alienation, weak party identity, and a fragile sense of connectedness with the political system in Japan could then return to the overall malaise it has suffered for the past generation.

Figure 8: Campaign Mascots of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (left) and LDP Secretary-General Shigeru Ishiba:



(Source: Kyodo News Agency)

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Flannery O'Connor in the Filipino Classroom

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Abstract

The Philippines is known as the only English-speaking country in Asia. This reputation makes the country assume to be close to the English-speaking world, most especially the United States. The close cultural and familial ties with the US have perhaps made other people expect that the Filipino culture and society be highly associated with American culture and literature. A fairly well-known American short story writer is Flannery O'Connor. Her stories have been mainstream fodder for the literature classroom and it is no surprise that in some English literature courses in the Philippines, a selection of her short stories have been studied. It is expected that Filipino students can easily understand her stories since there is a common culture shared with the US. Aside from this, since O'Connor is Catholic, many of her themes are of a religious, and even more so, Catholic nature. However, the experience of this study shows that the assumption of connectedness can be placed in question. The study describes the teaching approach and methodology used in the classroom. Discussion experiences are enumerated while responses to her stories are collected. The feedback gained from student responses reveal that in the classroom where her works are exclusively taught, there is a wide gap in understanding the deeper meaning of her stories. The question that can be asked here is if there is true connectedness or alienation between Filipino and American culture since a canonical American writer's works seem to be disjointed from the Filipino student's experiences. Further research can compare the experiences between a literature classroom devoted to a Western writer and a one on a local writer.

Introduction

The Philippines is known as the only English-speaking country in Asia. Moreover, Filipinos have close family and cultural ties with the United States. This closeness has extended to American culture and literature.

The Philippines' Catholic society and a close affinity with American culture may be an advantage for Filipinos when reading American literature. A fairly well-known American short story writer is the Catholic writer Flannery O'Connor. Her stories have been mainstays in the literature classroom and it is no surprise that in some English literature courses in the Philippines, a selection of her short stories have been read as well.

Since Filipinos share commonalities with O'Connor, the primary problem that this paper seeks to answer is this: Will Filipino undergraduates who share the same Catholic convictions and a similar culture with O'Connor have an easier time understanding and getting at the deeper levels of meaning in her texts?

In order to answer this question, the study describes the teaching approach and methodology used in the classroom, the data gathered from classroom discussion and student journals, and analyses possible answers.

I believe that I am in a fair position to answer this question because I have taught courses on modern literature (from modern mainly Anglo American writers) to undergraduate students who are not literature majors in a small university in the Philippines. In at least two semesters exclusively dedicated to O'Connor's works, I have observed how Filipino college students have responded to her writings.

Methodology

An informal study was conducted over a semester's worth of material. The stories chosen from O'Connor's works come from two collections, "Everything that Rises Must Converge" and "A Good Man is Hard to Find." The study chose her more well-known stories in order to give a good representation of her work. Aside from the short stories which formed the bulk, the novel *The Violent Bear It Away* was read halfway through the course to provide a more extended reading material. An end of term paper included an option to compare a story not taken in class with some other story of the same writer.

The respondents of the study are undergraduate Filipinos from a liberal arts university in the Philippines. About more than 90% of a total of 54 students from three sections are Catholic or Christian. Each section is composed of a little less than twenty junior-level students. The modern literature course is a requirement in a five-year straight masters program. The learners are not sophisticated readers; they come from an average high school background and can be considered as fair readers. The students are non-literature majors, mostly coming from the management, economics, marketing communication, and political economy majors. Before taking the modern literature course, these students have already done three college-level literature subjects. Moreover, they are required to take theology and philosophy courses during their stay in school.

The data gathered come from classroom discussion observations and weekly student journals. As shown by Davis (2009), these are some of the more effective classroom approaches in teaching. The first part of the discussion was group work where the students were told to get the facts of the story straight. Questions were shared and some key elements of the story were highlighted. The second session consisted of the full-class discussion. The classroom discussion was conducted through a modified Socratic method where a basic or a big question was posed and the students were expected to come up with valid interpretations from the text with the help of the leader, normally the teacher. This method is also known as the Seminar from the Paideia Program or the Shared Inquiry Method from the Great Books Program (The Great Books 2013). This discussion approach is a non-technical, close reading treatment of the text. Through questions that lead to a deeper interpretation, the students are helped to answer the basic question. The basic question is a question that will open up the meaning of the story. The leader's role is to facilitate deeper understanding of the material and ideally just asks questions. The leader of the discussion takes down notes and observes how the group responds.

The weekly journals or blogs consisted of two parts. The first part is the group journal and the other is the individual journal. These journals were submitted via web forum in Google groups (Nicdao 2013). The group journal summarises the contribution of each group member for the different basic literary elements such as synopsis, characters, questions, and others. The group journal was submitted before the group discussion. After the whole class discussion the learners were required to write unstructured reflections, or individual journals and blogs, on the short stories. This individual journal was unstructured so that the learners can express what is foremost in their minds without having to worry about fulfilling strict parameters. The gut-feel response was essential to gauge how students react to the material. The post-discussion journals were written right after the class discussion. The journals were posted on a class website where everyone could read the responses.

Although the research method is not at all statistical but anecdotal, nevertheless, the feedback gathered is a fair gauge of the learning and response of the students to the stories. Both the classroom observation and the weekly journals offer an external view of the learners and an internal glimpse of their thoughts, respectively.

Results and Analysis

Based on classroom observation and group blogs, learners do get the basic elements of the story, plot, character, literary devices, etc. On the surface or literal level, the text is easily understood since the literary elements are straightforward. Save for some modernistic elements such as fractured narrative or unfamiliar diction in some stories, in general learners easily understood the stories. Some share questions about the story and yet as expected many do not know how to go about answering these questions. There may be some difficulty in grasping finer details like minute clues that connect the elements together such as O'Connor's use of color, nature, and names. American culture poses no obstacle to the Filipino learner. American culture is likewise presumed as understood. Learners see issues of racial equality prevalent in O'Connor's stories as cultural artifacts. Quirks in the narrative are likewise non issues since Filipinos are familiar with American expressions.

For example, readers can get the obvious reference to Dante in "The Artificial Nigger" since the learners in this study have to take a Dante course. Many connect Mr. Head to Virgil and the boy to Dante since there are textual clues to support that interpretation although Allen (1984) argues that it was Hawthorne whom O'Connor was alluding to. For the same story, students do get around picking up on different religious allusions. Students are very familiar with Catholic allusions and American culture and so the teacher does not have to go to excessive lengths to explain certain details in the stories. More often, they make use of what they have learned in their other classes and bring them in. However, unfounded opinions or answers that tend to stray too far from the text are discouraged.

During class discussion, the basic or discussion question is often deceptively simple and yet encourages a greater understanding of the text. Despite a shared background with the writer and having read the story several times, students agonise over their answers. Many answers are disjointed or one dimensional. It seems that students have a hard time coming to a deeper, more comprehensive answer to the basic question. The discussion of the basic question and the answers given show that students need to read the text even more closely. Many do not understand the relationship between the parts of the story. By failing to connect the events, they thus are unable to penetrate below the surface. In many instances, the leader has to show them the clues and path by which the question can be answered. And even then, there is great difficulty in getting to a deeper understanding since the deeper answer is far removed from their initial conception. Only later on after the discussion do they see how much deeper the stories use the Catholic material.

An example of some of the realisations in class is the function of the characters. A noted peculiarity of the O'Connor's characters is that many of those who are bad are agents of good. That good is effecting a change or a revelation in another character, usually the main character. This is a point that surprises learners because they think that someone who is bad cannot be an agent of good. O'Connor seems to manage to break such a stereotype by doing the unconventional--allowing the bad character to elicit good. Yet still another common observation that the learners manage to discover is the need for violence to enact grace on the characters (Katz 1974) even if the conversion of some of the characters remain open ended (Coulthard 2010).

The weekly individual journals written after the class discussion show that many of the learners find the stories fairly easy to understand on the surface level. The Catholic elements as well are seen on the surface level. Responses show that even if the test group was brought up in a Catholic environment, many miss out on the more religious undertones of O'Connor. In support of the observations made during the classroom discussion, many say that they were surprised by the answer to the basic question. Some expected the basic question to be asked while many did not. For straightforward narration, students easily grasp the plot but fail to go deeper. Nevertheless, they show an appreciation for the way many elements of the story are connected.

Analysis

It can be presumed that those sharing the same beliefs as the writer should have an easier time understanding the story but this does not seem to be the case with the test group. Despite having a fairly good grasp of the elements of the story, American culture, and the Catholic material, Filipino students still fail to connect with or to approach a deeper interpretation consistent with the overall message of the story.

Several hypotheses may be proposed at this point to answer the problem posed in this study. First is that in general, perhaps the reading skills of the learners are not up to the challenge of such type of literature. The students do read but the level of reading material remain to be light reading.

Second is that the students are burdened with reading habits they have acquired in high school which tends to look for the moral lesson of the story and so fail to read the text closely. A big danger especially with texts that have overt religious themes is that the learners tend to look for a moral lesson. And looking for moral lessons limits the interpretative value of the stories which hinder further understanding. In addition, the reliance on background knowledge to read a literary text while downplaying what the text itself says (New Critical approach) seems to hinder close reading.

Third is that even if they understand the Catholic references, they see them as just formal elements that do not have a deeper implication or forward a truth about the Catholic faith. As a result of the failure to read the text closely, students do not form the necessary connections to piece the text together.

And fourth, perhaps because of how students hold on to stereotypes about how stories or characters are supposed to be constructed, their expectations are subverted. O'Connor's characters and narrative subvert such expectations. Learners are resistant as stereotypes are challenged.

Perhaps the difficulty can be traced as well to O'Connor's strategy of sliding in an anagogical meaning between the lines of the text (Bosco 2009). On the surface it is difficult to detect what lies beneath but it certainly appears or is manifested after a careful reading. Her stories are like huge jigsaw puzzles filled with obvious and not too obvious clues that challenge the reader. A strong modernist tendency pervades her craft and learners without previous literary training may find this extremely daunting.

The results of classroom discussion observation and weekly learner's journals seem to suggest that a Catholic and shared culture audience is not much of an advantage in understanding O'Connor's works. Perhaps the more crucial factor in reading her works is the ability to read the text closely. As shown by the results, although there may be things that are common between O'Connor and a Filipino audience, her literariness and craft still pose as obstacles to understanding her stories better.

Conclusion

The feedback gained from student responses reveal that in the classroom where O'Connor's works are exclusively taught, there is a wide gap between getting the basic elements together and coming to a deeper meaning in her stories.

The test group disproves the expectation that readers who are Catholic and familiar with American culture should have an easier time at understanding her. Despite a common background, learners fail to understand the deeper levels of meaning. The results seem to imply that a reader does not have to have a solid grasp of Catholic belief or American culture to appreciate her stories. To some extent the background of Filipinos may be an advantage but it only goes so far. It seems that the students are not yet adept at reaching the anagogical level of meaning in her story--the anagogical sense as Candler (2010) puts it where the supernatural is contained in the natural. An ideal reader therefore is someone who has a solid background in Catholic beliefs and who can read the text carefully.

The question that can be asked now is if there is true connectedness or alienation between Filipino and American culture since a canonical American writer's works seem to be disjointed from the Filipino student's experiences. Further research can compare the experiences between a literature classroom devoted to a Western writer and one on a local writer.

The study is limited to one writer for one semester dedicated to her works and the number of students. It is limited as well to the rigor by which the study was conducted. To extend this study and give it more validity, some recommendations are suggested.

O'Connor can be approached in a purely literary way since she talks of the human person and her stories transcend the overt Catholic and American themes. As avenues for more enriching studies, other studies can see how learner background influences reading literature, especially for learners who share a commonality with the writer. Maybe a different kind of learner profile can be studied such as non-Christian readers. Another avenue is to conduct a more scientific or rigorous statistical study which may reinforce the findings of this paper that learner background plays but a minor role in reading O'Connor.

The overt Christian and American identity of her stories hide a much deeper theology and a strongly universalist message. It is the human condition that seems to be foregrounded in the stories. Catholic and American themes are certainly there but on a deeper level, her stories appeal to a universal reading because of a shared human condition. What is difficult in reading her is not explicitly her Catholicity but her craft in writing. What is more crucial for learners is the ability to read the texts more critically.

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The logo for the International Association of Forum and Oral Research (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, serif font. The text is enclosed within a large, stylized circular graphic composed of two overlapping, thick, curved lines. The upper-left portion of the circle is a light red color, while the rest of the circle is a light blue color, matching the text.

*Indonesia's Cultural Highest Achievement as a Propaganda of the New Order
Administration through Pavilion Display at the World Expo*

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Abstract

World Expo is a world-class event where the participating countries uncovered their identity through national, cultural and organizational symbols they possess. For that reason the representation of a nation on the pavilion's display is of great importance as it offers description on the very existence of the country. Display arrangement is equally significant in a pavilion and it serves as a media to convey messages which is expected to be a full-length and detailed account on everything that the government wishes to reveal. Indonesia is one the countries that has made used of such place and media in order to validate its position in the world perception, particularly during the Soeharto administration (1966-1998).

Through examining the data taken from a range of documents such as photographs, articles from newspapers, magazines, sites and articles from a number of books this research is to unfold the propaganda done by the Soeharto administration using the display arrangement in the pavilion of World Expo, by fully identifying those pavilions in its relation to the political and cultural meaning and its ideology as well as to the government policy which are all based on Soeharto's own aspiration as the leader of the dominating power.

This research unveils that the highest cultural practices formulated by the New Order regime are closely related to the discourse of the Soeharto administration which consistently launch a propaganda campaign on Indonesia as a nation with high culture by showing the face of Indonesia through its cultural historiography from the past and the present which always come in a form of the traditional cultural diversity of the Indonesian archipelago that is regarded as the highest achievements of Indonesian culture.

Keywords: propaganda, display arrangement, World Expo

INTRODUCTION

At first World Expo was an event in which colonial powers display their achievements in conquering the regions, natural and cultural wealth of their colonies. Today, World Expo boasts an official organizing agency whose function is to manage an international-class display both in terms of the frequency and the quality; it is known as Bureau International d'Expositions-BIE; and it serves as an arena for the participating countries to publish and promote inventions which are considered capable of bringing about change for the progress of the world economy, culture and technology and other than that to pass on state messages and the national identities through national symbols, culture and organizations of their own, which were arranged in an fascinating display arrangement. In this World Expo event, pavilion is the most important part which serves as media that can tell full-length and detailed account about all the things they wish to unfold.

A culture cannot be separated from the space where it is constructed and maintained, preserved or even changed, because in its historical nature, power will always try to construct culture according to its discourse and desire using diverse ways, both voluntarily and repressively (Abdullah, 2006:4). The meaning of a cultural symbol is determined by the structure of power relation, whilst a discourse of power being repeatedly conveyed can be regarded as propaganda. According to Ellul (1973:90-95) and Marlin (2002:19-23) propaganda is a way to achieve power by psychologically manipulating a group or mass of people by means of communication channel. Propaganda is an effort to influence public opinion through getting across ideas and values. In this respect the World Expo, by way of its pavilion display arrangement, is turned into strategic event that was used by the New Order regime of Soeharto to send ideas to the public concerning what Indonesia is all about, what Indonesia likes and to show Indonesia's position in the world's eyes.

Soeharto started to be in power when MPRS (Temporary People's Consultative Assembly) in 1968 appointed him as President for the next five years. New Order attempted to solve such economic problem by inviting investment and loans from the outside world. Soeharto started to re-establish communication with the Western world to allow him to have financial aid to recover the economy the establishment of the Inter-Government Group on Indonesia (IGGI) whose members are International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (IBRD), and big industrial countries, which later would play such an important role in formulating the economic policies of the New Order which were organized in one big program named the Five Year Development Plan with its target to reach the take-off phase for Indonesia in 25 years' time and its major goal was to get to the condition of self-sufficient rice production. Through the Five Year Development Plan), the New Order government built the economy of Indonesia bit by bit: (1) Repelita I/Five Year Development Plan I (1969/70 – 1973/74); (2) Repelita II/Five Year Development Plan II (1974/75 – 1978/79); (3) Repelita III/ (1979/80–1983/84); (4) Repelita IV/Five Year Development Plan IV (1984/85 – 1988/89); (5) Repelita V/Five Year Development Plan V (1990/91 – 1993/94); (6) Repelita VI/Five Year Development VI (1994/95 – 1998/99).

In this New Order Period, Indonesia had participated quite frequently in the event of World Expo: starting from the 1970 Expo in Osaka, Japan, 1985 Expo in Tsukuba Japan, Expo 1986 in Vancouver, Canada, Expo 1988 in Brisbane, Australia, Expo 1992 in Seville, Spain and the last Expo 1993 in Daejeon, South Korea. In this study

the events included are limited to the pavilion of Indonesia in the 1986 World Expo in Vancouver, Canada, World Expo 1988 in Brisbane, Australia and the World Expo 1992 in Seville, Spain. The focus on those world expos are selected based on the economic situation of the New Order administration which was experiencing remarkable growth in all sectors like agriculture, manufacture, export trading and transportation and what had been planned by Soeharto in the First Plan, had also been achieved, that is Indonesia became self-efficient state in food in 1986 (Susanto, 2003: 201-204), but despite all the goods in 1982 there had been a decrease of revenue coming from oil and gas that had pushed the government of Indonesia to seriously handled international tourism and made strategic policies¹ relating to the tourism development and improvement. At the time when the world oil was so affluent which had caused the fall of oil prize and was no longer the major source of revenue, the government worked on the local industry and manufacture to encourage non-oil and gas export commodities, including tourism which has ended up to become one of the main foreign exchange sources. Tourism then became a profitable industry, especially Bali as the biggest contributor (Ricklefs, 2005: 610).

This research is explores data from a variety of documents such as photograph, news in papers, magazines, sites, and writings from a number of books published by the organizer of the pavilion of Indonesia to allow better understanding of the principles and strategies of Soeharto's New Order regime through display arrangement of the World Expo pavilion in order to understand the principles and strategies of Soeharto's New Order regime by means of World Expo pavilion which became the propaganda of the Indonesian culture. Keeping in mind of the many similarities in a display arrangement package which features the replica of Nusantara traditional cultural buildings, cultural diversity and display storyline of Indonesia that has cultural wealth from the past and at the same time depict the success of moving forward in the development spirit.

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

World Expo 1986 in Vancouver came with theme 'World in Motion, World In Touch'. It puts the emphasis on the progress of the problem solving achieved by the human race in the field of transportation and communication. In this Expo the pavilion of Indonesia took the theme 'A Nation of Thirteen Thousand Islands' which portrayed diverse cultures and civilization across the Archipelago relating to the development accomplished in the field of transportation and communication. World Expo 1988 organized on 30 April until 30 October 1988 was built on the south side of the Brisbane River (South Banks). This World Expo has for its theme 'Leisure in the Age of Technology' and the pavilion of Indonesia was placed in a module construction which was one of many modules built by the host (Australia) with 1,000 square meters wide which was modified according to the selected theme by adding decorations to the module construction. World Expo 1992 in Seville, Spain came out with the theme 'The Era of Discovery' which was to celebrate the 500 years of the Christopher Columbus Great Sail, which marked the beginning of the historical sail and the start of the glorious period of the Spanish Kingdom. Indonesia's pavilion at

¹ President Soeharto in 1983 said that tourism should be intensively promoted, from the seventh to the third position as the source of the state's foreign exchange (See Picard.2006: 77-78).

the World Expo 1992 was located in the ASEAN Plaza compound along with Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines. This pavilion used the construction module of 410 square meters which was then turned into three-storey pavilion.

At the World Expo 86 Vancouver and World Expo 88 Brisbane was the New Order's period, where tourism brought in the biggest revenue ever in the form of foreign exchange after the oil booming had passed. Culture is considered potential to become the nations's asset. The government discourse referring to the Five-Year Development Plan IV (1984/85-1988/89) has for its objective: (1) improve standard of living, intelligence and welfare of all the people toward more fair and evenly distributed; (2) build strong foundation for the next stage of development. Other than that, the Government still held on the continuation of the Development Trilogy, which are the evenly distributed development and its results toward the manifestation of social justice for the entire population, high economic growth and healthy and dynamic national stability (www.bappenas.go.id).

Particularly for the tourism sector, the government has its discourse which was stated in the Five-year Development Plan IV, which is (1) tourism development that will be improved to allow the creation of more job and business opportunities, increasing foreign exchange and introducing the nature and culture of Indonesia, by maintaining national culture and identity and preservation of the environment; (2) cultivation and promotion of domestic tourism will be improved in order to more introducing the nature and national culture in order to foster the love for the homeland and to grow the soul, spirit and values of 1945, besides to expand job opportunities. In the framework of tourism development, there should be more specific measures and arrangements based on integrated policies (www.bappenas.go.id).

At the time of the World Expo 1992, Indonesia has entered the Five Year Development Plan V (1989/1990 – 1993/1994), but still hold on the principle of Development Trilogy as the previous Five year Development Plan (IV). Specifically for tourism aspect, in the fifth Development Plan was one of the main elements of the policy. The citation containing such thing is the following: One of the principal elements of the development policies in the Five Year Development Plan V is to increase the revenue resulting from goods and services export. Consequently, the efforts to encourage exports of other than oil and natural gas and tourism development are absolute requirements. By so doing the revenues resulted from non-oil and gas commodities export will be the main source of the foreign exchange to finance goods and services import which are of great importance for the development. As a result, the efforts to increase the added value of the export commodities, to find and develop new kinds of goods for export, improve the competitiveness and diversification and to expand market to overseas are to be improved. The improvement of competitiveness is through measures to enhance production efficiency and to upgrade its quality. Those measures are to be supported by credit policies, insurance and transportation (www.bappenas.go.id).

During Soeharto administration, Indonesia's territorial border had extended to Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Papua². The concept of one nation made popular by

² Law No.4/1960 has brought changes in the map of Indonesia to a territory of one geographic unity; the outer borders of the Indonesian Archipelago is surrounded by "water territorial" up to 12 nautical miles, whilst the water territory in its limits is

Soekarno³ was translated by Soeharto by way of ‘singular principle’ politics which emphasizes in the people’s homogeneity. For Soeharto administration, ethnic diversity is considered a factor that hinders the national unity, so they worked on cultural uniformity, for which according to Parsudi Suparlan, it was done by claiming that those regional cultures are not updated and should be made Indonesia by way of P-4 as guidance to understand and act as designed by the five principles--Pancasila (Abdullah, Irwan. 2006:65-66).

During this period of Soeharto’s New Order nationalization process, which has caused neglect of the existence of more than 358 ethnic groups and 200 sub-ethnic groups (Baker, 1984: 91) in Indonesia with its cultural and arts diversity. It was in this era that we also could see how repressive the Soeharto administration had been, who had managed the uniformity to the village level.⁴

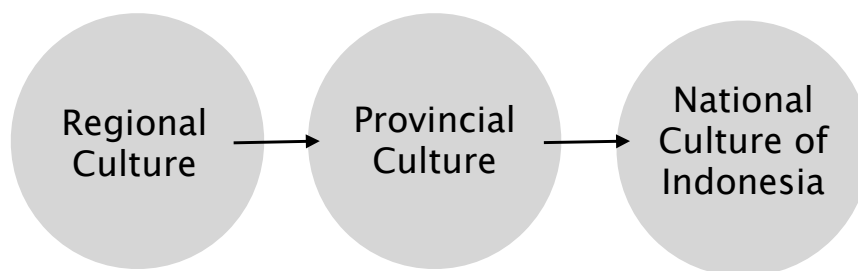
The definition of culture bearing the identity of Indonesia as formulated by the government can be clearly seen in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesian Miniature Park). The concept of being Indonesia defined by the government was shaped by a number of symbols that characterize each ethnic group that form Indonesia and placed side by side (27 provinces at that time), despite the fact that only certain ethnic groups are represented and act as the representative of the provincial culture (Picard, 2006: 259-262). From this provincial representatives, there were several cultural models as the highest of the regional culture which were once again taken and then they were turned into national culture, as if the products of culture being exhibited were highest to be the representative of the national identity which are proper to be staged before the international world. The pattern of the process of national cultural formation is as follows:

Diagram 1. The pattern of the Process of National Cultural Formation (Tjahjawan, 2013)

considered as internal water territory. That law has made the Indonesian territory twice as large and has included West Irian as part of its territory (See R.E. Elson. 2009: 332)

³ Referring to an article entitled “Cultural Pluralism and the Arts of Nusantara” (Moersid, 2001) during the Soekarno era there was an amalgamated political policies to form a nation, namely Indonesia. This frame of mind is affected by the thought that the culture of an ethnic groups, if we allow it to grow on their own, it is likely to become a potential of political power which decline the formation of a nation and encourage the formation of ethno-nationalism. Consequently, the ruler reduce the discourse of ethnic group in the art expression explained as follows: “...*National culture is the culture that emerges as the true efforts of the entire people of Indonesia. The old, original culture is the highest achievement of the culture of the regions across Indonesia and they are considered the nation’s highest cultures. Cultural efforts must lead toward the achievements regarding civilization, culture and national unity by way of not refusing new materials from foreign cultures which are possible to develop or able to enrich its own national culture and to elevate the humanistic aspect of the Indonesian people.*”

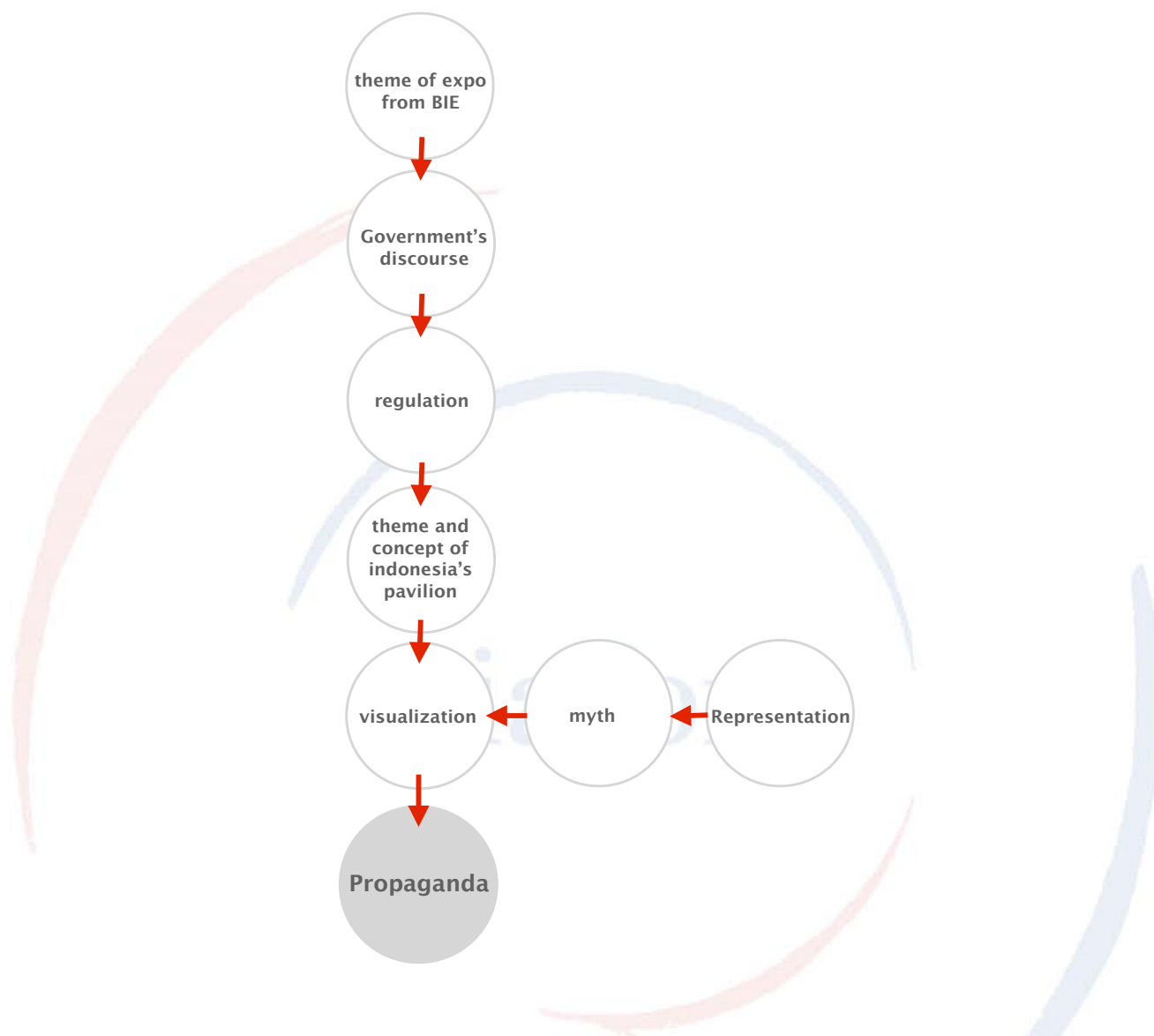
⁴ Village is the smallest administrative territory that is formed by the Soeharto administration, through Law on Villages in 1979: “... (a) that according to the nature of the Unity of the Republic Indonesia State so the position of the village government to its fullest extent was to be made uniform, by identifying the diversity of the village condition to make them more capable of pushing the people to participate in the development and to perform village more extensive and effective village administration” (kepuustakaan-presiden.pnri.go.id)



According to McLeod a nationalist representation often shows sense of equality; that sense of nationhood is shaped by the presentation of a variety of narratives, rituals and symbols that will stimulate the sense of individuality to become member of certain group. As stated by Eric Hobsbawm, the state depends upon the creation of national tradition manifested by repetition of specific symbols and icons. The presentation of national traditions preserve the continuity of the time present of the nation with its time past, and help combine the uniqueness of the shared history and origin of the people. (McLeod, 2000: 69).

This concept level which is presented vertically by the New Order government has in fact a very complex discourse model, and it aims to preserve their power domination by way of signs and images and interpretation toward the meaning sent through the space of the exhibition media. The preservation of the domination in such as a delicate way, despite the fact it is so obvious, could be slipped from the public's conscious. The preservation of the domination of Soeharto's New Order government over the concept of Indonesian culture through this pavillion's display arrangement is concluded as propaganda because we can see in a linear way how such government's discourse is translated into levels of concept to visualization in the following diagram and analysis tabel below:

Diagram 2. Pattern of the Relation of Discourse and Visualization (Tjahjawulan, 2013)



Tabel 2. Analysis Expo 1986 (Tjahjawulan, 2013)

World Expo 1986 Vancouver, Canada	
Theme of Expo from BIE	World In Motion, World in Touch Exhibiting the development that the human race has achieved in the field of transportation and communication.
Government's Discourse	Five-Year Development Plan IV - 1984/85 – 1988/89. Tourism development will be intensified to multiply job and business opportunities, to increase foreign exchange and to introduce nature and culture of Indonesia, by preserving the culture and national identity and environment conservation.
Regulation	Instruction of the President of Republic of Indonesia No.28 Year 1984 On

	<p>the Participation of Indonesia in the 86 World Expo in Vancouver Canada.</p> <p>World Expo serves as a vehicle to: (1) show the national cultural wealth based on the principle of Unity in Diversity; (2) show the results of the development across the Indonesian Archipelago based on the Five Principles, both in the design, physical and spiritual development; (3) build and boost international cooperation in all fields; (4) demonstrate the sophistication of Indonesia's communication devices and transportation for the international audience.</p>		
Theme and Concept of the Pavilion of Indonesia	<p>A Nation of 13.000 Island</p> <p>Depicting diverse cultures and civilizations across the Indonesian archipelago relating to the development in transportation and communication emphasizing on the aspect of cultural wealth and the maritime spirit in order to showcase a convincing proof of harmony between respecting the heritage of the ancestor's tradition and the willingness and determination of the people of Indonesia according to the time and the technological development.</p>		
Pavilion Display	Visualization	Myths	Representation
Exterior Display	<p>Modern module system pavilion decorated with Bali style ornament, Candi Bentar, statue of Kalimantan and Bali's umbrellas and penjor</p>	<p>Candi Bentar: Symbolizing the borderline between outside and inside, or the past and the present.</p> <p>Penjor: Symbolizing the respect to the mountain god as the source of fertility and prosperity, life and safety.</p> <p>Traditional statues: A guard, protector from disease and evil spirit, provider of health and affluent advantage and harvest.</p> <p>Traditional ornament: Regularity, order and harmony with the universe.</p>	<p>The culture of the past brings about protection and welfare for the present</p>
Interior Display Zone 1	<p>Statue of Garuda Wisnu, pictures of various models of boats owned by diverse ethnic groups in Indonesia.</p>	<p>Garuda Wisnu: Symbolizing greatness, keeper and guard of the universal order, good value, knowledge, strength, courage, loyalty and discipline. Maritime Country: strength, conquest.</p>	<p>Greatness and cultural strength of the past.</p>
Zone 2	<p>Golden Carriage of Paksi Naga Liman (Cirebon Sultanate), diorama depicting the development</p>	<p>Golden Carriage of Paksi Naga Liman: in its general sense golden carriage is a symbol of togetherness or in its wider sense referring to a kingdom or state. The combination of special animals like elephant, dragon and buraq symbolize</p>	<p>National development progress</p>

	taking place in the Indonesian society from agrarian country to industrial one, airplanes and PALAPA satellite.	cultural hybridity (acculturation).	
Zone 3	The Nation Symbol of Garuda Pancasila, Indonesian and Canadian maps, profiles of the face of the Indonesian society, ornament of flora and fauna in Indonesia, Asmat's vessels	Garuda Pancasila: symbolizing the philosophy of life of the Indonesian people, Belief in God, Humanity, Indonesian Unity, Democracy, and Social Justice Asmat Boat and Spear: strength and harmony with the nature.	How the Indonesian people live, and a friendship with the world community.
Zone 4	Various types of kentongan (bamboo or wooden tube knocked with a stick to produce warning signals) from all over Indonesia, model of flying Gatotkaca with Palapa satellite in his hands, graphics information on the geography of Indonesia.	Kentongan: communication in social life . Gatotkaca: symbolizing invincibility and great strength	Indonesia's unique communication technology in the past and today's cutting edge communication technology reaching thousands of islands in Indonesia
Special Exhibition	Various models of vessels from all over Indonesia in their actual size like the Madurese, Irian, Kalimantan dan Bali boat vessel.	Maritime country: strength and conquest	Indonesia's past glory in sailing.

Tabel 3. Analysis Expo 1988 (Tjahjawulan, 2013)

World Expo 1988 Brisbane, Australia			
Theme of Expo from BIE	Leisure in the Age of Technology Presenting multicultural atmosphere by displaying cultural diversity, food, performances, harmonious friendship.		
Government's Discourse	Five-Year Development Plan IV - 1984/85 – 1988/89. Tourism development will be intensified to multiply job and business opportunities, to increase foreign exchange and to introduce nature and culture of Indonesia, by preserving the culture and national identity and environment conservation.		
Regulation	Instruction of the President of Republic of Indonesia No.4 Year 1987 on the Participation of Indonesia in the 88 World Expo in Brisbane Australia World Expo '88 in Brisbane would make a good vehicle to showcase the activities and results already achieved in national development, including the national cultural wealth of Indonesia.		
Theme and Concept of the Pavilion of Indonesia	Nation's Cultural Uniqueness Indonesia's pavilion is to introduce and display the progress of the development of Indonesia in fostering and developing the aspects of culture, sports, recreations, natural wealth, life style, and environment supported by transportation technology, communication and services which guarantee the security, comfort, safety, diversity, and satisfaction of tourists, particularly in tourism activities.		
Pavilion Display	Visualization	Myths	Representation
Exterior Display	Modern module construction combined with Toraja House, Statue of Garuda Wisnu Bali, and Balinese guard statue.	Toraja House: Harmonious relationship with the ancestor and the wishful thinking of living happily and peacefully ever after for the next generations. Garuda Wisnu: Symbolizing greatness, guardian and keeper of the universe, good value, knowledge, courage, loyalty and discipline Penjor: Offerings to the mount god as the source of fertility and lushness, providing life and safety. Traditional statue: A guard, protector from diseases and evil spirit, providing good health, benefits and abundant harvest.	Past cultural uniqueness can become the capital of today's development
Interior Display Zone 1	Traditional Bali-style painting	Unfolding the goal of the spiritual and cultural life and the harmony with the nature and its	Cultural uniqueness and diversity

	(Kamasan) of flora and fauna and the community life in Indonesia	surroundings.	
Zone 2	Historical artefacts, replica of Borobudur Stupa in original size.	Borobudur: Symbolizing the perfection of cosmology (universe and human soul)	Past high culture, still well preserved up to now
Zone 3	Artifacts of handicrafts from some regions in Indonesia along with its custom.	Handicraft affluence of Indonesia	The affluence of nature, flora and fauna and custom
Zone 4	Interior depicting the Ubud, Bali rural landscape	Society life system	The familiarity and closeness of culture to nature
Zone 5	Panels of information on the achievements of Indonesian development in the form of photo mosaic, diorama, replica of technological achievements, natural produce	The dynamics of the ever moving forward Indonesian society	National development progress
Zone 6	Traditional Balinese painting (Kamasan) on Indonesia-Australia	Unfolding the goal of the spiritual and cultural life of human race and the harmony with the nature and the surroundings	Hospitality and friendship

Tabel 4. Analysis Expo 1992 (Tjahjawulan, 2013)

World Expo 1992 Seville, Spain	
Theme of Expo from BIE	The Era of Discovery The Commemoration of 500 years of Christopher Columbus Sail
Government's Discourse	Five-Year Development Plan V - 1990/91 – 1993/94 One of the four main development policies in the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan is an increase in the export revenue from goods and services. Tourism must

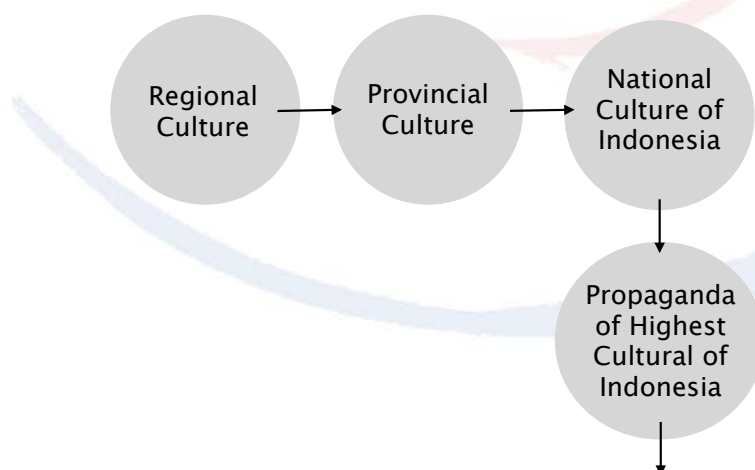
	be improved, new types of exported goods must be developed, competitiveness must be augmented and diversify and expand market overseas. To increase the competitiveness they must improve production efficiency and improve the quality. All these efforts should be supported by policies in credit, insurances and transportation.		
Regulation	Instruction of the President of Republic of Indonesia No. 3 Year 1990 on the Participation of Indonesia in the 92 World Expo in Sevilla Spain		
Theme and Concept of the Pavilion of Indonesia	Technology, Trading and Tourism Portraying three aspects of Indonesia's development: technology, trading, and tourism		
Pavilion Display	Visualization	Myths	Representation
Exterior Display	Module construction of modified Toraja House and traditional statues from Dayak along with other traditional ornaments	Toraja House: Harmonious relationship with the ancestor and the hope that all the offspring will find happiness in their life and they lead a peaceful life. Penjor: Offerings for the mount god as the source of fertility and prosperity, providing life and safety. Traditional statues: keeper, protector from disease and evil spirit, providing health, affluent harvest and benefits. Traditional ornament: Regularity, order, harmonious with the entire universe.	The past culture brought about protection and welfare for the present.
Interior Display Zone 1	Symbol of Garuda Pancasila, Statue of Garuda Wisnu, Shadow puppet's gunungan ornament and traditional ornaments of Kalimantan, Java and pictures of artifacts such as shadow puppets and ceramics.	Garuda Pancasila: Symbolizing the philosophy of life of the Indonesian people, Belief in God, Humanity, Unity, Democracy and Justice. Garuda Wisnu: Symbolizing the greatness, guardian and keeper of the universe, good value, loyalty and discipline. Gunungan in shadow puppet: symbolizing the source of life, creation and fertility in the entire universe. Traditional ornaments: Regularity, order, and harmony with the universe.	The past culture has brought protection and welfare for the present time.
Zone 2	Panels of information on	The dynamics of the ever moving-forward Indonesian society	National development

	the achievements of Indonesian development in the form of photo mosaic, diorama, replica of technological achievements and natural produces		progress
Zone 3	Goods and handcraft commodities coming from all over Indonesia.	Indonesia's handcraft cultural affluence	Artifacts of handcrafts from some regions in Indonesia along with its custom.

CONCLUSION

On the whole the Soeharto administration, by means of a number of World Expos from 1986 in Vancouver to 1992 in Seville, Spain, showed a storyline and forms of culture regarded as representation of Indonesia, which are roughly the same. The highest culture formulated by the New Order administration was closely connected to the discourse of the Soeharto administration, that is the propaganda of Indonesia through the historiography of Indonesian culture both in the past and at present which always came in a package of commodification of the traditional culture diversity of the Indonesian Archipelago which are regarded as the highest culture of Indonesia. The process of culture construction considered as the propaganda of the highest cultural achievements is as follows:

Diagram 2. Propaganda of the Highest Cultural Achievements (Tjahjawan, 2013)



“The past culture was in harmony with the nature and it brings about protection and welfare to the present time”

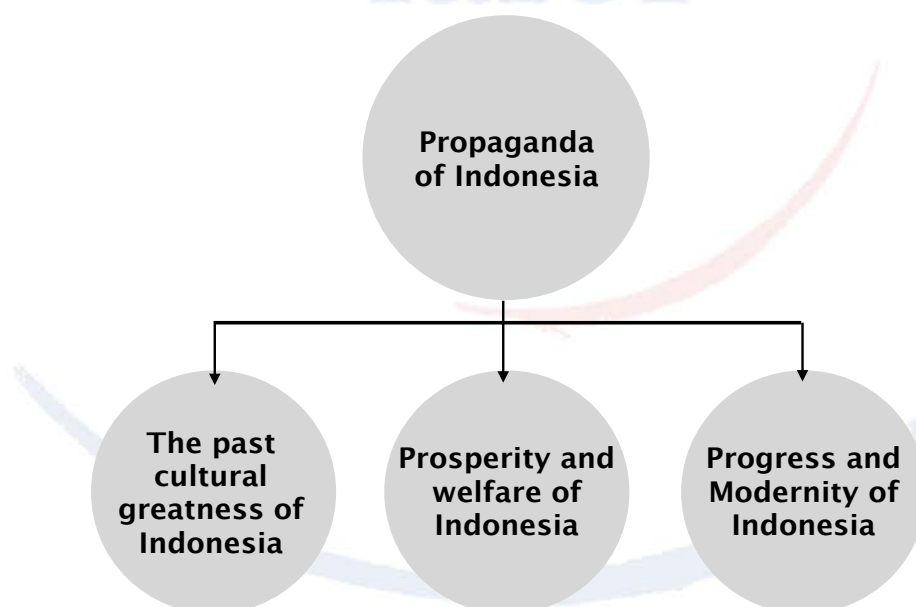
Tabel 5. Similarity of Visualization (Tjahjawulan, 2013)

Expo	Past Cultural						Progress		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1986	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
1988	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1992	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

(1) Garuda Wisnu, (2) Borobudur, (3) Bali's Penjor & Umbrellas, (4) Traditional statues: Java, Bali, Kalimantan, Toraja, Asmat, (5) Traditional Ornaments : Java, Bali, Kalimantan, Toraja, (6) Toraja House, (7) Garuda Pancasila, (8) Satelit Palapa, (9) Pesawat CN 235

The products of culture which were often displayed are among others: the Toraja House, Borobudur Temple, the gate of Candi Bentar of Bali, statue of Garuda Wisnu Bali, statues of Kalimantan and Asmat, penjor 'decorated high bamboo poles' and special umbrella from Bali. If we seen the myths that cover those culture forms, seemingly it is not selected by coincidence. There is a strong tie between the discourse of the government and the selection of image and sign to interpret such discourse. Generally speaking, the symbolization of strength, glory, greatness, wealth and harmony with the universe are myths that cover the cultural products regarded as the highest culture of Indonesia. The propaganda to the international world by way of a space at World Expo is described the following diagram:

Diagram 3. Propaganda of Indonesia Through the World Expo (Tjahjawulan, 2013)



The past cultural greatness, prosperity and welfare of Indonesia and progress and modernity of Indonesia are the pattern that must always appear in the display arrangement of Indonesian pavillion during the New Order era. Those three elements served as the capital of the New Order government who always put the emphasis on The Development Trilogy, that is the even distribution of development and its products toward the establishment of social justice for the entire citizen, quite high economic growth and healthy and dynamic national stability, in order to get foreign

investment through commodification of tourism culture regarded as capable of helping the development process of Indonesia.

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Jurisdictional Issues in Cross Border Hacking

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I. INTRODUCTION

Before 1990's world was not complicated as it is today. With the development of computer related technologies a totally new world emerged in the shape of global world, without any boundaries and any limitations. After the emergence of this new world, it was equally realized that in absence of comprehensive legislation cyber space cannot be enjoyed and legislation must bring effort to harmonize the isolated laws existing in different forms.¹

Increase in use of cyber technologies and at the same time increasing trend in the related crimes, compelled the scholars to write and discuss about the legislation in this world. Intellectuals endured in modeling the legal landscape to fulfill the demand of these new online demands.²

During the regulation on cyber world, one of the major problem, which was witnessed was the clash between the transnational internet and national law(s) because online activities are not confined to any boundary, with a single click user may enter into territory of other user. It is easy to regulate the activities within some boundaries but it emerged as a challenge to take full control over cross border activities.

Apart from private online disputes, governments are also under actual pressure to deal with online activity, to protect children from unsuitable websites and to protect local, legally compliant businesses from unfair online competitors, and, to those pressure group, it matters little whether the online activities come from abroad or not.³

Among above criminal activities, hacking or intrusion was seen as most dangerous online activity but with the passage of time it shaped more dangerous and now instances of cross border hacking can be observed frequently. And it's the need of an hour to look into this matter very critically and sincerely to handle with best diligence.

This paper will observe the jurisdictional issues while regulating the cross border hacking crimes.

¹ Ahmed Kamal, *The Law of Cyber Space*, An Invitation to Table of Negotiation, Published by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, October 2005, ISBN: 92-9182-038-8, pg-1

² Uta Kohl, *Jurisdiction and the Internet Regulatory Competence over Online Activity*, (Cambridge:2007), pg 3

³ Uta Kohl, *Jurisdiction and the Internet Regulatory Competence over Online Activity*, (Cambridge:2007), pg 8

II. CROSS BORDER CRIMES:

Cross border means Country-to-country⁴. Cross border is often used in conjunction with something specific. For example, cross border trading means trading between two countries.⁵ On the other hand word “crime” means “any serious wrongdoing”⁶ or illegal act.

Hence, cross border crime means any illegal activity between two countries. For example piracy, the slave trade, attacks on or the hijacking of aircraft, war crimes, genocide. But, the phrase 'cross-border crime' has complex connotations in terms of unknown threat, unrestrained criminals and unstoppable crime waves.⁷

III. MAJOR ISSUES IN CROSS BORDER CRIMES

World is now considered as world with open borders. Apart from benefiting the users it might encourages and facilitates the mobility of the offenders.⁸ When cross border activities are producing large number of benefits for the world then general increase in number of crimes might be anticipated due to these new structures. Professor Martin Killias said, that change, however, would likely be general and not concentrated in certain particular areas, that is, it would probably leave unaffected what one might call cross-border crime.

Cross border crime might raise the issue to induce osmotic processes which, in turn, could reduce the economic attractiveness of certain 'rich' areas. For example, due to the criminal activities, in long run, the attractiveness of such areas will be reduced.

Another aspect is that the reaction of States for cross border crimes. States solved the initial issue in transnational crimes with extradition laws but extradition is just another mechanism to assert territorial jurisdiction, as its objective is to bring the offender to justice within a given space.⁹

Similar cases of cross border nature like money laundering, drug trafficking, human trafficking had already been resolved through unanimous approach taken by the world

⁴⁴ http://www.investorwords.com/7796/cross_border.html#ixzz2EtzCe5kJ

⁵ http://www.investorwords.com/7796/cross_border.html#ixzz2EtzCe5kJ

⁶ <http://www.definitions.net/definition/crime>

⁷ Cross border crime. European Journal on Criminal Policy & Research, 1993 Kugler Publications Amsterdam/New York, KDC, The Hague, Vol 1 no.3

⁸ Martin Killias, “Will open borders result in more crime? A criminological statement”, European Journal on Criminal Policy & Research, 1993 Kugler Publications Amsterdam/New York, KDC, The Hague, Vol 1 no.3, pg-1

⁹ Dr. Audrey Guinchard , Criminal Law in the 21st century: the demise of territoriality?, Critical Legal Conference on Walls, 16 September 2007, Birkberk, pg-1

community. International criminal Court was established with the intention to resolve the cross border crime as once the international community agreed on creating a set of rules which exceeds the walls created by States and allows sanctioning behaviors offending all mankind by an international court created for that purposes.

But, later the cyber crime emerged with new challenges because mostly they are affecting more than one territory. For Example: fraud can involve several states, in a manner unknown to previous patterns of behaviors. A single author from X country may be based in Y country and transfer money in Z, while involving also A.¹⁰

This was the time when the territorial approach to traditional crime is challenged and States started working to face this challenge, new proposals were given to deal with cybercrimes.

Cross border contact between the human is mostly done through internet and while discussing this medium it is not possible to discuss the existence of wrongs through this medium. When a cross border crime occurs it starts the debate about the settlement of jurisdiction in those crimes. Like conventional crimes it is not easy to sort the jurisdiction on basis of occurrence of crime or the geographical location of the offender.

Till recent times it is of great debate that how jurisdictional matters would be resolved in online or cross border crimes. Among them hacking is one of the serious and commonly done cyber crimes.

One challenge is related to the jurisdictional issues in cybercrimes and this paper will focus on the jurisdictional issues related to the hacking.

IV. JURISDICTIONAL ISSUES IN CROSS BORDER HACKING

Hacking refers to breaking into computer systems.¹¹ During the 1990s, the term "hacker" became synonymous with "cracker," which is a person who performs some form of computer sabotage. This relation is easy to understandable as these are closely related in their acts.¹² These days illegal access to someone's personal computer is also called as intrusion or hacking.

¹⁰ Dr. Audrey Guinchard , Criminal Law in the 21st century: the demise of territoriality?, Critical Legal Conference on

Walls, 16 September 2007, Birkberk,pg-2

¹¹ http://www.iss.net/security_center/advice/Underground/Hacking/default.htm accessed on 4th Dec, 2012

¹² [http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Hacker+\(computer+expert\)](http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Hacker+(computer+expert))

Internationally while defining the forms of cybercrime, cyber trespass which is crossing boundaries into other people's property and/or causing damage is also defined as cybercrime and hacking comes under it.¹³

a. **Background**

Computer related crimes emerged after the advent of the computers and later they increased and took the shape of many sophisticated crimes after the advent of internet, which was spread drastically after 1990's. This was the time, computer based global communications crossed the territorial boundaries generating new era of human activity thus establishing new form of laws which are no more dependent on territorial basis.¹⁴ That was the occasion when territorially based law makers started thinking about the challenges drawn by this new phase of crime.

Earlier the world with territorial borders was taken as blessing that things could be defined. For instance, the example of trademark, trademark law is distinctly based on geographical separation.¹⁵ But these boundaries are not possible in cyber space. The increase in the use of computer network globally and its applications, it is very hard to keep the geographical separations and: (1) the power of local governments to assert control over online behavior; (2) the effects of online behavior on individuals or things; (3) the legitimacy of a local sovereign's efforts to regulate global phenomena; and (4) the ability of physical location to give notice of which sets of rules apply.¹⁶

b. **Issue**

English and other common law courts, taking a procedural approach, preferred to focus on physical presence at the time of service of process. At common law a court had no jurisdiction outside its territorial limits.¹⁷ But later some courts tool the concept of exorbitant jurisdiction that the jurisdiction over the defendants which are not located in the territory of that country. Here it is important to discuss the issue related to foreign defendant, foreign defendant is used because in cross border crimes it might be possible that a State will be prosecuting a foreign wrongdoer as crime is done by foreign being in his/her territory.

International law is applicable to maintain the relationship between the nations. In

¹³ Wall (2001 a: 3 7)

¹⁴ David R. Johnson & David Post, Law And Borders- The Rise of Law in Cyberspace, Stanford Law Review, Vol. 48, No. 5 (May, 1996), pp. 1367-1407

¹⁵ David R. Johnson & David Post, Law And Borders- The Rise of Law in Cyberspace, Stanford Law Review, Vol. 48, No. 5 (May, 1996), pp. 1367-1407

¹⁶ David R. Johnson & David Post, Law And Borders- The Rise of Law in Cyberspace, Stanford Law Review, Vol. 48, No. 5 (May, 1996), pp. 1367-1407

¹⁷ 5 Lenders v Anderson (1883) 12 QBD 50, 56; Ingate v La Commissione de Lloyd Austriaco, Prima Sezione (1858)4 CB NS 704, 708 (CP); Trower & Sons Ltd v Ripstein [1944] AC 254, 262 (PC); Pennoyer v Neff 95 US 714, 722 (1877).

actual it does not give any criminal sanctions or any rules directly related to the individual but this situation has an exception with a set of rules for small group of wrongs or crimes having universal nature. Which counts to a combined apprehension for the world as international is the reason to create those and court with international law jurisdiction can hear those cases. Crime may be piracy, the slave trade, attacks on or the hijacking of aircraft, war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity as they have worldwide connection. The condition of the relation of crime with the territory is not required in this case, the only requirement is that forum possesses the custody of the defendant.

Generally, in traditional cases courts used to assume the jurisdiction over international defendants, specifically through territoriality, nationality, or protective and universality norms, and when the jurisdiction over crimes and civil actions in cyber space was in debate, these criteria's were equally applicable. But jurisdictional issue in cyber space has to take some solid form. Currently courts apply mostly territorial principle which can cause the increase in cyber space cases¹⁸

But today, it will be getting very difficult to apply domestic laws while dealing with transnational cyber-crime or to try the criminal on other territories. And when more than one territory or person belonging to different parts are involved in the crime and its occurrence and effect then its even more difficult to prosecute that crime.

And this is a challenge faced by current legislators in the world. They have to look into the severe criminal nature of the crimes, their increasing trend due to ineffective laws and on the other side have to look into sovereignty of the States as it is the exclusive right to exercise right to exercise supreme authority over a geographic region, group of people, or oneself.¹⁹

Cyber space laws might affect the sovereignty in way or the other but the purpose is to establish the jurisdiction for these and currently this is of big debate.

While discussing cyber crime, hacking evolved as most common and jurisdictional issue to control the cross border hacking is of leading importance.

It is to resolve that which state has the authority to prosecute the matter, a country from where the crime originates, or where it is effective, on the other hand where the offender is located and many other factors.

And this is the major issue discussed in this work.

c. Gap in the field:

¹⁸ Ahmed Kamal, "The Law of Cyber Space", An Invitation to Table of Negotiation, Published by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, October 2005, ISBN: 92-9182-038-8

¹⁹ Ahmed Kamal, "The Law of Cyber Space", An Invitation to Table of Negotiation, Published by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, October 2005, ISBN: 92-9182-038-8

As discussed earlier the traditional laws are dependent on the concept of territory and attached with the physical location principle.

But as now world is like a borderless world. Traditional law is based on the notion that activity occurs in a particular flow through jurisdictional boundaries at will.²⁰ Internet increased this challenge. With the problem related to jurisdiction enforcement issue also exist, since all countries are not sharing similar law. Difference in laws is another hurdle in this process of harmonization.

d. **RECOMMENDATIONS:**

It is beyond doubt that International community is requiring a global solution for the computer hacking problem which is increasing with every minute. The United States and European Countries are not the only who are getting affect due to this crime.²¹ From personal computers to the governmental organizations, all depends on computer technology and hence equally vulnerable to the cyber crimes.

At international forum different approaches were discussed. First approach was to change or amend the criminal laws according to new situation.²² It is recommended that the jurisdiction is solved with in the preview of criminal law.

The other suggestion was of global treaty.²³ It is worthy suggestion but it must be very detailed and solution based. It must be enacted to harmonize domestic anti-hacking laws and protect the citizen of the world.

Another view is that international law already provides a base for solutions to problems concerning jurisdiction over crimes committed over the internet. But it was focused that the greater cooperation between the States is required to execute these laws and international laws. One prominent example of a measure for the cooperative solution of jurisdictional conflict is set in Art.22.5 of the Council of Europe Convention on Cyber-crime according to which when more than one party claims penal jurisdiction, there is an obligation for the parties involved to consult.²⁴

²⁰ Ahmed Kamal, "The Law of Cyber Space", An Invitation to Table of Negotiation, Published by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, October 2005,ISBN: 92-9182-038-8

²¹ http://www.ibls.com/internet_law_news_portal_view.aspx?s=latestnews&id=2513

²² Ahmed Kamal, "The Law of Cyber Space", An Invitation to Table of Negotiation, Published by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, October 2005,ISBN: 92-9182-038-8

²³ http://www.ibls.com/internet_law_news_portal_view.aspx?s=latestnews&id=2513

²⁴ Ahmed Kamal, "The Law of Cyber Space", An Invitation to Table of Negotiation, Published by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, October 2005,ISBN: 92-9182-038-8

CONCLUSION

A thorough analysis of current changes due to the technology of internet is required for solving the jurisdictional issues for cross border hacking cases. Whichever the approach is taken to resolve the jurisdictional issues it is important to build a cross border cooperation which is most important in executing any international strategy in this regard. Global consensus based solution will be more effective as compare to the consensus given by few countries.



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8. http://www.ibls.com/internet_law_news_portal_view.aspx?s=latestnews&id=2513
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*Lexico-Pictorial Metaphor Analysis Tool: Synergy of Meaning in Egyptian Revolution
Graffiti*

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1. Introduction

The Egyptian 2011 revolution took place when millions of protesters from a variety of socio-economic and religious backgrounds demanded the overthrow of the regime of Egyptian former President Hosni Mubarak. While the capital city of Cairo was then described as "a war zone", downtown Cairo was an open museum of a new phenomenon to the Egyptian street, namely: graffiti. Though illegal, graffiti writings and drawings are a fact that should be dealt with as they reflect reactions of the street, especially as graffiti become a widespread artistic phenomenon not only in downtown Cairo, but throughout Egypt during and after the revolution.

This paper introduces a new multimodal analysis tool for Egyptian revolution graffiti that incorporates pictures and texts, which together generate metaphor, drawing on a systemic functional approach and interaction theory of metaphor.

2. Review of Literature

2.1 Graffiti

Graffiti, plural of graffito, is the markings, slogans or pictures, written or sketched on walls of buildings. According to Blume (1985), the word "Graffiti" served originally as the name of inscriptions scratched on walls, maintaining that graffiti are pictorial or written inscriptions, for which no official provision is made, which are largely unwanted, and which are written on the most obvious publicly accessible surfaces normally by anonymous individuals, and sometimes by groups; Blume suggests that the definition of graffiti must remain relatively vague in virtue of the extreme complexity and the multiple-faceted nature of graffiti. Lachmann (1988) maintains that graffiti writers create their artifacts through social interactions among each other and with patrons, audiences, and even the police. Gadsby (1995) categorizes graffiti into six common types: Latrinalia, Public, Tags, Historical, Folk Epigraphy and Humorous. The graffiti discussed in this paper are public.

Graffiti took several forms in Egypt during and after the revolution: a) pictorial, b) written, and c) a combination of both of them. This study focuses on the third form, where texts and drawings are mixed together to generate a metaphor. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, this third form shall be called lexico-pictorial graffiti. Texts of such graffiti, however, fall into different categories: i) Arabic, ii) Arabic and English, and iii) English. In this paper, public graffiti that combine both English lexical items and drawings, aiming at the creation of a metaphor, shall be attempted.

2.2 Multimodal Analysis

Multimodal analysis, broadly known as multimodality, is a rapidly expanding interdisciplinary field in linguistics. It has become a more significant tool in

theorizing and analyzing meaning since language alone is rarely seen as the only source to make meaning. Multimodal analysis becomes a useful tool to identify meaning arising from the use of a combination of linguistic and other semiotic resources: pictorial code in this research. Multimodality is concerned with communication of meaning using more than one channel of communication, such as using words, pictures, music, and colors, among others. In this sense, most human communication is multimodal. For example, in a spoken act of communication, words are accompanied by intonation, facial gestures, and body language, which contain elements of communication. Even simple texts are multimodal, as there are messages carried in the font, title, subtitles, boldface, italics, and underlines, etc. Multimodality involves studying all these components, separately and in combination. As these components interact, new meanings may be generated or emphasis put on a certain idea. According to Guo (2004: 214), the visual images are not redundant with language in meaning-making but they extend and complement it. In this paper, one of the cornerstones of multimodality is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

2.3 Systemic Functional Approach

This study adopts a Systemic Functional perspective in attempting to propose a new multimodal analysis tool to analyze metaphor in Egyptian revolution graffiti. The newly proposed tool incorporates means to the better construal of meaning of graffiti as a step in a long road of integrating SF theories into the analysis of multimodal fields. Originally proposed by Halliday (1973, 1994), SFL is centered on the analysis of language. More recently, much interest is given to incorporate other elements to language, such as displayed art in the work of Michael O'Toole, and the combination of both language and art in the works of Kay O'Halloran, among others. As this paper investigates meaning-making in graffiti through the analysis of metaphor created by the combination of language and pictures, SFL appears as an appropriate tool to explore the semogenic ('meaning-making') power of language. Webster (2009) argues that Halliday's SF Theory provides the handle we need to understand texts as intentional acts of meaning. Halliday (2009) says that it is always difficult to achieve and maintain a balanced perspective on language because one constantly has to shift one's depth of focus, advocating a broader understanding of language, seeing it as an autonomous intellectual game, whose goal should be to describe the grammatical resources available in language for making meaning.

It is also significant to note that a balance between theories of linguistics and visual analysis must be maintained as the application of theories of each discipline, solely, may be unsatisfactory for the purposes of this study. Therefore, it is appropriate to interpret theories of SFL in light of semiotic theories rather than theories of language. This is of special significance as this paper focuses on the study of semiotic metaphor, which, according to O'Halloran (1999), refers to semantic re-construal of meaning through shifts between semiotic codes, i.e. language and picture, to generate metaphor. Though Van Dijk (2008) criticizes SFL approach to context and communication, SF

approach is chosen as it can be applied on language and pictures. This is compensated by reintroducing Jakobson model of communication.

2.4 Communication: Jakobson Model (amended)

Jakobson (1960) suggests a communication model that defines functions of language in terms of the aspect of the communicative event in which the language is focused. It has six components as shown in figure 1 below:

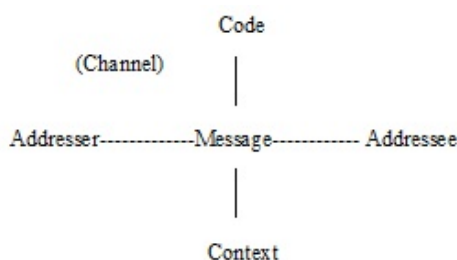


Figure 1: Jakobson's Model

In this paper, a slightly altered version of Jakobson's model shall be applied. Whereas the message in Jakobson's model originally refers to the linguistic message, it refers in its application in this paper to both the linguistic and pictorial messages in graffiti.

2.5 Metaphor

Although there is an increasing interest in metaphor, the majority of researches focus on verbal metaphors and their manifestations. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) maintain that metaphor is primarily a matter of thought and action, and only derivatively a matter of language. This notion paves the way to investigate whether other media than language can manifest metaphor. Accordingly, this paper investigates metaphors created by the combination of both language and pictures in graffiti.

As a starting point for the analysis tool, Max Black's interaction theory of metaphor (1979) shall be utilized. Black's interaction theory of metaphor maintains that a metaphor contains two subjects: the primary (literal and conventional) subject that belongs to the frame, and the secondary (metaphorical) subject that belongs to the focus. The terms 'frame' and 'focus' refer, respectively, to the literal and the metaphorical elements in the metaphorical statement. Black sees that focus is the most significant word or expression, whose occurrence in the literal frame invests the utterance with metaphorical force. The metaphorical utterance works by projecting upon the primary subject a set of associated implications which are predicable of the secondary subject. The maker of a metaphorical statement emphasizes features of the primary subject by applying to it statements relevant to the secondary subject. Black maintains that a metaphor is realized not at the level of the word but at the level of

discourse, adding that a metaphor cannot be understood by someone who is ignorant about the nature of its secondary subject.

A metaphor is a metaphor, whether verbal or pictorial; therefore, a pictorial representation to be called metaphorical should have components similar to the verbal metaphor (primary and secondary subjects, a frame and a focus). A pictorial metaphor entails the transfer of features from secondary subject to primary subject, and not vice versa. Forceville (1996) maintains that the deviation of metaphors from conventional usage makes them more attractive to draw the attention, arguing that one way of realizing a goal in a brief spatial or temporal span is to forge a link between the 'product', in this study the message of a graffiti, and something that already possesses the characteristics needed to be projected; this closely echoes how metaphor works, as this is further stressed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as they maintain that the essence of metaphor is 'understanding and experiencing' one kind of thing in terms of another.

The aim of a graffiti is to convey a message or an idea to the public and/or authorities; so, revolution graffiti shapes our expectations about what it will communicate. Graffiti can be regarded as an advertisement, selling "ideas" rather than products. A reason to use graffiti for investigating pictorial metaphors is that graffiti is particularly rich in them due to the limited amount of space available to graffiti makers. Therefore, they usually resort to metaphors as a vehicle of thoughts and ideas with the aim of creating a maximum impact.

3. Lexico-Pictorial Metaphor Analysis Tool (LPMAT)

3.1 LPMAT Components

Because there is a need to better understand how meanings are constructed in the Egyptian revolution graffiti, LPMAT is proposed as an attempt to account for different aspects of meaning generated by a metaphor as created from the combination of lexical and pictorial codes. LPMAT involves two main semiotic resources: language and pictorial images, in addition to implications of the colors used in writing and drawings. As meaning is multifaceted in graffiti, each of the main semiotic resources, i.e. lexical and pictorial, is displayed in the shape of a hemisphere in Figures 2-1 and 2-2 respectively. Each hemisphere represents the semantic process of the relevant semiotic resource. Then Figure 3 demonstrates how both of the two resources integrate to create metaphor. As LPMAT draws on several theories and models, the tool uses a modified representation of Jakobson's communication model.

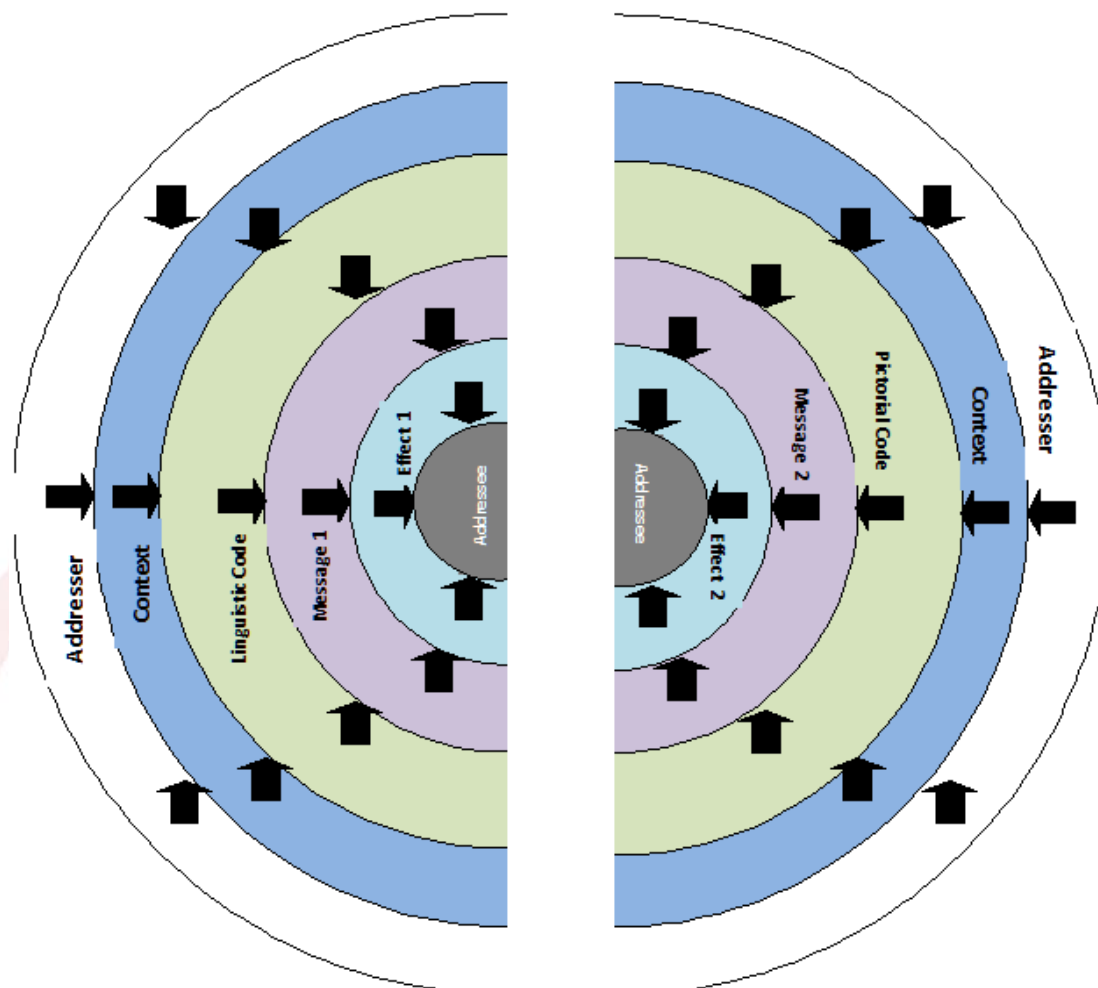


Figure 2.1 Hemisphere A

Figure 2.2 Hemisphere B

Due to the similarity between both hemispheres, it is more convenient to describe both of them at the same time to avoid repetition and redundancy, while denoting areas of differences in hemisphere 'A' of linguistic code and hemisphere 'B' of pictorial code. Both hemispheres demonstrate the addresser, i.e., graffiti maker, in the outer loop, whereas the second loop with sky blue color portrays the context, i.e., the Egyptian revolution, the third loop with a light green shade portrays the linguistic code in hemisphere A and the pictorial code in hemisphere B, the light violet fourth loop portrays message 1 of the linguistic code, and message 2 of the pictorial code, whereas the fifth light turquoise loop portrays effect 1 of the linguistic code, and effect 2 of the pictorial code as generated from the messages, and finally the sixth solid dark grey loop is the addressee, i.e., the receiver of the graffiti.

LPMAT, as portrayed in figure 3, appears in full when the two hemispheres are integrated. As shown, the loops of the addresser and context flow uninterrupted, but the third loop illustrates two codes, i.e., linguistic and pictorial, which generate a metaphor; consequently, the light green shade is intensified and becomes darker. Similarly, the fourth loop integrates messages 1 and 2, in addition to the new

metaphorical message, and duly the violet color is intensified. Likewise, the fifth loop integrates the two effects in addition to the metaphorical effect, and duly the light turquoise color is intensified. Finally the central loop of receiver flows uninterrupted.

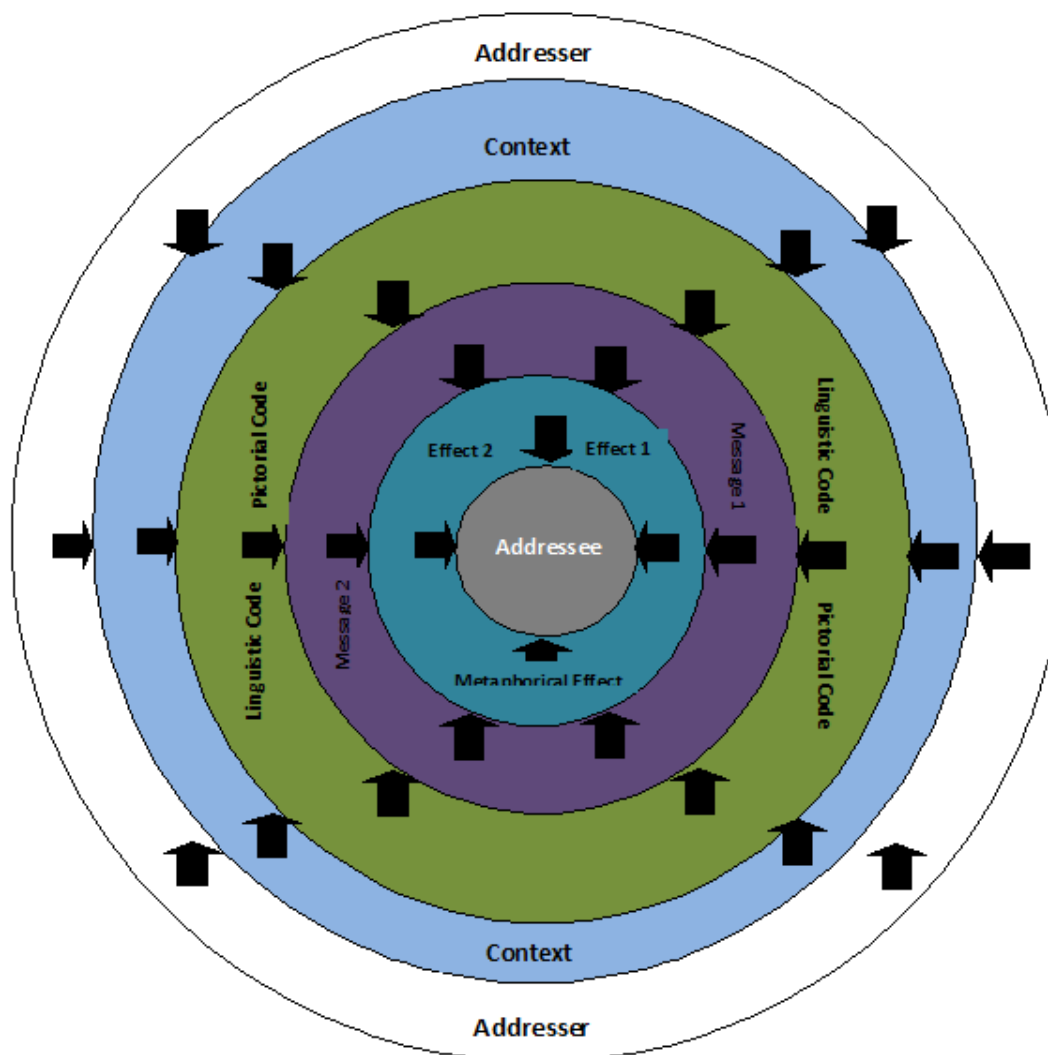


Figure 3 LPMAT

3.2 How LPMAT works?

Drawing graffiti with lexical and pictorial codes and appreciating them is a communication process initiated by the addresser, i.e., graffiti maker, and received by the addressee, i.e., the public and/or authorities. Between these two extremes, meaning is construed through several steps and interactions. LPMAT displays a multi-semiotic communication event, giving special significance to context because meaning rests on both the situation and culture, which contains ideologies, political views and religious issues among others. In light of the context, the linguistic and pictorial codes can be explained, both separately and in combination.

LPMAT provides a vehicle for the analysis of graffiti that utilizes both linguistic and pictorial semiotic resources. Each resource and its effect are to be explained separately at first, if possible, then in combination to assess the metaphorical meaning generated by the combination of the two resources and duly the metaphorical effect. As Halliday suggests (1994: 436) SFL theory explains language in terms of the functions that language evolved to serve. Halliday suggests that the three main functions of language are ideational, interpersonal and textual, which are called metafunctions. Therefore, metafunctions make meaning through explaining how language works. Ideational metafunction is concerned with creating and developing ideas, interpersonal metafunction with the mood, and the textual metafunction with the theme and cohesion. On the other hand, the pictorial code is also a resource for meaning construction. As suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), metafunction theory of the linguistic code may be extended to cover the pictorial code, with some changes in the metafunctions, such as the textual, as we may change it to pictorial, while maintaining its function: theme and cohesion. This is further supported by Fei (2004: 221), who maintains that theories and concepts used in linguistics may not belong solely to the study of language and could be productive in their applications to other semiotic resources, adding that the systemic functional theory and the tri-metafunctional organization of semiotic resources, although originally applied to language, rest essentially on the basic assumption of language as a social semiotic. Therefore, it is appropriate to interpret SFL as a semiotic theory rather than a particular theory of language.

Because LPMAT plays the role of a platform for the better understanding of the interaction between different semiotic resources, special significance is given to the Space of Integration (SoI) between the linguistic and pictorial resources. According to Fei (2004: 223), who proposes an integrated multi-semiotic model (IMM) for print media, SoI is the theoretical platform where intersemiosis occurs through contextualizing relations. SoI signifies the semantic expansion of the linguistic and pictorial messages and consequently their effects. Semantic expansion comes as a result of several factors, including '*the synergy of meaning*', which is a new term I introduce for the first time in this paper.

The '*synergy of meaning*' is a notion that describes the semantic expansion that results from metaphor created by two or more semiotic resources, i.e., linguistic and pictorial codes, which sends a stronger message and creates a bigger effect than the sum of the messages and effects of each resource individually; the '*synergy of meaning*', indeed, is generated from the combination of two semiotic resources. The term 'Synergy', according to the online free dictionary (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com>), means 1) the interaction of two or more agents or forces so that their combined effect is greater than the sum of their individual effects, or 2) cooperative interaction among groups, especially among the acquired subsidiaries or merged parts of a corporation, that creates an enhanced combined effect. Because the combination of semiotic resources generates a stronger message and duly effect, the significance of the '*synergy of*

meaning' is further highlighted because it meets the original intention of graffiti makers. Spaces of Integration in LPMAT, as portrayed in figure 3, are in bolder colors to signify the synergy of meaning and the bigger effect that results from the interaction between the linguistic and pictorial semiotic resources.

To better analyze a graffito, it is important to understand it correctly, i.e., grasp all the semiotic resources that generate metaphor and effect. In this context, Fei (2004: 229) maintains that examining one semiotic resource in isolation results in an impoverished view of how that resource is organized for meaning, adding that both the language and pictorial codes have equal value in meaning-making. LPMAT analyzes both the linguistic and pictorial codes using a systemic functional approach and then discusses the synergy of meaning generated by the combination of the two semiotic resources, the metaphor created and its effect on the receiver.

The following discussion better demonstrates how LPMAT works with the Egyptian revolution graffiti.

4. Analysis

As discussed earlier, the standards specified for the graffiti to be analyzed by LPMAT are that the graffito: i) has both linguistic and pictorial codes, ii) is in English, and iii) creates metaphor. After scanning most the revolution graffiti in downtown Cairo and elsewhere, it has been found that the graffiti that meet the standards specified in this paper fall into three categories: 1) text and picture graffiti, 2) integrated picture-in-text graffiti, and 3) integrated text-in-picture graffiti. Due to limitation of space, one sample of each category shall be discussed in this paper.

4.1 Text and picture graffiti

This category of graffiti consists of a picture and a text, as both of the semiotic codes combine to create metaphor.

Consider the following graffito:



Figure 4 Text and picture Graffiti

This graffiti, made during the first days of the Egyptian revolution in 2011 and before the ousting of the former Egyptian president Mubarak in 11 February 2012, portrays in the background a sketchy map of Egypt on a wall colored with the red, white and black colors of the Egyptian flag. The graffiti portrays the figure 25 in red as if it is bleeding as an indicator of the blood of those who died during the 25th of January 2011 revolution; while someone is calling 'wake up Egypt', the former president is portrayed afraid, on his knees and covering his ears with his hands so as not to hear the call.

The lexical code in this graffiti is simple as there are two occurrences. The first is a call 'wake up Egypt', and the second is '25'. Applying systemic functional theory and the tri-metafunctions for analyzing these lexical codes, the first lexical code is a call for Egyptians to wake up and revolt against oppression and the regime, as understood from the context. The ideational metafunction here prompts the idea of a call for Egyptians to revolt against the regime, whereas the second lexical code (25) creates the ideas of the revolution. The mood in these lexical codes is revolutionary as both the theme and context suggest; this proposes the cohesion of the lexical code.

The pictorial code is more complicated, as it portrays the flag of Egypt in the background, then a sketchy map of Egypt, the former president on his knees, which is a symbol of humiliation, and his facial expressions reflect fear and his hands are on his ears so as not to listen to what is being called. Facial expressions of the person on the far left of the graffiti reflect anger, and there is a microphone on his right hand. Egypt and the attire of this person share the same color, grey, to symbolize that he is one of the people of the land. The pictorial code builds ideas of revolution, anger of the people, humiliation and fear of the regime, and unity of the people with their land. The graffiti suggests that the mood is revolutionary and inciting as suggested by the context. The pictorial code is cohesive, especially with the skillful manipulation of colors, which imply a unity between Egypt and the people.

The previous lines are analyses of each semiotic resource individually. The two resources have messages, as explained. However, when analyzing the two codes together in the context of the revolution, a metaphor is created. Max Black in his 1979 article maintains that what matters in the implicative complex of a concept is not merely a number of factual properties, but also beliefs, superstitions and so on. Black adds that a metaphor is also dependent on a cultural context. The combination of the lexical and pictorial codes in this graffito creates a complex metaphor that would be better understood by Egyptians, especially Muslims. The one who is calling wears a cloak similar to the one that usually worn by sheikhs who call for prayers in mosques. Moreover, his wordings are similar to the call for dawn prayers, which is an indicator for a new beginning after the revolution.

According to the Islamic creed, Satan is hurt by the call for prayers. In a prophet saying (http://www.iium.edu.my/deed/hadith/muslim/004a_smt.html), Abu Huraira reported: The Messenger of Allah (may peace be upon him) said: When there is a call to prayer the devil runs back breaking the wind so that he may not hear the call (...). This is portrayed as fear on the face of the former president, and supported by the fact that his hands are put on his ears so as not to listen. This two-fold metaphor, as shown in figure 5, goes that in metaphor 1, the primary subject is the person with a microphone asking Egypt to wake up, as the frame of the primary subject is the revolution, and the secondary subject is a holy call to the people of Egypt to wake up for a new dawn and a new beginning. The focus of the second subject is the moral strength people would have from religion and the awakening they are called to. The primary subject of the second metaphor is the ousted president, and the frame is the revolution and the call for prayer as depicted from the first metaphor. The secondary subject is the devil and the focus of metaphor 2 is fear and humiliation, as portrayed in the graffito.

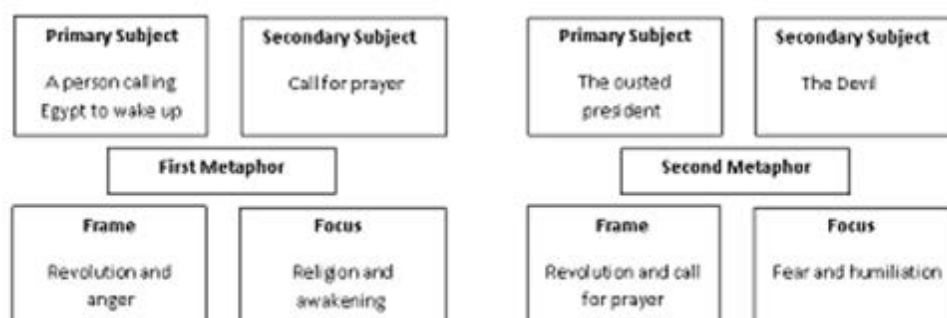


Figure 5: Metaphor

The analysis of the metaphor clarifies that there is a synergy of meaning as the semantics of the two semiotic resources, in addition to the skillful use of colors, expand to give further meanings, and accordingly their effects augmented. The SoI

between different semiotic resources increases and this justifies coloring the loops that are concerned with SoI with bolder and darker colors in figure 3.

4.2 Integrated picture-in-text graffiti

The graffiti of 'integrated picture-in-text' occur when a pictorial code is integrated in a text of a graffito, taking the shape of a letter or part of a word, like using the 'victory sign' for the letter 'V', or the revolutionary angry face for the letter 'O'.

The problem graffiti artists face due to limited space is how to get the public associate a graffito with the intended message; one of the solutions is to picture something that possesses qualities of the message as an integral part of the text, and thus portraying the message as obvious as possible to the public. Consider the following graffito:



Figure 6 Integrated picture-in-text graffiti

One of the hottest topics in the Egyptian political discourse for more than three decades is the sectarian division and violence between Muslims and Copts. While some politicians claim that this 'Divide and Rule' game was tactfully played for more than two decades, few incidents erupted throughout Egypt during and after the revolution, and some claim that they aimed at distracting attention from the revolutionary action. After the burning of a Coptic church in Cairo few weeks after the revolution, and the brutal security crackdown of protests by Coptic Christians supported by liberal Muslims in Cairo's Maspero area in 2011, this graffito appeared in downtown Cairo, and in other places like Alexandria, telling both Muslims and Christians to take care from the attempts to divide them.

In this example, it is difficult to talk about the linguistic and pictorial codes in isolation, as they are integrated in what can be described as an artistic unicode. However, as the context suggests, this warning-sign graffito asks both Muslims and

Christians to unite. The integration of the pictorial code, represented in the Cross, which signifies Christianity, and the Crescent, which signifies Islam, in the lexical code to replace the letters 'T' and 'C' respectively, creates a metaphor. Nonetheless, the central theme of the pictorial code is two big palm trees, leaning towards each other, one of them is marked with the Cross, and the second with the Crescent. The two palm trees have the same color of the land, in a reference to unity of origin. Between the trees, the sun rises and colored with orange, which symbolizes, according to Chang and Lin (2010: 3346), warmth, wisdom, pride, enthusiasm, happiness, power, and determination. In addition to the rising sun, which indicates hope and a new beginning, there are flying birds in the sky in a reference to freedom after the revolution. The ideational metafunction of the two semiotic codes and the colors used suggests unity between Muslims and Christians in a new beginning of freedom and hope. The ideational development occurs in a revolutionary mood in a context of some attempts to distract attention of the people by creating sectarian divisions. The graffiti is cohesive, especially as the palm tree is deeply rooted in the traditions of both Islam and Christianity.

The combination of the two semiotic resources creates a metaphor. The Primary subject of the metaphor is the letters 'T' and 'C', whereas the frame is, as the context suggests, the sectarian division attempts, the Secondary subject is the religious symbols, the Cross and the Crescent, whereas the focus is a warning message for unity and solidarity, reminding both Muslims and Christians that they are similar and share the same land and future.

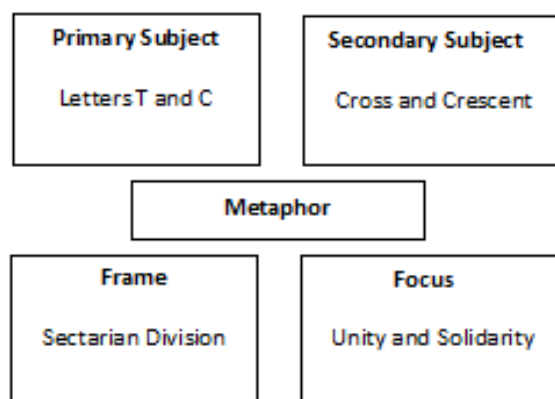


Figure 7: Metaphor

The SoI for the two semiotic resources shows expanded semantics and a synergy of meaning that creates a stronger message and effect than reading the lexical or pictorial codes alone.

4.3 Integrated text-in-picture graffiti

The category of 'integrated text-in-picture' graffiti was the least common in the Egyptian revolution graffiti. This category represents graffiti of a pictorial code drawn

with words rather than lines and curves. This combination creates a metaphor, which gives a stronger message and effect to the audience.

Consider the following graffito:



Figure 8 Integrated Text-in-picture graffiti

Among the triggers of the Egyptian 2011 revolution were poverty, hunger, inequality, endemic corruption, police brutality, unemployment and lack of civil and political rights, among others. This graffiti portrays an angry revolutionary face of a young man, or rather a face of someone who gets mad, juxtaposed to the Egyptian flag and a statement: That's why we get mad. The angry face is not drawn with lines and curves, but with words. These words spell out causes of the revolution and protesters' demands; they include poverty, hunger, bribery, theft, lack of democracy, Emergency law, corruption of the leadership, dictatorship, brutality of police, and theft of economy, among others. They portray protesters' demands for more democracy, truth, and freedom. The linguistic code states reasons of the revolution, whereas the pictorial code reflects the action: anger as the face is colored with the red white and black, which are the colors of the Egyptian flag.

The ideational metafunction of the two semiotic resources reflect the main idea of the graffiti, as understood from the context, while the two codes together develop the idea that leads to the conclusion: That's why we get mad. The mood of the two semiotic codes is revolutionary, whereas the textual and pictorial metafunctions are cohesive: anger leading to revolution.

According to Yule (2006: 10), when pictures represent particular images in a consistent way, the product is described as a form of picture-writing, or pictograms, as man used drawings to express ideas, in what linguists know as ideograms. Therefore, when the linguistic and pictorial codes integrate to create a metaphor, it sends bolder message than the sum of both codes and duly it has a stronger effect on the audience.

Adopting Black's theory, the primary subject is an angry face, and the frame is the revolution. The secondary subject is the youth who triggered the revolution and their feeling of injustice, while the focus is the reasons of the revolution. This metaphor extends the semantics of the two codes in a synergy of meaning that makes the SoI between the two semiotic resources bigger and thus justifies the reasons to revolt.

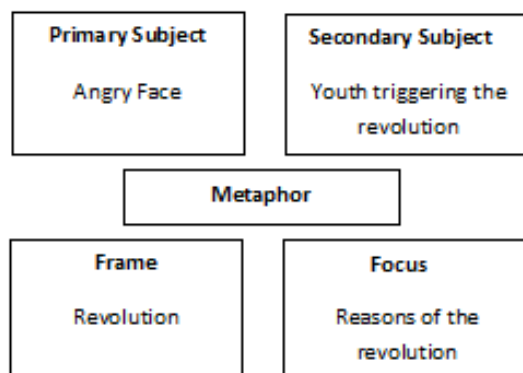


Figure 9: Metaphor

This image can be further explained in light of the notion of 'seeing as'. Ricoeur (2004: 251-254) maintains that 'seeing as' is the intuitive relationship that holds sense and image together, as he suggests that what matters about an image is not that you see it, but what you see it as. Thus 'seeing as' always offers the missing link in the chain of explanation. Therefore, this notion unites the non-verbal and verbal codes at the core of the 'image-ing' function of language.

The SoI for the two semiotic resources shows expanded semantics and a synergy of meaning that creates a stronger message and effect than reading the lexical or pictorial codes alone. Additionally, the integration of the lexical code in the pictorial code prompts the receivers to go into the details of the graffiti to read the reasons of the revolution, and this synergizes the intended meaning of the graffiti.

4- Conclusion

This paper introduces a new analysis tool for the analysis of metaphor generated from the combination of lexical and pictorial resources in the Egyptian revolution graffiti, namely Lexico-Pictorial Metaphor Analysis Tool (LPMAT). The multimodal analysis of graffiti, as discussed in this paper, implies the expansion of meaning through the use of lexico-pictorial metaphor. The paper also introduces a new term to be studied, evaluated and eventually used, when appropriate, in the studies of multimodal analysis, namely 'synergy of meaning'; this notion can be further extended to cover other fields of multimodal analysis, and therefore more research is encouraged in this field of study. Further, due to the universality of multimodality, more studies on the

application of LPMAT are encouraged in different languages and cultures, as all the graffiti depicted in this paper are in English and discuss the Egyptian revolution.

Academic studies on mono-modality are also encouraged to include other fields of research such as visual communication studies to augment multimodal research.

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*Tracing the 11th-12th Century's of Asia's Connectedness. Learning from Candi
Panataran's Reliefs*

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Abstract

"Man is by nature a social animal", according to Aristotle (384 BC- 322 BC). The history of human civilization is filled with records on when and how the world's communities or societies were segregated by geography, race, ideas, religion, nationality, cultural characteristics, or other categories. Yet, for many reasons, mankind has always managed to find ways to reconnect. For some, the reason might have been innate desire to be a part of a bigger group; while for others, it might be an attempt to unite the many different groups out of ambition to rule.

In Blitar - East Java, the effort to be inclusive could be traced back to the 11th – 12th century. They were carved in stones and placed as reliefs in Candi Panataran. Those reliefs do not depict religious teachings or moral lessons as the reliefs in Candi Borobudur do, nor they illustrate a myth like in Candi Prambanan. Instead, they portray human interactions and the common living arrangement of people in various costumes and headdresses. Despite of being eroded by the many years that have passed, there are still clear signs of connections between different cultures, races, and communities. The details for these reliefs remain inconclusive to this day.

This paper discusses the possible identity of the authority figure behind the building of Candi Panataran, his/her motivation, and the meanings beneath these reliefs.

Keywords:

Candi, Artifact, Visual-narration, global community, Panataran.

Background:

In 1967, the South East Asian countries formed a geo-political alliance called the ASEAN (*Association of South East Asian Nations*), which consisted of ten nations: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The purpose for this alliance is to strengthen intergovernmental cooperation by promoting regional political stability, economic, social, and cultural development, and maintaining a good relationship with the neighbouring countries. Geographically, these 10 nations are united and they share many similarities in genealogical history. Munoz (2009) wrote that the archaeological findings found in Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysian Peninsula, and Sumatra showed similar characteristics, signifying connectedness.



Figure 1. Map of ASEANⁱ

1967 was not the first time these nations were brought together. From the Indonesians' perspective, the effort to unite these countries could be traced back to many centuries ago, to the time of the Majapahit Kingdom (1293 to end of the 1400's)ⁱⁱ. However, the situation back then was very different and the essence of the unity was not based on the desire to promote equal and harmonious interrelation amongst nations, but more on the spirit of expansion. Unity was not achieved through voluntary diplomatic means, *per se*, but some by familial relationships or through marriages of the rulers' family members; some by trade relation and some was forced or by conquest. Nevertheless, unity was achieved many centuries later, although not without efforts and sacrifices. However, lately there have been social tensions due to social or ethnic differences and few political tensions arose in the region, such as socio-cultural tensions between Indonesia and Malaysia, political tensions between Philippines and Malaysia, and many others that do not surface. One should not think of these as significant threats to the unity, but they should still believe that the ties between these nations will always be tested, therefore the preservation and promotion of this unity is truly necessary. As the members of the global community, we must see that we are all connected in many ways to the extent that we are also responsible to that unity. This paper would like to offer a proposition that if we can learn from history some of

the reasons we need to keep this unity, maybe we will not be so eager to throw hostility to our neighbours. By exploring some historical facts from the 10th to the 13th century and analyzing reliefs in the remnants of an old temple in East Java, I am hoping to reveal that the connectedness of ASEAN, as well as the connectedness of the entire world, should be nurtured.

Learning from Candi Panataran.

Candi Panataran is a Hindu temple, situated in the village of Panataran, near the city of Blitar in East Java, Indonesia (coordinate [8.015833°LS](#) [112.209167°BT](#)). It is the biggest temple and the biggest compound of temples in East Java; but compared to the Borobudur Temple in Central Java it is still smaller. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, a British Governor, found the ruins of Candi Panataran in 1815, but it was not known until 1850 when various European scholars came and studied the compound. The site of Candi Panataran can be divided into ten (10) partsⁱⁱⁱ: 1) The front yard, 2). Great Court (*Bale Agung*), 3). Terrace (*Pendopo Teras*), 4). Inscribed monument (*Candi angka tahun*), 5). Center-yard, 6). Dragon Temple (*Candi naga*), 7) Missing monument in Center yard, 8). Back yard, 9) Main temple, 10). Palah Inscriptions (*Prasasti Palah*); see figures 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d below. Six (6) out of ten remains while the other four (4) leave only small evidences of existence at the bottom.

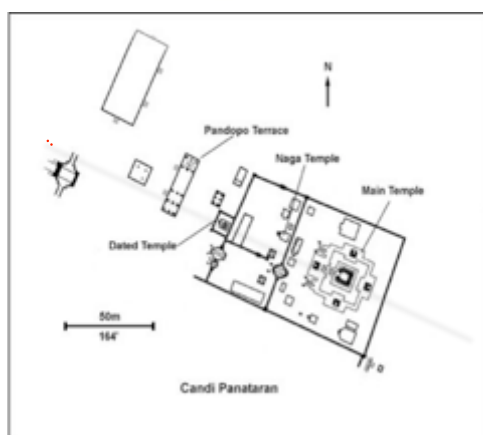


Figure 2a. View from above



Figure 2b. View from google earth



Figure 2c. View from the front



Figure 2d. View from the main temple

Conditions of the reliefs:

Some of the reliefs in Candi Panataran are in good shape, especially the Dragon temple (*Candi Naga*). Believed as a sacred part of the compound, this candi remains relatively more intact than the other parts.



Figure 3a. Dragon temple from below



Figure 3b. Dragon temple from above

Bernet-Kempers (1959, p. 91 cited in Rahardjo 2011, p. 231) regards the formation as the representation of *macrocosmos*, the earth, and its centre is the *paramasiwa* or the centre of the earth. Susanti (2010, p. 15) names the reliefs of this temple as *nawadewata* or *nawasongo*, the nine guardians of the earth. The belief is that there are 8 gods or goddesses guarding the earth and one god named *Batara Syiwa* or *Shva* guarding the zenith. The dragon, held by the nine goddesses, is the earth crust; and it is personified by the name *Batari Pertiwi*, see Sutedjo & Hartadi (2011)^{iv}.

Terrace of Candi Panataran

The terrace is the third structure from the front of this compound and believed to be the veranda for the Kings and nobilities to place their offerings. This structure is rectangular with the diameters 29.05m x 9.22m x 1.5m. The reliefs on this terrace stand on the base shaped like a long dragon body, twisted on the four corners and a crowned dragonhead stands in the middle of one side. Since the reliefs on this terrace stand on the top of the earth crust, the body of the dragon, they should be a portrayal of the living conditions of the society or the Kingdom during the time of construction or before.



Figure 4a, 4b. The crowned dragonhead and body as the base of the terrace.

Current interpretation of the reliefs in the Terrace:

While the reliefs in the main temple had been read as the story of Ramayana and Kresnayana, the reliefs in the Terrace are not conclusive. Some believe the reliefs depict the story of *Sri Tanjung* and *Bubhuksah & Gagang Aking*. *Sri Tanjung* is a legend that is very closed to the Kingdom of Blambangan, located in the furthest east of the island of Java and where the city of Banyuwangi can be found.^v The story of *Sri Tanjung* is very similar to the bible story of King David and Bethseba where the king fell in love with the wife of his subordinate. The King sent the subordinate on a conspiracy mission that would kill him so he could take the wife. In *Sri Tanjung*, the subordinate survived and returned to the Kingdom only to find that his superior nearly raped the wife. The King twisted the story and accused the wife for seducing him instead. The subordinate was angry and killed the wife by his *keris* dagger. The wife swore of her innocence and the blood from her body turned to fragrant water. Later, the place would be called Banyuwangi (*banyu* meaning water and *wangi* meaning pleasant fragrance) the capital for Blambangan. However, there are at least two arguments against the legend of *Sri Tanjung* in Panataran. First, Munoz (2009, p. 417-421) wrote that this Kingdom was the most difficult Kingdom to conquer during the reign of Raden Wijaya, the first Kingdom of Majapahit who acquired power in 1293-1309. The terrain was difficult to conquer and the defence was strong. Therefore, the Kingdom of Blambangan was an independent Kingdom for a long time until 1597, when the Kingdom of Demak defeated it. An independent Hindu-Buddha Kingdom would have a big temple to which the King and their subjects would go to. In Blambangan, it would be Candi Bang. First, it is highly unlikely that the King of Blambangan would go to Panataran to do religious ceremonies, especially when Panataran had been the temple for the Kingdom of Majapahit. Second, the time frame does not fit. A year before the Kingdom of Demak defeated the Kingdom of Blambangan via Pasuruan, the princess of Blambangan was given to marry the King of new Mataram in 1596, but her husband killed her because she refused to convert into the new religion. Even though, the legend of *Sri Tanjung* offers some similarities to the fate of the princess, it is highly unlikely that the reliefs in Panataran represent the metaphor for the story of the princess, because Panataran was built long before those times. The youngest date that can be found in Panataran is 1454M which was during the reign of Majapahit.

The story of *Bubhuksah & Gagang Aking* could have some content validity to serve as a reference to the reliefs. *Bubhuksah and Gagang Aking* were brothers; they meditated together despite of their different beliefs. *Bubhuksah* was stocky, strong and loved to eat all kinds of meat while *Gagang Aking* was very thin and weak because he ate only leaves. A white tiger was sent to test them. *Bubhuksah* offered himself to be eaten so the white tiger spared *Gagang Aking*. The story was about sacrifices for others who do not have the same belief. However, none of the reliefs shows close resemblance to the story (see figure 5a, 5b. Relief of a tiger/ tigers in the terrace of candi Panataran).



Figure 5a, 5b. Reliefs of a tiger/ tigers in the terrace of candi Panataran

These two legends were closer to the reliefs in Candi Surowono, in the village of Canggalu-Kediri, the city adjacent to Blitar where candi Panataran is located^{vi}. These small temples were built approximately around similar era.



Figure 6a. Candi Surawana



Figure 6b. Bubhuksah & Gagang Aking

The story of *Bubhuksah & Gagang Aking* was one of the clues pointing to who actually built or inspired the construction of Candi Panataran. It is said to be a part of *Arjunawiwaha*, the poem that was written by Mpu Kanwa, during the era of King Airlangga (1009-1042)^{vii}. Looking at the timeframe, it is highly possible that Airlangga had something to do with the reliefs in Candi Panataran as the initiator of the building of the Candi, then he was the inspiration for the Candi and its reliefs.

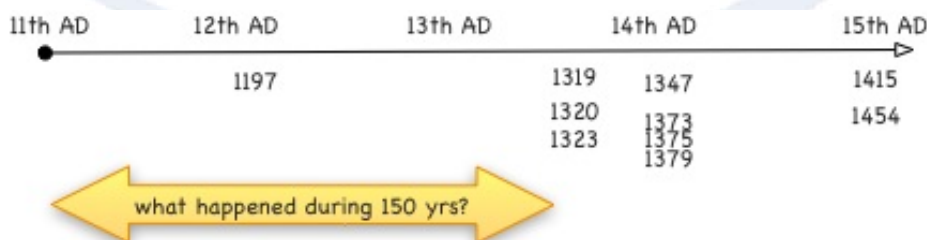


Figure 7. Dates based on stone inscriptions found around candi Panataran

Let's assume that the dates found scattered around candi Panataran as: 1) The dates for the construction and 2) The dates for the Kings' visits. The gap between the oldest date (1197) and the next date (1319) found in the Candi is 122 years. Thus, the first date, 1197, is highly likely to be either the year for the beginning of the construction or the year of completion or visit. If it is the year of the beginning of construction, then the terrace or the whole compound was built under the instruction of the King Kertajaya or *Sri Maharaja Sri Sarweswara Triwikramawatara Anindita Srenggalancana Digjaya Uttunggadewa*. On the other hand, if 1197 was the year of the visit, then the temple was already in place and King Kertajaya was not the one who built it. King Kertajaya might have visited this temple daily as his gratitude, for he and his Kingdom were spared from a big disaster that could potentially wipe off his Kingdom, as written in the inscription of Palah or part no. 10 in the compound of the Panataran:

"tandhan krtajayayâhya / ri bhuktiniran tan pariksirna nikang sang hyang catur lurah hinaruhâra nika", "sdangnira Çri Maharaja sanityangkên pratidina i sira paduka bhatarâ palah".^{viii}

In English it can be translated as:

"His majesty Krtajayayahya is very happy that the four corners are avoided from extinction that he daily came to candi Palah".

Candi Palah is the other name for Candi Panataran.

Who built the Terrace, the Candi's compound and for what purpose ?

King Srengga could have built candi Panataran as the last King of Kadiri, but he could have only visited Candi Panataran to pray as the Kings that came later, including King Hayam Wuruk in the year 1350-1389^{ix}. There are some people who believe that King Arok built this temple, others believe Candi Panataran was Ken Arok's tomb as the first King of Singasari, and the rest believe that it is the temple that worshipped Siwa the god of mountains whose builders were uncertain. Conversely, this paper wishes to propose my opinion that Candi Panataran was not built by any of the Kings named above, it was built or at least inspired by *Sri Maharaja Rakai Halu Sri Dharmawangsa Airlangga Anantawikramottunggadewa*, the first King of Kahuripan. The argument is as follows:

1. The reliefs on the main temple and the emblem of garudamuka are the symbols of Airlangga's Kingdom of Panjalu.

Airlangga was believed to be the reincarnation of the god of Vishnu and Garuda was Vishnu's vehicle (see Figure 8a. *Airlangga & Garuda*). On the third storey of Candi Panataran, there were statues of *garudamuka* or the face of Garuda, the bird of Vishnu (see figure 8b. *Garuda in Panataran*), and on the yard there are emblems of Barong that are common and popular in Bali. Airlangga was the prince of Bali, the eldest child of King Udayana and princess of Java, Mahendradatta, the daughter of Dharmawangsa Teguh and the descendant of Mpu Sindok, the King who left Central Java and built his own Kingdom in East Java in 929AD^x. It is said that Garuda was the emblem for King Airlangga's Kingdom.



Figure 8a. Airlangga & Garuda^{xi} Figure 8b. Garuda Panataran Figure 8c. Barong Bali

Garuda apparently not only known as a legend or a symbol in Indonesia, but also a significant figure related to the god of Vishnu for many countries^{xii}, such as Thailand, Mongolia, India, Nepal, and many other countries.



Fig. 8d. Thailand 8e. Mongolia 8f. West Bengal 8g. Kathmandu

2. Panataran is a Hindu temple yet embraces other religions

Candi Panataran is clearly a Hindu temple (see figure 9a below). Airlangga was a Hindu and believed as the reincarnation of the god Vishnu, yet Airlangga was very open to other religions too, as depicted in figure 9b. There were other priests around: the Buddhist, the Agastya or even the Brahman who provided him shelters and education when he was running to the forest to escape murder by the soldiers of King Wurawari. The King of Wurawari raided his wedding and killed the in-law's family (King Dharmawangsa Teguh's family) and burnt the palace down to ashes (Munoz (2009), Susanti (2010), Rahardjo (2011) and Boechari (2012). Later, when Airlangga was around 19 years old, approximately three years in hiding, Airlangga became the King to replace his father in law with the blessings of priests from three religions: Siwa, Buddha, and Mahabrahmana.



Figure 9a. The King & a Hindu god



Figure 9b. The King & the priests

Reliefs in Panataran show that various religious figures were given special privileges in the Kingdom and performed important tasks, including giving blessings or receiving visits from various kinds of people (note their headdresses in figures 10a, 10b, 10c below).



Figure 10a, b, c. Religious figures performed various functions in the Kingdom.

3. Diversity was nurtured, promoted, and flourished at the era of Airlangga

The reliefs in the terrace and main temple show that there were many non-Javanese people around (see series of figure 11 until figure 15 below, and notice the headdresses). When Mpu Sindok of Isyana dynasty moved from Central Java to East Java and built his Kingdom there, there were no records of foreigners. According to Rahardjo (2011), records of *wargga kilalan* or foreigners started to appear in the *inscription of Cane* dated 1021, inscription Patakan, and OJO LXIV, all written during the era of King Airlangga. It seems that foreigners were welcomed and encouraged during the reign of Airlangga to trade and to visit, confirmed by Susanti (2010, p. 224) based on the *inscription of Kamalagyan*^{xiii}. International trade flourished and many people of other origin came through the harbor of *Hujung Galuh*, including from India (such as Klin & Aryya), from *Sinhala* (Srilangka), *Pandikira* (in South Asia), *Drawira*, *Champa* (Vietnam), *Kmir* (Khmer), *Renen* (Mon), in Susanti (2010, p. 116, 221). Reliefs in Candi Panataran show some traces of these people (see the resemblance between headdresses in the reliefs and headdresses that can still be found nowadays in the some areas on ASEAN nations).



Figure 11 a, b. Compare to the headdress of a Red Hmong woman, Vietnam^{xiv}



Figure 12 a, b. The turban of Sinhalas, or the Singh^{xv}



Figure 13 a, b, c. The Mons and young mons of 21st century^{xvi}





Figure 14a, b, c, d, e. Similarities with *Thangkul Naga*, Nagaland soldiers^{xvii}.

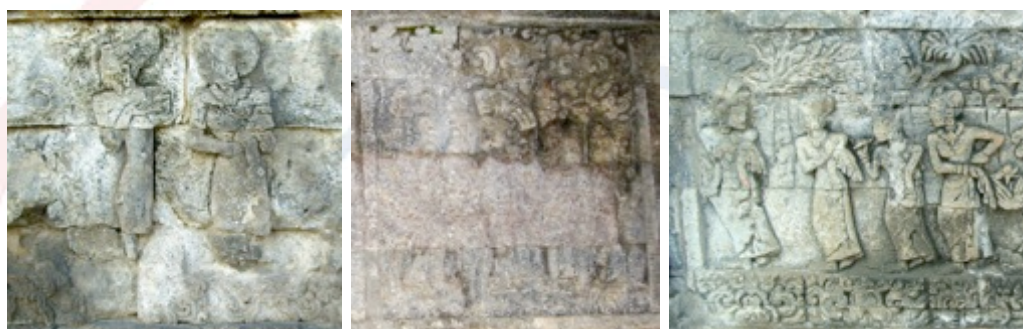


Figure 15 a, b, c. Various other headdresses

4. Mpu Kanwa's *Kakawin Ramayana* was the product of Airlangga's era

It is hard to conclude whether the reliefs in the main temple contain the story of Ramayana and Kresnayana as the myth says. Yes, there are some reliefs of monkeys, giants, and archers, which were the figures in Ramayana, but the story could have been entirely different. After all, Ramayana is a story that can be and have been reinterpreted so many times in so many versions (Sugi Lanus, 2005 cited in Kompas^{xviii}). There are many versions of the story of Ramayana and Mahabarata in the world that are very different than the original Ramayana from India^{xix}. Susanti (2010) and Boechari (2012) mentioned that King Airlangga instructed Mpu Kanwa to write *Kakawin Ramayana* and *Kakawin Arjunawiwaha* in 1021-1035. Yet, the version of Mpu's Kanwa's *Kakawin Ramayana* was very different; only a small part of the original Mahabarata was similar to the story in Mpu Kanwa's *Kakawin Ramayana* (Zoetmoelder cited in Susanti, 2010, pg. 76-77). Berg, 1938; Moens, 1950; Zoetmoelder, 1957, disagree with each other on whether *Kakawin Arjunawiwaha* was talking about Airlangga (Susanti 2010, p.80-81). Nevertheless, there is a high probability that the reliefs could have also been talking about the lifestory of Airlangga in metaphor of Ramayana and Kresnayana. Amongst the old rulers of Java, Airlangga was the most productive one in keeping records^{xx}.

Messages beneath the reliefs in Candi Panataran

If candi Panataran was built to contain the life story of King Airlangga, then what are the messages that he wished to preserve and leave them to the generations after him?

Well, looking at his life experiences and his establishments when he was a King, I can theorize as follows:

1. That unity is very important for prosperity

If the reliefs in Candi Panataran were about the living situations around 11th - 12th century, then it was highly likely there were no more wars. Instead of wars, the reliefs in the Terrace depicted common lives; there was a mugger, a couple, men seducing women after a party, a daughter and a mother, children playing, lots of men carrying goods, and so on. They seem to be enjoying themselves in the lifestyle that could not be possible if there were always wars. It was a peaceful time for the people in who lived on the land. During Airlangga's 23 or 24 years of reign, wars happened only when he tried to legitimate his position as the King of Kahuripan. But as soon as he was settled and had gained acceptance, Airlangga focused on the economic growth and on the security of the people. He opened trade with other nations, welcomed (and taxed) foreigners who came to trade, repaired Waringin Sapta dam so that Harbor Hujung Galuh could be accessible for traders. He regulates trading system by categorizing the goods and put quotas on them. He also kindly gave away many lands for the people who had helped him during the early days of his reign (in Susanti, 2010).

2. Civil war is always destructive to all

King Airlangga was very afraid of civil war and he tried to avoid it as much as possible. This attitude might have been influenced by the trauma of the conquestation that killed his family members and the entire family of Dharmawangsa Teguh (his father-in-law) on Airlangga's wedding day^{xxi}. The event was marked as *pralaya*, or the big disaster. The attack was planned and funded by the Kingdom of Srivijaya, the one Airlangga's father-in-law tried to conquer many decades earlier. Instead of waging war against his ancestor's enemy, Airlangga married Srivijaya's princess, his descendant. The marriage was also an interreligion marriage as the princess was Buddhist^{xxii}. Airlangga believed that civil wars must be stopped at all costs. Munoz (2009) theorized that he truly loved her, had a daughter who was supposed to be a crown princess, but later declined the throne and passed it on to the brothers. To avoid bloodshed caused by a sibling rivalry, Airlangga had to split the Kingdom into two: Panjalu and Janggala. Airlangga thought that if each son had his own throne, the two would work side by side instead of fighting against each other^{xxiii}. Nonetheless, civil war broke out when he left the throne in 1043. Unity was difficult to achieve despite King Airlangga and his descendants' efforts to maintain peace. In 1223, the Kingdom was attacked and conquered. A new regime came to throne called the Kingdom of Singasari. That was the end of Sailendra's dynasty, which held significant power for almost five centuries in the politics of Nusantara until the 12th century. The Kingdom of Srivijaya was weaker and was later defeated because of the ambition to rule over other vassal states. The Kingdom of Kahuripan was also overthrown because of a civil war. These historical facts should teach us a lesson that unity and peaceful connectedness should always be preserved to achieve economic growth. Disputes based on differences of beliefs or races should always be avoided or resolved peacefully.

3. The war is actually the individual yet united war against evil

The reliefs in the main temple of candi Panataran showed elements that were common in the story of Ramayana: there were monkeys and Hanuman, the King monkey, also evil-looking creatures with long skull-necklaces and humans dressed in fancy clothes belonging to princes and nobilities. Yet, if examined closely, it was not Indian Ramayana but Airlangga's *Kakawin Ramayana*, as being pointed out above. One of the main difference from the story of Ramayana from India was that the Indian enemy was a ten-headed giant called Dasamuka, while in candi panataran there were many different evil-looking in similar-size bodies. Most of them were carved with swirly ornaments, signifying the cloud on *heavens* above, instead of solid ground with the body of a dragon or snake in the Terrace (Figure 16a, b, c below).



Figure 16 a, b, c. Various shapes of evil sitting on clouds

The reliefs conveyed a message that the war in heaven as well as wars on earth should be wars against evil and death, instead of war against each other.

Conclusion:

There are many things we can learn from Candi Panataran and many other mysteries to solve. The reliefs provide many clues on historical events, insights, and lessons from the past, which could help as facts to teach peace and harmony to the younger generation. So far, we can see that connections between Asian countries have already been established since the 11st to 12th century. This connectedness was lost during colonialism, but was repaired in 1967, thru ASEAN.

Recommendation:

Unfortunately, the restoration in Candi Panataran was not as tidy as it was for Candi Borobudur. There were many misplaced stones and therefore the reading is distorted, such as the two pieces of stones below (Fig. 17a & 17b). They could be placed together to become a cakravartin, or the sign of an ideal leader who leads the four corners of the world with compassion and ethics^{xxiv}. More efforts are needed to reconstruct additional meanings on the reliefs in Candi Panataran.



Figure 17a. Half cakravartin in main candi



Figure 17b. Half cakravartin in the terrace

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End Note:

ⁱ Taken from <http://kromchol.rid.go.th/ffd/internation/Eng/asean%20eng/asean.htm>

ⁱⁱ History says that the *Oath of Palapa* by Gajah Mada, mahapatih of the King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit Kingdom, contained a desire to unite the countries that we know now as Asean countries and he spent his career life achieving the goal.

ⁱⁱⁱ Reference is taken from http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candi_Penataran

^{iv} http://lakubecik.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9:jagad-gumelar&catid=1:artikel&Itemid=2

^v From http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Tanjung

^{vi} Candi Surawana, a Siwa's temple located near Candi Panataran
http://candi.pnri.go.id/jawa_timur/surawana/candi_surawana1.htm

^{vii} Bubhuksah dan Gagang Aking is part of Arjunawiwaha,
http://kedirikab.go.id/?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=78; <http://the-jalmo.blogspot.com/2012/09/bentuk-bangunannya-masih-ada-meski-tak.html>

^{viii} It means: *His majesty Krtajayayahya is very happy that the four corners are avoided from extinction that he daily came to candi Palah*, other name for candi Panataran.

http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candi_Penataran

^{ix} The book of *Nagarakertagama*, believed to be written in 1365, stated that Hayam Wuruk, the King of Majapahit visited candi Palah or candi Panataran.

http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candi_Penataran

^x From http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mpu_Sindok; Munoz 2009:339; Susanti (2011:3); Boechari (2012:93-94)

^{xi} Collection of Museum Trowulan, East Java.

^{xii} From <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garuda>

^{xiii} There is still uncertainty whether the harbor is close to the city Mojokerto now or around the coast of Surabaya.

^{xiv} From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/waltercallens/5517221057/in/set-72157625822672404>

^{xv} From <http://www.punjabnn.com/2009/06/15/>

^{xvi} From <http://burmadigest.info/2008/01/26/the-golden-days-of-the-great-mon-empire-i/>

^{xvii} From <http://www.flickr.com/photos/10913960@N04/994337729/>

^{xviii} Sugi Lanus is a Balinese Literature expert and a Balinese Hindu. Harian KOMPAS rubrik Teroka, 23 Desember 2005 <http://www.kompas.com/>

^{xix} Ramayana is a love story of Rama and Sinta. A wicked giant who had 10 heads named Dasamuka kidnapped Sinta, forced Rama and his brother Laksmana to search for her in the Kingdom of giants. Rama was helped by Hanuman, the King of white forest monkey. Rama later found Sinta and defeated Dasamuka.

^{xx} At least 33 stone inscriptions found that were made during the reign of Airlangga (M-Johan in Susanti, 2010, p.xxi). No one is certain how many others that haven't been found or published yet.

^{xxi} Airlangga escaped with his confidante, Narottama; they were protected by a Rsi for more or less 3 years in the wilderness.

^{xxii} Munoz (2009, p. 350-351) theorized that Airlangga very broken hearted when she died in the year of 1041, that not long after her passing he decided to leave the throne in 1042 and became a sage. Munoz (2009) refers this to *Nagarakertagama*, 68.3-4: G Th. Pigeaud, *Java in 14th century, a study in cultural society*, the *Nagarakertagama* by Rakawi Prapanca of *Majapahit* (1963) vol.5.

^{xxiii} Munoz (2009, p. 351 based on Boechari,1968) theorized that Airlangga had only one son, the other son was actually the brother of Airlangga's bride-to-be that died in the attack of Wurawari on the wedding day, but escape and reclaim the throne.

^{xxiv} In Susanti (2010, p.101) & <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chakravartin>



Transfer as an Alternative to Direct Drawing in Yoruba Hand Built Pottery

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Abstract

Drawing is a by-product of man's innate curiosity; its evidence is often traced back to the period early Palaeolithic man exhibits their intuitive skills in sketching both domestic and wild creatures on some reserved cave walls. Their effort were further promoted and integrated as direct drawings in later designs of visual arts; a practice that is evident in all its sub-divisions, ceramic arts/wares in particular. In the same vein traditional Yoruba potters of Nigeria also employ direct drawing although through incision and coil method to ornament their hand built wares; a process that has been observed to undermine perfection, uniformity and regularity in design. The need to re-engineer the process among others is generating momentum particularly now. In view of the latter, this paper examine the attendant challenges posed by the aforementioned through field participation and bibliographically with a view of suggesting transfer method as an alternative in improving its viability in contemporary mass production.

Introduction

Mans' emancipation and quest for knowledge is hitherto providential (unconsciously) or necessity (consciously) driven. In the case of pottery; its advent was acclaimed providential; an incident that reveal a transformation of wet clay into an article of permanent use. Its end products, pottery is mainly obtained through high temperature, changing its physical and chemical properties of a clay body into a new hard and durable state. Apparently, the latter process is today broadly acclaimed firing (Peterson, 1992: 205); nonetheless, its product pottery, has contributed to the development of man not only in the Yoruba milieu but in the world at large. However, its practices varied across the globe; presumably as a result of the varying differential climatic condition of the universe with apparent testimonies in cultural, technological and civic dynamics. However, Yoruba pottery products are prominently evident as domestic, ceremonial or religious utilism with divergent shapes and sizes even in recent time (Igwilo, 1983: 35).

In Nigeria and particularly among the Yoruba, as it is common in Africa; pottery is widely practiced among the women, as a lucrative and viable vocation. Ukaegbe (1963: 42-45) further concur, that the women in the Eastern part of Nigeria also predominate the practise like their southern counterparts and had sole proregative to the vocation. His argument however, does not have substantive coverage over the entire nation; as it has been observed, by Adepegba (1995: 65) that pottery vocation is predominantly practised among the men of some Northern Nigeria states; a scenario, he affirmed was a product of their religious indoctrination.

In Yoruba land of Southwestern Nigeria, pottery has being one of the major vocations of the ancient that survived till date; recent archaeological finds has attest pottery practises at Iwo-Eleru dating back to as early as 8000B.C (Drewal and Schildkrout, 2006: 79). Traditionally, pottery is mainly practiced by Yoruba women; their men assist in the mininig of the mineral also reffered to as digging of the clay and gathering of woods for fuel needed during firing (Ibigbami, 1981: 12-19). Yoruba pottery practice is traditionally family or lineage incline; this is a scenario where all information concerning the nitty-gritty of the vocation is consealed or sacredly kept and passed on only to members of the lineage from generation to generations and not by apprenticeship; a system of practise that encouraged training an external body, that is non member of the lineage particularly those from different background to learn vocation outside their family lineage and are required to master materials, tools, techniques, decoration and finesse. Apprenticeship however, is a recent development in Yoruba milieu as it is evident in modern pottery centres. Today, many traditional and modern pottery centres are scattered across Yoruba cities, towns and villages. They include Ibadan, Ilorin, Ipetumodu, Ile Ife, Oyo, Ogbomoso, Abeokuta, Igbara Odo, Erusu Akoko, Isua, Egbado, Ijero Ekiti, Okeho, Saki, Iseyin, Awe, Fiditi, Ilora to mention few (Kalilu, Akintonde and Ayodele 2006; Fajuyigbe and Umoru, 2005).

The major mineral material for pottery/ceramics production is no doubt known to the local potters, particularly has its abundance as a mineral cannot be ignored, mainly for its availability which is as a result of the several million years of breakdown in igneous rock through the process of weathering; its end product is known as clay (*amo*). Clay, which is a chemical combination of alumina, silica and water, is equally formulated as $Al_2O_3 \cdot 2SO_3 \cdot 2H_2O$ (Rhodes 1998: 6-7); though, varies in type, colour and plasticity, this largely depend on its formation and location (Peterson 1998: 14).

Clay however, is basically classified into primary and secondary type. Primary or residual clay is found at its point of formation otherwise known as mother rock; kaolin is the most prominent in this category, with little or no impurities. While, secondary clay is referred to as a result of its movement from the mother rock; this encourage impurities and inevitably made plasticity in such class imminent as exemplified in Ball clay (Rothenberg, 1972: 264).

Of the two classes of clays discussed above; the secondary clay type happens to be the most prevalently used by the Yoruba potters. This however, may not necessarily be as a result of its readily availability but for the supposed indigenous ignorance of the scientific exploration and exploitation of the primary clay type. And as such, her indigenous potters had to do with the readily available secondary clay; often cultured around the streams, river banks and valley. They also make use of clay dug from wells and during construction. Today, with the urbanization of more rural localities particularly in the area of road construction which often revealed new clay sites; such sites also availed the local potters arrayed opportunities from which they prospect from. Also worthy of note, is the fact that, many of this available clays are often in their raw state either as wet or dry and subsequently kneaded so as to expel air bubbles in the clay mass and make the mass homogeneous. The theory of clay body is not totally alien to the Yoruba people although, not in the Western sense of the word; Yoruba potters usually combine two or more secondary clay types particularly in terms of colour and plasticity before use.

It is no longer news, that hand built technique is the sole method of producing indigenous wares in Yoruba land; its end product is often achieved through mould, coil and pinch or the combination of the three. The implication of the latter is that throwing technique which is on potter's wheel as an alternative practise is foreign to the people. To make a successful hand built pottery however, three major steps or stages must be considerably explored; they are widely and generally considered as base forming, body building and rim forming (Fatunsin, 1992:23-33).

Base forming is the first and foremost; according to the Yoruba, its equivalence is *tite* which literarily means to spread; a process that is similar to the Western press cast. To achieve this locally, potters often start the process by sparingly sprinkling wood ash on the bottom of an already fired pot which doubles as a mould (*osunwon*) and subsequently laid lump of clay on it until a desirable size and thickness is achieved. The essence of the sprinkled wood ash is to prevent clay from sticking to mould. After gotten a desirable cast base; a damp corn cub is rolled over the cast base in order to create an aesthetic design, allowing for good frictional grip and further create a harmonious and compact union in the cast. The cast base will then be left on the mould for some minutes in order for it to become leather hard (plate 1).

Mimo is the second stage which literarily means to building the body wall; it is the continuation of the base forming. To move on in this stage, the cast base will be turned upright or inversely and placed on a shallow calabash or pot at a convenient height for the potter (Price, 1976: 55-59). The potter damped the rim of the leather hard base and then trimmed it with a snail shell or knife in order to allow the next stage to have a good grip. The potter builds the wall of the pot by rolling several lumps of clay into coils between her palms and then adding them one after the other to the base. These coils will be blend together and pinched by both hands to maintain

even thickness of the wall as the potter moving round the pot until the desired height is achieved (plate 2). The body will then be scrapped and smoothed with snail shell or plastic scrapper other wise termed kidney.

Rim forming (*igbati*) which is the third and the stage is the next after the forming the wall body of the pot has been completed. Rim because of its placement at the edge of the pot is often treated carefully by potters so as to achieve a desired beauty for the pot. Traditional potters often make the neck of the pot by joining big coils of clay at the apex of the pot depending on the circumference and the height of the rim. The coils will then be smoothed and polished with damped rag or boiled leaf as the potter move round the pot. At this stage, the inner part of the pot is scrapped and polished with smooth plastic and stone before proceeding to decorate the pot (plate 3).



Plate 1

A potter forming the base of a pot on already fired pot (*osunwon*) in Ilorin, Nigeria
Photograph: Abiodun, SO, 2005



Plate 2

Woman potter blending the attached coils on the base cast to form the body in Ilorin.
Photograph: Abiodun, SO, 2005



Plate 3

A potter shaping the rim (*igbati*) of a pot
Photograph: Abiodun, SO, 2005

The Yoruba like her other counterparts around the globe; often base her pottery decoration on its functionality which may be utilitarian, domestic, ceremonial or religious. Pots or pottery decorations are traditionally done through direct drawing either in low or high reliefs with samples in impressed drawing (*roulette*), incised drawing (*engraving*), coiled drawing, sculptural drawing (*moulding*), polished drawing (*burnish*) and pigmental drawing (*painting*). The latter however, are usually done on wet or leather hard ware with the aim of ornamenting, embellishing and adding aesthetic value to wares; see plates 4 to 8 for details.

Impressed drawing (*roulette pattern*) is usually done by rolling maize cob, wool cord as well as carved wood round the pot to impressed decorative motif on wet pot. It is used on the base of the pot and sometimes on the body of the ware particularly among Ilorin, Saki, Ogbomoso and Okeho potters (plate 4).

Incised drawing (*engraved pattern*) is another decorative technique that is commonly achieved by using wooden stick, broomstick and any other sharp object to incise, engrave and texture the surface of the wares. The potters usually adapt this approach to draw lines and geometric shapes as well as write names directly on the pots (plate 5). These incised or engraved patterns of decoration usually lack regularity and

uniformity when they are repeated on many pots mainly as a result of the medium which is coupled with the potters' unplanned design.

Relief drawing is traditionally achieved by using coil or pinching patterns directly on pottery as well as the combination of the two. This kind of decoration usually creates raised embossed patterns on the ware. The coil is often used to design creative geometric lines and shapes while pinching is used to sculpt or make figural, aquatic or zoomorphic motif on the wares. This type of decoration is seldomly used to design wares because it takes a lot of time to produce and also requires expertise skills (plate 6)

Polished drawing (burnish) is usually done by using smooth pebble of stone or string of baobab seed (*arin*) to draw lines and geometric shapes on a pot or vessel that is about to dry. The burnished designs will appear faintly before firing while its full effects come out vividly, only when the burnished wares are fired to maturity after which it is buried in heap of wet leaves or sawdust, creating a black shining effect on the pots. The pot will then be dipped into concoction made from boiled locust bean pods which seals carbon into the pores of the pot surface. The burnished surface however, shine brighter than the other part of the pot (plate 7).

Pigmental drawing other wise called painting is often done on pots and other fired vessels using reddish brown dye obtained from haemilite stone by grinding it on a rocky surface, producing powdery substance which when mixed with water, forms slip, locally termed *iroo* (Fatunsin 1992: 33). The slip is then made ready for use; wet grasses or rag are often used to apply this slip on the base and some other parts of the pot as lines and geometric patterns; these patterns also serve as individual sign of identification in a communal pottery exercise (plate 8).



Plate 4
Impressed design done on a pot
with corn cob and carved stick
(Courtesy: Price, 1976: 57)



Plate 5
Incised drawing of lines
and geometric pattern on
wet water pot (*amu*) in Ilorin



Plate 6
Relief drawing of text on
Osun ritual pot (*otu olomu
meji*) from Ifo, Ogun State



Plate 7
Polished drawing of lizards and a
scorpion on a basted (black) pot
Photograph: Akinde, TE, 2011



Plate 8
Pigmental drawing of lines and
geometric shapes on water pots (*amu*)
Photograph: Abiodun, SO, 2005

Although, the Yoruba are known for creative pottery with diverse mastery (Price 1976: 54-63); further advancement became apparent during her contact with Western expert-rates and educationists with centers in Ilorin, Abuja, Ibadan and later Ife. The Ife experiment popularly known as Ori- Olokun further metamorphosised to an Art school (Ademuleya and Folaranmi, 2006: 21), with Ibigbami at the frontier of the school pottery exploration. In Agberia's (1998: 66) view, contemporary Yoruba pottery was as a result of Roberts, Murray and Cardew's initiatives. He however, noted that Cardew in the 1950s introduced throwing wheel, kilns and glazes as against hand built and open firing techniques to the local potters. Cardew's effort was not only evident in the successful establishment of the Abuja Pottery Centre; he was also material to the introduction of pottery into Visual art education in Nigerian school curriculum. His concerted efforts further, brought about growth in Nigerian and Yoruba traditional pottery in particular (Chukueggu, 1998: 188-193).

Ibigbami however, was at the pinnacle of advancing traditional Yoruba pottery, his efforts resonate around many Nigerian art schools particularly those in the Southwest. In the early 1980s, Ibigbami began the injection and incorporation of the formal and traditional pottery approaches in his teachings at the University of Ife, now Obafemi Awolowo University (O.A.U). According to LaDuke's (1991: 17-20) account, Ibigbami was able to achieve the latter, courtesy of his persistent and unrelented effort in organising brainstorming forums, symposiums, seminars and workshops for both informal and formal potters. His findings however, brought about the emergence of highly decorated assemblage pillar pots otherwise called "Ife wares" which are either whole or assembled (Fajuyigbe and Umoru 2005:27-32). Among the schools where Ibigbami's experiment is still sustained were institutions where his products have taught and are still teaching; they include Ladoke Akintola University of Technology (LAUTECH) Ogbomoso, University of Lagos (UNILAG), Emmanuel Alayande College of Education (EACOED) Oyo formerly Saint Andrews College and Osun State College of Education (OSCOED) Ila Orangun.

The highly decorated pottery of Ife as mentioned earlier is often done through direct drawing and so are many of the pottery centres across Yorubaland. Although, the latter approach has aesthetic merits; it lacks precision and perfection. These limitations were some of the problems Ibigbami's experiment proffered solution to,

introducing tracing and sculptural drawing as evident in some of his prodigies' works (plates 9, 10 and 11). His concerted effort then became the most prevalently adopted approach among formal trained potters with infinitesimal adaptation among Yoruba traditional potters.

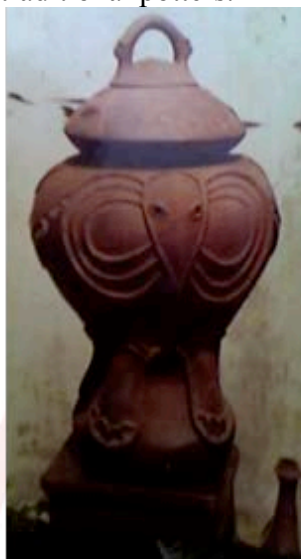


Plate 9
Akintonde Moses A.,
A o merin joba,
Terracotta, 1983
Photograph: Akintonde, MO, 1984



Plate 10
Akinde Toyin E.,
Ori inu, ori ode,
Terracotta, 217cm ht., 2007
Photograph: Akinde TE, 2010

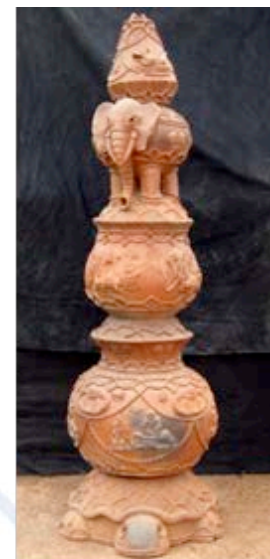


Plate 11
Abiodun Segun O.,
A o merin joba,
Terracotta, 228cm ht., 2009
Photograph: Abiodun, SO, 2012

Traced drawing also known as tracing is a process of transferring images from paper to the pottery surface, solving the problems of irregularity and inconsistency in decorative wares. Traced drawing is done by merging carbonnated sheet with a diagrammatic paper before tracing. To trace, masking tape is usually used to hold the carbonnated diagram sheet on the surface area of the bisque ware; taping and carbonnation however, may not be necessary in the case of leather hard surface because the paper often sticked to the receipt surface, allowing for easy and fainty rendition using any blur but pointed object like pencil after which the traced paper is removed.

Sculptural drawing, other wise called mould casting is useful in transferring relief motifs in the round (three dimensional form). Patterns, texts or images, drawn or moulded with clay; its end product is casted with Plaster of Paris or cement to produce a mould. Sculptural drawing or cast is often done by using slip or lump press to reproduced moulded image which can be transferred on many pottery surfaces as possible.

Consequent upon the former argument and its attendant challenges; it became apparent that injecting a more proactive and advanced approach which is not only nascent but state of the art is the only way forward in advancing pottery practises in the Southwest particularly in contemporary time. And as such, transfer technology whose primary jurisdiction is in graphic design and not technological transfer, comes handy as a good hypothetical alternative; serving a supposed replacement for direct drawing in traditional pottery, therefore encouraging accurate photographic imagery, pattern and text on two or three-dimensional ceramic surface.

Nonetheless, printing readily comes to mind, its integration into ceramic product has been on for some time now; its emergency was primal in England in the mid-eighteen century in response to consumers demands for less expensive pottery produce that will compete favourably with the then painted wares in terms of finesse. This approach started as a 'low tech' as observed in the then monochrome blue; a good example is the antique Chinese blue wares which were the favourites of its era. The humble beginning of the latter approach was through etching and engraving patterns or designs on copper sheets; its surface will then be inked with glaze slip which will also be transferred to bisque for final fire of permanence. This technology today has been advanced to further accommodate sophisticated varieties as will be discussed in stamping, stencil, ink and decal transfer below (Wikipedia 2012a and Wiggins 2012).

Stamping is a printmaking technique that is usually done on wooden, plate or lino by cutting or etching away unwanted area of the design. The latter however, defers from the Yoruba traditional stamping technique which impress natural objects such as barks and seeds of plants, finger nails, sea snails and cowry shells on pottery wares to create decorative motifs. Nonetheless, stamping process is similar to the primordial etching transfer; it can be explored on leather hard clay surface, bisque and glazed wares using low-glaze which vitrify at 700°C-800°C in the kiln with articles such as plates, cups, mugs among others.

Stencil is the art of printing text, pattern and image from any flexible surface. There are different ways of making stencil; but for this study simple stencil and silk screen are examined. Simple stencil can be made from a well taped paper or any flexible water resistant materials. Today stencil texts, patterns or images are often perfected on computer before they are printed out; their outlines were then cut out using razor blade or knife leaving only the negative area. The stencil is then placed on the ware. Transfer of colours of the design, is either done using foam on colour to dab or by spraying colour on the surface. Although, simple stencil is not suitable for mass duplication of design; it nonetheless, encourages multi colours which in turn requires multiple stencil and a good example is the bottle in (plate 12).



Plate 12
Akano Benjamin, *Royalty*,
Acrylic on terracotta, 2010
Photograph: Akinde TE, 2012

Screen printing is an advancement of the simple technique which encourages mass duplication on wares that can transfer mono or multi-colour finer and accurate registered image on the paper and ware than printmaking, direct drawing and painting. To explore the latter, a mesh is stretched over a frame, then coated with a light-sensitive emulsion in a cool dark area, there after it is allowed to dry before imposing on it the design with a stainless glass, it is then burn or exposed to a source containing ultraviolet light of between 350-420 nanometre spectrums or inside the sun for about 30-40 seconds or more depending on the intensity of the sun. The screen is then carefully and thoroughly washed; the areas of emulsion that were not exposed to light dissolve and wash away, leaving a negative stencil of the image on the mesh. (Wikipedia 2012b and Wikipedia 2013).

Decal transfer is an effective, accurate and provides ample creative opportunity for potters. Decal is a technology that has now become accepted as a viable replacement to screen printing. Decal is similar to stickers but it is made from either enamel or Laser ink that is printed on special decal paper which is later transfer to permanency on wares through firing or heating. Decal application is possible on irregular surfaces such as concave or convex pieces; solving the various difficulties associated with imaging, text, patterning and colour separation. However, water-slide and heat-release are the two categories of decal transfer (Caro and Strevey 2012) and they are discussed below.

Water-slide decal is best suited for small and medium runs, since the transfer is done manually. The ink used to make water-slide decal is called enamel which is made of coloured mineral pigments or precious metals. In transferring decal through water-slide, a piece of enamel print will be soaked for about 30-60 seconds in the water to allow the colour print to slide from the paper surface to the pottery wares. The print will be dragged from the decal paper then to the pottery surface. Apply and adjust the enamel colour print, remove any excess any water and air bubbles by rubbing the squeegee from the centre of the print to the outer corners. Then allow it to dry at room temperature for one day. The dried decorated pieces will be fired between 570°C - 1400°C depending on the body composition of the ware and the enamel in order to make the colour print vitrified and fused onto the piece permanently (Caro and Strevey 2012).

Heat release (transfer) is the latest decal transfer printing technology that encourages mass production of drawing and other design on the pottery wares. It is used in producing fine, accurate and highly detailed images. The drawings, texts, patterns and images are executed using computer multi-colour print from a high-resolution ceramic toner-printer with CMYK (cyan, magenta, yellow and black) colours onto heat transfer film. The printed design will be placed on the pottery ware and transferred with sophisticated equipment such as 4-in-1 heat press machine; this machine can also print on flat, cylinder and conical product such as cups, beer stain, ruler etcetera (plate 13). However, decal particularly heat release gives photographic quality with smooth and vibrant ceramic colours (plate 14).

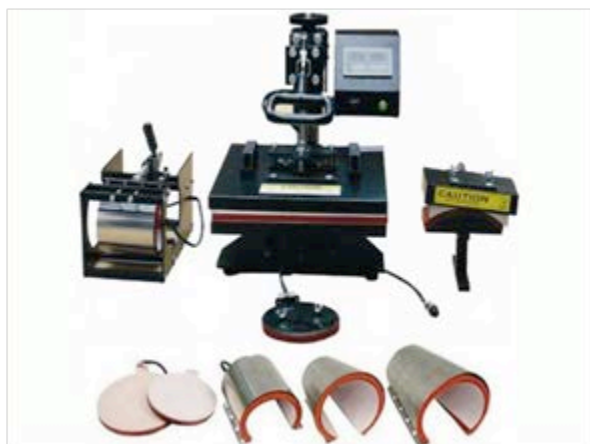


Plate 13
Multifunction Combo 4 in 1
Heat Transfer Machine
Courtesy: dg-shenghua.en.made-in-china.com



Plate 14
Heat-release drawing on a mug
Photograph: Akinde TE, 2012

Conclusion

The global stage is ever advancing and wait for no race to catch up to it and as such individual race is expected to tap into the network of acculturating modern civilization. In the case of pottery ornamentation or decoration of the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria; the contributions of foreign and indigenous innovators such as Cardew and Ibigbami were well commended. Consequent modern demands further make advocacy for adaptation of transfer techniques on Yoruba pottery decoration inevitable. According to this maxim;

*A kii leni
Nii mosan
Kamu ai 'pan*

One cannot have somebody
In orange plantation
And still consume the unripe

The connotative implication of the above lines is that one cannot have contact with information and remain ignorant. It is in view of the latter that this research proposes the introduction of transfer particularly heat release as an alternative to direct drawing in Yoruba hand built pottery. In summary, this finding is just additional to the existing Yoruba pottery decoration canon; highlighting the need to upgrade direct drawing by integrating photo-emulsion technique using any of the decal principles in Yoruba hand built pottery. It is also hoped that this finding will go a long way in stimulating further researches in the area of traditional pottery and ceramics in general.

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*Telling Their Own Stories - Representing Historical Information in Monuments and
Historic Buildings in Taiwan*

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Tainan University of Technology, Taiwan

0512

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1. Introduction

Architecture can tell the story of the national, culture and history. It can also illustrate the story of a regime and a society as well as a family and an individual. Consequently, the preservation of the monuments and historical buildings is very important at national, social, cultural, family or an individual levels. In Taiwan, the Cultural Property Act was put into force in 1982. Hundreds of buildings have been listed as either monuments or historical buildings since the law was enacted. Normally, a monument or a historical building will be restored and will either continuously used as its original function or adaptive reused for a new function. In many cases, a space to display the historical information of that particular building is planned and designed. The historical information representation in the exhibition includes the history of the building, the designer (architect), the features of the building and the restored process as well as historical relics and documents of the building. This paper will discuss the design of such historical spaces and their roles as the educational settings.

2. Research scope and methodology

Two similar buildings will be chosen as the study sample. One is former Taipei Prefecture Hall, the other is former Tainan Prefecture Hall. Both buildings were built during Taiwan's Japanese Period (1895-1945) and are now listed as the National Monument. Former Taipei Prefecture Hall is now reused as "Control Yuan", one of the five branches of the Taiwan Government. It is an investigatory agency that monitors the other branches of government. Former Tainan Prefecture Hall is reused as National Museum of Taiwan Literature and Cultural Heritage Research Center. Inside both buildings, there is a space for displaying architectural history. The paper will discuss the contents, methods, atmosphere, effects, educational functions and new/old dialogue of the display at a comparative level so as to build up academic references for buildings.

3. Case study of architectural history display spaces

3.1 The History of the former Taipei Prefecture Hall and former Tainan Prefecture Hall



Taiwan was ceded to Japanese as her first colony. The administration system of the Colonial Taiwan was readjusted several times during the colonization period. In the beginning of the Japanese governance, the administration center of every prefecture was located in the former Qing dynasty buildings. Beginning from the 1910s, the construction of new buildings for prefectural administration started. Taipei Prefecture Hall was completed in 1918 while Tainan Prefecture Hall was dedicated in 1916.

After WW II, former Taipei Prefecture Hall was reused as Control Yuan and remain the same function until now. Former Tainan Prefecture had been reused as The Headquarters of Air Force Supply Commander (1949-1969) and Tainan City Hall (1969-1997). Now, it houses the National Museum of Taiwan Literature and Cultural Heritage Research Center.

3.2 The characters of the two buildings

Both former Taipei Prefecture Hall and Tainan Prefecture Hall were designed by the Moriyma Matsunosuke, an architect of the Construction Department, the Office of Governor-General. Besides the personal design characteristics, these two buildings have some similarities which reflect the attitude of the colonial government. When Taiwan was colonialized by the Japanese, Western historical style buildings were introduced to Taiwan as a symbol of modernity and power.

Both former Taipei Prefecture Hall and Tainan Prefecture Hall are located in the center of the city. In front of both buildings are circus with statue of the Governor-General. The site plan of the Taipei Prefecture Hall is in the shape of “L” character while its Tainan counterpart is in the shape of the “V” character. A courtyard is located within both buildings. The main entrance is centrally located with a porch supported by Tuscan order. Taipei Prefecture Hall is crowned with a flat dome while Tainan case is topped by a Mansard Roof and is flanked by twin towers. Inside the lobby of both buildings, there is a grand staircase leading to the upper floor. In Taipei Prefecture Hall, the dome can be seen directly from the lobby since the floor was void. The governmental buildings of the Japanese colonial is very typologically designed and constructed. However, each building has its own characteristics in terms of details and expressions.

	
<p>Former Taipei Prefecture Hall</p>	<p>Former Tainan Prefecture Hall</p>

3.3 Display of architectural history




Basically, the display of architectural history can be categorized into two types. The first one is the building itself is treated as the object for display. The second one is to display the contents in a specific room or space. The following discussions will be focused on these two types of display

3.3.1 The building as the object for display

To preserve original buildings integrity authentically is the most directly exhibition. Visitors can experience the full scale architecture within the original site and city with the interaction of the environment, time, season. This is the best way to understand the context of the original building and its meanings. The issues needed to be carefully considered include what is the significance of the building, how to preserve the building within the context and how to adapt the new function in an old building.

(1)Former Taipei Prefecture Hall

The building was preserved and adaptively reused as the “Control Yuan”. The lobby and the staircase are spaces which the visitors can experience. The lobby is two-story high and the unique dome is directly on the top of the lobby and the staircase is monumental. The best way to experience these two elements and to see their beauty is to walk up and down the staircase and feel the change of the scale and the interplay of light and space.

		
<p>The lobby and the interior of the dome, Former Taipei Prefecture Hall</p>	<p>The staircase, Former Taipei prefecture Hall</p>	<p>Arches, celings are preserved in office sections, Former Taipei Prefecture Hall</p>







(2)Former Tainan Prefecture Hall

The front part of the building was preserved with an addition at the back to accommodate new National Museum of Taiwan Literature and Cultural Heritage Research Center. A new Mansard roof was restored in 2003 to replace the roof incorrectly restored during the previous restoration. The space in front of the building can be combined the green areas and the circus to form the venue for various events and festivals happened day and night.



The new addition at the back of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall is now used as cultural space. The beauty of the brick arcade of the original building becomes the background and focus of the activity. The natural light from the gap between the addition and the original structure offers the changes of light/shadow and texture which has enriched the quality of the interior. In some cases, the arches were used as part of the exhibition. Arches can be the frame of the exhibited objects. They can be a dividing element in space. They can also installed or inserted by the glass so as to achieve the transparent and reflective effect to represent the structure of the original

building.

			
The beauty of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall was combined with the outdoor activities		Night illumination of Former Tainan Prefecture Hall and the interplay of moonlight and the building.	

					
The two-story high arcades become part of new space for cultural activity. The interplay of natural light and the building create a new dimension of beauty.		Original arches are used and designed in several ways so as to have new spatial quality at the same time to represent the structure of the original building.			

The original cast-iron water pipes have the effect of divide the façade of the building vertically. They become elements to hang display flags in the new design. The verticality of the original elements is thus preserved. The original window was integrated into the exhibition to form the study room of a writer. Original architectural elements become the scene of the exhibition. The original building is preserved, the unique elements were reinforced and mixed into new spaces.

	
The original cast-iron water pipes were integrated into new design and became elements for hanging flags to express the verticality.	The original window was integrated as part of exhibition design and became part of display scene.

3.3.2 Architectural history display room

In addition to treat architecture itself as an object for exhibition, both former Taipei Prefecture Hall and Tainan Prefecture Hall has a special room for telling their own

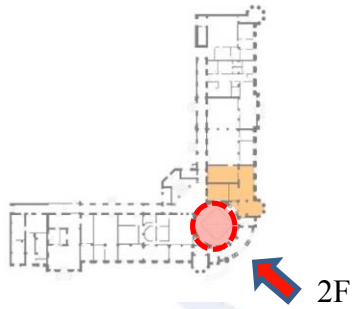
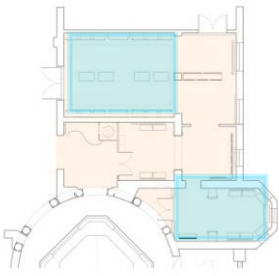
stories. The contents inside this display room include narration, presentation, and analysis of the preservation of building's past and hidden parts as well as intangible historical information. My discussions will be focused on the location, entrance orientation index, display contents and display methods on a comparative basis.

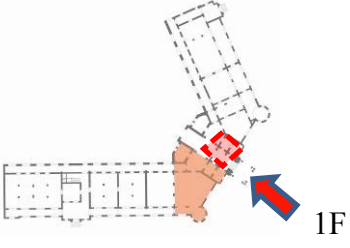
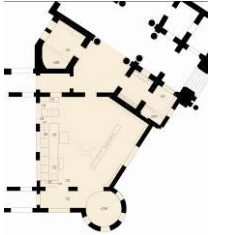
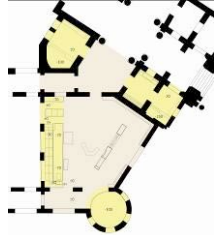
(1) Location of the display room

The location of the display room is determined by the designers who should consider the circulation of the visitors to the whole building. In both cases, the display room is located next to the entrance lobby. In Former Taipei Prefecture Hall, the room is located on the second floor while the room is on the ground floor in Tainan's case. The display room in Former Tainan Prefecture Hall is developed in two stages, with difference in the area. The first stage was to plan a special large exhibition room soon after the building's restoration was completed. After several years' display, "the special exhibition room" was re-designed to become "a permanent display room" and the display area as well as exhibition objects were reduced. The display media is also changed to meet the contemporary needs. However, the location of display room of both stages remains beside the lobby.

In the former Taipei Prefecture Hall, the visitors have to experience the two-story high magnificent lobby and climb up the grand staircase before entering the display room which is situated on the second floor. However, in former Tainan Prefecture Hall, visitors reach the display room immediately when they enter the building. Experiencing the building is planned purposely after visiting the display room.

In addition to the architectural history, the information on the development of the Control System in Taiwan's governmental system is also exhibited.

	
<p>Location of display room (orange color) of the former Taipei Prefecture Hall</p>	<p>Location of the architectural history (blue color) in the display room of former Taipei Prefecture Hall.</p>

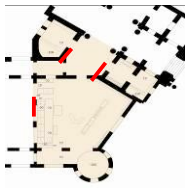



		
<p>Location of the first stage “special exhibition” display room of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall.</p>	<p>Location of the second stage “permanent exhibition” display room of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall.</p>	

(2) Orientation index at the entrance

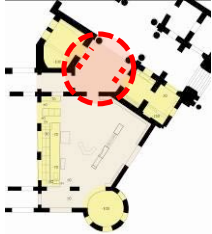


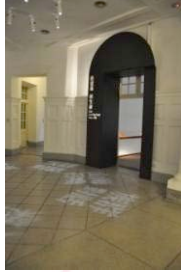
Orientation index at the entrance is very important in display room since it will guide the visitors to see the display and the building. In former Taipei Prefecture Hall, a curved sand glass wall is used as the orientation board with index to each space on the floor plan. The curved sand glass wall invokes the transparent effect and merges into the white wall behind at the same time solves the fragmental problem of the space in front of the display room. It also provides the visitors with a clear direction to the room.

		
<p>Location of curved sand glass wall</p>	<p>Curved sand glass exhibition board and plan index</p>	

In the display room of former Tainan Prefecture Hall, a floor index plan was drawn on the outer wall leading to the exhibition. The area of the display room was clearly marked. Besides, a light box with a heavy metal frame was used for the sign of display room entrance. The lightness and sophistication of the materials are a strong contrast to the original brick structure. Visitors are easily attracted by its visual effect.

			
<p>Orientation index at the stage of the special exhibition of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall</p>	<p>An wall with a floor index shows the area of the display room at the stage of the special exhibition.</p>	<p>The display light box was framed by metal materials at the stage of the special exhibition</p>	

In the second stage of the permanent exhibition, the orientation index at the entrance was replaced by an arch shape door way which reminds people the characters of the original building. The arch is painted black as a contrast to white of the wall in order to emphasize the entrance. The words in projecting light on the floor reinforced the image. The change of the light not only creates spatial atmosphere to attract the visitors but also bridges two rooms of display.

			
<p>Orientation index at the stage of the permanent exhibition of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall</p>	<p>Orientation index at the entrance, arches and projecting words form an integrated solution to the entrance.</p>		

By the contrast of texture, mass, form and color as well as dynamic lighting, orientation index of every space is thus emphasized. However, the relationship between the orientation index and the original building is reflected on the form of the old building. Many installments are detached from the original wall to avoid causing any damage to the original wall.

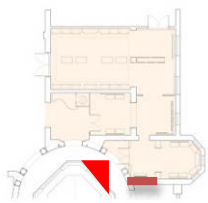

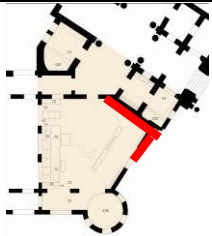

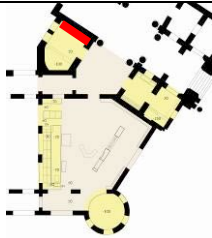


(3) Display contents

In the display room of both former Taipei Prefecture Hall and Tainan Prefecture Hall, the contents of the exhibition are basically grouped to five categories: 1) history, 2) architect, 3)whole building model with the site, 4)structure and in situ exhibition, 5)architectural elements and building materials, 6) restoration concepts and methods.

1).Architectural history

Generally speaking, architectural history is the first part to tell the visitors the date of the building, the purpose and function of the building and the condition of current



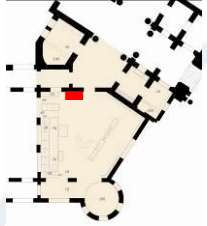

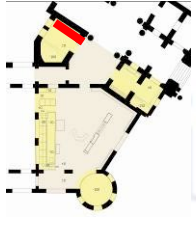


situation. In the former Taipei Prefecture Hall, the history is exhibited by using the panel. Both architectural drawings and narration of the development are printed on the panels. In former Tainan Prefecture Hall, the concept of the architectural history display is “time line”. The use of less words and more photos will make the exhibition easily understandable. The black blocks help to visualize the photos and side light of the light box on the time line help to highlight the effect. The vertical change of the photo blocks switch the direction of light, increasing the diversity of the display and the rhythm of the time line. Considering the limitation of the space, the original display was replaced by animation time line display at the permanent exhibition of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall. Instead of using the whole wall, architectural history display is presented by animated time line display.

Building	Location	Exhibition status
The former Taipei Prefecture Hall		
The “special exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall		
The “permanent exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall		
		

2). Architect

The architect of both former Taipei Prefecture Hall and Tainan Prefecture Hall is Moriyama Matsunosuke who is the most representative official architect during the Taiso Period of the Japanese Colonization in Taiwan. He is the designer of many important governmental buildings, including the office of the governor-general. Special architectural elements and the information on the architect were placed on the same display panel in the former Taipei Prefecture Hall. In former Tainan Prefecture Hall, the same display method similar to that of architectural history was adopted to

the display of architect to form the continuity. Other buildings designed by the same architect are also introduced so that the visitors can have a deeper understanding of the architect. Instead of placing with architecture elements the display of the architect in the permanent exhibition is presented with the architecture history.

Building	Location	Exhibition status	
The former Taipei Prefecture Hall			
The “special exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall			
The “permanent exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall			

3). Whole building model with the site

Whole building model with the site is the most direct way to understand the site plan and formal expression of the building. It is a necessity in the architectural exhibition. Because of the size, it often occupies an important location. In the former Taipei Prefecture Hall, the model is placed at the end of the axis, forming the focus of the display room. In the former Tainan Prefecture Hall, the model is located at the intersection of two axes of the irregular room.

Building	Location	Exhibition status	
The former Taipei Prefecture Hall			
The “special exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall			

4). Structure and in situ exhibition

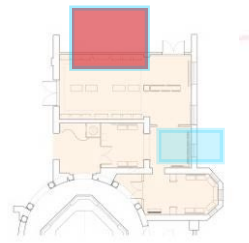
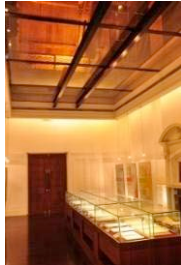

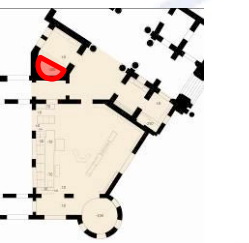


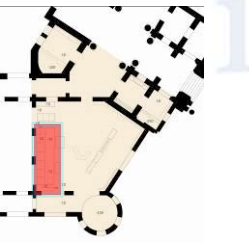
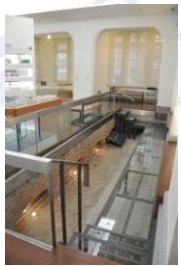

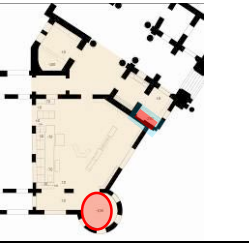


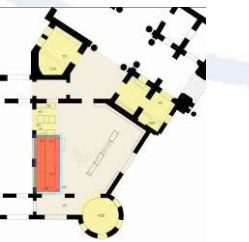


The structure of buildings decides the overall shapes and silhouette of buildings. However, it's like the bone under skin which we can seldom see it. Because the display room of the former Taipei Prefecture Hall is location on the second floor, it creates a chance to remove off a portion of the ceiling for the visitors to see the truss of the Mansard roof. Since the steep slope of the roof is monumental if looks afar, the Mansard roof became commonly used during the Japanese period.

To raise the building above the ground in order to prevent the moisture and pest damage has been a common construction in the West. The Japanese learned the knowledge and applied it to the governmental buildings in Taiwan. The increase in height can also help to achieve the monumentality. In the former Tainan Prefecture Hall, four different parts of the raised foundation, which is 1 meter high, was dug, exposed and exhibited in situ. In the first stage of special exhibition, visitors are allowed to walk down to the excavated portion and see in a very close distance the arches of the foundation and their ventilation function. The concrete paved on the bottom of the foundation as a mechanism for moisture and pest prevention can also be seen in detail.

In the second stage of the permanent exhibition, the excavated parts were covered by the heavy glass and illuminated by light and the room is treated as a darker room suitable for light projection. Two display methods create different atmosphere while retaining the idea that the brick arches and beams of the foundation must be been.

Besides in situ display, the exhibition of the structure was achieved by the help of projection display. In the special exhibition, the process of the restoration was projected on the white wall above the in situ display. In the permanent exhibition,

visual interactive facilities are provided so that the visitors can touch the bottom to select the structure information they want to know. In order not to waste space, diagrams of the Mansard roof truss are presented on a piece of small wall which also has decoration effect.

Building	Location	Exhibition status	
The former Taipei Prefecture Hall			
The “special exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall			
			
			
The “permanent exhibition” of the former Tainan			



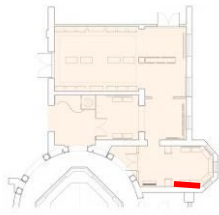


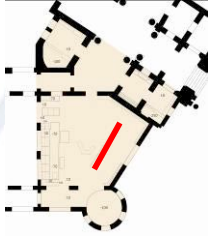


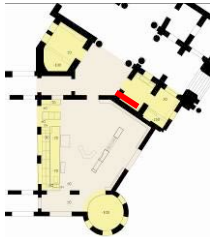
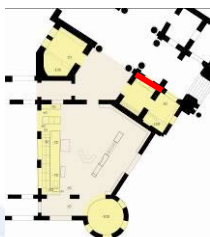




5). Architectural elements and building materials

The scale of the architectural elements and building material varies.

They can be as large as a tower or as small as a brick. Where the architectural elements are located is crucial to our understanding of their features. On the display panels of former Taipei Prefecture Hall, the enlarged drawings and photos are arranged around the building with line connecting to respective locations. The details of the original roof tiles, metal objects and ceilings can be seen. The fireplace is preserved in situ.

In the first stage of special exhibition of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall, architectural elements and building materials, including bricks, roof tiles, joints and metal objects, are collected and displayed on a specially designed wall. They are indexed to a façade photo to show where they are located on the building. A model of roof truss is hanged above the display wall to indicate the location in the building. Furthermore, a sash window is mounted on the display wall to reveal the construction and parts of the installment. The window is so designed that visitors can experience the lightness of the window when they lift the window personally.

To preserve the sash window in a very limited space in the second stage permanent exhibition, concise explanation is inscribed directly on the glass of the window. Other small elements and building materials are placed on a transparent shelf that the entrance lobby can be seen and form an integrated part of the display scene. The big scale elements are arranged by an interactive display which will show the information of the elements by allowing the visitors to choose and touch the elements they want to know.



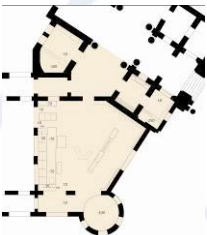


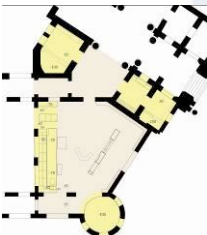


Building	Location	Exhibition status	
The former Taipei Prefecture Hall			
The “special exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall			
The “permanent exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall	 		  

6). Adaptive reuse concepts and methods

Both former Taipei Prefecture Hall and Tainan Prefecture Hall are preserved as cultural heritage by means of adaptive reuse. The significance of the reuse is shown on the display of processes and strategies. In the former Taipei Prefecture Hall, panels with the reuse process, especially the searching for the original black tiles and reproduction of them become the focus of the story.

In the special exhibition of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall, multi-media images are used to display the motivation and process and restoration focuses. The finishing of a

wall was removed to show the hidden restoration form an in situ display. The reinforced structure enables visitors to understand the importance of the structure. In the permanent exhibition, this part of display is expanded to become a display shelf containing visual and narrative descriptions as well as the films of scholar interview. The interview explores the feature of the building, historical meaning and the significance of the reuse. The display of reuse becomes more educational.

Building	Location	Exhibition status	
The former Taipei Prefecture Hall			
The “special exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall			
The “permanent exhibition” of the former Tainan Prefecture Hall			

4. Conclusion

The architectural history of former Taipei Prefecture Hall and Tainan Prefecture Hall is a history of Japanese Colonial Taiwan in miniature, indicating the modernization of Taiwan during that period. The damage of these building during the WWII reflects similar situation of the whole Taiwan. The development of Post-war Taiwan, the respect to the cultural heritage witness the increasing positive attitude toward the reuse of old building.

This research concludes that adaptive reuse is not to passively preserve a structure or a shelter. Successful reuse examples can be enhanced by the establishment of a display room in a cultural heritage. The display room in the former prefecture halls in Taipei and Tainan tells the story of building themselves as well as of a specific period of Taiwan. It is the hope that after hundreds of buildings are listed as cultural heritage according to the Cultural Property Act of Taiwan, more attention should be paid to their reuse and how their stories are told because those stories will become the best

mechanism for historic and cultural education of Taiwan.

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The logo for the International Association of Arts and Humanities (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a large, stylized circular graphic composed of two overlapping, thick, curved lines. The upper line is light blue and the lower line is light red, creating a sense of a globe or a circular path.

Adaptation of Thai Traditional Plays on the Thai Contemporary Stage: Finding an Identity for the Modern Thai Theatre

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0513

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Abstract

In Thailand, traditional theatre and modern theatre are categorized separately from each other. While traditional theatre still performs in traditional ways in which dance and music are used as the main elements to tell a story, the term 'modern theatre' or Lakhon Wethi Samai Mai refers to theatre which is performed in Western theatre's style.

The awareness of the dominance of the influence of western theatre on Thai theatre has encouraged some Thai artists to look for native Thai material in order to create an identity for modern Thai theatre. These artists claim that translated western plays are inaccessible to Thai audiences due to cultural differences, and so turn to their own cultural theatre roots. These artists share a similar interest in Thai traditional theatre; they believe that traditional dramatic literature could better communicate with Thai audiences than western plays. Therefore, they adapt traditional literature to be performed on the modern stage: in addition to a text, some traditional theatrical elements are also applied in their performances

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to examine the different methods used by contemporary Thai artists to approach traditional literatures. By drawing on examples of adaptations of traditional Thai literature, I aim to show the potential of traditional literature to become an efficient source for the creation of a contemporary Thai script and how adaptation of traditional play could not only be the initial step in creating an identity for the modern Thai theatre, but also a significant way to prompt Thai playwrights to discover an originality for their contemporary scripts that avoids a predominant reliance on the Western theatre.

An awareness of the tremendous influence of Westernization has encouraged some Thai artists to search for their own version of an identity for modern Thai theatre. As it directly adopted its form from Western theatre, the development of modern Thai theatre appears to have little to do with indigenous performance. Traditional and modern Thai theatres are different in their aesthetic concept and original forms of performing, so the links between them are tenuous. By emphasising the preservation of the traditional way of performing, established theatre has become less relevant to modern Thai audiences. While modern Thai theatre relies on Western ideas and influences, contemporary Thai artists aim to find a new inspiration and identity.

Even though the clear separation between traditional and modern Thai theatre occurred in the mid-1960s, when western-style theatre was re-introduced to Thai society as a part of drama curriculum in universities, in fact the influence of Westernization on Thai theatre began during the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910). However, during that earlier period, Thai artists had adopted western elements in order to enhance the traditional form of dance drama, creating new kinds of Thai performance to suit the changing tastes of Thai audiences under the impact of Westernization; Rutnin (1996) mentions the theatre during this time as 'the harmony of combination'. She further states that 'However, it seems at the present that the harmony between the classical and the modern, the old and the new is no longer a strong point' (1996:252). Her opinion is that a combination like this is rarely seen in the current period.

Traditional Thai theatre has its own unique way of performing, in which dance and music are used as the main elements to tell a story. Each dance gesture illustrates the expression of the script in which the characters' actions and dialogues are described. The script is sung together with dance patterns either by actors or choruses based on the individual style of each genre. A traditional play is composed in verse form. Each theatre genre has its own repertoire; some stories, such as *Ramakien*, restricted to court performances. Buddhist beliefs and Thai moral lessons commonly appear in the themes of these stories. Most of the scripts that are currently performed are adjusted from the texts that were written more than a hundred years ago. Traditional theatre tends to be regarded as a national heritage rather than entertainment for Thai people,

and traditional scripts are familiar to audiences as classical literature which is taught in schools.

With the dominance of western theatre's influence on modern Thai theatre, some Thai artists have turned to their own traditional theatrical sources in an attempt to create modern plays that communicate with Thai audiences better than translated western scripts. Kertdarunsuksri (2001) claims that the transformation of traditional literature on the modern stage was a popular trend during the 1990s when more than twenty adapted productions were created. After that period of growth, some well-known artists still continue their exploration in this area. These artists share a personal interest in traditional theatre with a belief that it could be a valuable source in creating a contemporary performance that could communicate with modern Thai audiences. These artists include Patravadi Mejudhon, Pornrat Damrhung, Makamphom Theatre Group and Dangkamon Na-Pombejra.

In order to transpose traditional literature onto the modern stage, Thai artists have their own ways to adapt traditional plays which create a unique quality in their adaptation. Patravadi Mejudhon¹ modernized a traditional story in order to re-present it within the current social context. The original plot was deconstructed in order to emphasise the theme of a traditional story. Characters in her new version were adapted to be well-rounded and appeared relevant in a contemporary sense. Her deep interest in her own cultural roots and her intention to present the value of traditional literature is seen in the way quotations from the original source appear to play an important part in her adaptation. Finally, the traditional elements such as dance and singing are juxtaposed in her pieces, to enhance the performance and appeal to Thai audiences.

¹ Patravadi Mejudhon is a well-known artist. She is a legendary actress as well as a renowned director and playwright. Her works appear in movies, television and on stage. She is the owner of *Patravadi Theatre*, an open-air theatre located adjacent to Chao Phya River bank and the royal temple, Wat Rakang, Bangkok. Producing many performances that are based on traditional Thai literature, her theatre has earned a reputation for its popular modernized adaptations of traditional literary works. To preserve and promote Thai arts and culture is one of her theatre's policies. Her productions include *Lo'dilokrat*, *Singhakraiphop*, *Inao-Joraka*, *Ngo'Pa* and *Sahatsadecha*.

While Patravadi tries to interpret traditional literature with the aim of modernizing the story, Pornrat Damrong² chooses to present through her works a new interpretation of traditional literature. Her works focus on the main female characters instead of the males. Her productions usually portray the suffering of these female characters due to social inequality, with the intention to arouse the audience to understand traditional works from a modern point of view. The impressive spectacle of her performances comes from her unique style and modernizing of traditional elements, especially traditional dance and music which are adapted and used as important tools to deliver the message to audiences. Apart from her feminist views, the presentation of her performance has become one of her most significant hallmarks.

Meanwhile, for the Makhampom troupe³, traditional literature is the tool to deliver their social messages to audiences. They use the audience's familiarity with traditional literature as a bridge to connect their performance with them. Consequently, their main aim of reconstructing the plot and reinterpreting the characters is to address the group's new social message rather than put an importance to the old theme of the original.

The attempt to modernize traditional literature by reinterpreting it from a modern perspective can be seen in Dangkamon⁴'s adaptation of *Sang Thong*. In his work, *The Miraculous Adventure of the Conch Prince*⁵, a traditional story is re-interpreted by

² Pornrat Damrhung is a lecturer of the department of Dramatic Arts, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University. She is a well-known theatre practitioner whose many works have been inspired by traditional theatre and literature. Working in the educational institute, most of her works are produced within the educational context which allows her to use her performances as a tool for research and experimentation particularly in areas that may be difficult to do in commercial theatre. Her renowned performances in the adaptation of traditional literature include *Kham Rak lae Kham Tai* (1996), *Nonthuk* (1997), *Lui Fai* (2005) and *Sita-Siram* (2006).

³ The Makhampom Theatre Group was established in 1981; it is one of the leading troupes and is well-known for works produced with the socio-political objectives of the NGO movement. The members of the troupe consist of both employees and volunteers. Their funding source usually comes from state and international organizations. Their performances are in various styles from the traditional style to the contemporary theatre, and are staged from rural areas to international theatre festivals abroad. Most of their productions are aimed at educating their audiences regarding the social development issues.

⁴ Dangkamon Na-Pombejra is one of the best-known practitioners of modern theatre in Thailand. He is a lecturer in the Department of Dramatic Arts at Chulalongkorn University. Most of his works are translated and adapted from Western plays. However, in 2006, he created a production adapted from the traditional play, *The Miraculous Adventure of the Conch Prince*.

⁵ This performance formed part of the research project, *Legends Retold*, conducted by Chulalongkorn University's Department of Dramatic Arts. The project, which was supported by The Thailand Research Fund, aims to study the processes of recreating the scripts and performances of Thai traditional literature. Written and directed by Dangkamon Na-Pombejra, this performance is based on *Sang Thong*, one of the best-known traditional Thai literary masterpieces.

comparing it to contemporary society. However, apart from referring to the original story, he prominently uses and emphasises western techniques. By contrast, traditional Thai elements rarely appear in this production. The deconstruction of the plot and reinterpretation of characters are purposely created as to emphasize this version's selected message of self-illusion rather than aiming to restrict to the original version.

In re-presenting traditional literary works, these practitioners have their own unique ways to adapt traditional plays. This paper shall discuss two approaches which these artists had used in order to create an unique quality and an identity to their works as well as to Thai contemporary plays.

Reinforcement of a sense of familiarity

In my opinion, one of the advantages of creating a play based on traditional literature is that Thai audiences might feel familiar with the plot, characters and context, and this is one of main reasons why many Thai artists return to the traditional sources; with the same cultural roots, they believe that a traditional play could better communicate with Thai audiences.

The sense of familiarity is exploited in Makampom's adaptations as the main method to deliver their new messages to audiences. With the broad familiarity with the stories, Phradit Phrasarthong, the founder and the leader of the group, believes that adaptations of traditional literature are more accessible to rural audiences (Kerdarunsuksri, 2001:211); Barber clarifies that this acquaintance provides "a culture bridge" which "offered the freedom for the group to deconstruct the text" (2007:207).

In the investigation of the achievement of Patravadi's theatre, Maneerat (2008) indicates that the reinforcement of a sense of familiarity is one of Patravadi's main strategies to popularize the strong female characters in her works. One of these familiarities is offered through the way she presents the renowned characters from beloved Thai literature and folktales.

While her work highlights the oppressive conditions to which the female characters have been subjected and which have gone unnoted in previous versions, the retelling of Thai literature retains a sense of familiarity.

(Maneerat, 2008:192)

Frequently, Thai artists choose to present in their adaptations memorable scenes, famous original texts or recognised songs that were specifically composed for the original; the appearance of well-known aspects of tradition heightens the sense of familiarity. Not only does it create a familiar atmosphere, it also fulfils the expectations of an audience to see what they know or remember from an original version. Additionally, this shows the appreciation of these artists toward traditional theatre; the beauty of the sources is confirmed by the reappearance of them on the modern stage. Consequently, this suggests that the sense of familiarity could be developed as a significant tool in adapting a traditional play. It contributes to the success of an adaptation in two ways. First, it gives audiences a comfortable feeling of seeing things that they know or feel familiar with. In this aspect, the sense of familiarity provides a cultural bridge that connects audiences with a new play. Second, it supports the emergence of a new message. The reinforcement of familiarity performs a significant function, especially when an adaptation deals with the parallel image of traditional stories and contemporary society; the satire involved in this comparison may be more comprehensible to an audience who 'knows' more of a previous version. Without enough knowledge of a traditional text, it is difficult or even impossible for an audience to understand a new message that an adaptation aims to present.

Another important step is to identify what the familiarity of a traditional play for Thai people is, and how to apply it in a process of adaptation in order to achieve an effective result. With the Thai audience's limited knowledge of traditional plays, the reinforcement of familiarity may be necessary in order to make them understand a new play: as Hutcheon states "as audience members, we need memory in order to

experience differences as well as similarity” (2006: 22). This subject, therefore, should be carefully examined in an adaptation of a traditional play.

Application of the traditional elements

It could be said that one of the motivations of the Thai contemporary artists to continue experimenting in this field comes from their personal interest in Thai traditional theatre. Different in their ways of adaptation, what they have in common is an attempt to give a new life to a traditional theatre form. Their admiration for their own kind of theatre can be seen in the way they choose to apply traditional elements in their works. In order to transform traditional plays to the modern stage, not only they do make use of the original script, but also some traditional elements are borrowed and experimented with in their adaptations; the exploration in the performance presentation becomes the significant hallmark of some artists.

Thai traditional theatre has its own unique style of performing that differs from western theatre. For example, as same as other Southeast Asian theatre forms, music and dance perform an important role in Thai traditional theatre, which is often referred to by some scholars as dance-drama, since the story is told mainly through dance and singing: an actor performs his/her role by dancing and music is used not only to accompany the dance but also to allow the actors/ chorus to sing the dialogue and the description of scene and characters. However, it is claimed that, because the interpretation of these elements requires a deep-knowledge of their meaning, this decreases the interest of modern audience towards traditional theatre. Consequently, when these traditional elements become parts of the works, they will be adapted from the original forms in order to be easily accessible for modern audience. The techniques of adaptation vary from one artist to another. Each artist has his own unique method of adaptation to serve his own purpose. For example, the traditional elements are juxtaposed with Western elements in order to make the presentation appeal to Thai audiences; the complicated dance is simplified by using only basic gestures to make it understandable to the modern audiences. The traditional music is no longer used in the conventional way but applied to create atmosphere or sometimes juxtaposed with Western musical instruments.

It is notable that in most of the works, the adaptation is limited to representing the original forms in the broader ways rather than trying to achieve the modern audience's appreciation by finding the way to make them understand the original meaning and roles of these elements. It is possible that the artists are convinced that the modern audience are now too far removed from the times of the original performing arts, or it might possibly come from the lack of profound understanding from the artists' background themselves, whatever the real reason is, the result is that the artists keep only the forms from the original theatre to impress the modern audience.

An attempt to present the traditional elements on the modern stage fulfils artists' purposes in two aspects: first their aims to present the beauty of traditional theatre and second their attempt to make these traditional elements become understandable to a modern audience.

Since traditional theatre and literature are also considered to be parts of Thailand's national heritage, they are treated as highly refined art-forms and the original ways in which they were performed are believed to be strict models which need to be followed. Therefore, faithfulness to traditional customs is highly prized and respected among traditional Thai artists. Changes or modifications to traditional performing styles are seen as risky because they are believed by some to destroy traditional beauty.

Some contemporary artists whose works are experimented with traditional art forms have experienced negative responses from conservative audiences and artists. Pichet Kranchun, a contemporary Thai artist who is famous for creating a contemporary work based on traditional dance, often states that his work is "at a war with Thai culture", because his way of thinking and creating go against the convention. His work is not only "different" but also "offensive" to some audiences who expect to see a traditional theatre as the way it is. (Jungwiwattanaporn, 2008:14).

The reason that these traditional elements should still be applied in a modern adaptation because they show the unique characteristic of traditional Thai theatre. They perform unique functions within the dramatic structure of the play (Brandon, 1967:125). As they are inseparable companions of traditional performance, in order to find the identity of original modern Thai performance, these traditional elements are a vital method that should not be overlooked.

Conclusion

According to Kerdarunsuksri (2001), the transposition of traditional literary works into modern Thai stage drama resulted from the awareness of contemporary Thai artists of a need to create original Thai play to communicate with Thai audiences. Even though it seems that the adaptation of Thai traditional literature on the modern stage is not a mainstay of Thai theatre, there are some artists who have shown an interest in traditional Thai theatre and continue to create works based on traditional literature. These artists are very well-known and their works have received positive feedback from both critics and audiences, not only on domestic but also on international stages. The fact that these artists are constantly working on adaptations of traditional Thai theatre and the recognition that such adaptations have achieved show that this area of the performing arts is still worthy of investigation.

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The Representation of Women/Women Warriors in Zhang Che's Wuxia pian

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Abstract

Zhang Che, the late master of Hong Kong action cinema, has been seen as an important industrial player that influenced the landscape of popular cinema in negotiating, redefining and constructing the representation of gender identity since the 1960s. The achievement of Zhang has always been associated with his portrayal of male heroism in action films. However, the industrial circumstances for his films to thrive were forced to engage with the notion of 'women as spectacle would guarantee box-office successes' in those days. It is within such a background, this article examines the cinematic figuration of women and women warriors in a couple of Zhang's seminal films produced during the late 1960s in order to reveal the underpinning ideology of patriarchy within these films through the mechanism of representation. This study will use the framework of feminist film theory to critically analyze the representation of women in Zhang's films in order to demonstrate that the mode of narration in these film plays a great role by restricting the portrayal of women/women warriors within the lines of domestic relations such as daughter, wife and mother, or in a sexually defined role such as prostitute, mistress and lover.

Introduction

Hong Kong action cinema with its origin of *Wuxia pian*¹ genre has always been associated with two great film directors, namely King Hu and Zhang Che (Bordwell, 2000, Teo, 2003). Hu's films center around female warriors or *Nüxia*² (hereafter *Nüxia*) whereas Zhang's films are predominantly focused on male heroism. King Hu displayed the *Nüxia* in a relatively realist style emphasizing the notion of 'women as spectacle' by incorporating female's capacities of executing actions and swift movements through editing.³ This dimension of visual exhibition at the same time obscured the line between the mythical imagery of the *Nüxia* and the realist status of the physical body. Zhang Che's creation of the *Nüxia*, on the contrary, is more controversial from a gender perspective. His portrayal of *Nüxia* is reduced to a figure who engages in minimum fighting, less motivated action and, more often than not, is sensualized and sexualized. In Zhang's films, on the one hand, the *Nüxia* finds herself in a lower position compared with her male counterparts, as exemplified by Zheng Peipei's role as *Nüxia* in *The Golden Swallow* (1968). On the other hand, the portrayal of female domination in the domestic arena is evident in the *One-armed Swordsman* (1967) and the *Return of the One-armed Swordsman* (1969). All of the above-mentioned films will be taken up for textual analysis in this article.

Stephen Teo argues that Zhang Che's *Wuxia* films are a self-fashioning project, notably associated with his strong role in masculinizing the Hong Kong cinema of the 1970s (2003). Teo also sees Zhang's portrayal of women has added a precarious balance between *yin* and *yang* to the *Wuxia pian*'s heroes (2009). Teo provides a brief account of how the *yin* presence in sexual form is embodied in the representation of wives, prostitutes, or courtesans. I find them worthy of detailed analysis, particularly in light of questions raised by feminist film theorists about the relationship between gender and genre. Reflecting on this aspect, this article positions Zhang's films in a different context than that in which it is commonly placed. That is, while the usual framework for interpretation is that of understanding masculinity and muscularity of his self-fashioned film aesthetics, I will analyze his films through a close examination of the representation of women, especially the archetypal role of *Nüxia*, within a cinematic contour of questions of female and feminist representations.

¹ The term *Wuxia* is the Mandarin phonetic translation of two Chinese characters: *wu* and *xia*. Literally, *wu* is used to describe things to do with martial arts, weapons, or the military. The second character, *xia*, according to *The Pinyin Chinese-English Dictionary*, refers to "a person adept in martial arts and given to chivalrous conduct in olden times". The compound word *Wuxia* combined with *pian*, which means movie or film, encompasses any film that involves martial arts and the spirit of chivalry in the broadest sense.

² The term *Nüxia* is coined from two Chinese words. The first character, *Nü*, means woman or female. The second character, *xia*, as discussed above. The compound term *Nüxia* refers to the female warrior existed in *Wuxia* genre who execute social justice with martial arts skills and a strong sense of chivalry.

³ King Hu's story has been widely written about, and will not be covered here further in detail as this study solely focuses on the Shaw Brothers and its *Wuxia pian*. For further references, see HUANG, R. (ed.) 1999. *King Hu's World (Hu Jinqun de Shijie)*, Taipei: Yatai Tushu chubanshe.; BORDWELL, D. 2000. Richness Through Imperfection: King Hu and the Glimpse. In: FU, P. & DESSER, D. (eds.) *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.; RODRÍGUEZ, H. 1998. Questions of Chinese Aesthetics: Film Form and Narrative Space in the Cinema of King Hu. *Cinema Journal* [Online], 38. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1225736> [Accessed 02 February 2010].

King Hu's *Nüxia* Priority versus Zhang Che's *Yanggang* Movement

In Zhang's memoir, he complains about the Shaw Brothers Studio as a "Kingdom of women" (*Nuer Guo*) in which only female-centered films were being produced (Chang, 2004). What Zhang was attempting to say is that in the early 1960s, it was difficult to convince the studio authorities to invest in male-centered films, simply because the mainstream industrial practice favored a female star as a marketing point to guarantee box office receipts. The *Wuxia pian* of Zhang Che, however, are also vital to the questions of construction or reproduction of a notion of male supremacy in line with traditional patriarchal ideology. This entire masculinized cinema episode has to be comprehended against the dominance of female lead roles in Hong Kong cinema. In the late 1950s to the early 1960s, the two biggest studios in Hong Kong at that time, namely the Shaw Brothers and Motion Picture & General Investment (later Cathay) were competing with each other in the production of women-centered films (Chung, 2004).

Under such circumstance, that the budding director King Hu cast a 19-year old female actor, Zheng Peipei, in the lead role of *Come Drink with Me/ Da Zuixia* (1966) was actually a common practice in Hong Kong cinema in the 1960s. The image of a strong woman warrior was created by King Hu with the character of Golden Swallow, played by Zheng Peipei. *Come Drink with Me* has its heroine battling to rescue her brother from a band of kidnappers, in a role that set the mould for subsequent *Wuxia pian* with a strong female presence. King Hu wrote in his memoir, he had Zheng Peipei in mind before casting the film. Other than the unquestionably artful cinematography, this, perhaps, explains why King Hu's *Come Drink with Me* not only made its star, Zheng Peipei, one of the studio's major celebrities of the mid 1960s, but in her career defining role, also established her as a popular *Nüxia*. The box office success of this film not only convinced producers of the popularity of the *Wuxia pian* genre at this particular point in time, but also promoted the fighting actress or woman warrior in the action genre.

In the mid 1960s to the late 1970s, the female martial arts stars that played *Nüxia* became dramatic fodder for a number of other Shaw Brothers' films. During this time, many films featuring *Nüxia* were mass-produced and released by the Shaw Brothers. Other than Hu's *Come Drink with Me/ Da Zuixia* (1966), Zheng Peipei also played the lead role as *Nüxia* in *The Thundering Sword/Shenjian Zhen Jianghu* (1967, dir. Xu Zenghong), *Golden Swallow/Jin Yanzi* (1968, dir. Zhang Che), *The Flying Dagger/Feidao Shou* (1968, dir. Zhang Che), *That Fiery Girl/Hong Lajiao* (1968, dir. Yan Jun), *The Jade Raksha/Yu Luocho* (1968, dir. He Menghua), *Lady of Steel/Huangjiang Nüxia* (1969, dir. He Menghua), *The Golden Sword/Longmen Jinjian* (1969, dir. Luo Wei), *Raw Courage/Hu Dan* (1969, dir. Luo Wei), *Brothers Five/Wuhu Tulong* (1970, dir. Luo Wei) and *The Shadow Whip/ Yingzi Shenbian* (1970, dir. Luo Wei).

Such industrial development disappointed directors like Zhang Che (Chang, 2004). Although a prominent male director at the Shaw Brothers Studio during the 1960s, Zhang found it difficult to pursue his personal interest in promoting the macho masculine role on the screen. In 1966, when King Hu first released the now classic *Come Drink with Me*, Zhang's male-centered *Wuxia pian*, *The Magnificent Trio/Bian Cheng Sanxia* offered a stark contrast. Featuring violence, bloodshed and virile-masculinity, Zhang created an alternative spectacle through the three male lead roles.

Yanggang, which literally means virile masculinity, describes a movement or change of sexual priority within the industrial culture of the Shaw Brothers Studio during the 1960s and 1970s. Zhang repackaged *wu* masculinity in his movies and maneuvered Hong Kong action cinema closer to the idea of *yanggang*, especially in the development of the *Wuxia pian* genre. As a result of Zhang's effort, Hong Kong action film becomes a male-dominant genre. The term has also become a popular discourse in film magazines referring to any films that were inspired by Zhang's *Wuxia pian* that featured potent masculinity.

The Problems of Women's Representation in Zhang Che's *Golden Swallow* and *The Flying Dagger*

Golden Swallow/The Girl with the Thunderbolt Kick (1968) was the ninth film directed by Zhang. According to Zhang's memoir, he enjoyed a great deal of autonomy making this film after his *One-Armed Swordsman* grossed over one million Hong Kong dollars in 1967. The *One-Armed Swordsman* became the top grossing Chinese-language film of the year. It was within this favorable industrial environment that Zhang did his level best to "redress" what he called "the unhealthy feminine ethos" of *Wuxia pian* by putting forward his proposition of masculinization in the *Golden Swallow* (Chang, 2004).

Golden Swallow's English title was *The Girl with the Thunderbolt Kick*. Apparently, the Chinese title was used to mislead audiences into thinking that the film was a sequel of King Hu's *Come Drink with Me*, in which Zheng Peipei gained her stardom. However, the English title is even more misleading since this is a film meant to uphold male heroism instead of portraying a girl's power. It was a normative attitude reflecting the Shaw Brothers publicity mechanism, within which women usually received top billing despite their supporting and limited role in a film. More so in the case of Zheng Peipei, who had been granted the title of the queen of *Wuxia* by the Shaw Brothers and enjoyed the top-ranking position in the star system. A contemporary in-house publicity article states: "We can't wait to see Zheng Peipei in *Wuxia pian*, simply her portrayal in *Come Drink with Me* has a great impression on us. Now that "Golden Swallow" is coming, it will fulfill our craving (1967). What had been suggested in this publicity statement is the popularity of the strong screen presence of female heroism, nevertheless, I will demonstrate in the following how the representation of strong fighting women in Zhang's films is eventually naturalized by the mode of narration and visual organizations.

Golden Swallow begins with the female lead, Golden Swallow (played by Zheng Peipei), who is performing a chivalrous undertaking by distributing silver nuggets to the poor; she is quickly wounded by a poison dart and soon needs rescuing by the male hero. Her rescuer, Iron Whip (played by Luo Lie), the secondary male lead, brings her to a mountain retreat for recuperation. Within two minutes of the establishing scene, the strong *Nüxia*, Golden Swallow, is placed within a passive, unambitious safety zone - a reclusive life, which traditionally belongs to women. From this initial point onwards, this film introduces a lack in the narrative structure, which invites the involvement of the male lead, Silver Roc (played by Jimmy Wang Yu), to reinstates the male domination through various cinematic mechanisms that occupy the

position of the paternal authority like voyeuristic and sadistic mechanisms which were employed to convert the excessive nature of the female representation into a traditional patriarchal gender configuration.

Silver Roc, unlike Iron Whip, is arrogant, powerful and ruthless. He is a skilled fighter who only kills alleged villains that deserved to be punished. Every time he kills; he leaves a golden dart to incriminate Golden Swallow in order to lure her to look for him for old lover's sake. This creates troubles for Golden Swallow, as she becomes a target of vengeance by many. First and foremost, the male protagonist - Silver Roc, who functions as the iconography of violence, fits in well with the narrative sadism, predefining an active and progressive male power in terms of narrative logic to demystify *Nuxia's* power by the re-enactment of the original trauma - the fear of castration posed by her. The concept of castration complex in psychoanalysis is not about the psychological effects of an anatomical organ being cut off, but about the unconscious ideas or fears of such an event that people hold and live by within the order of patriarchal society (Mitchell and Rose, 1982). According to Mulvey's seminal paper, the male character within a diegesis (the fictional world created within a film) is often structured as active agents who can make things happen and control the events in the story (Mulvey, 1975). As exemplified in the character design for Silver Roc, the spectatorial desires of voyeurism towards women within the film have associated with him in order to move the narrative forward while engaging with scopophilia (the act of seeing) pleasure which is sexist in nature.

We can see this clearly in the scene in which Golden Swallow ends up in a bedroom with Silver Roc. The narrative of the film puts the woman warrior in her own powerful yet fragile position. She is structured as a capable woman warrior who wants to stop the rampant murders by advising the male lead role, and yet she is put to sleep by him. In this bedroom scene, Silver Roc wants her to unveil her true feminine look by removing her male attire. She obeys him. With the aid of soft lens and close-up shots, Golden Swallow rests her long hair on her shoulders and serves as a beautiful woman to-be-looked-at or exhibited in front of the silver screen. This particular filming technique is typical and widely criticized by feminist film theory. Accordingly, Golden Swallow is now structured as the object of fixation associated with fetishism which originally refers to the Freudian doctrine of "the traumatic moment of the look at the mother's castrated body, which initiates a process of simultaneous affirmation and denial of the possibility of the subject's own castration, and hence the manufacture of a substitute maternal phallus in the form of the fetish" (Doane, 1987). This is done in cinematic ways by turning a powerful woman into a fetish with the physical beauty of the object. The transparent curtain in the bedroom functions as soft lens to soften the image of a *Nuxia* and the use of close-ups to show her face is to suggest that the exhibition of Golden Swallow as a strong visual icon now works as the mechanism of cinematic fetishism, functions to reassure the male subject. That the woman lacks nothing and is available for the gaze and enjoyment of the male instead of the castration threat that she originally signifies (Mulvey, 1975). Such a viewing position created by the dominant cinema is necessarily masculine as it is ordered by the sexual imbalance that emphasizes the active male gaze versus the passive female object of desire that excludes female gaze or a female viewing position. That is to say, the underlying structures in cinema, particularly in this film, is seen as the work of representation which reflects the all-pervasive power of patriarchy by creating an unconscious spectatorial position that is active, male and phallic in essence. Flaunting

her femininity in a bedroom setting allows the spectator a moment of traditional objectification of a woman as sexual object. Moreover, given the erotic context of these scenes, the subject of desire is the male and the female is the object of desire.

This objectification of Golden Swallow actively disrupts the generic conventions of *Wuxia pian* that gives priority to action sequences. The narrative logic in the following scenes reveal the intention of Zhang Che by reinstating the virtue of being a *Nüxia* is no different from being a woman in traditional society. In the case of this film, female morality is maintained in the convention of the genre by limiting women's bodily performance to become powerful martial artist. In a few fighting scenes, she is either given some reasons to leave the scene or play secondary roles to stage minor fights. Consequently, the film explicitly downplays the role of Golden Swallow in order to contain the overpowering figure of women warrior.

Besides Golden Swallow, another supporting female role also serves as a significant figure for us to understand Zhang's treatment of women in *Wuxia pian*. The representation of Mei-niang (played by Chao Hsin-yen) - a pretty prostitute who serves as entertainer to Silver Roc's voracious sexual appetite - is to portray an ideal of heroism by Zhang Che. A great hero is not only defined by his physical muscularity, but also deserved to be worshiped by women. The narrative function of Mei-niang actually demonstrates another mode of problematic looking for the film spectator, associating with the subjugated position of female within the imbalance heterosexual relationship between men and women within a typical patriarchal society. In the final sequence, for instance, Mei-niang is structured in line with the camera gaze witnessing the heroic death of Silver Roc. In this two and a half minutes battle, hand-held camera work is employed to reveal how the badly wounded hero is physically tortured by a group of bandits and yet he manages to kill them all. After the bloodshed, two kinds of subjective point-of-view shots construct two different worldviews. First, Mei-niang witnesses Silver Roc's heroic moment as he kills all the bandits. Then, the hand-held camera takes Silver Roc's shaky point-of-view looking down at the dead bodies scattered on the floor. The camera shifts back identifying with Mei-niang's point-of-view as she gazes proudly as her badly wounded hero as he opens his arms and claims, "I still reign as the supreme swordsman!" This final battle appears to take place not only so the hero can defend his reputation as the supreme swordsman, but also, more importantly, to reveal how it is seen through the eyes of his female counterpart.

Zhang's *yanggang* approach has gone to the extreme where only men can convincingly perform the "real fight". By showing the muscular body of the male hero on the screen, suggests that the once powerful *Nüxia* had to give way because women's body could never be seen without clothes. So, where did the women warriors stand in relation to the lavish bloodshed, exposed viscera during the impending death of the male hero? The aesthetics of the action-body eventually signifies sexual difference. Female bodies, including *Nüxia*, at best, represent conservative moral values. At worst, these female bodies are fragile and wounded; creating a curiously passive feminine position that demands further protection from the male hero. Furthermore, in opposition to the bodily performance of the male *xia* in *Wuxia pian*, *Nüxia* specificity is thus confined by the traditional morality. As we shall see from the location in the early scene where Golden Swallow has been retreated with Golden Whip and the very last scene where she and Mei-niang are seen in their

mourning dress in front of Silver Roc's tombstone – same location has been used to symbolize a safe zone where women belong to in a traditional society. Both of the women are represented as the traditional widows who keep their vow of chastity to the great hero by remaining unmarried for the rest of their life in order to honor the invincible male hero.⁴ More importantly, the powerful *Nixia* is now restored to her traditional female role as a wife that serves as symbol to safeguard the ancient/traditional role of being a woman in a patriarchal Chinese society.

The Alternative Representation of Women's Domination in the *One-armed Swordsman* (1967) and *Return of the One-armed Swordsman* (1969)

The *One-Armed Swordsman* is arguably a historical turning point in the *Wuxia pian* genre, altering female domination of the genre. In other words, when the masculinized *Wuxia pian* came to dominate Hong Kong screens, Zhang Che's *One-Armed Swordsman* (1967) and its sequel the *Return of the One-armed Swordsman* (1969) were significant in setting new standard for generic *wuxia* hero. By closely analyzing these two films, this section hopes to contribute to text's multiple interpretations in the rise and decline of the female *Nixia* figure and the re-masculinisation of the *wuxia* hero. This section focuses on the representation of Xiaoman (played by Jiao Jiao aka Chiao Chiao) in light of her supposedly marginal, and yet dominant parts in terms of narrative drive.

In both the *One-armed Swordsman* and the *Return of the One-armed Swordsman*, even though Xiaoman's role is not of the same magnitude as Zheng Peipei's *Nixia* in some *Wuxia pian*, her dominance is represented by the strong presence of her characterization within the narrative structure. Although she is portrayed as a much-respected wife, the following section will illustrate how such a representation could be seen as a symbolic gesture that can be interpreted as an undertone of economic pragmatism in support of capitalist ideology. The plot of the *One-armed Swordsman* (1967) opens with a narration that introduces Xiaoman as the saver to Fang Gang when his right arm is chopped. She subsequently becomes his wife and helps him to regain power in martial arts by giving him a half-burnt *kung fu* manuscript that was left behind by her late father. Even though the remnant of the old *kung fu* manuscript is incomplete, it suits Fang perfectly as he has only one arm. Because of her father's misfortune, Xiaoman is anti-*wuxia*'s world. To please his wife, Fang promises to live a quiet farming life throughout the narration. This promise is carried over from the prequel to the sequel. As the narrative unfolds in both films, the constant conflict for Fang's characterization is structured between his dilemmas: "to fight or not to fight".

To fight is to fulfill the generic obligation of a *xia* who should place the righteous cause before his own life. Not to fight is to keep his promise to his wife as a *xia* should always be a man of his words. The logic of these films suggests that women are the key figure in determining the choice of the male hero. This is a crucial point

⁴ It is worth mentioning that practice of polygamy was still intact in Hong Kong society during this period. The Chinese traditional family laws that allowed concubines have been abolished in the Chinese Republic in 1911 and the People's Republic of China in 1949. However, it was upheld by the British colony in Hong Kong until 1971. For more details, see CHEUNG, F. M., LAI, B. L. L., AU, K.-C. & NGAI, S. S. Y. 1997. Gender Role Identity, Stereotypes, and Attitudes in Hong Kong. In: CHEUNG, F. M. (ed.) *EnGendering Hong Kong society: a gender perspective of women's status*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

for a feminist reading of Zhang Che's *One-armed Swordsman* series because the emphasis shifts from the powerful generic women warrior to strong presence of women in a different light. Xiaoman, in this case, served as an embedded enunciator: the narrative of anti-*wuxia* in this case is a gendered rhetoric that engages with reality by emphasizing self-advancement in terms of pragmatic needs such as economic gains and living secure lives. In contrast, Fang Gang emerged as the intra-diegetic narrator through his figurative mode of representation in the fighting scenes. By acting out the emotions of angst and the spirit of fighting in a chivalric mode, the representation of strong masculinity through the aggression of physicality of the male protagonist empowered the traditional Chinese patriarchal ideology.

While Zhang's films had been central to the promotion of staunch masculinity, the representation of Xiaoman may be comprehended through the typical portrayal of the wife, a woman who embodies domesticity and carries with it the traces of Confucianism, which mirrored the condition of most working class Chinese women. In the *One-armed Swordsman*, the strong presence of the female protagonist in a domestic role becomes the crux of the main plot. The construction of sexual difference in Zhang's *One-armed Swordsman* and *Return of the One-armed Swordsman* is not merely a question of binary opposition between male active gaze versus female passivity. It explores the discursive issues such as feminine dominance via narrative structure. Both films include an illustration of how an anti-*wuxia* worldview is structured through the characterization of the female lead role, namely Xiaoman, into the cinematic narration as a balance to Fang's struggle between the home and *wuxia*'s world. Both involve the private and the public spaces juxtaposed against Chinese patriarchal morality. It is "man" that has to provide for and take care of his family members, who are usually women and children. It is also the responsibility of a man to uphold the world of chivalry within which an imaginary *xia* activity is inscribed. This is best exemplified in one melodramatic scene in the *Return of the One-Armed Swordsman*, in which Fang is daydreaming of a happy life with Xiaoman. In Fang's imagination, Xiaoman is running towards the camera (or Fang) from a blurry to clear medium shot. Then a facial close-up reveals the contentment of Fang. The camera then pans left to capture Xiaoman and pulls back to show them walking forward together. The next shot sees them strolling in a beautiful garden. They smile at each other while the camera slows to zoom in on their faces, and ends with Xiaoman's face in extreme close-up. Every movement of this sequence is shot in slow motion and accompanied with soft music to create a sense of peace and happiness. Much later in the film, similar shots, movements and music are used to capture Xiaoman with a baby in her arms and during the time, Xiaoman informs Fang Gang about her pregnancy. Both of these scenes are taken from the male protagonist's point-of-view. Perhaps most important though is the sense of ambivalence that has been shown by the character of Fang who is searching for his own identity by attempting to balance his desire for a peaceful life with his wife and the inevitable struggle against injustice in *wuxia*'s world. This type of feeling recalls the anxious memories of the "displaced situation" for those who long for a stability which can only be achieved via the mode of a nuclear family. On the other hand, the concept of stability was constantly challenged by the chaotic situation within the diegetics. This is best exemplified in the following shot after the happy dreaming scene in which a scream is heard before the audience see a man in white shirt is being disemboweled by his enemy. What follows is another series of fighting and killing. Such visual manipulations were designed to intrigue the spectatorship as they reflected on the

relationship between their daily struggle for a normal family life and the use of violence as a means to maintain such normality.

It might also explain why these films were particularly popular to the mass audiences, pandering to their desire to have materialistically fulfilling lifestyle in the rapidly developing industrialized city - Hong Kong in the 1960s. Zhang's *One-armed Swordsman* series reflects just such a paradox, for this is a typical problems faced by men of Chinese background in Hong Kong. While searching for new identities as modern subjects, the men's multiple identities were also characterized by ancient Chinese patriarchal values and, at the same time, challenged by the rise of women's rights in general. In other places, I have argued that the imagery of *Nüxia* serves as a symptomatic site of contestation between Confucian patriarchal ideology and the visual culture of modernity within a highly industrial and political, historical moment in the formation of what is commonly referred to as "Hong Kong local identity".⁵

The focus here is to point out that the anti-*wuxia* attitude of Xiaoman is shifting in both films. In the *Return of the One-Armed Swordsman*, while one group of juniors persuades Fang into joining them to fight against the villain, another junior member kidnaps Fang's wife in order to threaten him for his aid. Ironically, Fang has already agreed to help without knowing that his wife (Xiaoman) has been kidnapped. As a result, the event of kidnapping enrages Fang and he now refuses to provide help. This narrative organization then allows Xiaoman to step in to ask her husband to help, largely because of being touched by the sacrifice of a fighter who loses his own life in order to protect hers. Out of a desire for justice, and for the first time in the *One-armed Swordsman* series, Xiaoman wants her husband to become involved in *wuxia*'s affairs. While the domination of woman is evident through this influential narrative logic, the exclusion of women from fighting (physically) for righteousness, along with their confinement to the domestic and sexual spheres is a subversive strategy to deal with the powerful position of women within a symbolic arena. The symbolism that is encapsulated by the characterization of Xiaoman is both the anxiety and aspiration of a "Chinese man" in terms of his dominance within a patriarchal context and economic status in his everyday struggle within a capitalist society.

Conclusion

This article addresses the question of how the cinematically popular *Nüxia* in the 1960s' *Wuxia pian* that were produced and distributed by the Hong Kong based Shaw Brothers Studio has been displaced by Zhang Che's *yanggang* movement, which perpetuated the message that a local identity was to be rebuilt according to Chinese men's *wu* masculinity. Questions of subjectivity and ideology that are derived from Zhang's representation of women/women warriors have been examined in light of theories of sexual difference, which conclude that the overwhelming sense of a strong anti-*Nüxia* sentiment developed in the Shaw Brothers Studio of the 1960s is evidently shown in both the formal and narrative elements in Zhang's films. Significantly, the narrative dimension of the selected *Wuxia pian* serves as a key analytical element to engage with the complexities of women's representation as symbolic negotiation for the emerging "local identity" of Hong Kong, which underwent its own trajectory of

⁵ See NGO, S. S. 2009. *Nüxia (Women Warriors) in the Shaw Brothers' Wuxia Genre: The Modern Imaginary of Hong Kong and Malaysian Chinese Diasporas*. Melbourne: La Trobe University.

modernity in response to the emerging capitalist society vis-à-vis the traditional Chinese patriarchal order. I have shown in both the *One-armed Swordsman* and the *Return of the One-armed Swordsman* that the dominant presence of the female lead role in an alternative way is crucial to uncovering the multidimensional interpretations of these subjectivities.

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*Architectural Solutions to Overcome Challenges Caused by Poverty Towards the
“Society Street Vendors “at Cairo”*

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Abstract

Poverty still forms one of the main problems in Egypt and some other nations across the world, as it is considered as the most important development obstacle, Though the elimination of poverty should form a basic priority for the decision makers interests in Egypt. this research addresses an intelligible definition for poverty and its causes, also poverty levels in Egypt will be observed. One of the paper main goals is to give answers to be as a remedy for the poverty problem from which the Egyptian society suffers. thoughts given in the paper from the author point of view contribute in far extent in up grading poor people living conditions. Street vendors is one of the aspects the paper tried to solve also the unroofed dwellings poor people used to live in the paper proposed some solutions in order to have not only a roof for the place the used to live in but also the paper suggest concepts that provides a productive green roofs. The first solution the paper called for in order to fight the poverty in Egypt of which thoughts and considerations inherited inside the society members hearts relevant to their views to the government as the main sponsor that should thrifts everything to them.

Keywords: Poverty, unroofed dwellings, green roofs, street vendors



Figure 1: a picture figure to the feature of one of poor districts and how people lives in it.

1. Introduction

1-1-POVERTY DEFINATION

- Is it the individual missing to meet his major needs?
- Is it the individual's missing to a stable income source to meet his food, housing and clothing needs?
- Is it the individuals' missing to medical treatment?

1-2-The U.N Definition

The poor is the one whose income is less than \$600 per year or \$50 per month which is approximately 350 Egyptian pounds, knowing that in Egypt ,there are millions whose income is less than 350 L.E. The period 17-19 October 2008 was determined as the international day of poverty.

1-3- the world international bank definition

Poverty doesn't mean the lack of income only but also author basic needs i.e. the person become a part of the society and he has the ability to ask affair the authorities.

Poverty doesn't mean just lack of to what with money one can get ,but it is also the lack for what society provides (services, work ability, and cultures,....)

Poverty considered to be notion of several dimension, which goes beyond the absence of income include disinheritance from several social, economical, political and cultural rights. Poverty means hunger and lack of shelter, also a poor person when get sick he hasn't the ability to go to a physician as he hasn't the enough money for medication lack of educational (as most of the children due to work to provide their families)

Poverty means lack of suitable job

Poverty means the fear from future and the lack of freedom and participation.



Figure 2 :A child eats food remains and Children reach out for food from relief

2.Cause of poverty in Egypt

Poverty in Egypt like that of poverty of the third world due to retardation where as welfare and poverty eradication is the product of overall development, retardation in our countries is historical datum factors accumulated across several decades, the government didn't put sharp and fundamental solutions but temporary and instantaneous treatments for such disasters that might take place in such areas result from ancient periods, in the recent times poverty reproduced and increased in last year's due to group of internal and external political parameters that resulted in an increase in the poverty issues.

2-1- *Immigration from the countryside to capital cities.*

2-2- *Unplanned population exclusion.*

2-3- *High living expenses.*

2-4- *Globalization and economical reform policies.*

3-Features related to poverty

poverty phenomenon in Egypt similar to other countries related to some aspects of which.

3-1- *Employment policies.*

a- Unemployment.

b- employment of women's and children.



Figure 3 : Picture shows the poor people housing poor conditions.



Figure 4:A street vendors

c- marginal jobs (Street Vendors).

Street Vendors:

"Sellers who sell their commodities in the streets and on pavements without having the permission to sell or paying taxes based on their sales and commerce. The local authorities prohibit their activities because of their intensity that forms a kind of appropriation over the state's possessions.

The local authorities requests the police to remove those infringements and to implement the law over them.

And soon the vendors return back to the same places after a period of time and after localities and authorities (forget about the problem).

Reviewing the problem , Street vendors either are present in a linear (bar) in the streets or they are present in concentrations of intensive complex markets"

3-2-Housing

Slums are to be formed as shelters for the poor people who can't pay for legal housing. In the 60s and 70s slums were formed because its residence were unable to pay for a roofed unit (Abu Zeid Rageh). Some dwellers may use cloth or wood to build roofs for their units:

a- space constrains.

b-2- Non-availability of clean water and infrastructure.



Figure 5: Unroofed poor people dwelling.

3-3-Hunger

Shortage of food to meet individuals needs .The normal individual can bear hunger for a period of 3 weeks as a maximum.

a- The U.N Definition

Shortage of food to meet individuals needs .The normal individual can bear hunger for a period of 3 weeks as a maximum.

b- According to the international statistics

The shortage of food is due to the low income levels or the unstable sources of income, from 20-30% of the Egyptian population live under the poverty line.



Figure 6: Poor people gathering at governmental bread store (economical bread)

3-4- Poverty consumptions futures

The increase of spending ratio on food in ratio to the total sum of spending, and decrease of spending ratio on health care and educational facilities.

3-5- the increase percentage of un education

due to poverty children used to live school in order to get the enough required money for their families to get their food to survive.

3. Development goals of Millennium related to poverty according to the united nations first goal is to "Eliminate the extreme poverty and hunger" and there are three goals to achieve.

3.1-decrease the ratio of people whom daily income less than 1 dollar in the period between 1990 to 2015.

3.2-providing people with the total full and productive labor and save suitable work for all people including women and youth.

3.3-decrease the ratio of people suffer from hunger by providing the enough food for them, to half this ratio in between 1990-2015.

3.4-we will discuss some of the proposed solutions as the author think they could help in the solving the poor problems in Egypt.

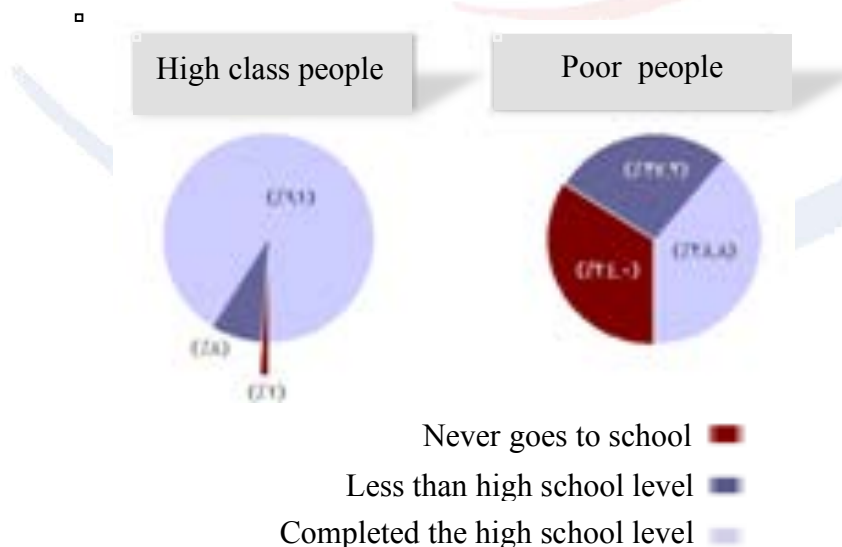


Figure 7 : Chart shows un-education big ratio resulted from poverty

4. proposed solutions for the cerement of poverty problems in Egypt

4-1-backing up development plans economical and sociological for the informal distracts using the principal of sustainable Resettlement

a- these plans depended on principal view point which is the development stats from the base point and originate from the society needs and its priorities through in these programs the following people and authorities should share to gather (the country represented by its government ,the civilian society organizations ,the sponsor companies ,the district citizens and they are the most aware with what they need).



Figure 8:A picture shows intermediate step for (AL-darb AL-AHMAR) development project done by the aghakhan authority.



Figure9: the training program done at (AL-darbal AL-Ahmar)development project.

b- Providing training programs for the district citizens as they themselves develop and improve their district.

c-Providing helps through dismissing loans.

4-2-the detailed problems of vendors

We are not dealing with the problem of presence of street vendors as cancerous spots that must be removed (as stated by Dr. Atef Sedky Prime Minister of Egypt, in the early nineties to describe slums inhabited by street vendors) (Abu Zeid Rageh), but the article considers the humanitarian dimension of the problem and tries to find a practical solution specially street vendors phenomenon once removed, return to reappear.

And we find that the presence of street vendors is the source of many problems on the areas and the heart of Cairo neighborhoods and this threatens both the traffic and security of the streets as follows:



Figure 10 :A picture shows street vendors street occupancies



Figure 11 :vendors need shade protectors against the sun and the rain

a- The traffic problem:

street vendors are found in vital areas and streets in the heart of Cairo. They occupy sidewalks which prohibits the traffic liquidity and cars paths.

b- Security problem:

Most street vendors occupy main commercial streets in front of the legal shops that are committed to the laws and regulations and pay taxes imposed by the state, which is reflected on its relatively high prices compared to those of the street vendors. This causes a lot of problems due to conflicting prices and may lead to clashes or the surrender of shops owners

c- Aesthetic problem:

street vendors show their products under umbrellas to protect them from the sun or rain in very simple systems but they are not acceptable to viewers in the street or people in the opposite malls.

d- Legal problem:

Those vendors have no legal obligations both in terms of rents or legal obligations, they do not have any licenses or approval from the state for the exercise of this profession, which is troublesome in the relationship between these vendors and state.



Figure 12:Street vendors sailing clothes at the street



Figure 13:Street vendors sailing fruits at the street

4-3-International experience to fit these problems(The Swindon experience)

The city of Swindon, is at distance of 75 miles west London, United Kingdome (is a city of predominantly industrial and predominantly rural, and there are many commercial markets of

the most famous markets, market adjacent to (Buranel market) and is a market was crowded by street vendors in local building markets in a circle covered by a tent then divided based on the nature of commodities by collective method and linear method.



Figure 14(A-B): A picture shows swindon street vendors old market .

Figure 15: A picture shows swindon`s street vendors.

a-Collective markets:

The researcher studied such kind of markets full of street vendors, “Al-Ataba is one of these examples where sellers sleep on the street with leather bags including several kinds and all sizes for males and females, in addition to toys for children (such as Barbie ... etc) with attractive colors that attracts kids, usually goods are sold for cheap prices for the poor that don’t care about quality.



Figure 16 :the picture shows a method of construction adapts to be used as collective market place

b- Linear markets:

The researcher exposed to this type of markets and from field studies he got the following results: the markets spread in the main streets such as (Qasr al-Nil - Sherif Fouad - Talaat Harb - Abbas El Akkad), including sellers sidewalks or part of the road or both and puts its goods and distribute sellers one after another (sock and underwear and baby clothes, etc.)



Figure17(A-B):A method of construction could be proposed to applied as linear market place.

4-4-How to apply this in Egypt?

The researcher suggests the application of any of the above solutions according to the way the vendors are represented in the streets. The researcher puts an imagination for imitating the Swindon design as a civilized solution and because it solved their problems in a humanistic manner. the streets and existing commercial areas, which are considered the center of street vendors such as Al-A

ataba(as Collective market) and Talaat Harb Street(as linear market), and others must.

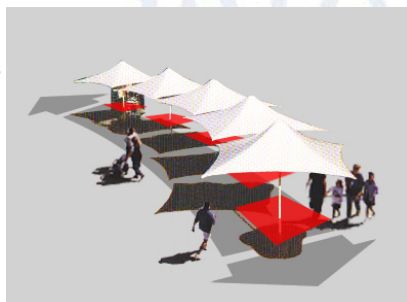
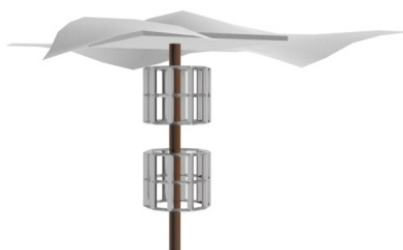


Figure 18(A-B):A pictures shows a proposed , linear market .



Figure 19:Al-ataba proposed collective market.

Simulation of ancient commercial streets:

In the street Ibrahim Lukani , the oldest of the streets in the Heliopolis area, this street is characterized by the fact that according to the design arcade "shady walkway " which allows shopping easily in the hot Summer months. Commercial streets currently lack the shading and the elements that make shopping easy at all times of the day and not only in the evening



Figure 20(A-B): Ibrahim EL-laqani arcades A proposed solution for Abas Al-Aqade linear market.

5.The paper hypothesis

The government must deal with street vendors with little compassion as they seek to gain legal profits instead of begging favored by many of the poor in the community . One of the main problems faced by those Salespeople is the problem of owning or renting shops to sell their goods, which makes them wander their goods all over their surrounding area and sleep on the streets and roads. If they are provided the right place to set up a commercial market in which the seller rent a place faithful to his business , the provision of this gives the consumer market confidence in offering goods and commodities and thus contain this phenomenon in a civilized manner. The research reviewed several places and several places of business belonging to street vendors and found that salesmen in commercial markets carry the following qualities:

Whether sleeping on the streets on both sides vertically (such as the Qasr al-Nil streets and the downtown Talaat Harb and Abbas El Akkad in Nasr City) or they sleep on the entire region (Ataba, almu'asasa or....).

3. Conclusion

There is no doubt that the Egyptian government has played a huge role in fighting poverty in all its forms recently. However, government efforts should also work alongside the efforts of the different categories of the community to limit the spread of this phenomenon.

In addition, the Egyptian government should use a number of innovative means to provide solutions to the problem of poverty in Egypt. The most important of these solutions is to create a well-designed media campaign to change the way different people in the community think towards public sector employment. It is necessary that the government carry out different initiatives to establish small and medium enterprises to help these people and enhance their role in the community.

In addition, an integrated plan of the small and medium industries and enterprises that the government is interested in directing production in should be drawn up. That should be carried out according to wide and intensive studies of the needs of local and international markets.

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The logo for the International Association of Friends of Research (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters 'iafor' in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a large, faint, circular graphic element that appears to be a stylized arc or a partial circle, rendered in a light blue color. The overall design is minimalist and academic.

2013/2014 upcoming events

2013

October 23-27, 2013 - ACE2013 - The Fifth Asian Conference on Education

October 23-27, 2013 - ACETS2013 - The Inaugural Asian Conference on Education, Technology and Society

November 8-10, 2013 - MediAsia2013 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Media & Mass Communication

November 8-10, 2013 - FilmAsia2013 - The Second Asian Conference on Film and Documentary

November 21-24, 2013 - ABMC2013 - The Fourth Asian Business & Management Conference

November 21-24, 2013 - ACPEL2013 - The First Asian Conference on Politics, Economics & Law

2014

March 27-30, 2014 - ACP2014 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Psychology and the Behavioral Sciences

March 27-30, 2014 - ACERP2014 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Ethics, Religion and Philosophy

April 3-6, 2014 - ACAH2014 - The Fifth Asian Conference on Arts and Humanities

April 3-6, 2014 - LibrAsia2013 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Literature and Librarianship

April 17-20, 2014 - ACLL2014 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Language Learning

April 17-20, 2014 - ACTC2014 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Technology in the Classroom

May 29 - June 1, 2014 - ACAS2014 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Asian Studies

May 29 - June 1, 2014 - ACCS2014 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Cultural Studies

June 12-15, 2014 - ACSS2014 - The Fifth Asian Conference on the Social Sciences

June 12-15, 2014 - ACSEE2014 - The Fourth Asian Conference on Sustainability, Energy and the Environment

October 28 - November 2, 2014 - ACE2014 - The Sixth Asian Conference on Education

October 28 - November 2, 2014 - ACSET2014 - The Second Asian Conference on Society, Education and Technology

November 13-16, 2014 - MediAsia2014 - The Fifth Asian Conference on Media & Mass Communication

November 13-16, 2014 - FilmAsia2014 - The Third Asian Conference on Film and Documentary

November 20-23, 2014 - ABMC2014 - The Fifth Asian Business & Management Conference

November 20-23, 2014 - ACPEL2014 - The Second Asian Conference on Politics, Economics & Law

2013

July 4-7, 2013 - ECSS2013 - The Inaugural European Conference on the Social Sciences

July 4-7, 2013 - ECSEE2013 - The Inaugural European Conference on Sustainability, Energy and the Environment

July 11-14, 2013 - ECE - The Inaugural European Conference on Education

July 11-14, 2013 - ECTC2013 - The Inaugural European Conference on Technology in the Classroom

July 18-21, 2013 - ECAH2013 - The Inaugural European Conference on Arts and Humanities

July 18-21, 2013 - ECLL2013 - The Inaugural European Conference on Language Learning

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