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Reading Chinese Painting: Antonello Trombadori's China and the Limits of the Contemporary

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“La Cina ci cade addosso a valanga con un odore amaro di radici che viene dagli orti lungo la stradale, centinaia e centinaia d'uomini che vanno su e giù come formiche, i suoi cieli (poiché non c'è un solo cielo, ma due o tre che si sovrappongono e si fondono) di fumo, di velo e di minerale, che non sai se volino via o siano astratti ed immobili, con le sue strade di polvere, con le sue grida acute e smorzate dentro un felpato silenzio. E' tanta la Cina! Li per li per farti coraggio dici tra te e te e gli altri: è come l'Italia, sembra l'Emilia, sembra Napoli. Non è affatto vero, è assai diversa, difficile a comprendere, a penetrare.” Antonello Trombadori

“The contemporary is the one whose eyes are struck by the beam of darkness that comes from his own time.” Giorgio Agamben

Antonello Trombadori (1917-1993) was the son of a well-known artist, a young partisan of the Italian Resistance, as well as an accomplished expert in the fields of art, cinema, and literature. Moreover, he was the trustworthy art-adviser and collaborator of Palmiro Togliatti. In 1955, he took part in the first official visit of Italian intellectuals to the recently founded People's Republic of China, which was still to obtain full recognition from several countries, including Italy.

Trombadori's involvement in this trip reveals his double nature of intellectual and political militant. The diary he kept is not only meant as a memorandum for the party, but also as an attempt to answer his own personal questions. The result, his *Quaderno cinese 1955* (*Chinese notebook 1955*), can therefore be seen as a mediation, typical of the organic intellectual, between himself and the world, and as an attempt to direct the political debate towards the desired direction.

In this article, we wish to discuss the *Chinese Notebook*. However, our objective is not to offer a full account of Trombadori's diary. Rather, we wish to use specific passages as a starting point for a wider discussion on Orientalism and the limits of the intellectual vis-à-vis the dominant ideology. We therefore offer a rather free and personal interpretation of this work. As a consequence, this essay should not be read as a mere criticism of Trombadori's views. On the contrary, we wish to highlight the complexity of his thought which cannot be reduced to a mere expression of Orientalism.

In order to do so, we will first briefly outline the historical background against which Trombadori's diary must be read. We will then take a closer look at one particular passage of the diary in which Trombadori expresses, in more explicit terms, his views on Chinese culture and art. We will draw on the theoretical framework of Chinese calligraphy and painting in order to bring to light the epistemological conflict which shapes his reading of Chinese culture. In conclusion, we will discuss in what ways this conflict constitutes a fundamental component of the condition of the contemporary thinker. We are interested in this aspect and in the conflict between the individual voice and the environment, the single person and the ideology that surrounds him or her, and in the dialectical relationship between established knowledge and direct experience.

*Trombadori's China*¹

Between 1954 and 1955, a large number of European intellectuals, artists, and political personalities visited China. The delegation of which Trombadori was a member, organized by

¹ This short historical introduction is thoroughly based on the recent article *Pechino 1955. Intellettuali e politici europei alla scoperta della Cina di Mao* (2010), by Luca Polese Remaggi. The essay is a detailed account of European attitudes, Italian and French in particular, towards Maoist China.

the *Centro per le Relazioni Economiche e Culturali con la Cina*, was led by Pietro Calamandrei in 1955. Several important Italian personalities took part in the trip, such as Norberto Bobbio, Cesare Musatti, Carlo Cassola, and Franco Fortini. The Italian delegation observed a strict schedule, visiting, over a few weeks, numerous official institutions.

For many of them, the trip to China had the taste of the discovery of a far-away country, largely unknown, a country that at last awakened, rescuing hundreds of millions of men from a destiny of misery and backwardness. A peaceful wind was blowing from the Orient, and infused in the visitors the hope that the world, worn out from the tensions of the Cold War, would finally concern itself with social politics, and with the national independence of the peoples (Polese Remaggi 2010: 56).

Among these intellectuals, the predominant judgement towards the Chinese regime focused on its peacefulness and progressiveness.² The main reason why so many European intellectuals were in favour of the regime, with the important exception of the British, was that they largely shared an anti-fascist perspective and a conviction that anticommunism was essentially an excuse to marginalize the worker's movement. They were in search of a "third way," between the "democracy without revolution of the West and the revolution without democracy of Middle-Eastern Europe" (2010: 57). After the Bandung Conference, China was going through a process of decolonization, which seemed to offer the opportunity for a new chapter, for a political struggle that

did not extinguish itself in the conflict between democracy and dictatorship, but that would instead recover progressive forces against backwardness and conservativeness. In sum, it appeared as if democracy and revolution could stand again side by side (2010: 58).

The Bandung Conference inaugurated a period of renewed national security and strengthened national sovereignty. The European intellectuals, therefore, visited China at a time of relative stability:

The years between 1953 and 1955 were in fact a sort of parenthesis between two sequences characterized by a strong display of state violence: those that Alain Roux called the years of the 'red terror' (49-52) and those of the Great Leap Forward, which caused the death of millions by starvation (2010: 60).

Once they returned home, many of the visitors wrote books, essays, and articles on their experience of China³. Most analyses of these accounts, however, have focused on a standard understanding of politics and ideology, thus overlooking the Orientalist perspective. Although Orientalism is a political issue, we would like to observe that these intellectuals brought to China a set of beliefs, images, and expectations that only partially derived from their political ideas. They certainly arrived in China with a baggage of established knowledge coming from

² Polese Remaggi argues that the process of reform and collectivization went hand in hand with a campaign of repression. European intellectuals were more or less distrustful of Chinese techniques of hospitality, based on a combination of cordiality and secrecy. Numerous intellectuals were aware of the fact that appearance did not necessarily correspond to reality and that, for instance, the institutions they visited were not randomly chosen: "This tension between 'the country of the fake facades' and land of utopia is substantially one of the most interesting characteristics of the accounts left to us by the visitors of China of the mid-fifties" (2010: 64).

³ For example : Jean Paul Sartre, "La Chine que j'ai vue," *France-Observateur*, December 1-8 1955; Simone de Beauvoir, *La longue marche: Essai sur la Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1957); articles of Paul Ricoeur and Rene Dumont in the magazine *Esprit*, 1956; Carlo Cassola, *Viaggio in Cina* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1956).

European traditions of sinology and from centuries of European discourses about the Orient. What is not so obvious is how they reacted once they came in contact with this complex and relatively unknown culture. Although they were constantly referring what they saw to what they knew, and to an already existing political framework, they also were temporarily unsettled by direct experience.

We wish to analyse Trombadori's short article *La voce dell' uomo (The Man's Voice)* published as appendix to the *Quaderno cinese*⁴. The short essay includes two passages that, in our opinion, are of particular interest, as they concisely and eloquently express Trombadori's views on China, as well as Chinese culture and art. The first excerpt focuses on Chinese painting. The reading of this passage generated numerous reflections that constitute the main body of this paper. The second passage will provide us with the opportunity for some concluding remarks.

Reading Chinese Painting

Un mio amico pittore stenta a ritrovarsi nel profondo e complicato groviglio della pittura cinese. Egli è portato a paragonare le grandi imprese di Michelangelo con quei sottili meandri di segni, e quei colori resi impalpabili come il filo del baco da seta e conclude "Questa non è pittura, è decorazione, calligrafia." Non ha tutti i torti, ma uno sì: di non disporsi a intendere che anche quella è pittura. E' la pittura del popolo cinese nelle condizioni della lunga feudalità e, come tale, un aspetto, un momento della storia universale della pittura che noi abbiamo il torto di identificare sempre e soltanto con quella Europea. Bisogna avere il coraggio di ammettere che anche questo è un residuo razzista (Trombadori 1956: 101).

My friend, a painter, has difficulty orienting himself in the deep and complex labyrinth of Chinese art. He tends to compare the great works by Michelangelo with those subtle twists and turns of signs, with those colours as intangible as silk, and concludes: "this is not painting, but decoration, calligraphy." He is not completely wrong, except for one aspect: he cannot conceive that in fact, this too is painting. It is the painting of the Chinese people under the conditions of long feudality and, as such, an aspect or stage of the universal history of painting, which we mistakenly and invariably identify with that of Europe. We must have the courage of admitting that this too is a residue of racism (Trombadori 1956: 101).⁵

In these thoughts on Chinese art, the conflict between Trombadori's personal reading and the ideological one is particularly visible. On the one hand, he reveals a strong independent voice, realizing that European aesthetics cannot be universally applicable in every context. In taking distance from his friend's opinion, he wishes to detach himself from the contemporary view, from a purely Orientalist perspective. Therefore, Trombadori tries to transcend the Western categories according to which calligraphy belongs to decorative art and "real" art lies somewhere else.

However, he does not remain with this first intuition, but uses an "objective" grid which prevents him from understanding Chinese painting a little more in depth. He cannot but insert his personal interpretation into the wider framework of Marxist ideology. By treating Chinese painting as a stage within the universal history of artistic development, he inscribes it in an

⁴ The article was originally published in the supplement of the literary magazine "Il Ponte" in April 1956.

⁵ The translation of all passages and quotes from the *Diario cinese* are ours.

eminently European historical and cultural perspective, fixing it both in time and space, and ultimately reducing its meaning to an artifact of feudalism within the meta-narrative of world history. As a consequence, Chinese paintings, however advanced in their technique, become an instance of historical backwardness.⁶

At this point, we would like to take a detour and see how a better understanding of Chinese visual arts, or at least one view of it, may help us (and might have helped Trombadori) clarify the dynamics behind the very tension underlying Trombadori's double reading of Chinese art. We wish to argue that by taking a closer look at the theoretical and cosmological frameworks of Chinese art, we might be able to better understand how Trombadori attempted to transcend the limitations of his time and of the Orientalist discourse, but ultimately did not manage to do so entirely.

To start on common grounds, we may argue that all representation of reality, however abstract it may be, partakes in a reenactment of cosmogony. But in China, the creation of the universe is perceived as an internal process of differentiation rather than an external act of creation.⁷ In this context, to draw a line is to recreate the universe by dividing the harmonized One of the origins (the blank sheet), thus recreating the diversity of all things (*wanwu* 萬物).⁸

Interestingly enough, not only does the written/drawn stroke reenacts this process of creation, but Chinese characters – which combine strokes into meaning – may be seen as dividing agents in themselves; they reproduce the categories (*lei* 類) of things by following their internal lines or structures (*li* 理). Within this framework, one manages to “understand” or “interpret” (*jie* 解) by “dissecting” or “dismantling” (connotations also included in the meaning of *jie*).⁹ Considering this, it is not surprising that, according to John Lagerway, Chinese characters “do not represent something outside of themselves; they are disclosures of patterns (*wen* 文), revelations of structures (*li*)” (1985: 304).¹⁰

At this point, the discrimination between writing and drawing appears vague at best. That is to say, all visual representation (*tu* 圖) having the line or stroke as basic unit – whether it is called painting, calligraphy, writing, map, cosmological diagram, etc. – partakes in the reenactment of cosmogony. Therefore, to draw a line, whether it is within the context of writing, drawing or painting, is to delimitate, separate and thus create.

⁶ According to Trombadori, Chinese painting is a “technically superior painting,” “a subtle and intense painting, but always and only reproductive” (1999: 29). In the above thoughts on Chinese art, although Trombadori acknowledges the aesthetic accomplishment of Chinese painting, he equates its alleged reproductive character with backwardness, applying the stages of the development of European painting (from reproductive to abstract) to the Chinese tradition.

⁷ Laozi (老子) summarized this process in the following terms: “The Dao produced One; One produced Two; Two produced Three; Three produced All things” (Legge 1959: 85).

⁸ “For Chinese painters, the brushstroke truly represents the process whereby man partakes of the act of creation. It is the link between man and the universe. It is a line that seeks to capture the breath of things” (Cheng and Tadjadod 1990: 24).

⁹ In Chinese, the graph *jie* (解) bears a resemblance to the English verb “to dissect” in meaning both “to dismantle” and “to understand,” “to interpret.” Its original meaning, as recorded in the *Shuowen Jiezi* (說文解字), is “to dismantle; to use a blade to separate ox and horn” (Xu and Tang 2002: 611). Our translation.

¹⁰ The patterns and structures mentioned here are not fixed substances; they transform themselves through time.

Shitao (石濤 1642-1707), a well-known painter of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), clearly understood this specific power of the stroke. His theory of painting revolves around the notion of the “One-Stroke,” or *yihua* (一畫). According to this notion, a single stroke possesses the capacity to represent the whole universe: “each [One-Stroke] contains within itself the potential to describe all things” (Shitao 1989: 66); it is “the root of all images” (Shitao 1989: 61).

Shitao’s concept of *yihua* relies not only on the complex meaning of *hua* (畫), which signifies both “to delimitate” and “to draw,” as well as both “a painting” and “a stroke (in a Chinese character),”¹¹ but also on the ambivalence of *yi* (一), as meaning both “one” and “Oneness.” In the *Shuowen Jiezi* (說文解字), an authoritative dictionary of the second century, *yi* is defined in the following terms: “In the Great Beginning, the *dao* (道) rested upon unity. Thereafter, it separated heaven and earth, and evolved into the ten thousand things” (Xu and Tang 2002: 1).¹² Here, *yi*, defined in cosmogonic terms, is both the smallest and the largest number, both the One of the origins (unity) and the many of creation (the ten thousand things).

In view of this, Shitao’s concept of *yihua* can be understood in a rather broad manner. It signifies both the *one-stroke* and the *one-painting* (or calligraphy), as well as both the *holistic-stroke* and the *holistic-painting* (or calligraphy).¹³ In the following quote, Shitao clarifies the relationship between the one-stroke and holistic representation, between micro- and macrocosms: “First delineate ‘one’, then all things can be distinguished. Through the medium of all things, wholeness can be attained” (Shitao 1989: 71). For Shitao, the art of drawing or writing a stroke is both an act of *creation* – the one-stroke represents all things – and *unification* – the holistic stroke merges all things back into their original unity. Thus the one produces the many, and the many are unified back into one.

Moreover, the *process* of writing/drawing a line is itself a form of unification. That is to say, the calligrapher performs an incision on the paper, dividing the One of the origins into all things. Therefore, the stroke left on the paper is not only a record of the process of division and creation, but also a *trait-d’union* between the origins and the present. Thus one who reads calligraphy manages not only to bridge the gap between the calligrapher’s time and the contemporary, but also between the origins and now. By writing a single stroke or by reading it, one can partake not only in the act of creation itself, but also in the recovery of the *dao* of the origin.

¹¹ See the *Dictionnaire Ricci de caractères chinois*, Paris, Institut Ricci de Paris, 1999, vol. 1, p. 759.

¹² Our translation.

¹³ A quick glimpse at the numerous translations of *yihua* into European languages suffice to realise the web of meaning Shitao’s concept conveys: the “one-stroke” (Lin Yu-Tang, *The Chinese theory of Art: Translations from the masters of Chinese art*; Jonathan Hay, *Shitao: Painting and Modernity in Early Qing China*); “the single stroke” (Richard Edwards, *The World around the Chinese Artist: Aspects of Realism in Chinese Painting*); the “Holistic Brushstroke” (Richard E. Strassberg, *Enlightening remarks on painting*); the “Oneness of Brushstroke” (Earle Jerome Coleman, *Philosophy of painting by Shih-T’ao: a translation and exposition of his Hua-P’u*); “The Primordial Line” (Chou Ju-hsi, *In Quest of the Primordial Line: the Genesis and Content of Tao-chi’s Hua-yu-lu*); “L’unique trait de pinceau” (Pierre Rychmans, *Les propos sur la peinture du moine Citrouille-amère*); “Die eine, erste Linie” (Victoria Contag, *Chinesische Landschaften*); the “single-stroke painting” (Wen Fong, *Returning Home: Tao-Chi’s Album of Landscape and Flowers*); “The Great Oneness of Visual Arts” (Wang Hongyin, *Shi Tao: arts of painting and his other works*); and the “All-Inclusive Creative Painting” (Osvald Sirén, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting: Translations and Comments*).

Within this conception of the art of painting and calligraphy, creation *as separation* is not in itself sufficient; it requires the complementary development of what one would be tempted to call its opposite: harmony *as unification*. But in fact both processes echo and answer one another; none is complete without the other. Thus, the act of creation is part of an interplay of natural polarity: from one to many and from many to one.¹⁴

The Aesthetic Order

This conceptualization of painting radically differs from the European one, in which the act of creation is *ex nihilo*: the painter reproduces cosmogony by creating something (one) out of nothing (zero).¹⁵ Within this tradition, the painter is regarded as an emulator of God. On the other hand, in the Chinese tradition, painters are not perceived as transcending the world of men, but become painters precisely by inserting themselves within the realm of the living. Painters in China do not start from nothing, but rather convey the one and the many which always precede them.

And in this very process of creation as separation and harmony as unification, one does not convey a revealed truth, but rather progressively learns to bridge the gap between the self and the other, between then and now. In short, painting is an act of learning. It is a “philosophy in action, a sacred activity whose purpose is human fulfilment” (Cheng and Tadjadod 1990: 24).

In the process of becoming an artist, one learns as much from the outside world (never conceived as an object only), as from the inner world (never reduced to a simple subject); as much from the past (never conquered by a contemporary truth), as from the present (never substantialized but always conceived within the spectrum of constant change). Moreover, it is because the line links, because it is a *trait-d’union* between the polarities of both inside/outside and past/present that it can generate knowledge.

We must keep in mind that this particular method of learning through painting and calligraphy is part of a wider range of theories of self-cultivation (修身) within the realm of a broadly-defined Confucianism. In *Thinking through Confucius*, David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames call this method the “aesthetic order,” and argue that it is particularly prevalent within the thought of Confucius. Opposed to the aesthetic order is a “rational” or “logical” type of order, more prevalent within the Judeo-Christian tradition of thought.

While the logical order “requires that order be achieved by application to a given situation of an antecedent pattern of relatedness” and may be “realized by the imposition or instantiation of principles derived from the Mind of God, or the transcendent laws of nature, or the positive laws of a given society, or from a categorical imperative resident in one’s conscience,” the aesthetic order “is achieved by the creation of novel patterns,” and “is a consequence of the contribution to a given context of a particular aspect, element, or event which both determines and is determined by the context.” Thus the “logical order involves the act of closure; aesthetic order is grounded in disclosure” (Hall and Ames 1987: 16).

To put it simply, in the aesthetic order, one adapts the theoretical pattern to the empirical contingency, whereas in the rational order, one interprets contingency within the framework

¹⁴ We must remember that “one” and “many,” as well as “creation” and “harmony,” always include one another to some extent: the many is always latent within the one, and the one always latent within the many.

¹⁵ Here, we recognize the dichotomy between being and non-being.

of the theoretical pattern. Although every tradition is a combination of both types of order, Hall and Ames argue that the aesthetic order is particularly prevalent within the Chinese tradition.

We will now see how this might help us *dissect* Trombadori's view on Chinese art. In his first attempt at understanding Chinese art, and especially calligraphy, Trombadori reveals a rather "aesthetic" approach to ordering meaning. That is to say, he is prompt to modify his own understanding of what art is in view of the novelty of Chinese painting. Within this first attempt, we initially perceive a movement from the general (theory) to the particular (empirical reality) which aspires to understand Chinese art with one's own set of judgments, and then again a movement from the particular to the general which aims at reformulating the theory in light of a novelty. This process effectively echoes that of a prominently aesthetic order of understanding such as the one described in our analysis of Chinese painting, and which is characterized by a movement from creation to harmony.

But then again, Trombadori uses the meta-narrative of world history to redefine the artwork as an artifact of feudal China, thus effectively subsuming the artwork under an antecedent pattern, a transcendent truth which by itself enables him to grasp the ultimate meaning of the artwork. Trombadori's interpretation is achieved by the "application to a given situation of an antecedent pattern of relatedness." Hall and Ames argue that this particular type of order, the rational one, is closely related to the European tradition of transcendence. In fact, their definition of transcendence might be of great help in understanding Trombadori's second reading of the art of calligraphy:

a principle, *A* [the meta-narrative of world history], [which] is transcendent with respect to that, *B* [Chinese art], which it serves as principle if the meaning or import of *B* cannot be fully analyzed and explained without recourse to *A*, but the reverse is not true (Hall and Ames 1987: 13).

This rational method of ordering prevents him from deepening his understanding of both Chinese art and the meta-narrative of world history. Everything is explained before it is problematized. As a consequence, this system of truth cannot but prevent one from learning. One of the aspects of the discourse of Orientalism is precisely such a way of explaining a complex of phenomena which escapes the thinker due to its complexity and remoteness by resorting to an all-encompassing, transcendent, and culturally authorized theory.

According to this perspective, the European experience is abstracted and universalized before it is applied to the *other*: Asia cannot but emulate the different phases of European history (antiquity, feudalism, and modernity). One's empirical experience of the cultures of Asia is accommodated within this universal theory and rarely modifies it. It is precisely this system, which enabled so many intellectuals to create a discourse around the particularities of China without any direct experience of it. This mode of thinking, which reached its apex in nineteenth-century Europe, implies that a direct experience of China and knowledge of its languages and histories are superfluous endeavors in one's attempt to understand it. Experience is cast out of the learning process and ignorance becomes knowledge.

The Contemporary Man's Voice

We wish to conclude this essay with the following passage, as we believe that a highly original reading of the contemporary (and past) attitudes towards China takes place in it.¹⁶ Trombadori is curious and at the same time ashamed of his own reaction at the sight of a man in the streets of Beijing. He is unsettled, the frame of reference, the grid of organized knowledge fails him and his intelligence emerges, offering a reading of his experience of China which is current and insightful:

Uno dei primi giorni della mia permanenza a Pechino mi colpì ad esempio l'osservazione rivoltami da un giovane studente cinese. Io ascoltavo con stupito interesse le grida d'un venditore ambulante lungo una delle strade meno frequentate della città, osservavo le sue vesti assai semplici e di antica foggia come se ne possono trovare in antiche pitture cinesi e anche italiane del medio evo, osservavo il suo modo di camminare sotto il peso d'un ingegnoso strumento a bilancia per potrare la mercanzia. Soprattutto però mi interessava il suono ad intermittenza di quelle grida. Domandai di che si trattasse. Ma certo doveti porre la domanda in modo tale che troppo traspariva il mio interesse per la cosa eccezionale, per la cosa in se, considerata come strana e stravagante, come "esotica" manifestazione estranea alla normalità cui ero, cui siamo abituati. Il giovane studente osservò: "Si tratta della voce umana, della voce di un uomo." C'era, non v'ha dubbio, nella risposta la rivelazione d'un complesso d'inferiorità, riflesso d'una lunga abitudine dei cinesi a doversi difendere da chi nel loro paese era abituato a viaggiare come in un serraglio o in un museo di cose e di abitudini sopravvissute alla storia, ma c'era anche l'indicazione di un metodo giusto, il richiamo a non perder di vista la comune radice d'ogni cosa che sta nella società: l'uomo (1956: 101).

One of the first days of my stay in Beijing, I was moved by the observation of a young Chinese student. I was listening, in rapture, to a street-seller shouting along one of the least crowded streets of the city. I was observing his clothes, extremely simple and old-fashioned, reminiscent of Chinese paintings or even Italian paintings of the Middle Ages. I was observing him walking under the weight of a complex object, a libra, used to carry his merchandise. Above all, I was interested in that intermitting shouting. I asked the student what it was, but I must have asked the question in a way that made all too visible my interest for the thing in itself, to me so strange and bizarre, an "exotic" episode, completely foreign to the reality I was accustomed to; we are accustomed to. The young student observed: "It is a human voice, the voice of a man." That answer revealed, without a doubt, an inferiority complex, due to the long-exercised habit Chinese people have of defending themselves from those who travel in their country the way they would in a circus, or in a museum of things and customs that survived history. There was, however, also an admonition not to lose sight of the common root of everything in society: man (1956: 101).

The personal nature of the above comment is an exception to the general tone of the diary, which today presents itself as a strongly connoted work, both politically and ideologically. Trombadori was undoubtedly a man of his time, an intellectual who visited China "on a mission," and brought to it a defined set of ideas and clear expectations. He also proves to

¹⁶ We wish to take this opportunity to remind the reader who might not be familiar with Trombadori's life and work that he was one of the founders, together with Romano Bilenchi and Carlo Salinari, of the weekly political and literary publication "Il Contemporaneo," a highly prestigious and influential publication (1958-1964).

On a more personal note, we would like to thank Francesca Pierini's father for introducing her to this diary several years ago. Vanni Pierini and Duccio Trombadori, Antonello's son, have been friends for a long time. We were particularly touched when we came across Duccio Trombadori's dedication on the first page of the diary: "A Vanni, un diario strano e molto *inattuale*" ("To Vanni, a very unusual and *untimely* diary").

possess remarkable sensitivity, intuition, and personality. The dialectical relationship that the contemporary thinker has with his or her own time, and the possibility of his or her emancipation from it, constitutes the focus of this last short discussion.

In his introduction to *Orientalism* (1978), Edward Said points out that he does not intend to analyze the European hegemonic political and cultural paradigms to show their hidden weakness and inconsistency. On the contrary, he wishes to do so in reason of their strength and persistence:

One ought never to assume that the structure of Orientalism is nothing more than a structure of lies or of myths which, were the truth about them to be told, would simply blow away. [...] What we must respect and try to grasp is the sheer knitted-together strength of Orientalist discourse, its very close ties to the enabling socio-economic and political institutions, and its redoubtable durability (1978: 6).

Moreover, this “sheer knitted-together” system cannot be reduced to a merely subjugating power: “My whole point is to say that we can better understand the persistence and the durability of saturating hegemonic systems like culture when we realize that their internal constraints upon writers *were productive*, not unilaterally inhibiting” (1978: 14).

This concept has been an inspiring one throughout this essay. We did not intend to show what was and what was not Orientalist in Trombadori’s thought. On the contrary, we meant to discuss his work as the peculiar result of a unique conjuncture. Trombadori’s insights are sometimes in harmony with his own expectations, sometimes in collision with them, but they are always productive.

The productivity of the external limits on the subject, as it is well-known, has been recognized and explained, among others, by Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben. Foucault sees the forming of the subject as a process of self-constitution, not in a context of unconditioned freedom, but in one of possible negotiations with power. Individual choices, therefore, imply a move away from conventions and consensus. Within the context of power relationships one has to practice freedom constantly reflecting on its very limits.

We find that this condition of constant struggle substantially resonates with what Agamben says about the relationship between the intellectual and his or her own time:

Those who are truly contemporary, who truly belong to their time, are those who neither perfectly coincide with it nor adjust themselves to its demands. They are thus in this sense irrelevant [*inattuale*]. But precisely because of this condition, precisely through this disconnection and this anachronism, they are more capable than others of perceiving and grasping their own time (2009: 40).

We find particularly striking the fact that Agamben formulates a definition of the present that bears a very strong resemblance to the function of the stroke, indeed interpretable, as we have just seen, as a *caesura*, capable of establishing a new relationship with the past and the future through an act, in the present, which is as disrupting as it is unifying: “following the same gesture by which the present divides time according to a ‘no more’ and a ‘not yet,’ it also establishes a peculiar relationship with these ‘other times’” (Agamben 2009: 49).

Later in the essay, Agamben gives the following definition of the contemporary:

...the contemporary is not only the one who, perceiving the darkness of the present, grasps a light that can never reach its destiny; he is also the one who, dividing and interpolating time, is capable of transforming it and putting it in relation with other times. He is able to read history in unforeseen ways, to “cite it” according to a necessity that does not arise in any way from his will, but from an exigency to which he cannot not respond (2009: 53).

Trombadori’s elaboration of his Chinese experience reveals a genuine aspiration at learning from and through China. In rejecting what he calls “residues of racism,” he demonstrates an ability at “perceiving the darkness of the present.” However, it is in the very nature of the contemporary condition to be ultimately incapable of transcending one’s own political, social, and cultural milieu.

In this essay, we attempted to show this contradiction at work. The epistemological conflict mentioned in the introduction is precisely this conflict between theory and practice, between ideology and the man’s voice, as well as between tradition and its reinvention. In trying to build on Trombadori’s insights rather than going against them, we argued that the conceptual foundation of Chinese painting might provide new approaches to working within and against the limits of the contemporary.

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*Becoming-other to Belong: Radical Eco-Cosmopolitan Subjectivity in Jeff Noon's
Nymphomation*

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In Jeff Noon's *Nymphomation* (2000)¹, the reader is confronted with a fictional Manchester city where swarms of mobile, flying adverts increasingly pollute the air and piles of discarded lottery tokens increasingly litter the streets. This undesirable environment is the result of the technologies of post-industrial capitalism turned rampant, where the imperative to turn a profit also turns the environment uninhabitable. However, *Nymphomation* has a "hero", Jazir, the son of Indian migrants, whose 1) ideological transformation from entrepreneurial capitalist to social justice advocate, and 2) ontological transformation from human to posthuman, reduces and reverses the city's decline into an uninhabitable anthropogenic climate.

This discussion will focus on Jazir and the way the novel can be read as pairing his cosmopolitan, migrant perspective with his ability to perceive his embeddedness within a more-than-human community. This ability allows him to negotiate and mitigate the increasing hostility of his anthropogenic climate. Moreover, I will discuss how the novel envisions responding to environmental crisis as requiring more than technical solutions. "Reduce, reuse, recycle" is not enough in *Nymphomation*. Instead, *Nymphomation* suggests that responding and adapting to anthropogenic climates requires a radical reconsideration of the way humans perceive themselves and their relation to the human and nonhuman other. What I call a radical eco-subjectivity. Here too the novel suggests that it is Jazir's cosmopolitan perspective that enables him to enter into this ontological transformation. In short, I will argue that in the character of Jazir, *Nymphomation* envisions a model for a radical eco-cosmopolitan subjectivity that combines 1) the emancipatory potential of the cosmopolitan perspective with 2) an ecological understanding of the interconnectedness of the human and nonhuman. And furthermore, that this reading of the novel suggests that the dual cultural perspective of cosmopolitan subjects better enables them to perceive their dual species citizenship—that is, that they belong to a more-than-human community. This altered perspective leaves the eco-cosmopolitan subject well-positioned to negotiate and mitigate anthropocentric climates.

By reading the novel from this perspective, I am engaging in the practice of ecocriticism. Ecocriticism is an analytical perspective that emerged as a movement in the mid-1990s in response to an increasing awareness of anthropogenic climate change, and a concern that this issue was not being adequately addressed in the work of humanities' scholars. Ecocriticism seeks to explicitly address these issues by interrogating the ways culture and cultural products mediate humans' relation to the nonhuman. In particular, it seeks to do so by focusing on the nuanced ways culture and cultural products reinforce and/or challenge dominant values and attitudes regarding humans' connection to the nonhuman. This analysis engages with *Nymphomation* from such an ecocritical perspective. It seeks to elucidate the ways this novel reflects upon, challenges and offers alternatives to the values, attitudes and understandings that currently dominate the relation between the human and nonhuman (in our current globalised economy).

Furthermore, in the reading of *Nymphomation* I present here, I will borrow and elaborate upon ecocritic Ursula Heise's concept of eco-cosmopolitanism (2008). Heise's concept draws upon theories of cosmopolitanism that are "concerned with the question of how we might be able to develop cultural forms of identity and belonging

¹ All references will be of this edition and will follow parenthetically in-text, citing page number only. The novel was originally published in 1997 by Doubleday.

that are commensurate with the rapid growth in political, economic, and social interconnectedness that has characterised [contemporary globalisation]" (2008, p.6). And she seeks to extend the concept to include the "more-than-human world—the realm of nonhuman species, but also that of connectedness with both animate and inanimate networks of influence and exchange" (2008, p.61). Heise extends the idea in this way to construct a more robust conception of cosmopolitanism, which she deems necessary for anthropocentric ecologies.

This ecocritical reading of *Nymphomation* is divided into the following three sections: firstly, I offer a brief introduction to *Nymphomation* and discuss how globalisation figures in the novel; secondly, I present an argument highlighting how Jazir can be read as representing a cosmopolitan subject position; and thirdly, I demonstrate how Jazir's belonging to a more-than-human community destabilises his ontological status as human and enables him to negotiate his anthropogenic climate.

Nymphomation and Globalisation

Like Jeff Noon's other science fiction novels of the 1990s, *Nymphomation* is set in a fictionalised version of the author's hometown of Manchester. The plot centres upon a lottery newly introduced to the city by the AnnoDomino Company as a test run before the lottery's national launch. The lottery is run weekly and players enter the draw by buying tokens called domino bones. The ultimate cash prize of "10 million lovelies" is won if the dots on the domino bones settle on the same dots as those broadcast on the televised draw (16).

The AnnoDomino Company and how it came to be in Noon's fictional Manchester provide some telling intertextual connections. In the novel, the Manchester city council successfully bids for AnnoDomino to test their lotto game in the city, recalling Manchester's multiple Olympic and Commonwealth Games bids (Cochrane et al. 2002). Also, the company enters into "partnerships" with the city's public institutions, recalling the same strategy employed by the real Manchester's local council to be able to compete for national funds (a strategy which departed from the city's long-standing commitment to public institutions and welfare) (Quilley 2002). These connections draw attention to the ways the novel engages Manchester's changing identity from globaliser—centre of trade and industry, to globalised—vulnerable to losing its socialist-leaning identity.² Indeed, AnnoDomino represents one negative tendency of globalisation—its propensity to instantiate globally homogenised cultural values. In this case, the values of materialism and post-industrial capitalism.

In the novel, AnnoDomino aggressively advertises its lottery game via insect shaped broadcasting systems that can fly: these mobile advertising units are called blurbflies and are designed to communicate the AnnoDomino advertisement—"play to win"—"alive and direct to the punters" (75). Driven by the blurbflies' relentlessly repeated advertisements, the Mancunians buy several dominoes each week. However, after failing to be the winning token, the losing domino pieces are invalidated. The Mancunian's toss away their losing tokens: the numbers of discarded dominoes become so numerous they create a "second pavement that crunch[e]s underfoot" (254).

² I would like to acknowledge my borrowing of Peter Dicken's turn-of-phrase and point to his informative analysis of Manchester's changing global status in an article entitled "Global Manchester: From Globaliser to Globalised". See works cited list for further bibliographic details.

The blurbflies thus pollute the environment in two ways: they are too plentiful and so pollute the air, and the advertisement they broadcast promotes the materialistic message of over-consumption, driving further pollution.

Jazir operates as a foil to the AnnoDomino Company. Jazir seeks to discover the mysterious technology that powers the blurbflies and domino tokens, and discover why the company is having some of its players murdered. These motives see Jazir at one point capturing a blurbfly to profit from its technology, at another point hacking into the company's database to uncover its nefarious activities, and at another point destroying the company's factory headquarters. This last action, destroying the factory, is central to this argument as it sees the blurbflies emancipated from their contract with the AnnoDomino Company, it is associated with the release of the Mancunians from the regency of the materialist values engendered by AnnoDomino, and both of these together ameliorate the city's environmental problems.

Importantly, Jazir and his family, the Malik's, represent another intertextual link to the real Manchester and its place within global networks, that is, as Peter Dickin's notes, the "large-scale in-migration of people [to England] from the former colonies" (2002, p.23). The Malik family are migrants of Indian origin and run a curry restaurant located in Rusholme. In the real Manchester, the Rusholme area is known for its high concentration of Indian restaurants, earning it the nickname "curry mile". *Nymphomation* points to the intercultural tensions arising from this situation, which is played out in confrontations between Jazir and white supremacist Nigel Zuze. Nigel's personal blurbfly advertises the following message: "English schools for English tools. No foreign muck. Vote for Purity!" (36). Nigel represents the attitude that migrants are a threat to the integrity of England's national identity and Manchester's local identity. Noon, however, encourages the reader to be unsympathetic towards Nigel and his perspective—he is a racist bully-cum-coward and all-round objectionable character. Jazir, on the other hand, is complex and sympathetic character. Indeed, his increasingly deft ability to combine his dual experience of Indian and English cultures is the avenue through which the novel's conflicts are resolved. Jazir thus represents a contradictory tendency enabled by globalisation, that is, its propensity for heterogeneity. The novel inscribes the melding of cultures as producing new ways of knowing and being that can resist globally competitive corporations and anthropogenic climates.

Jazir and Cosmopolitanism

Indeed, it is Jazir's cosmopolitan perspective that allows him to perceive the interconnectedness of the human and nonhuman via his altered relationship to the blurbflies. As already mentioned, at one point in the story Jazir hacks AnnoDomino's computer system. This covert activity results in his being bitten by a blurbfly, and, in turn, this corporeal connection instigates his understanding that he and the blurbflies belong to the same ecosystem and are both subject to the same fate. That is, their survival is threatened by the values of materialism and post-industrial capitalism espoused by AnnoDomino. Here I will demonstrate the centrality of Jazir's cosmopolitanism to the novel's resolution by foregrounding how it is his dual Indian-English perspective that brings him into corporeal contact with the blurbfly in the first instance, and that it is this dual cultural perspective that underpins his ability to become a member of the blurbfly community.

Firstly, Jazir is able to hack the AnnoDomino system, something which other Mancunians are unable to do, by incorporating and adapting aspects from his dual Indian-English heritage. Notable in this respect is his “Info Josh” password hacking program—an amalgamation of his knowledge of computer coding and Indian cuisine:

INFO JOSH[:] *Ginger, garlic water. Put them all into a karahi. Add chunks of information to brown. Cardamom, bay leaves, cloves. [...] Stir and serve. The wanted knowledge will be revealed. Heat rating: red hot*”. (71)

For Jazir, combining ideas from different cultures and different generations is “the way of the world”: “Father Saeed Malik cooked up the spices; Jaz, the son, cooked up the info. Mutual engineering” (71). It is bringing together different kinds of knowledge in this way that leads Jazir to being bitten by a blurbfly: Jazir discovers that running the Info Josh program on a computer pacifies and attracts the blurbflies, making them easy to catch. The blurbfly that Jazir seizes bites him, transferring some of the mutagenic DNA to Jazir in the process. It is this corporeal encounter with a blurbfly the eventually enables Jazir to empathise with their species, which leads to his involvement in mitigating the city’s environmental problems.

Secondly, Jazir’s ability to become a member of the blurbfly community after being bitten is also connected to his ability to accommodate and combine different kinds of cultural knowledge. After being bitten, Jazir notices that he begins to change. He experiences the urge to “swarm with the [blurbfly] pack” (274). That is, he begins to perceive himself as belonging to the blurbfly community. However, he also reports an irresistible loyalty to AnnoDomino, compelling him “to stand on the tallest building and shout out loud to the city how fucking great the Anno-Dominoes are” (274). In other words, he begins to perceive his agency being subsumed by AnnoDomino. Nonetheless, Jazir possesses the desire to resist his total transformation into a blurbfly advert, and also the skill to incorporate both humanness and blurbfly-ness into his identity. A comparison with the aforementioned character Nigel illustrates how Jazir’s cosmopolitanism underpins his ability to resist. Nigel is “infected” with the same mutagenic material as Jazir, but unlike Jazir, Nigel is unable to resist the contagion and is immediately made into AnnoDomino’s slave. Nigel’s resistance seems linked to his inability to accept the racial-ethnic other, as evidenced by his blurbfly advertisement’s message of white supremacy. Nigel’s identity is founded upon his active and violent attempts to exclude the other. Nigel’s inability to accommodate the racial-ethnic other frustrates his ability accommodate the nonhuman other, leading to his complete vulnerability and subservience to the virus. On the other hand, Jazir’s ability to negotiate between and incorporate aspects of different cultures is associated with his ability to accommodate the virus, and simultaneously belong to both the blurbfly and human communities, as well as resist AnnoDomino’s materialism.

Becoming-other and Radical Eco-Cosmopolitanism

Finally, I will address the cornerstone of my reading of the novel’s model of radical eco-subjectivity—what I call Jazir’s becoming-blurbfly. Jazir’s ability to productively incorporate aspects of two cultures—Indian and English, underpins his ability to incorporate aspects of two species—human and blurbfly. I want to make two points about Jazir’s blended or hybrid subjectivity: firstly, it replaces the either/or dualisms that support traditional Western models of subjectivity with a both/and foundation,

and secondly, it suggests that reconfiguring the foundations of subjectivity in this way is necessary for continued existence and belonging in anthropogenic climates.

However, first it is important to clarify what is meant by becoming-blurbfly, and explain how this challenges the either/or dualisms that support the Western model of subjectivity. In calling Jazir's experience "becoming-blurbfly" I am referring to the concept of becoming as developed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987).³ For Deleuze and Guattari, the process of becoming is intertwined with the radical transformation of the Western subject. Traditionally the concept of the Western subject has been built upon a series of hierarchally organised binary oppositions, including self/other, presence/absence, human/nature, man/woman, etc. As eco-philosopher Val Plumwood argues, such a dualist and hierarchal organisation hyper-separates each category so that the identity of each term of the binary is defined through its radical exclusion and repudiation of the opposing term (1993, pp.10–11). In the case of human/nature, for example, the term "human" becomes synonymous with the notion of disembodied mind, and "nature" becomes synonymous with material "stuff". The consequence of this, Plumwood argues, is that the dominant group comes to deny their dependency upon the repressed other (1993, pp.48–9). For the human/nature binary, the effect is that humans see themselves as independent, autonomous agents, able to master and control a subordinate, nonhuman nature without being altered themselves. However, Deleuze and Guattari's "subject" of becoming exists in a state that is *both* partly self *and* partly other—neither wholly who or what it was, nor wholly who or what it will become, but rather existing at the threshold between these two "selves". Such in-between-ness is a logically impossible state of existence for the traditional Western subject. I argue that Jazir's existence in the state of becoming-blurbfly/becoming-other—where he is neither wholly human, nor wholly blurbfly—registers his radical departure from traditional Western subjectivity.

Jazir's radically reconfigured subjectivity enables him to perceive his belonging to a more-than-human community. This insight is inscribed as necessary for his—and all Mancunians—continued existence in Manchester's anthropogenic climate. Jazir's radically reconfigured subjectivity is coupled with his new-found ability to empathise with and advocate for the blurbflies. This insight leads to his taking actions that destroy AnnoDomino, which reverses the negative environmental impact the company has had on the fictional Manchester city. Jazir's openness to the blurbflies enables him to see the world from their perspective: Jazir says, "some of the blurbs want out. They want their freedom. That's why they're attracted to me. I can turn this knowledge against [AnnoDomino]" (274). Witnessing the world from the nonhuman perspective of the blurbflies, alerts Jazir to the destructive force AnnoDomino exerts over the Mancunians—the Mancunians, like the blurbflies, are controlled by AnnoDomino. The company's promise of wealth enslaves the Mancunians thinking, so that they are blinded to the social and environmental problems caused by the company. This lack of insight renders the Mancunians unable to resist the company's materialist values. In short, after Jazir's corporeal encounter with a blurbfly Jazir begins to belong to the blurbfly community both physically by seeing the world from their point of view and conceptually by foregoing his status as human subject—that is, he relinquishes his perception that he is able to master and profit from the blurbflies

³ Deleuze and Guattari primarily develop this idea in chapter 10 "Becoming-Intense, Becoming-Animal, Becoming-Imperceptible".

and instead pledges to advocate on behalf of the nonhuman (an act which ultimately benefits the well-being of all the human characters too). Jazir's indeterminate, becoming-blurbfly subjectivity allows him to 1) perceive the interconnectedness of the situations of the human and nonhuman—both are enslaved by AnnoDomino, and 2) advocate on behalf of the nonhuman which is linked to the restoration of habitable environmental conditions—by destroying the AnnoDomino factory.

Conclusion

In this discussion I have attempted to outline *Nymphomation's* model for a radical eco-cosmopolitan subjectivity. This subjectivity draws upon the potential of cosmopolitanism to enable individuals to negotiate between cultures, and also produce new knowledge through the experience of different cultures. My reading of the novel suggests that the skills and knowledges that accompany such cosmopolitan experiences and perspectives enable similarly open and flexible inter-species understandings. That is, Jazir's cosmopolitan perspective enables him to exist at the threshold between human-self and nonhuman-other. Moreover, it is this radical, indeterminate subjectivity that 1) enables him to perceive the ways the human and nonhuman are equally implicated in ecosystems, and 2) compels him to advocate on behalf of the nonhuman—an action that restores the increasingly uninhabitable anthropogenic climate. In reading *Nymphomation* from this ecocritical perspective, I hope to have highlighted the ways this novel can be read as elucidating some important intersections between cosmopolitanism and radical eco-subjectivity.

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*Surrogacy on Stage. Theater, Movies and Documentaries about Assisted
Reproduction, Kinship and (be)longings*

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During the last decades, India has become a popular destination for fertility tourism. A growing number of Indian fertility clinics offer treatments and surrogacy services to both Indian and Western customers at prices very competitive to a Western market. Infertile -, homosexual couples and single individuals not just from Europe, the US and Australia, but also from Japan and the Middle East have gone to India bringing hopes and expectations of becoming a family. Thus not only the production of traditional goods is outsourced from the first to the third world; in the current era of globalization, also pregnancies and childbirths as well as conventional categories and traditional frameworks of understanding family formation and kinship are challenged.

In this chapter I will look at the phenomena through the lens offered to us by theater- and film producers, who have taken an interest in this complex subject. They too have travelled to India in great numbers in order to document and understand what is going on, and to bring home stories suitable for the market of cultural products. As a theme, surrogacy in India contains many of the facets that make a 'good story' and appeals to an audience.

I follow narratives of transnational surrogacy in India through the preparation of a Scandinavian stage play, various media representations, international documentaries and Indian, Bollywood movies. I am in particular interested in the intersections between stories, media and society, the authentic and the fictional, the interplay between rhetoric, emotions and arguments. I view the commercial field of transnational reproduction industry to be a materialization of globalization as characterized by Arjun Appadurai in terms of ethnoscaping, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes, as a global flow of bodies, cells, money and information is on the move in what American anthropologist Marcia Inhorn has characterized as a 'reproscape'. (Inhorn, 2010; Appadurai, 1990). Inspired by Scott Lash and Celia Lury's *Global culture industry: the mediation of things*, I consider narrations as being 'objects' circulating in a global media economy, and observe how narratives and understandings seem to 'move' and 'slide' between each other and between media and society. (Lash and Lury, 2007; Ahmed, 2004) I argue that the narrations on one hand show and share a neoliberal take on reproduction, where children as well as reproductive material and wombs have become objects with economic value on a global market. Yet the replay of particular understandings of surrogacy and fertility travel is not the only thing going on. Imaginings and formations of kinship and (be)longings interact in both planned and unplanned ways as narrations, thoughts, affects and expectations are performed and circulated in a global culture industry of meaning.

Following the stories

Scott Lash and Celia Lury recommends to follow object in a way that is based on Appadurai's notion of 'mediascapes' as an environment with no distinct division between media and society, where "the people who make, circulate and use objects are not external to such an environment." (Lash and Lury, 2007: 28). That this is the case in the area of my work, became obvious to me as I had the opportunity to follow the theatre company Global Stories and their research work for the play *Made in India* -

Notes from a baby farm on a research visit to India during March 2012.¹ It took place in the relatively small town Anand, in Gujerat, that has become a hotspot in the Indian surrogacy industry. The owner of Akanksha Infertility Clinic in Anand, Dr. Nayana Patel, has become one of the best known Indian fertility doctors, since she was a guest in Oprah Winfrey's talkshow in 2006, and in 2007 featured in the American Marie Claire Magazine. The taxidriver who met us at the airport told us, that he was the one who drove Oprah Winfrey's team around town, and he was surprisingly well informed on the whole area of fertility traveling in India. Also, the translator Yesya was up-to-date on the issue of surrogacy, as she had worked for a while with a film crew from Switzerland. They left the hotel a few days after we arrived, after having shot material for a documentary film on surrogacy.

Global Stories collected symbolic or characteristic props for the scenography: e.g. plastic chairs, colorful textile and milk containers. Also, an ambitious embroidery project among the surrogate mothers was arranged and conducted. Embroidery is a traditional Indian handicraft and many of the surrogates used their free time at the surrogacy hostel to do skillful embroideries. The theater company encouraged them to do small pieces of work with reproduction and surrogacy as visual themes. They were paid an amount of money for their work and the embroideries became a part of the scenography in the play. Global Stories also photographed and filmed both still pictures and moving images to document the clinic, the surrogate hostel the local surroundings and the Indian environments for the multimedia theater performance.

As a part of the research process, we stayed at a hotel where patients and intended parents lived (both Indian and from abroad). Both Westerners and Indian single as well as couples waited for treatments, for their babies to be delivered by an Indian surrogate, or resided with the newborn whilst the paperwork and passports were done. One important informant was the Canadian woman Lisa. She had been living at the hotel for a long time and was an experienced and in many ways professional intended mother. She was expecting "twiblings" (genetic twins, born by two different surrogates), who were scheduled to be born on the same day), but as one came prematurely, she was staying at the hotel with her firstborn, a son, and waiting for the birth of the second baby. Having been through every procedure (hormonal treatments, extraction of eggs), she served as a resource willing to advice and counsel other women, including some of the young American egg donors who seemed quite unprepared for the experiences they were facing and the conditions of the Indian health service. Lisa herself had hired a former surrogate mother, Diksha as a personal helper, during the nights. Both Diksha and Lisa were experienced not only in the field of surrogacy, but also in the area of film and media. Lisa had told her story to newspapers worldwide and is (under the pseudonym Jennifer) the main character in the revised version of Global Stories stageplay (2013). Diksha features in the former mentioned Swiss documentary *Ma Na Sapna - A Mother's Dream* (Valerie Gudenus, 2013) and in *Google Baby* (Frank, 2009).

Analytically, I am inspired by Emily Martins arguments on how reproduction is 'naturalized,' as it is reconstructed in recognizable and conventional ways of understanding

¹ Global Stories (Stagedirector Ditte Maria Bjerg) do research-based docufiction, using performative and interactional strategies (<http://www.globalstories.net/>). The play was staged in Sweden 2012 and will appear in a revised version in Odense, Denmark in 2013.

the family. (Martin, 2001) I refer to my own study of weblogs written by intended parents (American, Australian, European) of Indian surrogate children, how they use various rhetorical strategies to create respectability and gain control over the pregnancy and often narrate the process using a mixture of traditional literary genres and new metaphors. (Hvidtfeldt Madsen, 2012; Kroløkke and Pant, 2012)

I draw upon critical feminist and postcolonial theory concerning the western 'gaze' upon Indian surrogates (DasGupta, 2011) and on Amrita Pande's fieldwork among surrogates in Gujarat, through which she shows how the surrogate mothers often display alternative understandings of motherhood and kinship pointing towards the physical closeness and the shared blood during pregnancy (Pande, 2011). Similarly, Charlotte Kroløkke and Saumya Pant have analyzed how neoliberal discourses have entered in the area of transnational surrogacy. All in all I seek to grasp and understand how various rhetorical and narrative structures interact and become conflictual as well as how notions of kinship are de- and reconstructed concurrently while the still new and more advanced methods of assisted reproduction becomes transnationally available and new forms of dissemination enters the global media culture industry.

\\Google_baby

The Akanksha Infertility Clinic, where Diksha works, is central Indian location in *Google Baby*, a HBO-documentary produced by the Israeli instructor Zippi Brand Frank (Frank, 2009). As the main character, the film follows Doron, a gay man from Israel, who is already the happy father of a daughter born by a surrogate in the US. He tries to start a business servicing other gay couples, who wants to be parents, but are unable - or unwilling - to pay the US prizes for a surrogate mother. We follow him to the US where he plans to buy donor eggs and fertilize them, and to India where surrogacy is more affordable. We meet Katherine, a 28-year-old American who has successfully donated eggs, and plans to donate again to help pay for the remodeling of her family's home. He travels to Anand in Gujarat in West India where he seeks out the famous Dr. Nayana Patel and inquires the possibility of using Indian surrogates in her clinic. He is introduced to the surrogates and their conditions of work. Diksha appears as a pregnant surrogate mother, but later in the film she is reintroduced telling that she lost the child in the 5 month of pregnancy ("it was the worst moment in my life"). As most surrogates, she had hoped to buy a house with the money and to provide a better future for her own children, and her disappointment seems directed towards her own grief of not being able to buy a house more than the grief of losing the baby. The camera follows her to one of these houses bought by another surrogate and her family and the patriarchal family life; in a conversation with Diksha, the husband acknowledges that "women's brains do work at some occasions", and that her work as a surrogate has changed their life, however her own voice is not heard. In everyday family life he is in charge over her earnings, they have bought house and furniture, but as they still do not have enough to send their son to school, the husband states that they "will have to send her to be a surrogate again".

The documentary makes visible how traditional, Indian ways of life and modern, Western lifestyles both coexist and collide in the field of transnational assisted reproduction and surrogacy. The main character Doron lives openly in a homosexual relationship. He personifies globalization, mobility and agency as he travels around the world on airplane, by car or in a rickshaw, and becomes a father through assisted re-

production and transnational surrogacy. Though very traditionally, it is his mother who stays home with the baby, while he works, and they keep in touch on their mobile phones. He meets on Skype with the egg donor of his daughter, allowing her to be to some extent a part of her life, and he shows his clients how they can meet and choose egg donors online on a clinic's website.

In the fertility clinic in India, the floors are cleaned with traditional, handmade brooms, whilst the doctors perform advanced IVF procedures. Waiting is a central theme: Doron waits among patients and surrogates in the clinic's waiting room. The pregnant surrogates are presented in their beds positioned closely side by side, as either still waiting for results or already pregnant. The quietness and patience of the surrogates awaiting the 9 months to pass is opposed by the almost violent efficiency of the cesareans performed; if possible always on a Tuesday.

In one of the initial scenes of the film, we see a little boy being born through an efficient cesarean cut. The Indian surrogate is referred to as "Mother Mary – the mother of the orphans". The chosen camera angle shows her positioned on the operation table as a crucified victim.



Google Baby 0:01:50

Dr. Patel who is performing the operation talks on her mobile phone both before and during the procedure. She does at no point offer serious attention to the surrogate mother with whom the camera has eye contact just before her belly is opened. At this moment she shows a calm expression, but tears are gathered in her eyes as the little (white) child is pushed and pulled out of her uterus. The sound of the womb being cut up, the cry of the newborn child and the doctor's happy laugh is blended with the visual impression of several bodily fluids (blood, tears and the little boy urinating for the first time as he is presented, hanging upside down) in a highly sensory and emotional scene. The next moment the boy is shortly presented to the birth mother and his crying suddenly stops as if he through intuition knows that this will be both their first and last meeting. The doctor sews the surrogate's uterus together, while she at the same time, on her mobile phone, serves the next client. Contrasting with the simplicity just shown, she loudly states that "it's a very complicated procedure, surrogacy". Afterwards she leaves the delivery room without paying more attention neither to the child nor the surrogate. The comment from the assistant holding the baby: "I will bring the baby to the mother" reveals that 'Mother Mary' is not the only – or even the primary – mother of the child that she just gave birth to. The next scene shows Doron's home in Israel, where he and his partner proudly presents their daughter to friends and family and shares her creation story. Thus *Google Baby* demonstrates the contradictory

condition of transnational assisted reproduction and to which extent parenthood has become diverse.

Thus the documentary slides from the visual image of the sacrifice offered by the surrogate (Mary) on the cross to a neo-liberal world order where Doron meets his clients, the doctors and other surrogates. This frame of understanding legitimizes an entrepreneurial way of thinking and acting, and as the title *Google Baby* suggests, the child seems to become a commodity comparable to other goods that are often purchased favorably on the internet. Doron decides to work with a fertility clinic in Mumbai. They give him the possibility of offering “two surrogates for the price of one”, and suggest reductive abortion as a possible and acceptable surgical procedure if the result shows to be more than two fetuses. None of the clients hesitates to accept this offer, and while Doron is on one hand excited for the new possibilities for gay men to become parents, he is troubled by “the idea of two simultaneous pregnancies” and feels “instinctly” that something is wrong, and that he had a different and much stronger sense of involvement in the pregnancy, when he expected his own daughter.

In Anand *Google Baby* follows Diksha, who works at the clinic whilst waiting for the opportunity to be a surrogate again. Lastly the film shows a cesarean performed on a surrogate who indicates to feel physical pain, which does not hold up the procedure. A long take of her expressionless eyes are followed by the birth of a baby girl. The doctor happily announces that the baby has a very fair skin although an Indian donor is used. As the intended parents from Britain have not been able to arrive in time for the birth. Diksha is appointed as a full time caretaker for the baby and the camera follows her as she walks out in the daylight with the newborn child.

Made in India

The American documentary *Made in India* (Haimowitz and Sinha, 2010) is coproduced by Rebecca Haimowitz and Vaishali Sinha, both living in New York. Like *Google Baby* this documentary also presents Westerners going to India for surrogacy services by following the American couple from San Antonio, TX, Lisa and Brian Switzer, who after 7 years of infertility, have sold their house and risk their savings stating that “this is our one and final shot”. The Medical Tourism company “Planet Hospital” has promised them an affordable solution in Mumbai, where the clinic Rutunda has specialized in transnational surrogacy arrangements. Happily they get the announcement, that ‘their’ surrogate is pregnant and later, that she is even expecting twins. They are as Doron was, very engaged as intended parents and follows every possible step of the surrogate’s pregnancy process. The 27-year-old surrogate Asia lives in a one-room house in a slum in Mumbai with her husband and their three children. Asia has been introduced to the fertility clinic by her sister in law, who follows her throughout the process. She is unorthodox Muslim, and wears a burka mostly to hide her identity from the neighbors as she enters the fertility clinic to be implanted with Lisa and Brian’s embryos. And that she is unorthodox as a wife as well which is shown as she independently takes on the decision of becoming a surrogate. At first she laughs with disbelief of the possibility of becoming pregnant “without having a relationship,” but when she understands the basic principle of assisted reproduction, she signs the agreements without her husband’s consent (“I made up a story and made him sign”). Once he realizes her pregnancy it is too late to undo the act. Asia tells that she was “a little scared” when she learned of the twin pregnancy, but is helped by

her faith (“there’s a God above helping out”). She was told that the children were going abroad, but otherwise she states that she has not thought much about the gender of the children or the nationality of the parents. She is however very concerned about her earnings, and in the days of her stay in the surrogate hostel, she talks a lot about the longing for her own children. The family is under economic pressure, as the husband, who is an auto mechanic, does not have enough work to support the household anymore, thus her plan is to save the money to secure the future of her children, especially for the daughter.

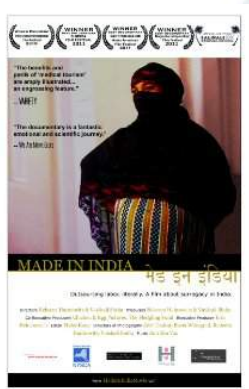
Aasia does not act like an exploited victim, as the surrogates in *Google baby* in some cases are presented. She also seems to avoid the position as ‘patient’ as far as possible. She gains respectability by acting as an entrepreneur and does not hide, that she is only a surrogate for the sake of money. Lisa and Brian were told that they would not be meeting the surrogate mother, but as Aasia suddenly has complications, she is taken in to the hospital closest by and delivers the premature twins through an emergency cesarean. This appears to be a hospital without an agreement with the fertility clinic and with no understanding of the transnational surrogacy arrangement. They refuse to put Lisa’s name on the birth certificates and also keep Aasia, although she is desperate to go home, as a patient for longer than necessary, probably because her bill is well paid for by a third party. This allows Lisa to seek out Aasia to express her gratitude, and Aasia uses the opportunity to negotiate her payment. She has received a smaller amount than the clinic offered her from the beginning, which in itself is a lot less than Lisa and Brian’s contract with the Planet Hospital told them would be the surrogate’s share of their payment. And besides the concerns about the care of the premature babies, Lisa is also challenged with legal issues. She is denied access to the hospital, until she seeks support from the American Embassy, DNA tests, and influential people, who underline the Indian government’s guidelines regarding surrogacy, where the rights of the intended parents are highlighted. A meeting is called and Aasia confirms not to claim the children. She gets a larger share of the payment, and Lisa and Brian can bring the children home to Texas.

Both for Lisa and Aasia in *Made in India* as well as Diksha in *Google Baby*, the identity of being a mother is the dominant position and the most respectable position. The affects connected to motherhood: love, desire, and hope are used to naturalize and legitimize their choices and actions. *Made in India* shows how the paradoxical relations between the feeling of agency or no agency, choice and no choice are negotiated: In Lisa’s understanding of her own situation, she has an absence of choice, this is her last and only option to have a child, and she “...just can’t imagine being without kids. I’ve wanted to be a mother since I was about 25 years of age, and here I am turning 40”... “I am heartfelt. I am determined. This is my dream. This is what I need to be whole.” Like Lisa, Aasia likewise uses motherhood as an argument. She manages the potential monstrosity associated with selling or renting her womb by reinstating that her concern is first and foremost as a mother (“everything I do, I do for the children, for their happiness”) but here she is referring to her children at home.

Lisa claims to be “for ever, ever grateful” and for the surrogate “giving me the life I cannot, I will never be able to thank her enough”. Aasia had no expectation of meeting the intended parents and does not seem interested in the newborn when they do meet, but alone in negotiating for more money (“She is happy, I am happy that she is

happy. But I have done this out of my poverty. Otherwise I would never have taken this step”).

In *Made in India*, the position as infertile woman is an important part of Lisa’s identity. Lisa’s painful injections are displayed and the many stressful situations she goes through both at home and in India. In comparison, remarkably few of the surrogate mother Aasia’s treatments are shown. She seems calm compared to Lisa, who (in her own words) is “kind of freaking out”. Thus Lisa understands herself as a diagnosed patient, but she and Brian also identifies themselves as ‘fighters’. They feel to be forced into a ‘reproductive exile’ of sorts, because of the high costs of fertility treatments in the US: “In the US, if you’re struggling to have a child, you have to be a lawyer or a doctor to afford this. It’s not fair”. These positions are highlighted as defenses towards less respectable positions as Lisa and Brian e.g. also appear as consumers (negotiating at the clinic at the same way as at the market). They are tourists as shown walking around town, expressing their intentions of maybe also going to see the Taj Mahal. At home they are directly confronted as villains, as they take part in a talkshow on NBC and afterwards have to defend themselves against hate talk on the internet.



The subject of surrogacy is not just the concern of western film and stage directors; also Indian ‘Bollywood’ movies deal with the issue of surrogacy. Already in 2001 two Bollywood productions *Filhaal* (Gulzar, 2001) and *Chori Chori Chupke Chupke* (Abbas-Mustan, 2001) came out dramatizing surrogacy in its respectively commercial and altruistic versions. The Marathi language Indian film *Mala Aai Vhhaychy!* (*I Want To Be A Mother!*) (Porey, 2011) is particularly interesting as it deals with transnational surrogacy and compared to the previous productions, it positions the surrogate mother as ethically responsible whereas the intended mother acts as a pure consumer and is basically untrustworthy both as a mother and a human.

Surrogacy as mediascape

It is increasingly difficult to estimate how many viewers both feature and documentary film have. Not even Bollywood movies are watched solely in the cinema or on TV. They circulate on the internet and on mobile phones. In Bollywood tradition, the songs often have a life of their own and at the same time draws attention to the specific film and the theme. Both *Google Baby* and *Made in India* are available on DVD, have both been screened on festivals, tv-stations, and have won prestigious awards. *Mala Aai Vhhaychy!* is told to be seen by the Indian and the American president (Jain,

11 Nov 2010). *Google Baby* is available on YouTube in full length. *Global Stories* observed and chose to stage the situation where *Google Baby* is shown in the waiting room in the *Akanksha Infertility Clinic* in their play “Made in India. Notes from a Babyfarm”. Thus surrogates in rural areas of India become informed of the diversity of the media. Surrogacy is a part of very large economy of medical tourism industry in India. But the cultural products and narratives have an economy as well. The production of these cultural products is cause for jobs and economic growth in the communities where they are made, among taxi drivers, hotel staff and restaurants, translators, and as shown it has even become a path of carrier for individual surrogates, who then also reappear in the media discourses as media stars.

Both film and theater aim to be critical voices and also initiate afterthoughts among viewers which are seen reflected in public debates. *Global Stories* states to have a mission of telling stories about the “global dilemmas which we are all part of”. They “create flexible art works and communication, involving and including its audience.” Film makers Rebecca Haimowitz (US) & Vaishali Sinha (IN), who created the documentary *Made in India* (2010) states their critical intentions on the movie website: “We aim to create a film that goes beyond sensationalist headlines and uncovers the personal lives and choices of the surrogates and the infertile Americans involved.” (<http://www.madeinindiamovie.com>). The film was translated into Hindi in 2011 in order to reach, inform and start discussions among the surrogates. *Google Baby* is presented on YouTube with the search words “reproductive exploitation”. *Google Baby* transfers unresolved concerns for the surrogate mothers and for the changes in the view of parenthood as questions to the audience to discuss and consider through Doron’s narration and doubts. It calls for debate, questions the new understandings of kinship and its impact on human relations on a global level.

On Youtube *Google Baby* draws comments from people who strongly disagree with what they see, but also comments that indicate that documentaries like *Made in India* and *Google Baby* at the same time draw attention to the surrogate industry in India and the possibilities for e.g. gays who wish to be parents. The movies renaturalizes parenting as an innate desire (Lisa: “Walk a mile in my shoes before you judge me”) and while homosexual parents in the movie are framed as having reproductive agency akin to heterosexual parents, this kind of agency and homonormativity that it represents simultaneously, could be said to fail to critically interrogate other power dynamics at play. In that sense the film is not only about assisted reproduction as a market, it does itself inform potential customers and legitimize their actions in the reproductive field. Both documentaries give far more screen time to the Westerners (customers view) than to the Indian surrogates. In the second part of the performance, the audience is encouraged to ask questions to the actor Amrita Pande who accordingly takes the roles of either herself as a researcher, the fertility doctor Nayana Patel, or the surrogate mother Puja. Depending on the questions from the audience, answers are improvised and acted out. Thus the different rhetorical positions and identities are materialized, discussed and reflected on stage, though presented as if they each have a unison voice.

This study shows that the cultural productions on surrogacy in India participate in multiple different ways in a complex world order. The narrations take their own life in a global culture industry imaginings and formations of kinship and (be)longings are influenced both in the global north and south. They claim authenticity across tradi-

tional borders of fiction and reality. Cultural productions on transnational surrogacy and assisted reproduction live on all the good stories in the exotic material, but do also provide paths for new and subversive understandings of kinship. They track, document and perform how understandings of kinship and motherhood are ambiguous and changing as the significance of biology and sociality (body, sexuality and gender) is challenged in a global culture industry with a life of its own.

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Debating 'Culture' between Performing Artists and the Goethe-Institut

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Research object

I examine performing art projects created in cooperation between artists from Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa, Germany and the Goethe Institute. These performing arts productions are realized as a minor part of both German-African cultural relations and of transnational collectively produced stage plays. They are positioned at the interface between foreign cultural policy and specific local contexts (art history, contemporary theatre scene, actual working conditions of artists etc.).

Research questions: How are transnational performing art productions realized within the framework of international cultural relations and the art-historical context of each country? Which challenges are included in such cooperation and what conclusions can be drawn for the negotiation of 'culture' and 'practical cultural work'? Which visions have been articulated by the actors in this regard? In this paper I focus on the aspect of negotiating the category 'culture' and on two regions: Ethiopia and Kenya.

Methodology

My research is positioned within the subject of Cultural Studies and allows pursuing an approach that combines theoretical considerations from a political, art-sociological, cultural-historical and theatre-specific perspective. In my work the study of culture refers to the field of performance art works and to the level of production, starting from the premise that culture is designed jointly by diverse actors through a variety of artifacts (distinct cultural goods). Therefore I put myself into the paradoxical position to investigate something which is called 'material culture' within the Cultural Studies referring to the idea of researching artifacts and to investigate an object that is seen as 'intangible art form' within the field of Theatre Arts due to the argumentation that any performance realized as action in space and time is continually transformed and therefore unrepeatable.

Characteristic of my research approach is the between-method triangulation (Flick, 2000: 309-318), which demands the use of different methods for analyzing the data amount. In addition, I work with theory triangulation, so that the data can be reviewed and interpreted from different perspectives. In my thesis, I deal with aspects of international cultural relations; reflect on the respective cultural and historical contexts and art sociological aspects of performing art productions in the respective countries. Here, one can imagine the performances as the quintessence of this investigation and as the smallest unit that is jointly created by artists in an intensive working process. Since such theatre productions do not arise in a vacuum, but within a specific institutional framework and specific social environment, it requires a sociological approach to art. My data collection methods include literature review, collection of information in online archives, co-presence and selective observation of rehearsals and artistic work processes, stage analysis of performances as well as semi-structured interviews with participating artists and cultural managers. For the analytical evaluation of the interview material I make use of theoretical coding, because it allows using priority lists for organizing the content by specific categories.

Theoretical Perspectives on the Term 'Culture'

The selected dance and theatre projects have been realized within the Cultural Program of the Goethe-Institut, which operates within a given framework of foreign cultural policy, European cultural policies and recommendations of UNESCO. There

is a specific understanding of culture and cultural policy involved in these legal and conceptual frameworks. For this reason, I try to specify the dimensions of the concept of culture.

Historically four dimensions of the concept of 'culture' were often emphasized: culture as art production, culture as way of life, culture used in a pluralistic sense as 'cultur(es)' or 'culture' as distinction to nature (Klein, 2009:36). The first dimension of the term is very narrow and subsumed under 'culture' exclusively artistic productions that are materialized in the form of artifacts. This dimension of the term designates elements of material culture - no matter how transitory their characters are (Hansen, 2011: 136-138). So this might refer to theatre, dance or opera stage productions, concerts, performances in public spaces, works of fine art, photography, videography, film, literary text production or architecture etc. In this sense, culture is reduced to the very specific areas of art production (Klein, 2009: 33). This narrow definition of culture was later questioned and criticized for an exclusive arts and cultural reception. In the 1930's the philosopher and political scientist Herbert Marcuse criticized this concept of culture as being 'affirmative'. His interest was to question critically the elitist attitude of a bourgeois epoch. Thus he problematized the tendency of that applied concept of culture to declare an aesthetic, spiritual and psychic world as its own territory and as being distinguished from cultural practices of other social strata. In the course of the later reception of Marcuse's texts, the student movements in the 1960s and the aspirations of the democratization of art (since beginning of the classical avant-garde movements to the mass effective enforcement of Pop Art and Happenings), the idea of an extended concept of culture seemed as the apparent solution of the theoretical and social problem. On the one hand this approach of extending a narrow concept of culture seemed necessary and had emancipatory potential at that time because expression of alternative art movements such as performance art, body art, action painting, street theatre, graffiti, break dance or hip hop seemed suddenly possible within established art institutions. An important point was the approach of inclusion in terms of contents, forms and artists. On the other hand, a dynamic developed in which cultural work was considered as being a cross-cutting issue for youth, social, integration and development aid work fields. Moreover maintaining a hierarchy of art productions and applying a dichotomous construction regarding 'solemn' art productions (opera) and 'vulgar' art productions (graffiti) remained within the practical cultural work. Besides the term 'culture' is also used as a synonym for 'the art of living'. In that case it surrounds mental concepts, style, aesthetic sense, etc., which often requires material and financial preconditions in addition to intellectual skills. According to Klein this dimension of the concept of culture adheres to the idea of someone has and maintains culture - or just not (Klein, 2009: 34). In this use, however, the term is normative, raises the question of power of definition and served historically as argumentation for the maintenance of power relations and social demarcation within one society. If the term 'culture' is used in the pluralistic sense of 'culture(s)' it often refers to different societies of nation states. It is this common, seemingly descriptive and broad dimension of a diffuse concept of culture, which was repeatedly exposed as maintaining established international power relations. The criticism relates to the idea of an in-itself homogeneous community that is often constructed as a 'nation' and the inherent created distinction between societies that would be fundamentally different from others (Hansen, 20011: 227). Here, the constructed character of the concepts of nation, difference and representation as an established canon of values disappears. In

the Critical Whiteness debate the combination of these two dimensions - culture as 'sophistication' with the notion of culture as a homogeneous group - is interpreted as a strategy of shifting from the term 'race' to the seemingly neutral term 'culture' (Osterloh, 2011: 413). While the term 'culture' is often used non-differentiated as representative of terms such as 'nation' or 'people', racist remarks, prejudices and verbal violence can be still transported under another label. The fourth dimension of the concept recognizes the phenomenon 'culture' as the contrast to nature. From the postcolonial theoretical perspective this concept of culture is viewed dangerous, because it enabled certain groups to consider themselves being superior to others. Furthermore historically a differentiation was made between 'civilized nations' and 'non-civilized societies', which served as argumentation for the submission of the Global South during the colonialism. Therefore when I apply the term 'culture' in the context of this work, I refer consciously and exclusively - but remembering the criticism of Marcuse - to a very narrow materialistic concept of culture to outline the idea of culture as art production and as creation of non-practical artifacts.

Since I research art productions realized within the context of the Goethe-Institut, which acts on behalf of the foreign cultural policy of the Federal Government of Germany, I will try to outline the controversial issue of international cultural relations from the perspective of postcolonial theory. These theories remind us that due to the historical experiences of colonialism, slavery and imperialism relations between countries of the Global North (such as Germany) and the Global South (such as Ethiopia or Kenya) are neither unloaded nor neutral.

Transnational and International Cultural Relations from Postcolonial Theoretical Perspectives

Édouard Glissant - writer, philosopher, cultural policy maker in UNESCO and theorist for cultural questions, claims the increasing creolization of the world (Glissant, 2005: 11, 14). By creolization erratic cultural relations of all with all persons originate unpredictable cultural microclimates (ibid: 15). Nevertheless, the experience of colonization continues to work as a mental bracket of international cultural relations (ibid: 71). This raises the question of how these transnational connections can be realistically created. What forms or formats are required to allow the participation in exchange processes? It is also linked to the doubts that artists can be individual representatives of an entire community. How is their multiplier function designed exactly? Glissant emphasizes colonialism as a strategy to create 'the homogeneous universe' and he refers to a central attitude of anti-colonial resistance movements in terms of the 'right of presence' (Glissant, 1986: 143). Thus he indirectly raises questions about the power of definition as well as about the representation function of foreign cultural institutes.

The sociologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall dealt with the phenomenon of historical and contemporary multicultural societies (Hall, 2004: 191). He points to two logics that are equally effective. First, over a long time the idea of a homogeneous and strongly demarcated culture of a given society that is unique and different from another was continually reproduced. This understanding of culture included an acceptance for the idea that certain traditions largely determined all members of society, their networks and lifestyles (ibid: 207). Secondly, this idea served as the foil on which a contrast was constructed to 'modern' societies of the West. The definition of 'modern' and 'traditional' societies is still reproduced

temporary as an idea of historical continuity or spatially as accentuation of the difference between Western and non-Western societies. Hall also questioned the concept of culture in terms of inter-textual narrations of nations. He declares a relation of 'prevailing ideas' and 'ruling classes' as well as the correspondence between socio-economic and ideological power relations (ibid: 13, 31). He defines culture as an effective, powerful and moderately contested 'regime of representation' (ibid: 115), where international cultural relations would take place in an unequal representation power relationship, which was operating with symbolic power. Among others the following questions can be derived: What content and whose ideas are turned into cultural projects? How is the selection process of participating artists regulated? On which basis are choreographers, theatre practitioners or performers selected in Ethiopia, Kenya and Germany? Which standards are set as the aesthetic standards?

The postcolonial theorist and literary critic Homi K. Bhabha assumes a growing international community that currently creates a contemporary culture through artistic productions (Bhabha, 2004: XI) that re-negotiates experiences of cultural values (ibid: 1). Bhabha thus declared the current status quo as one that is characterized by transnationally created art processes. He sees culture as a zone of articulation and he distinguishes between culture as production of artifacts and cultural authority. With regard to the cultural authority of the irregular dimensions of cultural representation are also problematic for him because any extension of a cultural authority produces a symbolic textuality (ibid: 255-256). He critically questions international cultural relations due to the role of Europe as central cultural forum, the possibility of a conflictual relationship between countries of the global North and the global South (ibid: 2), and because of the indirect influence on mental structures (ibid: 17). Bhabha thus indirectly refers to classic core concepts of European cultural institutes such as 'cooperation' and 'dialogue' because they require negotiation, describe phenomena that are based on reciprocity, and can neither be occupied nor taken for granted.

On the cultural-political levels of UNESCO, the EU and the federal government of Germany, the application of a very broad concept of culture is postulated and a mutual, conflict-free and historically unencumbered cultural exchange is assumed. On these three policy levels a diffuse concept of 'culture' is used synonymously for the mental, physical and functional characteristics of a nation based on an understanding of homogeneous static culture(s) representing their respective societies. This understanding of culture seems outdated, because it suggests aspects as totality of self-contained systems and the representation of singular nations. Furthermore the question of representation power is left untouched while this concept of culture creates a rhetoric which builds binary constructions (ibid: 18, 32, and 52).

Cultural Policy

The Cultural Studies scholar Armin Klein claims the existence of parallel used and quite diverse understandings of the terms 'culture' and 'politics'. He points out that the relevant definition of terms and their associated concepts have real consequences for the cultural policy (Klein, 2009: 60-62). Based on Klein's model of the spectrum of possible cultural policies I try to exemplify characteristic features of German, Ethiopian and Kenyan cultural policies, because within those ones the working and production conditions of artists are created structurally. Klein differentiates between a broad and a narrow concept of culture as well as of politics, which generate several types of cultural policy (ibid: 65). In this paper only two versions are relevant.

The use of a narrow definition of culture and a broad concept of politics leads to a cultural policy, which focuses on the field of art and declares both the state and social networks as being responsible for promoting it (ibid: 66). In essence, the Goethe-Institut orientates itself on such a cultural policy, because in the practical cultural work it focuses on the promotion of art and finances those art productions by means of the federal government. Equally, however, the Goethe-Institut prefers to work together with partner institutions and individual actors in diverse art fields.

A combination of a broad concept of culture and a narrow concept of politics leads to cultural policy, that fixes and preserves supposed 'customs', 'moral' or specific 'ways of life' on the part of state institutions. Orientation on the maintenance of 'traditions', on archiving and restoration, etc. are expected (ibid: 66). Based on the statements of interviewees regarding the cultural policies in Ethiopia as well as in Kenya the application of a broad concept of culture and a narrow concept of politics is characteristic. In Ethiopia and Kenya, the focus is put on the maintenance of folkloristic elements of certain customs instead of promoting contemporary art practices.

At the center of the current cultural policy of Ethiopian are the representations of folk elements, the preservation of the cultural heritage and the linkage of culture and tourism. In addition, theatres such as the National Theatre, the Hager Fikir Theatre, the City Hall, Ras Theatre and the Children and Youth Theatre, cultural centers at the district level, folkloric dance and music performances and parades on national holidays are financed by the state; upcoming initiatives and experimental approaches to contemporary art have yet been barely promoted. Some Ethiopian artists question the cultural policy and formulate explicitly claims of a governmental funding system for the arts. Critically they reflect their own work situations and the social, economic and political context of their productions. One challenge for Ethiopian performing artists is to work in the huge theatre houses due to structural, organizational, technical and administrative obstacles. As further challenges they address material, techniques, professionalism, and access to large stages, standardization of aesthetics, discontinuities, self-management, and self-censorship (Interviews: L.B., A.Y., T.G.). Nevertheless some freelance artists claim to be able representing the Ethiopian nation and to increase the country's international reputation by staging art productions abroad. The constructions of such terms as 'culture', 'nation', 'folk' and 'tradition' are rarely questioned. Thus the dominant internal discourse is reproduced by them. However, some performing artists believe that the exclusive focus on the preservation of cultural heritage alone is not sufficient for a vital contemporary art scene. They are increasingly looking to surmount the cultural isolation, to establish stable contacts with artists from other regions and to achieve an active presence in the global art scene. They recommend the financial and structural support of alternative art initiatives such as the Netsa Art Village, the Adugna Dance Compagnie, the Ha Hu Dance Company, the Abate Mekuria Theatre Studio or the Kendil Theatre.

The Kenyan cultural policy is characterized by a focus on archiving, preservation and marketing of 'traditional' cultural goods for tourism purposes (Interviews: C.M., M.O.O.). As folkloristic arts are favored over contemporary art productions it generates resentments of some artists (Interview: A.L.C.). In contrast to the well-attended theatre house performances in Ethiopia, the operation of the theaters in Kenya is largely ceased due to continuing lack of governmental support. Temporary art initiatives such as the Go Down Arts Centre, the Sarakasi Trust, the Kenya

Performing Arts Group, La Compagnie Gáara, Dashy Krew etc. are almost exclusively funded by Kenyan companies or by foreign organizations. But future changes are expected due to the new constitution of Kenya regarding the effect to shape the cultural policy in 47 regions independently, therefore to decentralize it and to modify it (Interview: M.O.O.). From this perspective, a sense of community revealed among artists who demand political participation, who discuss in various forums approaches for a better cultural policy and who expect that contemporary art productions will be funded by the state in the near future. This can possibly lead to sharpening profiles of art initiatives, to specializations of artists and therefore might result in qualitative and aesthetic differentiations within the existing art scenes. Kenyan artists and cultural managers currently insist on the protection of ideas and patent rights, the establishment of a lucrative creative industry, the countrywide establishment of cultural centers, the programmatic, legal and economic stabilization of artists as well as on a governmental fund system. Currently, high production costs and very small audiences are additional challenges for performing artists in Kenya (Interview: C.M.).

Reflections on transnational art productions in cooperation with the Goethe-Institut

Several Kenyan and Ethiopian performing artists collected independently diverse work experiences in transnational co-productions or exchange platforms. For example the Ethiopian dancer Junaid Jemal Sendi worked together with Germaine Acogny, Royston Maldoom, Hofesh Schechter, Russell Maliphant and with the Japanese star choreographer Saburo Teshigawara for a long time. And the Kenyan choreographer Opiyo Okach collaborated with Germaine Acogny, Faustin Linyekula, Régine Chopinot and Mathilde Monnier. These are just two examples of artists who have already repeatedly created transnational dance and theatre pieces. Contemporary Ethiopian and Kenyan artists have previously worked individually and temporarily in Hong Kong, Japan, Venezuela, Uruguay, Jordan, Rwanda, Uganda, Congo, Tanzania, Senegal, Mozambique, South Africa, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Spain, France, England and Germany as well as in Kenya and Ethiopia.

Several performing artists of Ethiopia evaluate the work of the Goethe-Institut and other foreign cultural institutes locally as being very relevant. They emphasize an appreciation for their active role in the promotion of local art scenes (Interviews: M.G., D.D.; F.K., S.T., M.K.). Particularly they highlight positively the practical orientation and the versatility of the cultural work of foreign institutions, which would differ significantly from local government institutions (Interview: M.K.). But they criticize abrupt programmatic changes due to the rotation of directors' posts. Some artists express the opinion that the Goethe-Institut Addis Ababa until recently gave little significant impetus into the local performing art scene. In addition, some artists doubt the expertise of the employees in terms of observing and knowing the dynamics of the local art scene (Interviews: J.J.S., M.G.). Few artists express their resignation due to the impression that foreign cultural institutes constitute elitist institutions. Partly they feel a physical, economic or mental distance and criticize that intensive exchange between the Goethe-Institut and Ethiopian artists would not take place in terms of concepts, ideas and issues of implementation (Interviews: F.K., M.J.). Some critically question the selection processes of artists for transnational art projects, the established standards of evaluating their art work and the related power positions of foreign cultural institutes (Interviews: F.K., M.J.).

In the reflection of specific performance art projects that were implemented within the framework of the Goethe-Institut, the following themes have been problematized in interviews by Ethiopian artists: task sharing, short time productions, payment and supply, group dynamics, communication, training and rehearsals, transparency of artistic and organizational decisions and controversial views on contemporary art (Interviews: S.T., D.D., Y.K., M.J., J.J.S., M.G.). On the last point it becomes obvious that an artistic paternalism is strictly rejected and the question of including locally grown art-historical realities is highly sensitive, which cannot be ignored. Due to harsh life conditions in the country not many artists allow themselves to produce an abstract, self-referential or discourse-related art, which might be completely detached from the majority of the Ethiopian society. The director of the Goethe-Institut Addis Ababa considers the artistic contact zones between innovative, experimental and long grown, locally proven and accepted ideas as being important (Interview: E.K.M.).

In Kenya, artists were spatially and financially quite dependent on foreign cultural institutions such as the Goethe-Institut by the end of the 1990s. From 2000, the cultural landscape of Nairobi changed gradually through the establishment of alternative art spaces (Mboja, 2007: 169). Nevertheless, the Goethe-Institut and other foreign cultural institutes have been reflected as being important mainly because of their financial participation in production costs (Interviews: K.O., K.M.) and their good public relations. Discontinuity is also critically considered, which results from project-based work and possible shifts in programmatic focus points (Interviews: K.M., A.L.C.). On the one hand, the cultural work of the Goethe-Institut is regarded as positive, versatile and important, but on the other hand the consequence of an increased dependency on the part of African artists is rigorously rejected, because it is interpreted as a continuation of historical realities (Interview: M.O.O.). Additionally the issue of a 'hidden agenda' of foreign institutions has been mentioned repeatedly. In this regard the promotion and dissemination of its own cultural heritage and language is discussed (*ibid.*). Furthermore the occupation of the social aspect through the involvement of foreign cultural institutes and the power to define standards in the local art scene are mentioned (*ibid.*). In this context, questions regarding a cultural dominance and an increasing marginalization of local productions in the globalization process are raised by Kenyan artists (*ibid.*). Cultural managers of local initiatives feel an obligatory to cooperate with the Goethe-Institut and other foreign cultural institutions because of their reputation and for not losing their own relevance (Interview: C.M.). Especially this aspect refers to the issue concerning 'representation power' raised by Stuart Hall that is indirectly exercised by foreign cultural institutes through the inclusion or exclusion of artistic productions. According to the interviewed artists the involvement of the Goethe-Institut Nairobi into the field of performing arts is considered as being minimal (Interview: A.L.C.) and in some cases it is even judged as being irrelevant (Interview: I.R.K.). The cooperation with the Goethe-Institut has been reflected upon payment issues, the questionable selection of artists, networking activities, performance opportunities, audience, discontinuity, equipment, financial support of local initiatives and the increasing dependency (Interviews: A.L.C., M.O.O., I.R.K., S.P.O.). In the reflection of a concrete transnational art project that was produced collectively among Kenyan, Ethiopian, German and American artists, the difficult group dynamics, the friction due to different, artistic and conceptual approaches and the working method of improvisation to generate movement material were reflected by participating artists (Interviews: A.L.C., J.H.).

Due to the perspective of the director of the Goethe-Institut Nairobi the lack of Kenyan artists on concepts, designs and project proposals in relation to the international art world are considered as very problematic. Furthermore the engagement of local cultural initiatives focusing exclusively on an organizer role is critically debated (Interview: J.H.). In addition, it is acknowledged that there are currently no employees professionally skilled in the field of performance art at the Goethe-Institut Nairobi, who deeply know the respective local art scene or the cultural historical aspects of the Kenyan dance and theatre movements (ibid.). Self-critically their own role and definition power of art events is reflected as the Goethe-Institut moves between two poles and diametrically opposite demands: on the one hand as an institution with cultural political objectives and on the other hand as an actor in a network of art publishers, theatres, galleries, art collectives, etc. (ibid.).

Visions

The articulated visions relate to modifications of a practical cultural work cooperation of the future. Ethiopian artists hope for a structural and continuous support from the Goethe-Institut, so that new ensembles, advanced training programs for dance and sound installation and permanent training centers for dance and theatre will be built in cooperation. They also hope for the structural support of the local well-attended theatre houses (Interviews: M.G., J.J.S., S.T., F.K., D.D., M.J.). They also advocate trainings in cultural management, art residence opportunities, regular realizations of transnational art production and the establishment of an international festival of performing arts in Addis Ababa (Interviews: H.Z., F.K., A.D., J.J.S., D.D., M.G., S.T., M.K.). There are several explicitly expressed claims of regularity and continuity in the cooperation process (Interviews: J.J.S., M.G., M.J., D.D.). In contrast to these expressed visions there are capacity constraints within foreign cultural institutes. For example, the establishment of a fixed theatre or dance compagnie connected to facilities for studios or rehearsal rooms is in contrast to the internal project-based work approach of the Goethe-Institut and the administration procedure of a limited budget (Interview: E.K.M.). But teachers could be invited for intense training sessions. In that case the question arises, what types of training are currently being considered as relevant by Ethiopian artists, because the demand is changing over time. For artistic production processes in the future, it seems to become important, to work less with the method of improvisation and to give more space for teaching techniques and specific stage skills. In addition, Ethiopian artists want to be more integrated into the work fields of organization and management levels (Interviews: F.K., M.G.). The director of the Goethe-Institut Addis Ababa would find it desirable, if transnationally produced art events would continue, and individual performing artists were given the opportunity to participate temporarily in major dance companies abroad, so that such experiences again flow back into the art scene. She also stressed the need for increased structural assistance as a consequence of the work experience in past projects (Interview: E.K.M.).

In Kenya, individual artists cherish the hope that the Goethe-Institut involves into shaping the new cultural policy and strengthens the position of local artists in this framework (Interview: M.O.O.). Moreover visions of enhanced structural support in terms of financing project ideas and the active promotion of local productions are articulated (Interview: A.L.C.). It is urged to intensify discussions with performing artists to avoid paternalism and to identify the needs of artists before planning projects (Interviews: K.O., M.O.O.). As Ethiopian artists do it, also Kenyan artists encourage a

broader engagement in distribution of art scholarships as well as training and exchange programs (Interviews: A.L.C., K.M.). In addition, individuals articulate the vision that the Goethe-Institut would engage actively in the brokerage and marketing of local productions (Interview: K.M.). The director of the Goethe-Institut Nairobi hopes that the output of the cultural institution reaches relevance in the global art scene. Therefore he awaits an increasingly international focus in productions of Kenyan artists regarding the aesthetic, technical quality, and conceptual approaches (Interview: J.H.).

Conclusion

Ethiopian and Kenyan artists currently articulate an ambivalent position with regard to the design of contemporary culture. It results from different perspectives, needs and standards. This dilemma is exemplified in the negotiation of the concept of 'culture' through different perspectives onto contemporary art. Ethiopian and Kenyan artists currently try to deal with the phenomenon of parallel claims at the same time - to create avant-garde art works (claim of foreign cultural institutes) and to produce patriotic, folkloristic cultural elements (claim of domestic cultural policy in the respective countries). This phenomenon of being in-between is intensively discussed by performing artists and the deconstruction of this dilemma remains to be seen.

Partly employees of the Goethe-Institut perceive the impulses from the local performance art scenes as too less avant-garde and conceptually oriented. This position can be read as acknowledging the artists own responsibility for specific knowledge of the art discourse, progressive approaches and innovative contemporary realizations. Artistic work isolated from the conceptually oriented art discourse is often questioned by cultural managers of foreign cultural institutions and only limited supported within practical cultural work.

However, the western art discourse is not put into question. Through this historically grown dilemma Ethiopian and Kenyan artists experience contemporary art as being already defined and monopolized by the West. They share the impression that their own cultural productions remain marginalized, because they operate with reference points other than those established ones in the normative discourse of art. In the future, it seems to be necessary to design models for an unbiased conversation between the Goethe-Institut and local performing artists, where aesthetic standards, artistic methods and models of different cultural practices can be discussed, analyzed and negotiated collaboratively.

For a better reputation of the Goethe-Institut, the questioning of one's own art claims, a comparison with internationally renowned art houses and locally active art initiatives, a continuously intense communication with performing artists, a professional expertise in locally specific performance art scenes as well as more transparency in the selection process of artists become relevant. For Kenyan and Ethiopian artists it might become increasingly significant to display or to deconstruct internal and external expectations of contemporary cultural production as well as making own positions visible through ambivalent art productions, which point to the inherent ambiguity of that situation of 'dis-placement' within an established art discourse.

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Interviewees

L.B.: Lealem Berhanu; A.Y.: Aron Yeshitila; T.G.: Tesfaye Gessesse; M.G.: Mintesinot Getachew; J.J.S.: Junaid Jemal Sendi; D.D.: Dawit Desalegn; S.T.: Shiferaw Tariku; A.D.: Addisu Demissie; M.J.: Meseret Jirga; Y.K.: Yared Kenny; H.Z.: Helen Zeru; F.K.: Frew Kebede; M.K.: Mihiret Kebede; C.M.: Catherine Mujomba; M.O.O.: Moses Otieno Oduor; I.R.K.: Irene René Karanja; A.L.C.: Adam Lucas Chienjo; K.O.: Kepha Oiro; K.M.: Kebaya Moturi; S.P.O.: Dr. Simon Peter Otieno; J.H.: Johannes Hossfeld; E.K.M.: Dr. Elke Kaschl Mohni

*The Analysis of the Vientiane's 450 Year Anniversary Logo: Reflections of Lao's
Culture and Society*

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Introduction

The annual Boun That Luang Festival has been held every year since Lan Xang Kingdom. However, on the full-moon night of the 11th month in 2010, the festival was more unique than the previous years because it was merged with the 450th anniversary of Vientiane as the nation's capital (1560-2010). The seven-day celebration began in November 15th until 21th, 2010 at Wat Phra That Luang. This year's event was considered a national grand event for Lao government, and it was crowded with both Lao people and foreign tourists during the week.



Figure 1 Buddhist participants during the event

Local women all wore Lao sinh (skirt) and phaa biang (shoulder cloths) to participate in this event. One of the highlights was the Wax Castle and procession to the That Luang temple. Cultural performances and trade fairs were also held here, so the area around was shut down implicitly. The entire Vientiane city was decorated with flags and banners of the celebration logo. Before reaching Wat That Luang or the center of this grand event, the visitors who traveled through this city would notice logos of Vientiane's 450th Anniversary Celebration promoting the event. Such logos were used to communicate some significant messages to the audience.



Figure 2 The logo of Vientiane's 450th Anniversary Celebration

Symbol was used to communicate some meaning in the society. It implied the meaning of a pictogram and was used to convey information, instead of using a verbal communication, to users of all ages. The users might or might not understand the language, but they would understand the meaning of the symbol if seen frequently. The Vientiane's 450th Anniversary Celebration's logo was an idol form or ideal form included the graphic representation of ***Dok Champa, That Luang Stupa, and King Sayasetthathirath mounting elephant***. For the composition of the logo, besides representing the informal balance or asymmetrical balance, its size also played a role as conveying their meaning and significance. According to the logo used, it may be concluded that the graphic representation of That Luang Stupa being placed dominantly in the center was the most meaningful image. While being flanked equally on the left and right, the graphic representations of Dok Champa and King Sayasetthathirath mounting on great white elephant were being placed second priority in the logo. Moreover, the color selection made also reflects some underlying implications that need to be communicated with the audience. Each color has a psychological meaning. The colors appeared quite clearly in the logo include blue, green, and red. The color "red" refers to courage while "green" refers to freshness, and "blue" refers to the disclosure (Chalud Nimsamer, 1988, and Surapon Virulrak, 2000). At the same time, the color red placing above green background symbolizes happiness (Dreyfus, 1972). For the typography, the logo designer chose to use white Lao tag line saying "Vientiane's 450th Anniversary Celebration" on a red background.

Decoding the sign: Pha That Luang - Duang Champa - First King of Vientiane

The selection of the graphic representations that are related to Lao history, including That Luang Stupa, Dok Champa, and King Sayasetthathirath mounting the great white elephant, shows the concept of conveying some "messages" to Lao citizens and whoever sees such logo.

Thongjue Kiatthong (2000) noted that symbols were important to the society because they could create a message, admonition, persuasion, and cooperation among people in the society. Furthermore, symbol is a way of communication that implies a meaning or thinking about something that is effective in terms of thinking but not in practice (Wirun Tungcharoen, 1999). Thus, it shows that the logo of Vientiane's 450th Anniversary Celebration all implies interesting communication to the visitors about the history of Vientiane as national capital city. In my perspective, those signs, including 3 main national institutes (***Nation, Religion, and Hero of national salvation***) covertly aim to communicate and create some discourse to the new generation of Lao citizens.

"Dok Champa, the official symbol of Lao PDR": When mentioning about flowers, people would think of delicacy, sweetness, and allude to women. But Dok Champa, the national flower of Lao PDR (in Thailand, it was called Dok Lantom or, later changed, Dok Leelawadee), does not have any historical background related to any sweetness and redolence at all. According to the historical data, however, Dok Champa was used for reuniting the country. It was used to represent the land of Laos. (<http://atcloud.com/stories/42486>. reference. November 23, 2010.) If you learn about the

song's background, you will better understand the meaning between Dok Champa and Lao nationhood. The song was originally written by Utama Julamanii, former minister of Lao Ministry of Education, during his participation in the fight for Lao independence from France about 50 years ago. It was written in order to demonstrate the colony at that time, France, the solidarity among Lao people. The song writer used "Dok Champa" or Dok Lantom, the flower that Lao people in the past liked to grow, as a medium to convey their love for the nation. The style of singing used was Khap Thum Luang Prabang. Duang Champa song was expanding and building solidarity rapidly among people in the country, and eventually, Laos achieved independence from France. After the Lao People's revolution in 1975, the country leaders decided to choose Dok Champa as the national flower. The song was famous and sang by people along Mekong River throughout the country, from northern Lao region in Pongsalee down to Champsak. Duang Champa's lyrics were about the separation from the motherland, and its melodies were sad and lonely. Below are the lyrics,

*"Oh! Champa Flower, when I admire you I could envision thousands in my mind.
I could see your heart; I could enjoy your sweet fragrance.
I could see the flower garden that my father had planted long ago.
Whenever I feel melancholy, I think of thee and I no longer feel lonely or sad.
Oh! Champa Flower, you have stood by my side since I was young.
Your fragrance is significant; in my heart it stands with love and affection.
I treasure your sweet scent, for when I feel lonely, I can breathe in your sweet fragrance,
My Dear Sweet Champa.
Sniffing your delicate fragrance is like my long lost friend.
You have been a beautiful flower since the beginning of time, My Dear Champa Flower,
My Beloved Flower.
Oh! Champa Flower, the flower of our beloved country, Muang Laos, you are as beautiful
as glittering stars.
All Lao people adore you in their hearts; You are born in Lan Xaang, the Land of a
Million Elephants.
If we depart from our homeland and flee far away from her, we will always have you as
our true friend as long as we live.
Oh! Champa Flower, the exquisitely beautiful flower, and the auspicious flower of
Muang Laos." (Translated by Dr. Wajuppa Tossa and Prasong Saihong)*

Even today, if you listen to the song and analyze the lyrics and melody, you will find that, according to the time it was produced, the beautiful language and soft rhyme can very well remind you of your beloved homeland and Laos. The song did not immediately make Lao people become courage and harsh to fight for their independence from French colony, but the deep and profound melody made Lao people who were far away from become sad and lonely. The use of the language by mentioning various senses of Dok Champa, such as seeing and smelling the sweet fragrance, and by reminiscing the past history of their own country was a communication technique of appealing to the audience's emotion, called pathos. This technique is quite clever, or it can be said that this song is one of the most stirring patriotic songs in the world.

What's interesting in the logo of Vientiane 450th Anniversary Celebration is how this flower was selected as one of the components. Thus, it means that Dok Champa is well-accepted as a meaningful and valuable flower to this capital city. The use of Dok Champa in the logo is producing a discourse to confirm that this flower is important for the nation, and it is communicating the "nationhood" to Lao citizens and foreigners.

"Pha That Luang, a symbol of Buddhist religion": According to the Myth of Urangadhatu, That Luang Stupa was established at the same time when Vientiane became the capital. It was built by Praya Chanthabury Pasithisak, the ruler of Vientiane, for almost a thousand years ago, as old as Phra That Phanom Stupa in Thailand. This reflects that Buddhism has been national religion of Laos since ancient times. The importance of Buddhism was also appeared in several historical sources. But, currently, it can be said that Phra That Luang is seen by Lao government the most important temple. It is likely that this Buddhist pagoda represents a symbol of Buddhism that Lao people accept. The reason why Lao government gives such significance to Phra That Luang may possibly be because it is located in the middle of various temples and in country's center province.



Figure 3 Coat of arms of Laos



**25th SEA GAMES, LAOS
VIENTIANE 2009**

Figure 4 SEA Games 2009 logo

Even though during the period of King Setthathirath, a new royal palace, several glorious creeds of Buddhism, and the temple of Emerald Buddha were all built simultaneously with the expansion of That Luang Stupa, (Jiraporn translated from Martin Stuart-Fox, 2010) however, there is not any temple in Vientiane at present that has lasted long, complete and valuable as Phra That Luang. It is because this stupa contains holy relics, and that historically it was a part of Vientiane's establishment as a capital which also related to King Setthathirath, who established Vientiane as the capital. Therefore, That Luang Stupa then is most appropriate symbol to represent Buddhism and to confirm that Laos is a Buddhist country, Besides the empirical evidences appear to show the importance of That Luang Stupa and to communicate that this temple represents Vientiane and Laos are how the image of That Luang Stupa has been used as a part of their national symbol or logo. For example, the image of That Luang Stupa was also used in other festivals or activities, such as, the logo of SEA Games in 2009 and the design of medals used in several medals in sports and other similar areas involving competition.

The use of That Luang stupa as a part of several logos and symbols, not only it represents Buddhism in this country, but it also reflects the faith Lao people has had towards this religion for a long time, including representing one of the country's basis that should be praised and continued. While currently there are not many countries in the world that have such proud-to-be cultural capital, in addition, the use of That Luang Stupa also shows that the power of Buddhism is still exist in this country.

"King Sayasetthathirath, the hero of national salvation": Even though at present in Lao People's Democratic Republic, the form of government is under a communist regime, or what Lao people call "People's democratic regime. When people representatives nationwide participated in the Nation Congress of People's Representatives held in Vientiane in December 2nd, 1975, it was the turning point of this realm from the former system of government, constitutional monarchy, (Jiraporn translated from Martin Stuart-Fox, 2010) and Laos has been governed by Lao Revolutionary People's Party since then. The party is currently led by Choummaly Sayasone, and Mr Thongsing Thammavong acts as the prime minister. Such regime is totally different from when King Sayasetthathirath ruled the country, though the perspectives that Lao citizen's have towards this king and the monarchy of the Vientiane's establishment period, according to the current historiography written under socialist regime, do not deny the heroism of this great king, and he is still being accepted by the people as a great benefactor of the country. People's perspectives are still positive and honoring the king as they are praising him in the history of Laos, as seen below;

"The army of Lan Xang had smaller combatant. Their weapons mostly were locals since they had not yet had any trade with the western, which was Burma. But they could resist and graciously win the attack of Burma, who had more combatant and modern weapons bought from the western merchants. To win the attack of Burma this time, it gave Lao Lan Xang kingdom the great reputation and respectability from nearby kingdom kings who were thinking of expand their influence into this kingdom. Even Bayinnaung, king of the Toungoo dynasty of Burma, who had never been defeated in any war and whenever he and his army attack any kingdom or country, it would mean only victory. But when attacking Lan Xang kingdom this time, he lost and was severely hurt. People at that time would all say King Sayasetthathirath of Lan Xang kingdom was the most prestigious rival and the only one warrior who never gave up to Bayinnaung." (Kittirat Sihabun, referred Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism, 2000)

From the historiography of Laos, it shows that even though the feudal monarchy was collapsed, the virtues it had towards the nation are still written and told until present. Lao government does not deny this acceptance, but they also see the value and significance of this king who devoted their efforts to unite Laos. Hence, the importance of the King is still meaningful to this land. Various monuments were erected nationwide to glorify him. Even in the Vientiane's 450th anniversary celebration, Lao people of all ages still paid homage to the past ruler, King Sayasetthathirath. Though coming from different period of time, the discourse of honoring and reproducing the virtue makes Lao people still aware and appreciate his grace until today. In this grand celebration of Vientiane 450th anniversary as the nation's capital, the graphic representation of King Sayasetthathirath

was used in the event's logo in order to represent the monarchy. His monumental image was also appeared in 100,000 kip banknote made to commemorate the event.



Figure 5 King Sayasetthathirath Monument



Figure 6 100,000 kip banknote commemorating the event

In the logo, you will see the monument of King Sayasetthathirath mounting on great white elephant which means the glorification and greatness people praise this king. Clearly it is a testament of giving precedence, fidelity and coexistence between national history and the generosity of the new country's government. While the past history is not concealed, instead they together unify their history harmoniously as possible.

The logo of Vientiane's 450th anniversary celebration, the reproduction of a discourse for new generations

Besides the logo design is an artwork, it is also another way to create the value of beauty and reliability that enhance the society's aesthetic level (Thongjue Kitathong, 2005) in terms of the content they want to communicate to the audience. According to all three symbols representing the identity of Vientiane, appeared on the logo of the grand event, what is interesting is the selection and placement of the symbols they are used in order to present some topics to the society. Creating the logo by referring the nation, religion and hero of national salvation has reflected the respect, honoring the history, and pride of their own nation. Meanwhile, it is the attempt to reproduce the nationalist ideology and create a discourse for younger generations, who may only have a glimmer of their own national history, to give better precedence to this matter. One of the purposes Lao government wants to communicate through the logo is "the solidarity of Lao people in the age of globalization" with the ideology of mutual national history. The attempt is to instruct people with pride they have towards the country's capital, Vientiane, and the Lao nation, as well as to build faith in Buddhism and commemorate the virtue of Lao ancestors. Furthermore, the logo produced and designed by the government is also

reflecting the state's concept of recognizing people about their history. They use the logo as a medium to share some ideas or concepts in the society, which is consistent with the concept of Thonjue Kiatthong (2005) who noted that society means the aggregate of people who have power, faith, belief and ideology which give the society power and unity, and is used to express that they are from the same society by using symbols.

In the midst of the diversity of ethnicity, language and culture, however, using the logo of Vientiane's 450th anniversary as a representation of the country's grand event has made the symbols become another channel that helps the citizens to together re-recognize their national history. It is likely that the story of Vientiane in the past is being transmitted to the new Lao generation and that the story will be told eternally.

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Ikebana to Contemporary Art: Rosalie Gascoigne

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Abstract

Although Japanese art influenced many Australian artists in 1960s, Rosalie Gascoigne is regarded as one of a few artists for whom Japanese art was “the gateway” to her own art. Gascoigne studied Ikebana from 1962 to 1972 but became frustrated with its limitations, and started making assemblages. This paper proposes that the order of composition in her assemblages is something she inherited from Ikebana, revealing a possible connection between Ikebana and contemporary art. It also regards her work as a case study of cultural transformation across borders, arguing that Ikebana was more than the gateway for her work.

Ikebana in the Expanded Field

Since the Meiji Restoration (1868) Ikebana, the Japanese art of flower arrangement has experienced various transformations with the influences of the Western art. The influence has been so strong that the distinction between some current Ikebana work and the broader arena of contemporary art has become blurred (Singer 1994: 46). At the centre of the transformations was the development of a free style Ikebana since 1920's, which went against the traditional design principles, sites and material combinations. In advocating the free style Ikebana, the modern and postmodern Ikebana artists have had to deal with two specific issues.

The one is related to seeing an Ikebana work as a three dimensional art form, which ultimately stimulated the investigation of Ikebana as installation. Hiroshi Teshigahara (1927 - 2001) was one of the artists who investigated this aspect of Ikebana. The other concern involves the fact that Ikebana artists now have to rely on their inner sense to organize their forms. This process has become similar to the larger processes of assemblage. This direction was explored in an extreme form by Rosalie Gascoigne (1917-1999). In this context the significance of Gascoigne's work lies not only in contemporary art but also in contemporary Ikebana.

Gascoigne and Ikebana

The Australian artist, Rosalie Gascoigne was not known as a sculptor until 1975, when she was aged 58. However, she was well known in Canberra for her floral skills which were further refined through her study of Ikebana between 1962 and 1970. In the investigation of connections between Ikebana and contemporary art, Gascoigne's work presents an important case study. While many critics agree that Ikebana played a significant part in her training and development as a sculptor (North 1982; MacDonald 1998), there are some disagreements about how much influence Ikebana had on her art work.

If her temporary immersion in the modern Sogetsu school of Ikebana was profoundly influential as her only art training, it suggests that her vision has a direct source in the principles of this meditative discipline, since in it the process of selection is as fundamental and as spiritually charged as that of contemplation and arrangement. (Edwards 1998, 11)

Although Edwards (1998) suggested the general and conditional influence of Ikebana as above, Gellatly (2008) pointed out, following Gascoigne's comments on Ikebana, more specific aspects that Ikebana provided her with:

- i. a sense of discipline
- ii. the importance upon line and form (over colour)
- iii. a sense of order and strong sculptural properties
- iv. an affinity to its immersion in and response to the natural world

More importantly, it is notable that many critics as well as Gascoigne herself regarded Ikebana as a passing point in her career. They seem to agree that she graduated from "the limited realm of flower arrangement and Ikebana" (Kirker 1989, 54) to enter the

larger art world. Jacobs (2006) noted that Gascoigne began to chafe at the restrictions of form in Ikebana, quoting the following comment.

I knew I had the awareness of nature that is inherent in ikebana. My eye was starting to travel — I was using found objects in my work. I made a piece out of blue devil weed and rusted reinforcing wire, but when it was exhibited it had been sprayed black. That was all wrong to me — as I'd made it, I spoke of the sun and wind and rain. Finally, there were more things that I wanted to explore about the Australian countryside than I could say with ikebana. It also troubled me that it was a foreign art. I thought that was too limiting. My work was becoming very Australian.

Similar perceptions of Ikebana by Gascoigne were also pointed out by, MacDonald (1998), Kirker (1989) and Gellatly (2008). MacDonald noted that Gascoigne found Ikebana limiting at a certain stage, quoting her comment, "It was going so far, but not far enough; the thing that I wanted to say was out in the middle of the grasslands" (1989, 21). Gellatly stated that Gascoigne eventually became disillusioned "with its hierarchical approach and deference to 'all things Japanese,' particularly with regard to the selection and use of materials" (2008, 11).

It has to be noted, however, that the dissatisfaction Gascoigne experienced with Ikebana was historically and culturally specific. Gascoigne's Ikebana teacher was Norman Sparnon (1913 - 1995), who was regarded as the best-qualified and leading master of Ikebana in the Western world (MacDonald 1998). It is thought to be Sparnon who sprayed Gascoigne's work black at the Ikebana exhibition. Sparnon started teaching Ikebana in Sydney in 1960 and Gascoigne became his student in 1962. Sparnon's attitudes to Ikebana at that time might have been limited in terms of the contemporary definitions of Ikebana, which have been extended by more recent Ikebana artists including Hiroshi Teshigahara. However judging from some of his last Ikebana works in 1990s' (Fig. 1), Sparnon was aware of the expanding nature of Ikebana and he contributed to such a trend rather than preserving the traditional forms of Ikebana.

Despite Gascoigne's departure from Ikebana, some critics have noted that there is a certain Japanese taste in her art work (Eagle 2007; MacDonald 1998). There might have been some lasting influence of Ikebana throughout her aesthetic development.

Gascoigne's art practice moved through several phases: iron assemblages (1964 - 74), bone works (1971 - 72), boxed works (early 1970s' - early 1980s'), and assemblages using segmented found objects (since early 1980s). It is the last category of her works that are often pointed out as containing references to Ikebana or Japanese aesthetics. Gascoigne's earlier assemblages were made of recognizable objects that retain their associations with their earlier lives including Australian icons (beer cans, dolls, etc.). Since 1984, however, she started to use drink-crate wood, road signs and building materials. Generally pictorial imagery ceased in these late works and Gascoigne described her shift as a switch from "things to materials" (MacDonald 1998, 32).

Assemblage

Before further looking into the assemblage works by Gascoigne, it is necessary to clarify the general nature of assemblage. Seitz (1961) pointed out a couple of simple characteristics of the collages, objects and constructions that comprised his book, “The Art of Assemblage” and the exhibition he curated at the New York Museum of Modern Art in 1961.

- i. They are predominantly assembled rather than painted, drawn, modeled, or carved.
- ii. Entirely or in part, their constituent elements are preformed natural or manufactured materials, objects, or fragments not intended as art materials (Seitz 1961, 6).

Another simple definition is given by Waldman (1992). While collage involves “the pasting together of various materials on a flat surface,” assemblage involves “the process of joining two- and three-dimensional organic or prefabricated materials that project out from the surface plane” (Waldman 1992, 8). Obviously one of the most important concerns is what happens when two conflicting items are juxtaposed in a work of assemblage. These technical definitions, however, do not provide us with sufficient insights into those crucial issues of assemblage as art work.

Focusing on how collage can produce meanings, Waldman (1992) pointed out that collage makes it possible to layer into a work of art several levels of meaning: “the original identity of the fragment or objects and all of the history it brings with it; the new meaning it gains in association with other objects or elements; and the meaning it acquires as the result of its metamorphosis into a new entity” (Waldman 1992, 11).

Based on the three levels specified by Waldman, Gascoigne’s works will be looked at to analyze how found materials gained context and became fine art objects. As the following discussion reveals, however, it is impossible to discuss these layers separately. When we focus on one layer, our discussion often involves other layers at the same time. Therefore, the distinction of the three layers is tentative in nature.

The First Layer: The Original Identity of the Fragments

One aspect of Gascoigne’s assemblages as well as in general arts and science involves the systematic division of a subject into units. Breaking down of material into units has the effect of “reconfiguring older relations of subject and object, time and place, inspiration from inside and refraction from outside” (Eagle 2007, 201). In this process, new poetic conjectures were sought.

In addition, Edward precisely described Gascoigne’s process of slicing, tearing and sawing material into almost identical units as “a means of intensifying a quality or an essence, of referencing the recurring rhythms of nature, of creating new form” (Edward 1998, 13).

Interestingly, this aspect of assemblage resembles Hiroshi Teshigahara’s creative processing of natural materials, in particular bamboo. He noted that the initial breaking down of bamboo was to remove its familiar notions and to gain its essence.

The divided units are free from their old meanings and contexts and so can be more easily assembled into new configurations.

Another aspect of Gascoigne's works that requires special attention is that from early in her career she preferred using weathered materials such as wooden boxes rather than fresh materials. Materials lose their original color and their usage over time. When they became obsolete, they were matured and were ready for Gascoigne's creative process.

Her preference for aged materials can be seen as similar to the Japanese aesthetics of *Wabi*. It is one of the most important aesthetic principles in Japanese culture, but its characteristics have developed and changed throughout history. Consequently, it is not easy to define it concisely. In relation to Gascoigne's works, however, it would be beneficial to look at the most influential notion of *Wabi* proposed by the greatest tea master, Rikyu (1522 - 1591), who developed it under the influence of Zen Buddhism and incorporated it into the tea ceremony.

Haga (1995) pointed out three characteristics of *Wabi* as simple, unpretentious beauty, imperfect, irregular beauty and austere, stark beauty. He argues that these three characteristics mutually blended to create a single aesthetic sensibility. Regarding Rikyu's idea of *Wabi*, Haga concludes as follow:

Rikyu's wabi, viewed externally, is impoverished, cold, and withered. At the same time, internally, it has a beauty which brims with vitality. While it may appear to be the faded beauty of the passive recluse, or the remnant beauty of old age, it has within it the beauty of non-being, latent with unlimited energy and change. (Haga 1995, 250)

Wabi sensibility allows viewers to recognize aesthetic qualities beyond the weathered surface of objects. Gascoigne's late works such as *Earth* (1999) consist of segments of such materials (Fig. 2). Each segment potentially has not only the external but also, beyond surface, the internal aspects of *Wabi*. This effect seems to be further emphasized by her compositions, which will be looked into in the following sections.

The Second Layer: In Association with Other Materials

A fragment within an assemblage work gains new meaning in association with other objects or elements in the work. This aspect of assemblage was well exemplified in one of Gascoigne's earlier assemblage works, *Pink window* (1975)(Fig. 3). It combined painted wood and corrugated iron. The weathered iron was transformed into a curtain attached to the window frame. The blown curtain evokes a strong drying wind due to the red surface and rough edges forcefully cut off. The work suggests the harsh natural environment of the Australian countryside.

Piece to walk around (1981) (Fig. 4), *Crop 2* (1982) (Fig. 5), *Turn of the tide* (1983) (Fig. 6) and *Red beach* (1984) (Fig. 7) are situated in her transition from "things to materials." These works, in essence, all consist of massed natural materials and geometrical grid like forms. The contrast is closely related to the major characteristics

of her assemblages including order and randomness (Gellatly 2008, 20) and massing and repetition (Gellatly 2008, 15).

In *Turn of the tide* (1983) (Fig. 6) and *Red beach* (1984) (Fig. 7), she used shells that she had found. Almost identical organic segments were gathered and arranged in a grid or near grid format. In both works, Gascoigne created empty spaces and frame-like lines outside the rectangular forms consisting of the massed shells, suggesting the significance of the contrast between newly emerged patterns on the shells and weathered geometrical orders. In *Turn of the tide* (1983) putting the shells together in the grid structure makes clear the subtle differences between them. The random pattern on the surface of the shells, when seen together, looks like a part of a larger whole. This may be Gascoigne's interpretation of the Ikebana concept of a second nature, a purified or idealized representation of nature using natural materials.

Her assemblages after this period gained greater abstract strength. Grid or geometrical compositions were frequently used, and Gascoigne started to work with segmented weathered materials instead of natural materials. Due to their weathered nature, however, those materials reveal their sense of passing time, in this way Gascoigne treated weathered objects as if they were natural materials. The contrast between organic disorder and artificial order that was apparent in her assemblages in early 1980s became the most profound theme in Gascoigne's works.

The Third Layer: As the Result of Metamorphosis

The other aspect of Gascoigne's works that needs to be discussed is that of unexpected associations. Eagle referred to the fact that for the Cubists, Futurists, Dadaists and others, collage and assemblage were devices for disrupting the logic of picture making (2007, 201). It is this aspect of assemblage or collage that fascinated Picasso. He used the fragments of collage paradoxically, turning one substance into another and extracting unexpected meaning out of forms by combining them in new ways (Golding 1994, 63). Golding quoted the following comment by Picasso regarding collage.

If a piece of newspaper can become a bottle that gives us something to think about in connection with both newspapers and bottles, too. This displaced object has entered a universe for which it was not made and where it retains, in a measure, its strangeness. And this strangeness was what we wanted to make people think about because we were quite aware that our world was becoming very strange and not exactly reassuring (Gilot and Carlton, 1965, 70).

Also, Eagle (2007) in discussing the third layer of assemblage refers to Saussure's dualistic analysis of signs. Saussure states that the linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and a sound-image (1959, 66). Then, he replaced concept and sound-image respectively by signified and signifier. By this renaming he was able to clearly indicate the opposition that separates them from each other and from the whole (sign) of which they are parts. What appears to happen in assemblage is that a signifier is transposed from its original context to another but still retains its original features. Eagle describes a feature of Gascoigne's assemblages as 'the jostling together of displaced signifiers' (2007, 203).

It is in this aspect that both Lipsey (1988) and O'Brien (2004) recognized the affinity between assemblage and Ikebana. Noting that Gascoigne made a number of collages between 1972 and 74, O'Brien (2004) sees the significance of the association between assemblage and Ikebana. Her collage works can be located between her Ikebana study and her assemblages.

Collage is a Western ikebana, an art of arrangement, and like Japanese flower arrangement its aesthetic impact can go far beyond the separate impacts of the materials it employs (Lipsey 1988, 358).

Ikebana generally consists of various plant materials and display containers to hold them. Modern Ikebana artists such as Sofu Teshigahara (1900 - 79) started to incorporate artificial materials such as metal and paper into Ikebana (Fig. 8). He also made Ikebana works without containers or with containers hidden from the viewers' gaze. Combinations of different types of natural materials as well as combinations of natural and artificial materials, including their containers, can be seen as juxtapositions of displaced objects, or as assemblages. Further, regarding a flower for Ikebana as a displaced object played an important role for some contemporary Ikebana artists in developing their practices. In particular, Hiroshi Teshigahara emphasized the difference between a cut flower in Ikebana and a flower in the field, as a part of nature (Teshigahara, 1992). That difference is similar to that between a piece of newspaper in a collage and newspapers.

The Grid in Gascoigne

Gascoigne's works such as *Flash art* (1987) (Fig. 9) and *Party piece* (1988) (Fig. 10) reveal strong contrasts between the order of the grid and the disorder of the found and processed materials, the segmented reflective traffic signs. Eagle relates the contrast to the aesthetic impact of Gascoigne's works, stating, "an underlying grid or cell-like structure serves as a ground for deviations" (Eagle 2007, 200).

It is notable, however, that the deviations in these works using letters or words are so much greater than her previous works using natural materials such as shells (e.g. *Turn of tide*, 1983; *Red beach*, 1984, Fig. 6 and 7) and demonstrate a deeper understanding of the grid.

Party piece (1988) (Fig. 10), for instance, consists of about fourteen square or rectangular units, many of which contain some recognizable parts of letters. Each segment has a different visual weight and strength, although their colors are unified, yellow and black. When they are united into a single piece of work, however, there is a kind of dynamic harmony that emerges out of such chaotic unbalance.

Assuming that this harmony, which is the manifestation of what Edward called "will to order" (1998, 13), is similar to the harmony that contemporary Ikebana artists often seek through using several different flower materials, it is worth considering how it is actualized in the art work. Although we have already noted the affinity between assemblage and Ikebana, there might be more fundamental similarities between them in Gascoigne's works.

The harmony in Gascoigne's assemblages seems to be heavily dependent on the function of the grid. It functions not just as a contrast to the haphazardness that segmented units bring, but also as an allusion for more profound contradictions. Krauss argued the mythic power of the grid that could deal with and repress a contradiction between the values of science and those of spiritualism (1985, 13).

In the cultist space of modern art, the grid serves not only as emblem but also as myth. For like all myths, it deals with paradox or contradiction not by dissolving the paradox or resolving the contradiction, but by covering them over so that they seem (but only seem) to go away. The grid's mythic power is that it makes us able to think we are dealing with materialism (or sometimes science, or logic) while at the same time it provides us with a release into belief (or illusion, or fiction). (Krauss 1985, 12)

If it is possible to see something similar to the grid in Ikebana, which was defined as the symbolic representation of nature in the 16th century (Shimbo 2013), it would be certain guiding principles including the basic golden ratio. For instance, the three main branches used to form a basic style are set in the ratio of 7: 5: 3. The Sogetsu School starts teaching beginners with these principles. Following these principles, Ikebana artists seek to actualize in their works an internally perceived natural harmony or sense of order. Like the grid, these principles would have a mythic function to symbolically deal with contradictions, in this case, between the transient natural materials and the permanent, the order of nature.

As to Gascoigne's last series of works, *Earth* (1999) (Fig. 2), Gellatly noted the contrast between deviations (the scratches, accretions, pockmarks, wood grain and nail holes) and their grounds (rough-hewn, irregular grids), and interpreted each deviation as "a meditative reflection of an artist in possession of an innate knowledge of the country in which she travelled and fossicked, developed over a period of some fifty years" (2008, 23). Considering the potential function of the grid, Gascoigne's meditative reflections in this work may have involved an awareness of more fundamental contradictions of being and the order of universe. It is, for Edward, the contradiction between ephemeral and permanent.

In her 'will to order' she uses the techniques of accentuation, compression, and repetition (the process of mass production and of nature) with an almost unerring eye, to draw out the allusive potential of materials. The process is one of exactitude, of refining and distilling both ephemeral experience and actively decaying material, into an essential permanent form which Gascoigne has described in terms of an aesthetic 're-possession' of the land. (Edward 1998, 13)

It is evident that Gascoigne inherited some qualities from Ikebana particularly in her attitudes toward segmented found objects, which she treated as quasi organic materials. Eagle makes this point powerfully.

The weight Gascoigne gave to the found materials was uncharacteristic of Western art. She found the endorsement she needed in *ikebana*. Japanese art (including ikebana) featured strongly in exhibitions and art reviews in Australia in the 1960s' and influenced a number of artists, though Gascoigne was, I think, the only one for

whom Japanese art was the gateway to her own art. She studied the Sogetsu school of *ikebana* for its formal grammar, after she recognized an appreciation of the visual and a sustained quality of metaphor that were congruent with her own deeply felt delight. (Eagle 2007, 205)

The visual and sustained metaphor Gascoigne recognized in Ikebana places her assemblages at an extreme end of the expanded field of contemporary Ikebana.

Conclusion

Through indirect collaboration with nature, Rosalie Gascoigne pursued its essence symbolically in her works. Although the influence of Ikebana on Gascoigne's works is generally regarded as limited, this study suggests that it is crucial for her art work. Unlike factors such as perspective that Monet and other impressionists learned from Japanese prints (Spate 2001), the sense of order that she inherited from Ikebana is harder to recognize. Seeking an order in her works, Gascoigne investigated the mythic function of grids that could deal with the contradiction between ephemeral and permanent. This attitude is parallel to that of modern Ikebana artists seeking harmony in their free style works through challenging the restrictions of traditional rules.

While Gascoigne's works reveal that some common attitudes exist between the current practice of Ikebana and contemporary art, in terms of a historical perspective of Ikebana it can be seen as extreme example of the investigation of contemporary Ikebana as assemblage. In addition, her work can be regarded as a unique example of cross-cultural transformation.

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Drugs, Racial Stereotypes, and Suburban Dystopia in Showtime's Weeds

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Abstract

An analysis of how Showtime's hit show *Weeds* attempts to subvert suburban modernity by inviting the audience to situate their opinions about marijuana use amid bourgeois soccer moms, class politics, turf wars, raw economics, violent milieu, and multicultural heterogeneity. The show reflects how the modern American suburb is constantly being reconstructed and reexamined. In addition, rather than shying away from racial issues, *Weeds* embraces them in what can be viewed in a reflexive, postmodern way. This paper examines how *Weeds* manages to reveal, parody, critique, and poke holes in American suburban dystopia, racism, and drug use.

Introduction

Cable television network Showtime's *Weeds* (Kohan, 2005-2012) debuted on August 7, 2005 and became an instant hit, generating the network's highest ratings with the premier of the fourth season attracting 1.3 million viewers. The show is a dark American comedy that centers around Nancy Botwin (Mary-Louise Parker), a stay-at-home mother whose husband suddenly died of a heart attack, forcing her to find a way to support her family and maintain their middle-class lifestyle in the fictional suburban town of Agrestic, California, which was filmed in the Southern California suburban community of Stevenson Ranch. Rather than finding a "real" job with a paycheck, Nancy begins to sell marijuana to her neighbors whom seem desperate to escape the banality of their suburban lives.

The first three seasons of the show opened with Malvina Reynolds' 1962 song, "Little Boxes," a political satire of conformist, middle-class suburban life in seemingly identical houses ("little boxes") of different colors that are "all made of ticky-tacky" (which refers to the home's shoddy stucco construction), and "all look the same." While the show follows the conventions of a U.S. situation comedy, it is, according to Glaister (2005: Online), "far edgier than the complacent high-gloss universe of *Desperate Housewives*" (Cherry, 2004-2012). However, unlike *Housewives*, which "deals with the fantasy of life and death in a gated community, *Weeds*...sticks closer to the real world" (Glaister, 2005), and "is perhaps the most incisive at revealing what bubbles behind the closed doors of America's identical suburban homes" (Miranda, 2006: Online).

Indeed, the show is more than a satire on drug use in American suburbia because it begs the question: "Why are so many middle-class Americans so desperate to get stoned?" As Tonye Patano, who plays Heylia James, Nancy's pot supplier, points out, marijuana is not the main theme of the show. "It's much more than that...The big questions (the show) raises are so much more interesting: 'Why do people do it?' 'What do people really need in their lives?'" (Associate Press, 2005: Online). These are the questions this paper addresses.

Suburban Dystopia

Subverting the American suburbs is nothing new for Hollywood films and U.S. television shows. Ulaby (2006: Online) rightly points out that in "American fiction, TV and film, suburbia has long stood as shorthand for repression. It's a place of 'wide lawns and narrow minds,' as Earnest Hemingway put it" (Hemingway was referring to Chicago suburb of Oak Park, where he grew up). Still, suburban life has long been viewed as socially enviable in the United States, and it continues to be where many Americans choose to live in search of the "good life."

As Dickinson (2006) puts it, the suburbs, "in all their shifting visual, cultural, political, and economic forms, are now central to everyday American life" (215). According to Hayden (2003), more Americans live in the suburbs today than in urbanized areas. In fact, they "are the site of promises, dreams, and fantasies," serving as "a landscape of the imagination where Americans situate ambitions for upward mobility and economic security, ideals about freedom and private property, and longings for social harmony and social uplift" (3). However, living in the suburbs

presents a paradox: the “dilemma of how to protect ourselves and our children from danger, crime, and unknown others while still perpetuating open, friendly, neighborhoods and comfortable, safe homes” (Low, 2003: 11). In other words, while suburbia may be seen as “bland” and “conformist,” a place devoid of emotions and passion, it also offers a sense of security and acceptance, which makes the prominent presence of marijuana use in *Agrestic* all the more ironic.

Weeds attempts to subvert suburban modernity, inviting the audience “to situate their opinions about marijuana amid spheres of bourgeois soccer-moms, class politics, turf wars, raw economics, violent milieu, and multicultural heterogeneity” (Lavoie, 2011: Online). The show thus reflects how “the modern American suburb is constantly being reconstructed and reexamined” (Kirby, 2007: Online). Whereas the suburbs were once viewed as “the paradise of American life,” they have “now become not-so-dissimilar to perceptions of urban dwelling, a place of death, disillusionment, and degradation, the site of Columbine and sprawl” (ibid.). While life does seem peaceful in *Agrestic*, morality is most certainly not absolute. For example, one of Nancy’s regular customers, Doug Wilson (Kevin Nealon), is a pothead C.P.A. who is on the city council. Doug does whatever he wants whenever he wants, and most of the time he is stoned. Although he has a position of authority, he is willing to abuse it to benefit both himself and his pot-smoking friends. Clearly, *Weeds* is both questioning and parodying suburban morality.

Consider Willard (2007), who states that “not very long ago, people still generally assumed that traditional moral rules and order were a good thing,” and people living in the suburbs “did not routinely do what they felt like doing but did what they were supposed to do” (152-153). Thus, *Weeds* reflects the fact that exposing “the presumably dirty underside of such an ‘ideal’ suburban existence as a major and constantly reiterated theme is only quite recent” (ibid.) in Hollywood films and television shows.

Subverting Race in Suburbia

American television shows have long used the suburbs as their setting, and particularly in the 1950s and 60s, the inhabitants of these fictional suburban towns have been predominately white. In fact, part of the perceived “safety” of the suburbs is that they are far removed from the racial tension and violence that plague many American cities. Many Americans still wax nostalgic for the peace, stability, and wholesomeness found in popular sitcoms such as *Father Knows Best* (Russell & Tewksbury, 1954-1960) and *Leave it to Beaver* (Connelly, Conway & Mosher, 1957-1963). Overtly absent in these shows, as well as in the real life suburban communities they depicted, were people of color. In fact, in these early shows there was no indication whatsoever “that people of color could be part of this utopian mode of living” (Smukler, 2008: Online).

Weeds, on the other hand, takes the familiar and traditional suburban themes of family, home and work and “twists the formula by introducing foreign factors such as race, urban settings, and illegal drug trade” (ibid.). And unlike television shows in the 1950s and 60s, where conflict always found a harmonious resolution, *Weeds* centers around domestic chaos rather than harmony. In fact, *Weeds* “concludes each episode with a problem so huge that any chance at resolution and reconciliation...seems utterly impossible” (ibid.). Indeed, the suburban home no longer offers nurture or

safety. In the midst of this chaos, Nancy seems to find not only momentary solace, but truth and sincerity when she visits the home of Heylia James, her pot supplier. Nancy “becomes a different person as soon as she walks into Heylia’s overpopulated kitchen” where “she can be herself” (Wiegand, 2005: Online).

Weeds relies heavily on social and racial stereotypes for much of its comedic effect, and Heylia is no exception. The matriarchal figure Heylia “is portrayed every bit as stereotypically as the characters of suburbia...a large, angry black woman that’s good at cooking and a mother to an unwed daughter with a new-born” (Casnellie, 2009: Online). In addition, Love (2009: Online) points out that “Heylia’s unwed, pregnant daughter is not presented as some sort of conflict for any of the characters involved, but instead the audience is to understand her situation as one so obvious and typical of the black community that no mediation or intervention of any type need be mentioned.” At first, Heylia’s family seems “to embody the most egregious of African-American stereotypes (buying fancy tire rims for their broken-down hoopties, arguing over recipes for cornbread)” (Stevens, 2005: Online), but they also show more unity and strength than Nancy’s broken family. For Stevens, the “general message about racial relations...seems to be that this overprivileged and still-grieving white woman needs the grounding and humor that her alternative black family provides.” And as Love (2009: Online) states: “The show communicates a reality that because Conrad [Romany Malco] and Heylia are black, they have some implicit knowledge about how to sell drugs. If Nancy is to succeed in her drug dealings, she is to do as Conrad and Heylia advise, for they are all knowing and potentially dangerous, while Nancy is to be understood as harmless and naïve.” In other words, if a suburban middle-class white woman wants to succeed as a criminal, she had better enlist the help of blacks who have the experience and knowhow.

Some of the stereotypes seem more serious, however. For example, in the fifth episode of season one, “Lude Awakening,” Heylia’s son Conrad, Nancy and Heylia are in the kitchen talking about Nancy’s recent success at drug dealing when suddenly the house gets shot at and everyone ducks for cover. Once the shooting stops, Nancy is clearly in shock while Heylia and Conrad seem unfazed by what has just happened. When Nancy asks if they should call the police, Heylia laughs, drawing the scorn of Conrad who tells her to back off because she (Nancy) just had her “shootin’ cherry broke.” The message here is clear: it is normal for black drug dealers to get shot at in their homes. This idea is summed up by Heylia who tells Nancy: “White folks get soda pop, niggas get bullets.” However, Patano points out that everyone in *Weeds* is stereotyped at first, but as you get to know the characters better, they become less stereotyped and more real as people. For Smukler (2008: Online), Heylia represents “an added show of distorted and reconfigured domesticity” because she “not only traffics marijuana, and extremely unladylike profession due to its illegality and potential danger, but business is always conducted in the midst of the most traditional female duties; while baking cookies, or making lunch, Heylia weighs bags of drugs on her kitchen counter, often times wearing an apron.” Clearly, she is no Donna Reed or June Cleaver, though she embodies their domesticity.

Racially, then, Nancy’s relationship with Heylia is quite significant because Nancy must leave the perceived safety of her white suburban home in search of economic stability through selling drugs, which represents “a shock to the suburban system she comes from” (Smukler, 2008: Online). Furthermore, because Nancy “must learn how

to maintain a home from exactly the image her community, historically, was made to reject—the inner city resident and their dwelling—is an added jab at tradition” (ibid.). Heylia, then, is very much unlike the character Beulah, “a stereotypical black female domestic worker,” because “while she is still giving middle-class, suburbanite women advice from the kitchen...it is [now] from a place of true authority, her own kitchen where she runs a profitable, self-made business” (ibid.). However, any social “progress” that seems to have been made by American blacks is negated in *Weeds* by portraying them as criminals, albeit smart and savvy ones.

Rather than shying away from racial issues, Showtime’s *Weeds* embraces them in what can be viewed in a “reflexive, postmodern way” (Trojan, 2012: Online). In other words, the producers are attempting to draw “attention to the elements of racism that exist in modern day society—both blatantly and beneath the surface” (ibid.). Within the first ten minutes of the pilot episode, for example, we find Heylia in the kitchen baking cornbread and the following exchange with Nancy takes place:

Heylia: You callin’ black people stupid?
Nancy: And lazy and they also steal.
Heylia: Oh, but we sing and dance real good.

This very short exchange is steeped in racial stereotypes of black people: they are stupid and lazy, they steal, and they are good at singing and dancing. Given such blatant racist remarks in the dialog (and there are plenty more), one might wonder why black actors would agree to play such stereotypical roles. For Romany Malco (Conrad), “by adhering to certain stereotypes, the show dispels others. ‘You got a black man selling drugs. But he’s cerebral and subtle, not the reactionary guy you’re accustomed to seeing [Strauss, 2007: Online]’” (Trojan, 2012: Online).

Still, we must question if *Weeds* is truly being progressive about racism. While Heylia and Conrad are definitely not portrayed as being lazy or stupid—at least when it comes to surviving in the drug trade business—Nancy, despite her immaturity, stupidity, and poor choices, “still comes out on top, while the black characters, however devoted to their craft they are, are still portrayed as drug dealers, unwed mothers, and sassy urban characters” (ibid.). There are other, more subtle examples that expose the racial inequality that still exists in America. For example, when Nancy opens a fake bakery as a front for selling pot, Conrad points out that “banks...will only give loans to white dealers.” As Long (2008) states: “the show’s black characters make frequent though fleeting references to the discrepancies that characterize their positions in contrast to Nancy’s” (107). And Baye (2005: Online) complains: “‘Weeds’ may provoke some African-Americans to sigh, ‘Here we go again.’ I mean, why else would a white widow who chooses to make money peddling marijuana to her white-bread neighbors...have to get her supply from black folks? ...if it was crack, maybe, but weed? Please. Everybody knows that when you want marijuana direct from the source, you don’t go to the ghetto. You go to the white folks who grow the stuff.” Therefore, perhaps *Weeds*’ popularity is limited to an American white audience whose only “knowledge” about blacks is what they hear and see on television and in Hollywood movies.

But it is not only the black characters in the show that are racially stereotyped. Because of the criminal element in *Weeds*, racial differences are further reinforced.

For example, Hispanics are portrayed in a particularly bad light, dealing not only marijuana but also heroin, smuggling weapons and prostitutes across the border, and killing anyone who gets in their way. Whites, on the other hand, are dealt with “in the realm of white collar crime. From bribery, to hiring illegal aliens, to corporate fraud, there exists a distinct difference between white crime and colored crime—a divide that Nancy Botwin manages to straddle and exploit” (Long, 2008, 107). For example, she agrees to smuggle drugs across the border for Guillermo (Guillermo Diaz) because “Mexican border customs doesn’t bat an eyelash at a touristy looking white woman the way they would with a black man” (ibid.).

Consider the character Sucio (Ramón Franco) from the fifth season, who “is explicitly characterized solely as a ‘dirty Mexican’—his name literally means dirty” (DMJ, 2010: Online). As Trojan (2012: Online) rightly claims: “While the writers certainly meant this as a commentary on the way white society views the Hispanic community, the reference falls short with a white audience that likely doesn’t understand Spanish, making the statement less social commentary and closer to true racism.” Guillermo, who is actually supposed to be Puerto Rican, plays a merciless drug dealer who traffics not only drugs, but also prostitutes, across the California/Mexican border. And Cesar (Enrique Castillo), while seeming level-headed and reasonable, turns out to be a cold-blooded killer when he orders Sucio to continue torturing DEA agent Phil Schlatter (Andrew Rothenberg) by grinding his skin off with an electric sander.

A milder, though still important example, is Nancy’s Latino housekeeper, Lupita (Renee Victor). Even though the setting of *Weeds* is Southern California, where the Hispanic population now represents the largest ethnic group (over 40 percent), Lupita is the only Hispanic character who is not portrayed as a criminal. And “when Nancy gets upset that...Lupita won’t clean the dishes, she threatens to find a new housekeeper, as if housekeepers are disposable utensils...like paper towels” (Love, 2009: Online). In short, the Hispanic characters in *Weeds* are portrayed as threatening and menacing, or at the very least, they cannot be trusted.

Perhaps the racial stereotypes in *Weeds* “balance out,” so to speak, in the show’s portrayal of suburban whites as well. Gonzalez (2005: Online) goes so far as to state: “Weeds isn’t racist because the whites seem to be cut from the same stereotypical cardboard as the blacks.” Take Celia (Elizabeth Perkins) who is portrayed as “a ruthless mother, tortured wife and alcoholic, pill-popping mess” (Associated Press, 2005: Online). She is a “calculating and manipulative” woman who “appears to get pleasure out of torturing her husband and daughter” (Goldstein, 2009: Online). As Nancy’s neighbor, she “is the embodiment of the Agrestic community ideals of a perfect appearance. She is head of the PTA but her daughter, Isabelle [Allie Grant], in her opinion, does not fit within that desired ideal,” referring to her as ‘Isa-belly’...and frequently makes disparaging comments about her weight” (ibid.). In fact, Celia is obsessed with forcing Isabelle to lose weight.

However, Celia’s efforts are nothing less than cruel at times. For example, when Celia finds Isabel’s secret stash of chocolate in her bedroom, she replaces it with chocolate laxatives, which causes Isabel to have an embarrassing accident at school. In a sense, Celia and Isabel’s relationship reflects white suburban America, for it “is symbolic of the desire to have a ‘cookie-cutter’ lifestyle where everyone is the same” (Goldstein, 2009: Online). Indeed, Celia “seems to value conformity above everything else” (ibid.). This conformity is apparent in the very first episode of season one, when the

PTA is debating whether or not to ban sugary soft drinks from the school's vending machines. "Celia argues that diet soda does not constitute a 'sugary' drink and that since many girls in the school are dieting, they should not be denied diet drinks" (ibid.). However, "Nancy argues that the oldest girls in the elementary school are 11 and should not be concerned with diet" (ibid.). Thus, "[f]rom the initial scene, it is made clear to the audience that within this community, appearance and conformity are of utmost importance" (ibid.).

In addition, Celia "voices externally, the racist/racial attitudes the show internalizes. She exemplifies your typical upper-class white bitch who thinks she's better than everyone by nature of wealth, class and race" (Trojan, 2012: Online). Furthermore, when "not marginalizing other races, she fetishizes them" (ibid.) by cheating on her husband with a black man and later boasting about it. In short, Celia "exemplifies white privilege and does so unapologetically. The words that come out of her mouth may seem overly racist and insensitive but she merely serves as a vocal reminder of the reality the show depicts" (ibid.). That may be true, but Celia's dialog in *Weeds* must surely offend many viewers, both white, black and Hispanic.

In the end, we must recognize who is the main audience for *Weeds*. Showtime is a premium cable television network, which allows it to so freely manipulate racial stereotypes for humor. But as a "premium" (i.e. pay channel), "a luxury good in the truest sense of the word...its primary consumers tend to be White, middle to upper-class members of society" (Love, 2009: Online). This is problematic because "while *Weeds* attempts to create humor and entertainment through its employment of such run of the mill stereotypes, it fails to ask an audience that may not have regular interactions with minority communities to question, object, or even contemplate the damaging content that it imparts" (ibid.). Of course, the pat response from the media would certainly be: "It's *just* a TV show."

Drug Use in Suburbia

Many viewers might find it hard to accept that the main theme of *Weeds* is not marijuana use, given its seemingly widespread use by white, suburban Americans in the show. In reality, marijuana use *is* widespread in the United States. For example, Hickman (2011: Online) points out that "more than four out of ten Americans have smoked marijuana, as have more than five out of ten Americans in their twenties." Even in the nation's capital, Washington D.C., marijuana "plays a big role" and its use "cuts across racial and socioeconomic lines" (Robbins, 2012: Online). Still, we have not answered the question posed in the introduction: *Why* are so many people in the show, and in real life America, smoking marijuana? Is Nancy's brother-in-law, Andy (Justin Kirk), correct in his assertion that there is "not enough pot in the world to get these people stoned enough to forget where they live"?

According to Elizabeth Perkins, smoking marijuana is not suburbia's "dirty little secret—it's every other thing in the show" (Kiwi, 2006: Online). "There are fat camps all over America and every actress in Hollywood is anorexic," says Perkins. "We're fighting this dirty war overseas so housewives can drive their (Cadillac SUV) Escalades. And we're putting out the largest emissions in the world. Marijuana is innocuous—it's really here nor there. The problem is that we, as Americans, will not give up our lifestyles. Marijuana is just a metaphor for the dirty little secrets

underneath this pristine American way of life” (ibid.). Of course, Perkins’ comments are nothing new. Consider Grace Metalious’s 1956 novel, *Peyton Place*, in which readers became acutely aware of the taboos, including sex, incest, rape, abortion, and class tensions, which always lurked uncomfortably close, just below the surface, but were not brought into clear focus. In contrast, *Weeds* focuses a spotlight on America’s widespread use of illegal drugs.

Some claim that *Weeds* reflects how marijuana use in America is becoming more “mainstream.” According to Tschorn (2009: Online): “After decades of bubbling up around the edges of so-called civilized society, marijuana seems to be marching mainstream at a fairly rapid pace. At least in urban areas such as Los Angeles, cannabis culture is coming out of the closet.” As Tschorn puts it: “Marijuana’s presence on TV and in movies has moved from the harbinger of bad things including murderous rage (*Reefer Madness* in 1936) to full-scale hauntings (*Poltergeist* in 1982) and burger runs gone awry (*Harold & Kumar go to White Castle* in 2001) to being just another fixture in the pop-culture firmament. Cannabis crops up in shows such as *Entourage*, *Curb Your Enthusiasm*, *True Blood*, and *Desperate Housewives*, and even on animated shows such as *The Simpsons* and *Family Guy*” (ibid.).

Indeed, while marijuana remains essentially illegal in the U.S., “public perception (and opinion polls) have shifted plenty over the past two decades, to the point where Showtime’s ‘Weeds’ can run for eight seasons, stoner comedy can become a mainstream movie subgenre, and politicians can feel emboldened to answer the question ‘Have you ever smoked it?’ with a simple ‘yes’ instead of ‘I experimented with it’” (Seitz, 2011: Online). Case in point: in 2006, then Senator Barack Obama admitted, “When I was a kid, I inhaled.” This was in stark contrast to President Clinton’s “denial in his 1992 campaign for president that he had smoked marijuana. ‘I didn’t inhale,’ Clinton said, cementing the idea that he liked to have things both ways” (Seeyle, 2006: Online).

Still others see *Weeds* as glorifying marijuana use. As James Baker stated: “Marijuana use is essentially decriminalized here” (Glaister, 2005: Online). Some complained about the show’s marketing campaign for the second season, in which a *Rolling Stone* magazine ad for *Weeds* contained a marijuana-scented strip and “Catch the buzz!” next to it (Figure 1).



(Figure 1)

This ad provoked a sharp response from Tom Riley, Director of Public Affairs for the U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy: “In addition to reciting statistics about marijuana use (“There are more teens in treatment for marijuana than for alcohol dependence—is that funny?”), Riley chided the Rolling Stone promotion as all too retro. ‘Unless they’re going for the over-50 demographic, it sounds like their marketing department might be a little out of touch,’ Riley said. ‘Maybe some baby boomers still find this kind of thing edgy, but young people don’t’” (Weinreich, 2006: Online). Weinreich questions why it is okay for Showtime to “make a show glamorizing pot smoking and drug dealing, when they would probably never portray smoking tobacco or the tobacco industry as a positive thing?” (ibid.). This is a problem, she claims, because “by creating sympathetic characters who are engaging in these unhealthy and illegal behaviors, they normalize the behaviors and make them seem like something everybody else is doing. Television plays a huge role in how people construct their perceptions of reality and appropriate behavior” (ibid.). Weinreich also complained: “They will also have ice cream trucks called ‘Weeds Munchie Mobiles’ (Figure 2) that will pass out Weeds merchandise and brownies at concerts and other events, and street vendors handing out coffee in Weeds cups” (ibid.).



(Figure 2)

Living in the suburbs has long been considered “safer” than living in urban areas, particularly inner-city areas that are predominately non-white. However, as Goldstein (2009) points out: “Weeds demonstrates that while gated communities are attempting to control external threats, there are often bigger threats from within their own community. There are numerous examples throughout the first season, which illustrate how danger can exist right below the surface of the superficially created ‘safe’ community” (113). But this leads us to believe that marijuana use is dangerous no matter who is doing it: inner-city blacks or other ethnic groups, or middle-class suburban whites. And if it truly is so “dangerous,” why do so many Americans continue to smoke pot?

For many Americans, particularly middle-class whites, living in the suburbs is the norm. And as Dickinson (2006) states, they are “the dwelling places of postmodernity, the loci of everyday lives and practices” (213). In fact, it “is within suburban landscapes that many US Americans stake their claim to the good life” (ibid.). But unlike Hollywood movies and television shows that offer a nostalgic, i.e.

1950s, view of the suburbs, *Weeds* offers a contemporary and more “realistic” version of the Southern California suburbs. And perhaps it is location that is key to understanding the pervasiveness of marijuana use both in the show and in real life. With its proximity to Hollywood and a perceived more “liberal” attitude towards drug use than “mainstream” America, marijuana use has been prevalent in California, and especially in the greater Los Angeles area, since the “hippie” 1960s.

In addition to television shows such as *Weeds*, recent Hollywood movies, such as *Pineapple Express* (Green 2008), reflect “the growing trend of movies produced at major studios that feature plots and characters that involve, or even revolve around, weed” (Stone, 2012: Online). But according to Ethan Nadelmann, Executive Director of the Drug Policy Alliance, “dramatic depictions of marijuana are increasingly incidental to the plot, not the thrust of it. ‘It’s normalization,’ he says. ‘It’s not Cheech & Chong, and it’s not “Reefer Madness.” It’s background”” (Lowry, 2011: Online). In the past, many movies and television shows depicted characters who used marijuana and made a joke out of it. For example, the comedy duo Cheech and Chong, “arguably the original ‘pot heads,’ found a wide audience in the 1970s and 1980s for their stand-up routines which were based on the era’s hippie, free love, and drug culture movements” (United Patient’s Group, 2012: Online). Most notable is their 1978 film *Up in Smoke* (Adler & Chong) in which “Cheech and Chong were hilariously stoned all the time and audiences found it entertaining” (ibid.). However, unlike these “stoner films,” *Weeds* makes smoking marijuana commonplace—it’s as if *everybody* in the suburbs is doing it, not just a couple of comedians in a movie.

Conclusion

Perhaps *Weeds* has opened the door for more “pro-pot” television shows, which, more than likely, will have to remain on pay cable television channels. *Weeds* has certainly played a big part in the “increasing normalized depiction of marijuana use on television” (Meslow, 2012: Online). But this does not mean that *all* Americans accept, use, or support the legalization of marijuana. In 2010, for example, Melissa Henson, Director of the Parents Television Council, had a debate on Fox News with Allen St. Pierre, an advocate for the legalization of marijuana. Henson argued that television shows that feature marijuana use, like *Weeds*, “communicate the idea that it’s not only acceptable behavior, but normal behavior” (ibid.). In other words, if it’s on TV in America, it can’t be *that* bad... can it?

Weeds final episode aired on September 16, 2012, marking the end of its eight-year run on Showtime. According to Lionsgate TV Group President Kevin Biggs: “From a creative standpoint, the show broke a bunch of barriers... It became one of the most talked about cable comedies and ushered in a new era. Jenji’s unique voice skewered hypocrisy; whether attitudes towards drug use, racism, sexism or suburbia” (Hibberd, 2012: Online). This may be true, but it does not necessarily mean that *Weeds*, or any other television show or movie, had contributed to an increased use of marijuana in America. In fact, while marijuana use increased dramatically in the 1990s—before *Weeds*—“the U.S. has seen a decline in marijuana use among youth over the last decade. By 2007, the percentage of 9th through 12th graders who had ever tried or used marijuana had dropped to 38%” (Zuckerman & Ravichandran, 2010: Online).

It remains to be seen whether or not cable television will create another series with a drug theme. It is interesting to note that the season finale of *Weeds* takes place ten years in the future and marijuana is now legal. In fact, Nancy Botwin and her son, Silas (Hunter Parish) now owns a successful chain of marijuana cafés called Good Seed, which sells marijuana cigarettes called “Puff Dragons,” that none other than Starbucks wants to buy. And in the last scene, we find everyone sitting together on the porch sharing a joint, as if it is the most natural thing in the world—like drinking a glass of wine. Does this mean that *Weeds* was pro-legalization of marijuana? Or perhaps the writers just assumed that eventually marijuana would become legal in the U.S., particularly with more and more states tentatively legalizing marijuana for medical use. What is probably more certain is that both Hollywood films and certain television series will continue to examine, poke holes in, parody or critique the dystopia, racism, and—perhaps—drug use in America’s suburbs.

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*Old Communities, New Buildings: Decoding the Home-imagining Narratives of
Taiwan's Military Dependents' Communities*

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Introduction

In his book *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, Tuan (1977), a human geographer, has stated that living experiences is the key for people to perceive the spaces and places they live in, as well as to create the corresponding extensity. According to Tuan, the construction of space is abstract; the meaning of place, on the other hand, is the space that people are more familiar with. Therefore, people can establish a sense of coherence and strengthen their identification throughout the living experiences in any place they have known well. Tuan's statement emphasizes the relationship between space, living experiences, and people's self-identification. Accordingly, this concept is suitable to examine how the changes to the outer spaces influence people's inner home imagination and identity construction.

In the case of Taiwan, there are a great number of people who have faced tremendous changes to so-called "home" in the past 60 years. The Chinese civil war following the Second World War led to over six hundred thousand Chinese military soldiers and their dependents immigrating to Taiwan, led by the Kuomintang (KMT) government. The KMT then established 886 military dependents' communities around Taiwan and other off-shore islands to settle these soldiers and dependents. During the presidency of Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan (1950-1976), the main goal of the KMT was to recover the Chinese mainland. For those Chinese soldiers and dependents, therefore, they had looked forward to "going back home." So they spent less attention on improving the poor living conditions of the military communities in Taiwan. In fact, the military dependents' communities were considered as temporary dwelling places at that time. However, following political reform during the 1980s and 1990s, these Chinese soldiers and their dependents came to realize that they had little chance of going back to mainland China. Further, more and more people have treated the military communities as their "home" because of the long-term living experiences. Their psychological recognition of "home," therefore, has become gradually hybridized, following the political reforms in Taiwan.

The approval of a remodeling regulation in 1996 was another stimulus to challenge these Chinese soldiers and dependents' concepts of "home." This remodeling regulation announced the decline of the military dependents' communities because the government finally decided to tear down the old communities, which suffered from poor living conditions. The residents of the old military dependents' communities, if they chose not to accept solatia, were relocated to large high-rise buildings built by the government. For these residents, their "homes," with both psychological and material meanings, were obliterated one more time, following the collapse of the old military dependents' communities.

In order to analyze the interrelationship between the changes to outer spaces and inner home imaginations, this project selected the residents who had lived in the old military dependents' communities and are currently living in the newly-built public housings in Pingtung City, the southernmost county in Taiwan. The purpose of the research was to investigate how the residents presented home imaginings and identity constructions while intertwining the space changes

between old communities and new buildings. The researcher used semi-structured interviews with 17 residents. Thematic narrative analysis was applied to examine the themes of the interview manuscripts. By analyzing the above cultural narratives, the research conclusions are helpful in exploring the intersections between the experiences of diaspora and the construction of belonging in the military communities in Taiwan.

Place and Self-identification

The interrelationship and connections between place and self-identification have attracted the attentions the researchers from diverse disciplines. In *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (Hubbard, Kitchin & Valentine, 2004), the authors of each chapter introduce and review all of the contemporary scholars' works related to space and place, such as Benedict Anderson in Nationalism, Homi Bhabha in Postcolonialism, Judith Butler in Poststructural Feminism, Stuart Hall in Cultural Studies, Henri Lefebvre and Anthony Giddens in Sociology, etc. In all the disciplines of social science, the researchers of cultural geography have paid special attention to discussing the relations among people, the cultural people that have been created, and the place people that are living (Norton, 2006). According to Zhou, Kong and Zhu (2004), culture is the umbilical cord that connects people and place; in other words, the meaning of a place or landscape is given by how people create the semiological meanings, make historical connections and establish cultural identification toward the environment they are living. Therefore, as Crang (2005) states, the relationship between culture and place is indivisible because one essential factor by which people identify themselves is the place where they live and where they are from.

Fried (1963) also indicates that the construction of self-identity must not be separated from people's awareness of the place. Rather than an individual activity, identification is actually a psychological process that connects to others and place and allows interpersonal relationship to occur. Therefore, a group of people may establish a sense of belonging because they are living together in one place; they may also have feelings of separation when they have to leave the place. Of course, no matter that this sense of belonging or sense of separation is imagined, this kind of imagination is created on the basis of lived experiences in reality.

The term *Diaspora* was originally used to describe the experiences of exile by Jews and their religious and cultural connections to their homeland; this concept is generally applied to all dispersed groups in modern postcolonial studies. According to Kalra, Kaur, and Huntnyk (2005), the concept of diaspora presents a close relationship with immigrant groups and other ethnic groups that have exile experiences. For those groups with diasporic experiences, they are swinging between the place they were originally from and the place they are currently living. For these diasporic groups also, this experience is, of course, not always peaceful, because they need to face different cultures between the place they have moved out from and the place they have moved into. Bhabha (1994) defines cultural difference as a "a process of signification through which statements *of* culture or *on* culture differentiate, discriminate and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability, and capacity" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 34). Under this condition, diasporic groups may, on the one hand, strengthen their connection with the homeland; on the other hand, they are unavoidably influenced by other groups living on the place they immigrate to.

Therefore, diaspora can also consider being a transformation. As Hall (2006) indicates, the diasporic experiences address the “deep and significant *difference* which constitute ‘what we really are’; or rather—since history has intervened—‘what we have become’” (p. 435).

In the case of this project, the research object—the old military dependents’ communities—is the place that has become a unique landscape in Taiwan and developed a hybridized identity among the residents who once lived in these communities within a diasporic context. For the first generation of these Chinese soldiers and their dependents, they have transformed the old military dependents’ communities from “temporary housing” to “home” during the economic, cultural, and political changes between 1950s and 1980s. For the second generation, their concepts of home were originally established as they grew up in the old military dependents’ communities. For them, however, they also have an imaginary home—China—based on family education and propaganda disseminated by the KMT. For both of the first and second generations, nevertheless, leaving the old military communities and moving to the new public housing meant deconstructing and reconstructing their concept of “home.” By applying thematic narrative analysis, the results of next section will present the transformed and imaginary meanings of “home” while facing the changes to outer spaces and self-identities.

Thematic Narrative Analysis

As a rhetorical case study, the methodology of this project follows the suggestions in Foss (2004) for narrative criticism. First of all, a critic needs to choose the units, such as setting, characters, events and themes, to focus on. Then, he or she needs to identify the characteristics of the narratives by applying the selected units in order to achieve the research goals. In this project, therefore, the unit selected to focus on was the interview manuscripts. There are two major themes to be identified: the changes to outer space and the changes to interpersonal relationship. The purpose of this section is to report the characteristics of the above themes after the coding of the interview manuscripts.

The Changes of Outer Space

In Pingtung City, there were 19 military dependents’ communities, and two public high-rise buildings to accommodate the residents of the old communities. As introduced above, the old communities were considered to be temporary housing, because the residents, Chinese soldiers and their dependents that had come to Taiwan after 1949, did not expect to stay on Taiwan for too long. Later, they gradually realized that they would not be going back to the Chinese mainland in the short term, however, most did not have the money to improve the living conditions. Most of the interviewees lived in simple and crude old houses. One interviewee said that her old house was rectangular with only one living room and one bedroom; her father built an attic later especially for girls. Otherwise, her family would not have had enough room to sleep.

Even though the living conditions were so poor, the houses were assigned by the government, and the residents did not spend any money on repairing or maintaining the public facilities. Therefore, the first thing that the residents could not get used to in the modern high-rise buildings were the general administrative

expenses and shared public electricity fee—the maintenance fee. Some interviewees of the complained of this issue and said that the advantage of the old houses was not paying anything, even if they had to tolerate the poor living conditions. After moving to the new public housing, they finally had the ownership of their houses, but they needed to pay any of their own maintenance costs as well as the compulsory maintenance fee.

Except the financial issue, the changes of outer space also led the residents to experience a new lifestyle. Moving from the one-story houses to high-rise buildings means that the residents' living spaces are now vertical. For the first generation, living in the old communities was easier and more convenient. If they needed to borrow something from a neighbor, they only needed to open the back door and ask. However, they have had adjust to a new lifestyle living in the high-rise buildings with modern technology. For instance, several second generation residents described their observations of daily lives in the interviews. According to them, many of the first generation did not know how to use elevators; of course, they did not need to know in the old communities. Many of the older generation think learning how to use elevators is very troublesome because they are confused about how to make the elevator go up or down. The new technology, therefore, has become a barrier to going out.

One second generation female interviewee explained that she had moved from a northern city to Pingtung City to take care of her mother because, on one occasion, her mother got lost for two hours. The old lady did not know how to use the elevator. One day, when the elevator went up to the top floor, she did not know how to make the elevator down, and she stayed up at the top floor for two hours. Then, when a neighbor from the top-floor unit came home, he found the lady stood outside of his apartment. The neighbor finally took the old lady home. After this event, the old lady's daughter decided to live with her mother. As she indicated, "my mom is over 90 years old; I would rather to do things by myself than teach my mom to adopt this new life style." Similar cases were repeatedly described in the interviews. For the residents of the old military dependents' communities, especially the first generation, accommodation of the changes of life style is an important lesson for them after leaving their old housings.

The third characteristic following the changes of outer space is the separation between public space and private space. In the old communities, the flat-surface space arrangement made it easy for people to reach to each other. Many interviewees mentioned how close their relationships were with their neighbors. Most of them cherished positive memories of the milk of human kindness in the old communities; however, they agreed that the space design of the old communities meant there was no privacy. In the old communities, people lived too close to each other; therefore, there were almost no secrets from the neighbors. According to the interviewees, the living style of the old communities presents an entanglement between public and private space. The vertical design of the new public high-rise buildings, therefore, secures the residents' privacy and has changed the residents' perception of public and private space.

The last characteristic of the changes to outer space is the representation of class character. In the old military dependents' communities, the size of the residents'

houses depended on military rank. For instance, one female interviewee married to an air force pilot; so her old house contained one living room, one bathroom, one kitchen, two rooms, and a front yard. Her old house was actually bigger and better than other ground-duty officers and sergeants. On the other hand, one second generation female interviewee mentioned that she was aware of the class character when she was a little girl. According to her, she realized that her old house was smaller and cruder than some of her friends' houses, because her father had lower military rank than her friends' fathers. This fact gave her a sense of inferiority.

After the residents moved to the new buildings, the government still assigned the size of units based on military rank, and the residents picked the unit they were allowed to live randomly. However, if they were not satisfied with the size or floor they were assigned, they were allowed to buy a larger unit by paying extra fee or switching with other people. Therefore, the class character still exists at the stage of assigning living units, but, rather than the rigid military ranks, it can be changed with effort.

The Changes to Interpersonal Relationships

As mentioned in the above section, many residents of the old military dependents' communities were not familiar with a clear separation between public and private spaces. They were used to the life style that allowed communicating with others by simply opening their house doors. So when they lived in the old communities, they frequently shared food with their neighbors or took care of their neighbors' children. After moving to the new public buildings, those old neighbors still lived in the same communities but in different buildings. Many interviewees said that they realized that the physical distance between them is not so far, but the high-rise building design makes them feel that they live far away from each other. Some of the second generation noticed that many of those of the first generation feel isolated and have become depressed. One interviewee even concluded that this negative feeling had caused some of the older residents to pass away earlier.

Moving to the new high-rise buildings also caused changes to communication and the connections between residents. In the old communities, the residents could communicate with people at any time and anywhere. If these residents wanted to interact with their neighbors, they could just open the house door and yell. In the new public housings, however, if the residents want to interact with their neighbors, they need to leave their units, go downstairs by taking an elevator, and gather in the courtyard at a particular time. Many of the interviewees stated that this new communication style has reduced the milk of human kindness of the old communities. The friendliness among the residents, however, is considered to be the most important characteristic of the culture of military dependents' communities. In the interviews, several interviewees suggested that losing the milk of human kindness meant the loss of the root of their culture.

The last characteristic of the changes to interpersonal relationships is the separation between the insiders and the outsiders. Originally, all units of the two public housing buildings were assigned to the residents of the old military dependents' communities. According to the remodeling regulation, however, the owners could sell their units without permission after a certain number of years. Currently, some units of the new public housings are sold or rented to the people who have no military background or no experience living in the old military dependents' communities. By analyzing the

narratives of the interviews, the results show that the residents from the old communities have formed their own insider groups after moving to the new public housings. The residents who have recently moved in are excluded, and the newcomers show no interest in joining their small groups. Therefore, the interpersonal relationship in the new public housing is separated into the insider and outsider groups. The ones who are considered to be outsiders rarely join the regular inter-community activities. The original residents of the old communities do not show a strong interest in inviting the newcomers. In the interviews, some interviewees actually referred to these newcomers as “outsiders” y, and the living habits and behavior of those “outsiders” were described negatively. Some of the interviewees even said by way of conclusion: “that’s the reason we are different.”

Discussion

In the research process, when I asked the interviewees to recall their memories of living in the old military dependents’ communities, all of them mentioned the 1949 retreat and the difficult time living in the old communities. However, as one first generation resident stated, the same experiences of living far away from home had meant the neighbors built closer relationships. As she said, “we were voluntarily helped each other because we knew that all of us had no support from other family members.” In the interview, she shared her life story: she was from a rich family in Beijing, so she did not know how to cook and or perform other household duties when she arrived in Taiwan. After she got her house in the old communities, the neighbor who lived next door actually took care of her household affairs at the beginning, without any charge. So the interviewee concluded the story and stated that “this is so-called the milk of human kindness.”

Other interviewees also shared similar stories. In the interview narratives, most interviewees believed that the establishment of a kindness atmosphere inside the old military dependents’ communities was mainly based on their diasporic experiences of leaving home. The character of the milk of human kindness became one of the most obvious factors to identify a collective “We.” So in their narratives, the following could be easily found, such as: “people from the old communities always know the importance of helping each other”; “we can identify people who are from the old communities or not”; “we did not need to consider the issue of public security because we had neighbors,” etc.

However, even though the residents of the old military dependents’ communities have a close relationship with the Chinese mainland, their self-identities as either Chinese or Taiwanese were full of different meanings in the interviews. Few of the first-generation who were born in China identified themselves as Taiwanese. One first generation female interviewee shared her life story and stated that, “I did not feel safe while I went to the Chinese mainland. It was good to see my family members, but I did not recognize the outer environment at all. At the end of my journey, I had the feeling of ‘coming home’ when the flight finally landed in Taiwan.” So she concluded that “Of course I am Taiwanese. When I went to China, I also told them that I am Taiwanese.” But she also added “we do not need to separate Chinese and Taiwanese because our ancestors were from China.”

The political and cultural identities of the second generation were also diverse. Few of the second generation who were born in Taiwan presented their strong Chinese identities, culturally and politically. Others of the second generation presented their cultural identities as Chinese and national identities as Taiwanese. Most of the second generation was born in Taiwan, and their closeness toward China is based on family education and political propaganda. They grew up in the old military dependents' communities, which were man-made isolation spaces that were located in Taiwan but from which Taiwanese local factors were excluded. Therefore, those second generation residents' senses of "home" lacked sense of being Taiwanese. However, because of political separation, they could not link to the Chinese mainland directly. The old military dependents' communities, therefore, became a relay unit to bear their imagination of "Hometown." After moving to new public housing, the new, modern living units were not considered to be a continuation of the old communities. Many interviewees, especially those of the second generation, argued that these new buildings are actually a breach from their original culture and the friendliness of the old communities.

In conclusion, the narratives of this project show that the living experiences of the old military dependents' communities helped gave the residents a sense of "Home." Even though they mentioned negative issues of old communities in the interviews, in general, they still valued the life style of the old communities. For those residents who moved into the new public housing, they forced themselves to accommodate the changes of a new life style and interpersonal communication. However, they still an effort to keep their old life styles. Some residents like the convenience of the modern life style in the new buildings, but many also believe that changing places to live means the start of losing their culture. Most interviewees shared a similar sentiment: if the living conditions of the old communities could have been improved, they would have liked to move back to the old communities rather than live in high-rise public buildings.

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Ethnoarchaeology of Ancient Falconry in East Asia

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1. Introduction

Falconry/ hawking culture used to be practiced world-widely recognizable not only as an evidence of deep human-raptor interaction for centuries, but also as a cosmopolitan cultural heritage in East Asia. According to ancient petroglyph in northern Altai (Khbarev, Zebeendorj, and Yacobson. 2005), the outstanding legacy of falconry or hawking was presumably invented by nomadic pastoralists about 3,000 years ago somewhere in central Eurasian highland (Soma. 2012a). In fact, Altaic Kazakhs (or previously in Kyrgyz) have still kept eagle tamed falconry for centuries as own fur-acquisition, winter recreation, and ethnic identity (Battulga. 2007; Баттулга. 2011; Soma. 2012b, 2012c, 2012d, 2012e, 2013a, 2013b).

On the other hand in sedentary communities, it is safe to emphasize that chance and opportunity for engagement with natural world is considered as indeed a true recreational value that falconry has been fascinating us. In fact, there is a huge population of raptor-owners in USA estimated about 4,250 falconers; and in the UK estimated about 25,000 hawk owners (British Falconers' Club. 2007). According to analyses in the Conservation Committee Report (1977: 364), use of raptors in falconry will not give any negative effects on raptors population, especially concerning peregrines. Kenward (2009: 190) also points out some contributions by falconry that wild peregrine populations tend to be highest in the countries with the largest number of actual falconers. Besides, abundance of eagles is considered as one of indicators of ecosystem healthiness (Machangea, Jenkinsa and Navarro. 2005). On the contrary to such positive minds surrounding falconry culture in America and Europe, modern Asian falconry in Japan, Korea and China had been almost abandoned and now no more linking with any socio-ecological practice nevertheless the origin is much earlier than Europe. The reason of such discontinuity of falconry culture perhaps ascribes to a lack of inevitable socio-ecological adaptation into sedentary world from its beginning.

In this sense, this paper goes through with a brief introduction about cultural history of early falconry in East Asia. Especially, analyses in archaeological depictions of falconer figures unearthed from China and Japan combining with contemporary ethnography of Kyrgyz and Altaic Kazakh falconry, this paper will answer risen questions 'when was it begun?' and 'why was it discontinued?'. Eventually, substantial reformations and differentiations from "nomad's eagle falconry" to "sedentary game falconry" will become central concern in this article.

2. Material and Methodology

The research method is based on ethnoarchaeological format. Firstly, archaeological CASE are collected and assembled from report papers, books and museum sources in China and Japan. Secondary, anthropological and ethno-ornithological interpretation will be given with reference to ethnography in contemporary Kyrgyz and Altaic Kazakh falconry. This ethnographic research was designed with concentrated participant observations and semi-structural interviews, carried out at the Lake Issyk-Kul Province in Kyrgyz (May~June and October~November 2006), and Bayan-Ulgii (Bayan-Ölgii/ Баян-Өлгий) Prefecture in Western Mongolia (July 2011~January 2013).

Through taking a contingency plan, this paper attempts to lead deeper understanding of actual and/or conceptual boundary between “nomad’s eagle falconry (for actual hunting)” and “sedentary game falconry (for sport/ recreation)”, which experienced reformative process and adaptation to fit into sedentary world.

3. Result

3-1. Ancient China (The Later Han Dynasty: A.D. 25~220)

A figure of early falconer was firstly seen in the bronze belt buckle casted in northwestern China around 3rd century B.C. (Soma 2012a). During the Later Han Dynasty period, falconer motifs were gradually seen in decorative carvings on the stone wall (画像石) of high class’s graves, especially in Shantong 山東 and Shaanxi 陝西 areas from A.D. 2nd century. Below, 5 stone carvings (CASE 1~5) indicate a presence of falconry and falconers during the Later Han Dynasty period.

CASE 1: “*Shoulie, Gōngniu-Didou Huaxiang* (狩獵, 公牛抵鬥畫像)” (circa. A.D. 89-146), excavated from Zoucheng, Shandong region (山東省鄒城市郭里鄉黃路屯村), shows two human figures with a raptor on his left arm (fig.1) [Zhongguo Huaxiangshi-Quanji vol.2 (ZHW 2: 中國畫像石全集). 2000: 78-79]. In addition, a right side figure seems to release a huge bird to a rabbit. Asides, other raptors and probable quarries or game birds (pheasant?) are well expressed to create real scenery inside the hunting field. Falconer figures wear a Chinese tunic with a crown of which costume indicates Chinese high class. This picture represents a scene of entertaining sport falconry at a garden or palace with subordinates.

CASE 2: “*Shoulie, Cheqichuxing Huaxiang* (狩獵, 車騎出行畫像)” (A.D. 89-189)



Fig.1 “*Shoulie, Gōngniu-Didou Huaxiang* (狩獵, 公牛抵鬥畫像)”

found at Weishan, Shandong (山東省微山縣兩城鎮), also show a concrete figure of three falconer participants in hunting column (fig.2) [ZHW 2. 2000: 40-41]. A huge raptor, presumably Golden Eagle size, is perched on his right hand. This style is defined apparently as a nomadic pastoralist's way. They are also in trousers with long boots. In addition, there are four hunting dogs in former part of column. Actually, two of them are assaulting in real hunting motion on their prey. Their slender body and constricted waist are highly probably similar to a sighthound type dog on the analogy of *Saluki* or *Taigan (Kyrgyz Bolzoi)*, and Mongolian native species. Golden Eagle falconry and beaters by sighthounds should be originated to nomadic pastoralist's way. Eventually, this carving impresses that participant falconers are "Huren 胡人 (outer tribes surrounding ancient China)" hunters who had excellent skills in taming eagles and operation of eagle falconry in cooperation with sighthounds as beaters.

CASE 3: "*Chuxing, Xianfu, Lewu Huaxiang* (出行, 獻俘, 樂舞畫像)" (A.D. 89-189) depicted two horse riding falconers galloping with two birds (fig.3) [ZHW 2. 2000: 4-5]. This picture may confirm a presence of horse riding falconry in ancient China. The style is highly pastoralist's way for hunting even in nowadays. In addition, the shape of raptor's rectrix (tail) is in a concave-ended shape which seems to be falconiform type, not a hawk type. Bent wings of a front bird also belong to a falcon type raptor. From this carving, both hawk and falcon types might be tamed for hunting birds in this period.

CASE 4: "*Yulin Chenxing Mumenmei Huaxiang* (榆林陳興墓門楣畫像)" (circa. A.D. 25-220), found at Yulin city Shaanxi Province, also depicted a scene of actual falconry on horseback in the middle of prey animals running about (fig.4) [ZHW 5. 2000: 4-5]. A human figure wears a Chinese tunic with a crown. In fact, horseback falconry might also be carried out not only by nomadic animal pastoralists, but also by high class people in ancient China. There are a large number of hunting participants including horsemen, beaters, net-holders, cart-driver, etc, to intimidate prey animals. Such a massive cavalcade should be one of typical styles of the royal-scale falconry in ancient Asia.

CASE 5: "*Kongmen-Dizi, Shoulie Huaxiang* (孔門弟子, 狩獵畫像)" (A.D. 25-220) is

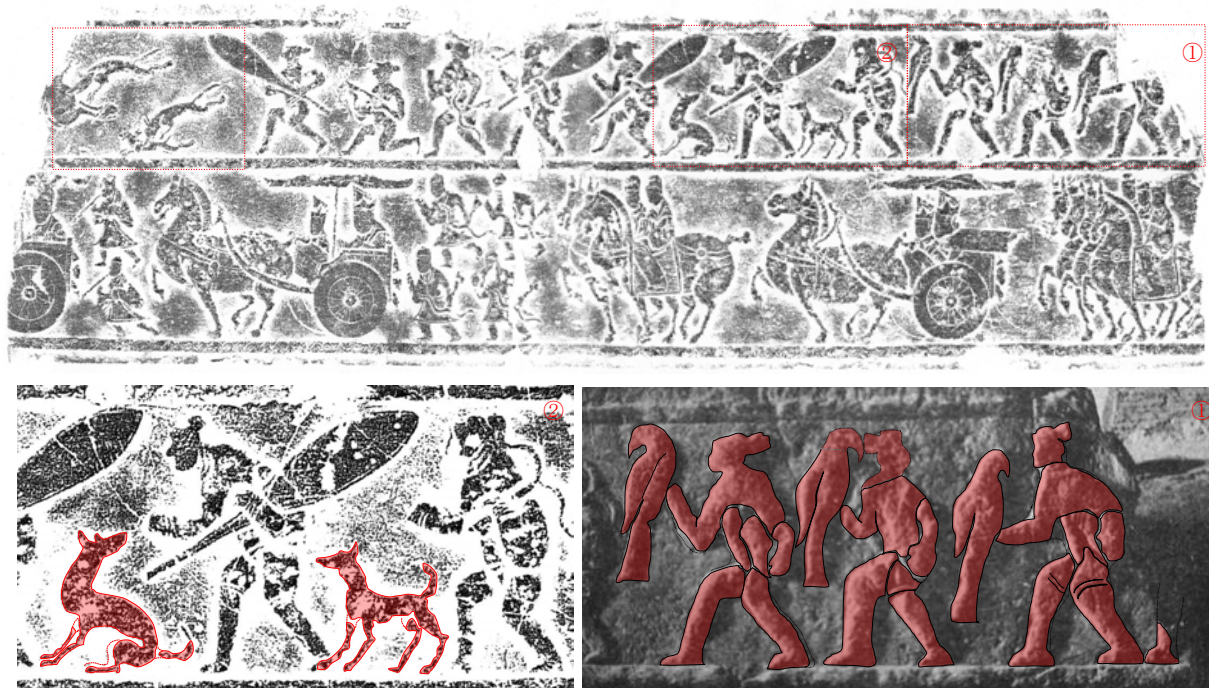


Fig.2 "*Shoulie, Cheqichuxing Huaxiang* (狩獵, 車騎出行畫像)"

an additional example that describes a scene of display falconry in front of falconer's master on the chair (fig.5) [ZHW 2. 2000: 58-59]. One of two birds is going to annihilate a small prey. On the left side, flap-eared dogs are also depicted on both sides of carving.

3-2. Ancient Japan (Kofun Period: ca. the End of 6th Century)

Japanese falconry is thought to start around 4th century on behalf of cultural contact with the royal family of Kudara 百濟 (Paekche; ancient Korean kingdom). However, a concrete figure of falconers was initially materialized from ca. 6th century in the Kofun Period 古墳時代 of Japan. Archaeological vestiges are only four haniwa figurines available (CASE 6~9), but precious for describing ancient falconry in Japan.

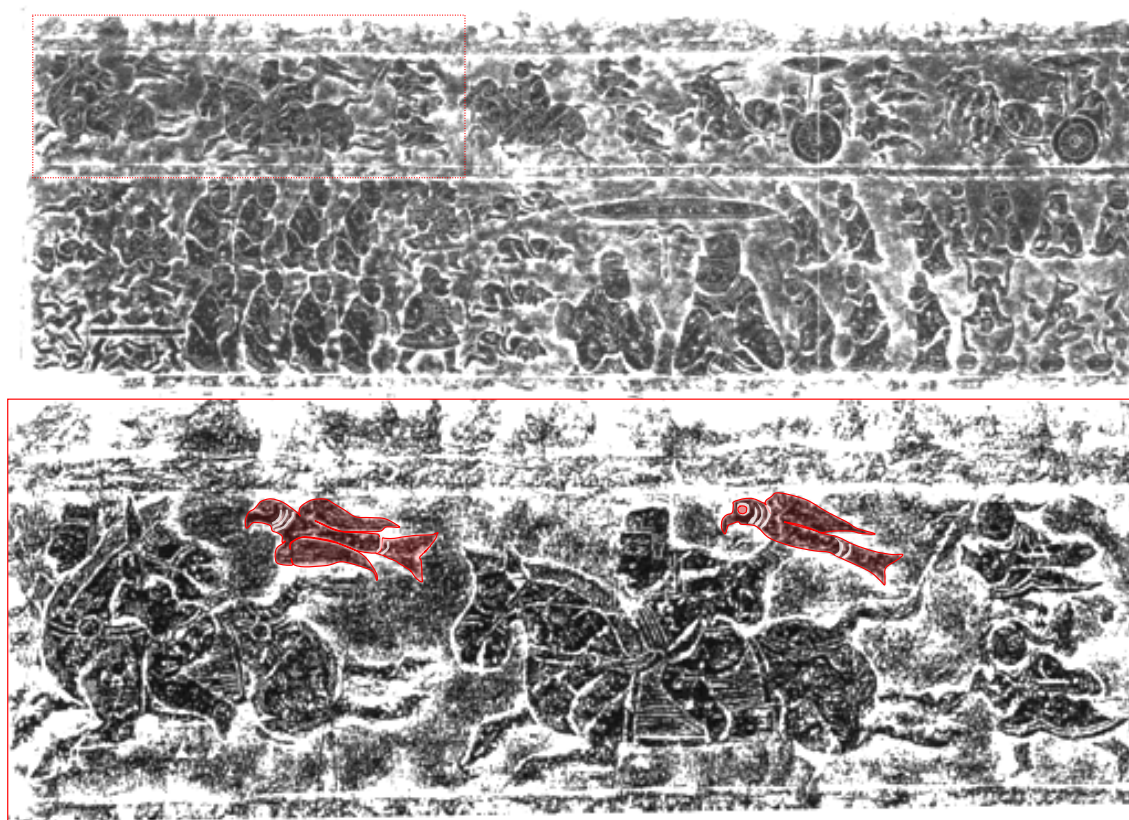


Fig.3 “Chuxing, Xianfu, Lewu Huaxiang (出行, 獻俘, 樂舞畫像)”

CASE 6: A falconer haniwa figurine, excavated from Okuman-yama Kohun Mound オクマン山古墳 (脇屋 1 号墳) at Wakiya, Ohta City, Gunma Prefecture, is one of perfect models describing an earliest falconer (fig.6) [Gumma-ken Ota-shi Kyoikuinkai 1999: 8, 13-14, 19].

CASE 7: A falconer haniwa figurine, also found from Huchina, Sakai-cho, Sawa-gun, Gunma Prefecture, just 8km west from Okuman-yama Kohun Mound, is also produced in a similar manner with the Okuman figurine (fig.7). Distinctively, the bird of this figurine is facing on opposite direction which is unusual even in actual falconry.

CASE 8: A falconer haniwa figurine, in a collection at The Museum of Sitenou-ji, was also manufactured in a similar manner to previous two examples (fig.8). However, unearthed site location is unknown.

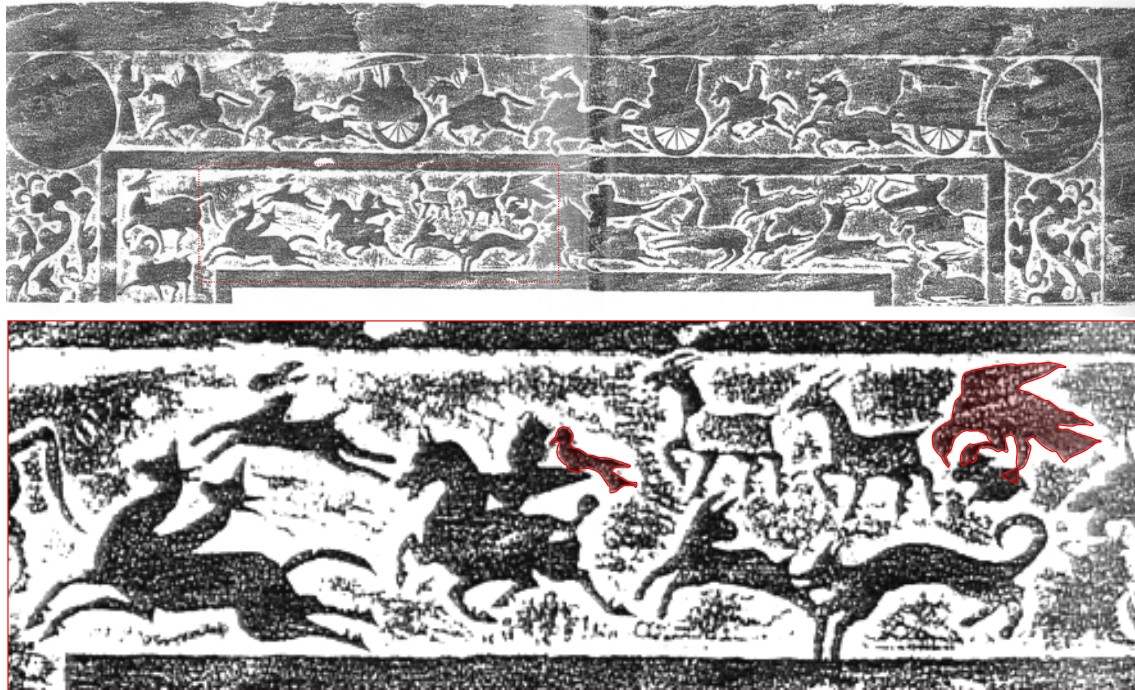


Fig.4 “Yulin Chenxing Mumenmei Huaxiang (榆林陳興墓門楣畫像)”



Fig.5 “Kongmen-Dizi, Shoulie Huaxiang (孔門弟子, 狩獵畫像)”

CASE 9: Additionally, only a falconer's left arm was excavated from Imashirozuka Burial Mound 今城塚古墳, at Takatsuki, Osaka Prefecture (fig.9) [Kyoto Shinbun 2001.09.28] (in a collection at the Takatsuki City Board of Education).

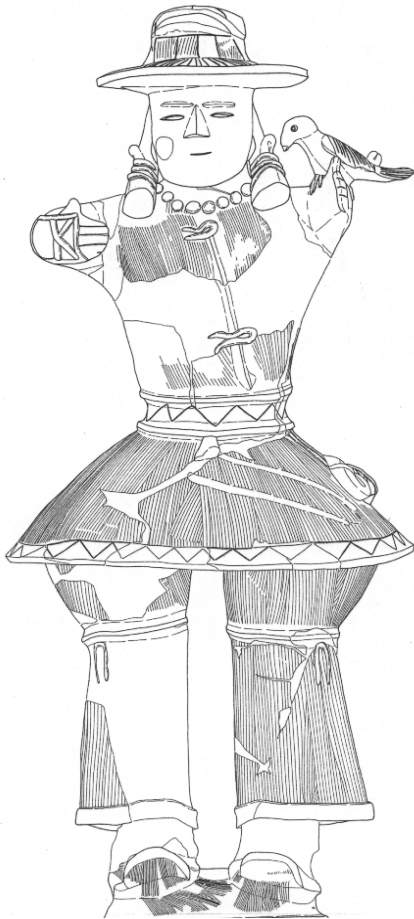


Fig.6 A figurine from Okuman-yama Kohun Mound
オクマン山古墳 (脇屋 1 号墳)



Fig.7 A figurine from Gunma Prefecture

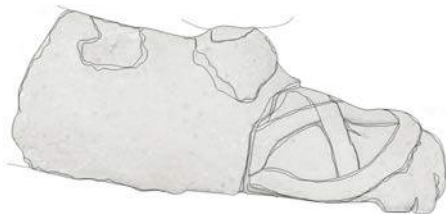


Fig.9 A figurine from Imashirozuka Burial Mound
今城塚古墳



Fig.8 A figurine in a collection
at The Museum of Sitennou-ji

All of these falconer figures were manufactured ca. the end of 6th century. Its manner, style and details of figures were mostly in a form of perfection. As for these figures, a bell is clearly detected on the tail of bird. This is one of oldest evidences representing a bell installation in falconry culture. In addition, CASE 6 and 7 figures probably hang own feed poach on his left belt. Incidentally, a bell would not be attached on hunting bird in nomadic pastoralist's community. According to falconer equipments, their costume and equipment are similar to other warrior representation. It is understandable that early Japanese falconry might be also deep connection with masculinity and warrior class's moral or symbol.

4. Discussion

4-1. Comparison with Eagle Falconry in Kyrgyz and Altaic Kazakhs

As regarding observations in early illustration of falconer figures in China and Japan, the context and format of falconry is apparently different from 'in situ' classical falconry by nomadic animal herders. Namely, a formation process from "nomad's eagle falconry" to "sport hunting", so to speak "royal/ recreational/ game falconry" are observed in every phase in order to fit it to sedentary world.



Fig.10 Kyrgyz falconers in hunting

As to traditional Kyrgyz and Altaic Kazakh's falconry culture, their distinctive customs and traditions are considered as a "classical mode" of modern falconry. Falconers only tame a female Golden Eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos daphanea*) and carried out inevitably on horseback (fig.10). This way is never seen in other places now. This "horse-riding eagle falconry" has been developed not for food-acquisition, but for fur-acquisition in a daily living context of animal-herding society.

Warm animal furs are essential to make ethnic cloth and head gear to overcome severe winter. Their hunting practice needs plural hunting participants, including primary falconer, secondary falconer, and beater(s) (Soma 2012e, 2013c). An Initial reason for this traditional "teamwork" style is linked to a local specialization for hunting target, primarily Red Fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) and Corsac Fox (*Vulpes corsac*).

To create sedentary socio-ecological criteria of falconry with detaching from nomadic pastoralist's ways, it should have required some reformations in its technical part of disciplines such as (1) Falconry without horseback, (2) Left-handed style, (3) Selection from small size birds of prey, (4) Introduction of hound dogs as beaters, and (5) Institutionalization and exclusivity by higher stratum.

4-2. Adaptation and Alteration to "Sedentary Royal Falconry"

(1) Falconry without Horseback:

Horse riding was not really required in sedentary falconry by reason of omit to access far hunting mountains to search preys. For example during a whole day hunting for 6 hours at Altaic Kazakhs, the total running distance reaches more than 20km, and total ascend/descend will be 450m (Soma 2013c). It becomes extreme physical burden to climb up and down with a huge Golden Eagle of which adult weight reaches 6kg (fig.11). On the other hand, in sedentary world, falconers were generally higher social stratum and eventually not necessary accessed to hunting field by own self. Due to changes in available hunting fields, horses would be perhaps abandoned from actual practice. However, horseback falconry should have continued as special techniques in some case during Later Han period, yet later completely disappeared in Japan.



Fig.11 Searching prey in craggy hunting mountains

(2) Left-Handed Style:

In connection to abundance of horse riding style, a perching hand was shifted from right-handed to left-handed style. This is because; nomadic horse riders normally ride on a horse from left side with gripping a rein with his left hand. The horse is also handled only by swing of his left hand. In addition, ancient riders hung their bow, arrow, sword and equipment on the left side of horse (Soma 2012a). Eventually, the right-handed style became a common manner in nomadic pastoralists even in Kyrgyz and Kazakh falconry now. However, the left-handed style was suitable for handling birds in a standing posture unless horse riding. And, it was gradually taken a firm hold on sedentarised falconry, even medieval Arab and Europe. According to Chinese stone carvings, both right and left hand perching style might be transitory existed dependent on some cases and hunting styles. In later period, early Japanese falconry would have adapted the left-handed style from its beginning.

(3) Selection from Small Size Birds of Prey:

One of significant changes is that Golden Eagle has never been for actual use in any sport falconry outside of 'nomad's territories'. Accipitriformes ('the short-winged'; such as Goshawk, Harrier, Sparrow hawk, etc) and falconiforms ('the long-winged'; such as Peregrine, Saker, Lanner, etc) became the most preferable bird for taming and hunting variety of quarries, game-birds and small mammals. Likewise, a visible appreciation became also important entertainment to enjoy watching their dynamic flight and chase a prey. Some potential reason for this replacement can be explained by following causes. First of all, Golden Eagle is awkward in handling due to its natural character and huge body size. Generally speaking, Golden Eagles are far from

docility for domestication and have unpredictable ardour for hunting. In addition, it is



Fig.12 Goshawk tamed by Kyrgyz falconer

not fabulous in chasing quarry due to its slow pace during initial flight and lack of quickness. Furthermore, one Golden Eagle consumes a huge amount of diets. An annual amount of diet almost equals to 6~8 sheep annually (Soma 2012d, 2012e). As a result, falconers avoided paying huge expenditure to provide necessary diets for maintenance. In fact, some contemporary Kyrgyz falconers use goshawk (fig.12) for more recreational purpose while Altaic Kazakhs in western Mongolia never

use them. In addition, they also have a volatile temper for training. Even some old falconry textbook in Britain recommended against its training (Ford 1982: 113-114). According to a skilled Kyrgyz falconer, to tame a Goshawk and Peregrine normally takes 7~10 days while Golden Eagle needs at least 30~45 days (Soma 2007, 2008). These awkward natures of Golden Eagles were not really handy to fit for sedentary falconry, and therefore would not be introduced for hunting activities anywhere else.

(4) Hound Dogs as Beaters:

Both sighthounds (fig.13) and falconry might be derived from outside China by nomadic pastoralists. Introduction of hounds as beaters or hunting assistances were well expressed in Chinese stone carvings. It could have omitted painstaking prey-search and risen encounter rate with wild animals up. One of central concerns in “royal or sport falconry” might be how to increase encounter rate with prey animals in the hunting field. In fact during a classical way of hunting operation in the Tianshan and Altai regions, almost of all efforts will be spent for searching prey. It means that cooperation with beater(s) (called “*Kagosh*” in Kazakh) is inevitable particularly in Altaic Kazakh falconry. In any case, at least one beater has to participate in hunting operation.



Fig.13 Taigan (Kyrgyz Bolzoi)

As to cooperative hunting in Altaic Kazakhs, a falconer(s) goes to the top of a mountain meanwhile beater(s) stays on the foothill first of all. Afterwards, beater(s) intentionally starts to move loudly galloping on a horseback and shouting in order to intimidate foxes and other wild animals to make them go out from their hidden places. Falconer(s) releases his eagle when target quarry can be recognized in his sight. In a local way, a chief beater makes most of forthcoming decisions and usually gives operative commands to other falconers such as movements and timing for releasing his eagle towards a target. The beater usually needs to be an experienced hunter or a

falconer. His presence is considered as, so to speak, “the brain” in hunting operation owing to govern whole harvest. Therefore, in traditional rule by Altaic Kazakh falconers, a beater is approved to obtain the initial prey prior to other participants (Soma 2013c).

In comparison, hounds, the ordinary hunting assistant in Europe, were no longer used in traditional Kyrgyz and Kazakh falconry. Atkinson (1858) also recorded in his “*Oriental and Western Siberia*” that hounds were not accompanied with falconers. However, in ancient Chinese (and medieval British) falconry, sighthounds had already played an important role same as human beaters in hunting scene since the Later Han Dynasty. Even centuries later, a combination of falconry and hunting hounds was also detected in the wall painting of Lihongrun 李重潤 grave during the Tang Dynasty (ca. the end of 7th century). The cooperation of hounds with hunting birds might be defined as an innovative idea in the sedentary falconry. Unless hound dogs or beaters cooperated, their falconry also should have become very painstaking and time-consuming only for searching prey. Consequently, collaboration with “prey-searching participants” whether human or dog was inevitable in a practice of royal falconry due to entertain as a pure game, sport, or recreation.

(5) Institutionalization and Exclusivity by Higher Stratum:

Lastly, “sedentarised falconry” reminds a presence of particular institutionalization and legalized restrictions for participation to falconry. Such social regulations had always differentiated falconry from other kinds of sports or athletic activities. In order to protect or to privatize all hunting resources such as raptors and their eggs, quarries, and hunting fields were set up by exclusive right with legal regulations. The sedentary society, such as in case of the Liao Dynasty of China (10th century), the Tokugawa Shogunate of Japan (17th~19th century), medieval Britain (16th~18th century), higher stratum exclusively regulated participation in falconry activities in order to control or to privatize hunting resources from secular community. Especially, raptor’s eyrie or potential prey birds and animals were strictly protected. If violated, those who were necessary to oblige severe punishment. Too much exclusive or limited participation should regulate extensive social permeation of falconry custom to secular communities in Asia despite there are much earlier history in China and Japan than Europe.

It is almost incapable to describe overall social and legal system about falconry in ancient China and Japan. Abandon and apathy in falconry custom was happened everywhere just before the modern period. However, contemporary Altaic Kazakh falconry in western Mongolia gives some idea for sustainable preservation for future. One of decisive reasons of century-lasting falconry custom in this region could be explained by an absence of strict social regulations to join in (Soma 2012c, 2012e). In Altaic Kazakh’s community, anybody can capture and own their eagle, and then start hunting without any restrictions. Rather, according to Kazakh masculinity, a participation in eagle-ownership and fox-hunting was a sort of initiation to adulthood. In addition, arts and techniques of falconry are widely shared with community members, elders, even falconer’s wives and children in nowadays. Open knowledge and free participation in falconry custom should be a remarkable trait in pastoralist’s society contrary to severe exclusiveness in sedentary world.

5. Conclusion

As a conclusion, this paper carried out ethnoarchaeological research and analysis in early falconry custom in ancient China and Japan. So far, only 9 examples related to falconer figures were analyzed in this paper. But, it was somehow able to approach to the beginning of ancient East Asian falconry that probably started in China during the Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25~220), and later in Japan during the middle of Kofun Period (ca. the end of 6th century). This origin might be 600~700 years earlier than Europe.

In comparison to ethnographic facts of “classical eagle falconry” in Kyrgyz and Altaic Kazakh communities, formative adaptations were inevitable in order to fit sedentary livelihood in accompany with some technical reformations in (1) Falconry without horseback, (2) Left-handed style, (3) Selection from small size birds of prey, (4) Introduction of hound dogs as beaters, and (5) Institutionalization and exclusivity by higher stratum. Therefore well known ‘game or sports’ falconry style in nowadays has brought to perfection with some deconstruction from nomadic pastoralist’s way of eagle falconry. It could be regarded as efforts by people in sedentary world to fitness onto own society and environment. Therefore, wide range adaptation of falconry culture in sedentary Asia is recognizable not only as an evidence of deep human-raptor interaction for centuries, but also as a cosmopolitan cultural heritage in East Asia.

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Figures

- (1) “*Shòuliè, Gōngniú-Dìdǒu Huaxiang* (狩獵, 公牛抵鬥畫像)” [A.D. 89-189]
excavated in 1950’s at Shandong Province 山東省鄒城市郭里鄉路屯村,
height: 70cm, width: 226cm, in a collection at Zouchengmeng-miao 鄒城孟廟.
- (2) “*Shòuliè, Chēqíchūxing Huaxiang* (狩獵, 車騎出行畫像)” [A.D. 89-189]
excavated at Shandong Province 山東省微山縣兩城鎮出土,
height: 53.5cm, width: 180cm, in a collection at 曲阜孔廟.
- (3) “*Chūxing, Xiànfú, Lèwǔ Huaxiang* (出行, 獻俘, 樂舞畫像)” [A.D. 89-189]
- (4) “*Yúlín Chénxīng Mùménméi Huaxiang* (榆林陳興墓門楣畫像)” [A.D. 25-220]
excavated in 1992 at Shaanxi Province 陝西省榆林市上監灣鄉陳興莊,
height: 35cm, width: 186cm, in a collection at Yulin City Bureau of Hongshixia
Cultural Relics 榆林市紅石峽文物管理局.
- (5) “*Kongmen-Dizi, Shoulie Huaxiang* (孔門弟子, 狩獵畫像)” [A.D. 25-220]
excavated in 1999 at Shaanxi Province 陝西省神木縣大保當鄉,
height: 39cm, width: 205cm, in a collection at Archaeological Institute of Shaanxi
Province 陝西省考古研究所.

- (6) *A falconer haniwa figurine* [ca. 6th century]
From Okuman-yama Kohun Mound オクマン山古墳 (脇屋 1 号墳), in a collection at Ota City Board of Education 太田市教育委員会.
- (7) *A falconer haniwa figurine* [6th century]
(Redrawn from fig.6 in Gumma-ken Ota-shi Kyoikuiinkai 1999)
From Huchina, Sakai-cho, Sawa-gun, Gunma Prefecture in a collection at The Museum of Yamatobunkakan 大和文華館.
- (8) *A falconer haniwa figurine* [6th century]
(Redrawn from fig.7 in Gumma-ken Ota-shi Kyoikuiinkai 1999)
From unknown site in a collection at The Museum of Sitennou-ji 四天王寺宝物館.
- (9) *A falconer's left arm* [6th century]
From Imashirozuka Burial Mound 今城塚古墳 in a collection at Takatsuki City Board of Education 高槻市教育委員会.

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*The Life Cycle Rites of the Tatars-krjasheny: Sociocultural Characteristics
(the 20th Century)*

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Our paper is devoted to the life cycle rites of the Tatars-krjasheny living in Russia, in the Volga region. These rites are the integral attributes of symbolization for the most important events in daily life of people: birth, reaching of manhood, marriage and death. Necessity of consideration of this theme is caused by two reasons: firstly, analysis of the life cycle rites in the context of common cultural experience allows to express an ethnic and confessional originality of any people; secondly, the study of this or that tradition suggests finding out of a cultural resource, innovations for a developing society. As the life cycle rites are closely intertwined with daily life of people, it reflects the moral of society. Its dark oblivion may be perceived not as refusal of the past, but as renunciation of ethnic identity. The life cycle rites which are called transitional in the scientific literature serve as keepers of supreme goals, which are wider and more considerable, than life space, and have other ontological bases. Its value is not pressing need but symbolism. The rites are performed without distinction of that it is necessary to all practical purposes. The ceremonial action has a special force, severity, intensity that is not an exterior form but an appreciably significant event for its participants. Also timeliness of research of the life cycle rites of the Tatars-krjasheny is defined by that it is as a connecting bridge between traditional culture and modernity, provides continuity of generations.

As a whole the essence and functions of the life cycle rites became a subject of studying of historians, ethnographers, anthropologists, philosophers. At that, interest to this phenomenon of culture has arisen for a long time. So, mention of it in the Old Russian annals of the beginning of the 12th century “The Tale of Bygone Years” indicates that essential role, which it had in folk world outlook. The beginning of scientific studying of the life cycle rites usually is connected with a name of the German philosopher of the second half of the 19th century Wilhelm Mannhardt. In the 20th century the life cycle rites were investigated by such outstanding scientists as Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner. In particular, Arnold van Gennep classifies it as rites performed at a birth, puberty rites, a marriage and a death of a man. He calls rites of passage and marriage rites transitional that supposes change of the status of their participants. As van Gennep considers, maternity and funeral rites don't have this quality [3]. However, our transcultural researches of the life cycle rites show that various ethnoses perceive a birth and a death of a man as change of his status, the transit from one status to another. Theoretically this thesis has been already proved by V. Turner where these rites mean increase of the status [9].

Furthermore, it is brightly expressed only two “extreme”, “boundary” stages in the life cycle of a man: a birth and a death. All the rest inherent in existence of the individual has a minor character as used herein. Compare: a marriage, a birth of children, a reassignment, an ordination, a retirement and other events can be or can not be in the life cycle of a man. To our opinion, it is defined by dynamics of culture, its national characteristics. So, there was no the concept of childhood in the European Middle Ages, children were «small adults», wore garments for grown-ups, early started to work and create alliances by marriage. Literature and artistic paintings of that epoch serve here as a confirmation. Remember W. Shakespeare's plays, his “Romeo and Juliet” in particular where there is such dialogue between Capulet and Paris:

“Capulet. But saying o'er what I have said before:
My child is yet a stranger in the world,
She hath not seen the change of fourteen years...
Paris. Younger than she are happy mothers made” [11, pp. 38-39].

Hence, a girl of thirteen had been already considered as a bride in the Middle Ages. Only few artists as Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci, for example, represented the baby Jesus Christ and angels as children, not “small adults”. At bottom their artistic endeavor had ushered in a new period when the childhood became to be perceived as the separate world with its values.

Certainly, a birth and a death are admitted biological facts but the society attaches great importance to any one of it. Some nations include future children and decedents in the life cycle. Australoids consider unborn children as spirits of dead ancestors. Hindus believed that souls of those people or animals who had already lived on this planet in their former incarnations came to the earth in the likeness of future children and this process of reincarnation does not have a limit [1]. Hence, the society perceives formation and “dying-out” of the individual according to own traditions and places in strong relief of those stages of development of the person which it considers the most important. So, the Tatars-krjasheny lay stress on processes of marriage and death that’s why marriage and funeral rites have unique features. In our view these features are caused by ethnic history of the Tatars-krjasheny.

The Tatars-krjasheny are a small group of the Volga Tatars of Turkic extraction. They were christened by the Russian authorities in 16-18 centuries. After Christianization Krjasheny culture could not sort entirely with Russian culture, as it had a deeply synthetic character and received into itself the features inherent in the ancient Turkomen and Tatars-Moslems. The Orientalist and the professor of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy M.A. Mashanov wrote on this subject that the majority of the Tatars-krjasheny is “Christians only by name and rather Moslems in the merits of a case though the Christians themselves do not understand it considering the Islamic concepts as the Christian ones” [5, pp. 12-13].

The significance of research of Krjasheny culture is defined now by two circumstances. Firstly, the Tatars-krjasheny aspire to find the status of the separate people rather than to be one of groups of the Volga Tatars. Secondly, the history of the krjasheny is an understudied subject in Russia; therefore we have decided to be intent on it.

As to the life cycle rites of the Tatars-krjasheny, it is a unique layer in which have been embedded Old Turkic elements of culture. To our opinion, the description of the life cycle rites of the Christian Tatars is impossible out of the religious context. This is precisely why we will show some characteristics of religious beliefs of the krjasheny.

The one or supreme god was among the krjasheny from of old. He was as Tjangere-boogieman (literally “God-grandfather”). He symbolized the heavenly Spirit-owner who lived constantly in the sky. Tjangere-boogieman was imagined as the

God of truly cosmic scale, as the One beneficent, the All-knowing and the Just. He ordered destinies of a person, the people and the state. Based on this mythology, modern scientists have already given a guess about existence of a certain general religion characterized for all the Turkomen in the past. It has been conditionally named Tengriism [6, p. 501]. Hence, the religion of the krjasheny – Tengriism mixed with Christianity – has played a special part in preservation of traditional ritualism of these people in the 20th century.

The history of the life cycle rites of the Christian Tatars in the 20th century depended largely on the specific character of state-religious relations. In the Soviet times the development of ritualism of these people had dual character: on the one hand, the part of rituals was saved and remained invariable and, on the other hand, it was essentially transformed. The core of transformational processes was expressed in weakening of severity of performance of separate rites and its loss that was caused by distribution of antireligious mood among the Tatars.

However, during the 1920s an active struggle against religious carry-overs in the Soviet Russia was perceived by the Tatars of the Volga region extremely negatively. The archival materials found by us can serve as a confirmation of it. So, we are found out in one of files sharp evidences of discontent among the Tatars with an antireligious policy of the Soviet state at the time. We will give some of it: “You say justly that the Soviet power tries for us, it is all true, but that is not our way about religion and we have no desire to listen to you” [7].

The answer of the Soviet government to the similar protest has followed at once. In 1927 there was a set of administrative measures taken towards the gentlemen of the cloth who offended against the law about the separation of Church and State, permitted opening of illegal schools, marriages without the registration, kept from public work of women. A stakeout was placed on activity of churchmen and religious schools. Total censorship extended to the Tatar literature.

These antireligious actions of the Soviet government among the Tatars were effective that had been reflected in daily life of the Tatar people. So, the essence of the life cycle rites of the Christian Tatars was filled in the Soviet period by absolutely new elements, the new sense with ideas of universalism and national unity.

In the 19th century wedding among the krjasheny took place in church. Proxy parents being birth relatives of a fiance led newlyweds down the aisle – *kyyamatyk*. They became guardians of a young family for life. A bride settled in their house after a wedding. She was replaced there a maiden headdress by female one – *bush bailau*. She was moved from this house to a house of a husband where the basic wedding was. The moving of a bride to a house of a husband among all the Tatars was called *kilen tvsheru* and, as a rule, took place in the summer. All rites among the krjasheny were accompanied by special wedding, guest songs [12, p. 130].

In 1930-1960 drastic reduction of traditional wedding rites was observable. A nuptial

feast in a house of a groom was after marriage registration. It was tried quite often to coincide with any Soviet holiday. As distinct from traditional a nuptial feast it was done in a new light: with the simultaneous invitation and spread of men and women at the same table that in the 19th century was impossible. The wedding itself came to be called “red”. Similar processes were in maternity rites and rites of passage.

As to funeral rites of the Tatars-krjasheny, its transformation in the 20th century was not such considerable. In the Soviet times the last offices of the Tatars of the Volga region consisted of the several interrelating stages: ritual preparation of a body of a dead man to burial; a direct burial; a funeral feast.

In the 19th the defunct was buried next day after his death if there were no extenuating circumstances for procrastinating of funeral: a waiting for arrival of family members etc. In the latter case a funeral could take place in a couple of days after a death and it was not condemned [10, p. 125].

The wide participation of not only relatives, neighbors, but also colleagues was illustrative of funeral of the 20th century. As a rule, arrival of a considerable amount of people was strong distractions for heart-broken relatives. Besides, trade union organizations of major concerns, plants quite often undertook organization of funeral, including the most part of material inputs connected with it.

Sometimes in urban area they came to pay respect to the defunct with flowers: it put on a coffin. It was absolutely a new ritual element which had arisen from influence of urbiculture in whole.

As distinct from urban environment the old life cycle rites were observable in countryside. So, a custom to invite special people to wash a dead man was steadily saved. It existed for many centuries; therefore it was not simple to break this custom. The people of the older generation who knew the rite and had expressed a desire to pay last respects to him were invited by tradition. As a rule, they were believers and indued the rite of ablution with a religious sense. In spite of the fact that the ritualism of the Christian Tatars was undergone by a most strong influence of Christianity, Old Turkic elements were saved in it. In particular, burial service of the defunct and prayers with sacrifices of animals (a cow, a lamb, a chicken) could be made in the villages of the krjasheny by especially religious people, usually women. The tradition of investment of the woman with similar authority apparently goes back to the Old Turkic goddess Umaj whose the primary objective was the protection of the Turkomen – both live and dead – from the evil spirits.

A civil memorial service became an important component of the Tatar funeral in Soviet times. A civil memorial service was a statutory mourning where a funeral oration was said. As contrasted with other sort of meetings the music played here a major role. However in countryside the krjasheny performed commemorative songs which had its tune [4].

The 20th century has brought about the swing in after-funeral rites. The main rites of it commemoration acted. Commemoration of the Tatars-krjasheny, as well as many peoples of the Volga region, was a feast where the deceased was remembered. Commemoration of the krjasheny also included some cultural archaic elements and was held in the third, seventh, fortieth days and death anniversary. The originality of commemorative ritualism of the Christian Tatars showed to the best advantage a tradition of sacrifice – *cun chygaru* (literally “deflation of blood”). Three victims were brought, as a rule. The first victim (mostly a sheep) was for the sake of the defunct, the second victim (a chicken) was for the sake of the deceased relatives, the third victim (a fish) was for the sake of all departed [12, pp. 138-139].

At the end of the 20th century traditional funeral rites of the Tatars-krjasheny were continued to be rethought and found a reflection in the Soviet funeral. So, in the 80es of the last century the traditional last offices were kept up by 67-73% of the Tatar families living in cities. That said this percent included groups of the population with a various educational level, except persons with higher education [8, p. 53].

To our opinion, the abovementioned material allows to emphasize the basic sociocultural characteristics of the life cycle rites of the Tatars-krjasheny:

1. The continuity of the development of rites. In the 20th century the life cycle rites of the Tatars-krjasheny were transformed, reinterpreted, but, essentially, were saved and transmitted from generation to generation.
2. The nepotism. All members of family collective, old and young generations, close and remote relatives took part in the life cycle rites.
3. The devoutness. The memory of Tengriism contributed to preservation of the rites, especially the last offices.
4. The ethnic purity. The Christian Tatars have a large share of aspiration for support of national traditions compared to other peoples of the Volga region. This factor plays a key role in stability of the life cycle rites, does it isolated and original.

In summary the life cycle rites of the Tatars-krjasheny receive into itself many features which have created in the past, but at the same time the substantial transformation is indicative of it. On the one hand, it contemplates a possibility of a revival of long-standing traditions and, on the other hand, its further changing caused by life journey of the Christian Tatars in the multicultural space of Russia.

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Gender and Multiculturalism at School – The Migrant Girls’ Voices

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Abstract

Over the last 30 years while capital globalization exacerbated social issues, social justice theories and movements, such as multiculturalism and feminism, struggled to build a common agenda of demands. It was due to a combination of factors, including a post-modern emphasis on “difference” and feminist believes (sometimes misguided), that certain cultural practices are particularly harmful to women and must be eliminated. Attempts to combine the agendas have often failed the women and girls they were intended to protect.

In Australia since the 1970s, gender equality and multiculturalism are governmental aims present in policies, particularly in education, but with no combined initiatives and considerable limitations. The young girls from migrant, Non English Speaking Backgrounds (NESB), who are affected by these policies, have very little input in their development; additionally, there is very little research about these girls’ experiences studying in Australia.

Here I present the first findings from my ongoing Masters research, utilising in-depth interviews in an attempt to understand the schooling experience of NESB girls, negotiating ethnicity, culture and gender to build a more empowered reality at school and in Australia. As a migrant, feminist researcher, I utilise transnational feminist theories and the Voice-centred relational analysis method to maintain gender and culture visible while keeping the girls’ voices central in the process. The result is a tale of unimaginable friendships and circumstances combined with highly valued life possibilities, highlighting the educational system’s gaps and resources and the girls’ resilience.

Key words: Gender, culture, migration, Educational system, schoolgirls, and transnational feminism.

Australia (more particularly Queensland) is proud of being very multicultural in nature (1), and for their history in the forefront of gender equality policies in the capitalist Western world (2). These realities however, are not free from contradictions and controversies. Around the world you will hear stories regarding the difficulties of combining an agenda for the equality between sexes and cultural practices that may be claimed by some minority groups (3). The last 30 years of globalisation and Neoliberalism did nothing but exacerbate inequalities and isolate social movements, worsening this scenario (4).

Examples in Australia of disagreement between the multicultural and gender equality agendas are not rare (see, 5) and many times attempts to address the issue are misguided and undermining of one of the sides (6). The tragedy in it all is that giving one agenda up in order to attend the other does not serve the real needs of migrant women and girls that will often require attention to both agendas to acquire social equality (7).

Transnational Feminism is the framework for this study in an attempt to have a research that really captures the needs of these girls. This framework understands that acknowledging differences is not the end but the first step towards identifying commonalities between social equality 'movements' (8), including differences between gender equality and multiculturalism. A transnational feminist analysis starts from the migrant women's/ girls' standpoint, recognising this as the most marginalised standpoint in the discussion 'culture versus gender equality' and recognising that if we can make the school space inclusive for these girls, it will be inclusive for everybody. Nevertheless, in order to bring real change to these girls' lives, Fraser (2007) points out that multiple dimensions of the problem need to be attended, in her words, issues of Recognition, Redistribution and Representation (9). It means that these young women's lives will not change for the better through a bargaining process between their cultural background and gender equality but with attention to both agendas including equal access to material resources and equal rights under the law (Redistribution); acknowledgement that these young women have specific needs to be met due to their background and gender and create a space where these needs are met (Recognition) and finally, the importance of guarantee participation (direct or indirect) in decisions concerning these girls (Representation). Fraser (2007) developed a definition of Representation that includes participation in local decision-making mechanisms and, mainly, the concept of 'frame' and how to operate across national borders when searching for justice. This concept is of extreme importance to transnational feminism when studying women that are in a different country than the oppressive establishment they are challenging. However, in this research we will limit the use of Representation to its most basic definition, as we will not analyse issues presented across national borders.

Australian policies: Both multiculturalism and gender equality are areas covered by Educational policies in Queensland and Australia in general since the 1970's. Girls and all members of minority groups are seen as in need of policies and practices at school level to foster equality. These policies have mixed reviews and were continually changed throughout the years. At times it meant a commitment to social inclusion and equality and in other it meant attending immediate governmental and workforce needs. It is a somewhat consensus that policies addressing both agendas are

less questioning of the status quo than what they once were and as a consequence less effective to promote social equality (10).

The research: In this ongoing research I aim to see how migrant girls from Non English Speaking Backgrounds perceive the education they receive in Australia, their formal and informal supports to learn the language and ‘belong’ to the school community, always considering that there may be moments that their needs as young women could contradict with their needs as members of a small NESB community. In addition people referred by the girls, in a snowball process, were interviewed in order to acquire more information regarding the girl’s schooling experience. These ‘others’ included mothers, fathers, childcare workers, siblings and extended families.

I had in-depth interviews with 7 girls, 4 being in high school and 3 in primary school. The ages ranged from 7 to 15 years old, with 2 sisters, 2 good friends and another 3 girls not related to any other girl interviewed in the research. They were from 3 different backgrounds, 4 being Brazilians, 2 Macedonians and 1 Iraqi. They came from households where both parents migrated from the same country and only one of the participants had been born in Australia. The reasons behind their migration varied but they were mainly based on the father’s assessment and capacity to acquire work, and they ranged from 2 and a half to 8 years of migration. All but one of the girls had visited their country of origin at least once since migrating.

Table 1 – Participants’ Demographics*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Time in Australia</i>	<i>Visa status</i>
Daeneris	Iraqi	15	Public High School	8 years	Citizen
Talisa	Brazilian	13	Public High School	3 years	Temporary visa
Osha	Brazilian	8	Public Primary school	3 years	Temporary visa
Margaery	Brazilian	9	Public Primary school	3 years	Permanent resident
Sansa	Macedonian	13	Catholic High School	11 years	Citizen
Arya	Macedonian	10	Public Primary school	10 years (Born in Australia)	Citizen
Ygritte	Brazilian	7	Catholic Primary School	2 and a half years	Temporary visa
Ana myself	Brazilian	31	UQ – Master’s Degree	6 years	Citizen

The method of analysis utilised is a feminist analysis tool called Voice Centred Relational Method (11). Feminist psychologist Carol Gilligan created this method that later was expanded to various fields of study. The method aims to give special attention to women’s voices in research, through a four-step analysis system that also values the researcher – researched relationship and critical reflexivity (Byrne, Canavan and Millar, 2009).

Non-English Speaking Background (NESB): This was the only criterion the schoolgirls had to meet to be interviewed besides attending school in Australia. NESB

is defined here as *someone whose first language is not English or whose cultural background, of immediate family is derived from a non-English-speaking tradition* (12). This criteria was taken instead of simply 'being a migrant' due to an understand that language is a fundamental part of a culture, a main factor impacting on people's capacity to adapt in a country and a central part in multicultural policy.

Gender

*'I never saw a girl that was more friends with boys'
(Margaery, 8 years old)*

All the girls interviewed presented ideas regarding gender and its influence in their choice of playing partners, career paths and sports, but none of the girls could name a specific program at school that discussed gender and its possibilities and limitations.

They all but one seemed to believe that there are behaviours that are appropriate to one sex but not to the other and that it is just natural that girls have other girls as their close friends even though some refer to boys and girls nowadays as 'equals'. There were no perceived differences based on age, background or time of migration.

*'Girls you can relate to more... can talk more personal things... to get a guy to be nice you have to rip him out of the group... otherwise they are fake...'
(Sansa, 13 years old)*

The most part of the girls did not identify difference in academic achievement or subject interest based on sex and seemed to believe the opportunities and demands were equal on both boys and girls.

*-I think in old days might had (differences between sexes) but now it's more equal.
Yeah!
(Daeneris, 15 years old)*

*'They (boys and girls) are equal so, no problem'
(Tasila, 13 years old)*

Dirt, mud, or sports with physical contact are seen as belonging to the masculine sphere where girls are not invited. They are expected to play with girls 'girl' things'.

*'If it is tackling and something like that boys are better'
(Arya, 10 years old)*

*'Girls can do anything.... (But) in the woodwork I only see two girls... But they can change (subject)'
(Tasila, 13 years old)*

When the girls show interest in something that 'belongs' to the boys' universe they find themselves in a situation where they need to explain their behaviour.

*'I don't wear dresses... I am a tomboy. I do boy stuff'
(Arya, 10 years old)*

Some of the girls challenge aspects of the gender role division, nevertheless facing some resistance:

'Sometimes the girls want to play with the boys of something they had arranged to play beforehand. The boys promise to play with us and suddenly leave us to go play football. This upsets me'
(Ygritte, 7 years old)

'I was doing soccer... when we played in HPE that's like you know... "oh why these girls are playing with us? Football is you know, we don't wanna touch them or hurt them you know, why are they playing with us?" and then we would just get angry like, the girls in our class would get angry and then we would start playing and then we would prove them (the boys) wrong and then afterwards they were like, you know... fine with it.'
(Daeneris, 15 years old)

It is no surprise some girls simply refuse sports altogether. Interestingly, they used experiences from their countries and their backgrounds as an explanation to why they do not do sports or enjoy them instead of the clear gender division on the matter.

"I thought it was a waste of time as we did not have to do (sports) in my country"
(Daeneris, 15 years old)

'Here I am forced to choose a sport but I don't like sports... did not like in my country either'
(Tasila, 13 years old)

In career choice, many ideas are on the sphere of professions usually associated with females – Design, arts, teaching etc. When a girl mentioned a profession outside the expected, such as computer engineering she explained,

'I told her (family friend) that there are more boys who do it than girls and she's like "that's why I'm doing it and we should prove them wrong" so yeah, yeah you know, the idea that boys can do this and the girls not... yeah it's really not true you know, they are equal...'
(Daeneris, 15 years old)

You can see in these examples ongoing stereotypes regarding girls' and boys' roles and very little questioning seems to come from the school structure itself. None of the girls referred to school or individual teacher's initiatives that challenged gender stereotypes; this challenge came only from external support or their own initiative.

Multiculturalism

"(At the beginning) I was stuck with my words"
(Ygritte, 7 years old)

Only two girls described their current schools as 'multicultural' and as 'valuing multiculturalism' and one of them associated it to 'being safe'. All other girls seemed

satisfied with their schools. All the girls interviewed had good marks at school and many had writing as their favourite subject.

Some girls mentioned teachers as part of the team necessary to help them learn English however most girls mentioned friends as their main help. The communication strategies used by teachers while the students developed their English were very similar to the ones used by the student's friends and they varied from electronic dictionaries, pointing, drawing and sending written notes to the student or the parents. None of the girls could speak English before moving to Australia neither belonged to a family where their main carer did.

Unsurprisingly, all the girls had their mothers as their main carers. Mothers (I interviewed all 6 mothers) described the difficult times of the first weeks of adaptation and all the fear and angst, as they did not know how the schools worked in this new country and they could not communicate with the school staff. Many described feeling they had to do more than an average parent would, and some of the girls also remembered the first months at school as very difficult and isolating.

During our interviews, mothers and fathers identified themselves as responsible for keeping the native language and original culture, with this need competing with the need to learn a new language and 'belong' here. Many girls displayed good language skills as they all speak their own language at home, however, they were concerned they may fall behind in the future.

Currently only two of the girls interviewed can read and write in their language of origin, however, all the other girls are learning or intend to learn. The mothers were the ones taking the responsibility to teach writing and reading in their language while fathers would support with learning English as many mothers felt inadequate to help their daughters due to their own English language limitations. None of the families expected school support towards maintenance of original language and culture.

*"I am very scared I am loosing my language".
(Ygritte, 7 years old)*

*'When I grow up a bit more my mother will teach me (writing), because if she teaches me now I will forget English'
(Osha, 8 years old)*

*'They (parents) want to speak English but I don't let them... because my English is better then theirs.... We must speak Portuguese at home'
(Osha, 8 years old)*

Mothers and daughters told me of moments where the girls found themselves assisting their family members through teaching them English or interpreting to other institutions including their own schools. Only one participant mentioned the use of professional interpreters at school.

*"...for her (mother) I am an English teacher".
(Margaery, 8 years old)*

*'If it is my school meeting my brother interprets and vice versa'
(Daeneris, 15 years old)*

When analysing the maintenance and valuing of the culture of origin by the school community it seemed very limited to the celebration of Harmony Day and other Fair type events where, annually or bi-annually, Non English Speaking students are invited to display their traditional clothing, food and flag to the rest of the school. Some of the girls could not find anything in their schools that celebrates multiculturalism and would find very limited space in the classroom to talk about their culture of origin.

All the girls are still in contact with extended family in their country of origin and a few of them felt emotional when talking about missing them. Several described situations in which the schools had accommodated their vacations in their country of origin understanding why it would be usually longer than average vacations. Nevertheless no one mentioned receiving emotional support to deal with the reality of being away from family.

*"I never want to return when I am with my family... It was very difficult at the airport, I cried a lot"
(Margaery, 8 years old)*

From the girls interviewed only one believed she was more Australian than a citizen of her country of origin, four described themselves as half Australians or 'becoming' slightly Australian and two were sure they were simply from their country of origin and only lived in Australia. No one had conversations regarding citizenship and belonging at their schools and they were left to discuss it only with family at home.

Gender and culture: Possibilities of conflict

Daeneris (15 years old): *'... and then I started wearing it (the hijab) at primary school. It was difficult; I did suffer a lot of racism and a lot of that stuff but in high school is much easier... I was teased like a lot umm; some people would pull my hijab sometimes. Yeah... They didn't know what it is, so like I don't blame them. But, they don't know what it is, they are just kids and then I didn't use to wear it and then I started wearing it so made it hard for them and me but like it was my choice like nobody really you know, tell me I have to wear it or force me to it. It was my... I like to wear it... So yeah... I think because I did visit my primary school... after me like, there is more Muslim girls came and they were, yeah, they became more open. So, umm made really huge difference... they (the teachers) were trying to, you know, like to explain without hurting my feelings but it was difficult for them...'*

Daeneris started talking about this subject when I asked about difficulties at school. She also told me that she did not disclose this experience to her mother for 6 years being scared her mother would be deeply hurt by it. She finally disclosed this experience to her mother a month before this interview. Daeneris was aware that the teachers did not know how to deal with the situation and she seemed to believe that now, after her experience of racism and with the school having more exposure to girls wearing hijab, the teachers may know what to do.

'if I didn't wear the hijab and I didn't get this you know, kind of reactions from the students and then the teacher not knowing how to speak to them and then they did (tried), they'd do to other girls so it's good that happened to me and then, and then they (students and teachers) learned...'
(Daeneris, 15 years old)

Part of her experience is the society's ongoing questioning regarding her choice to wear the hijab. While the truth is that her parents were surprised with her decision and even discouraging (her mother just wore the hijab from age 28 and wanted the same to her daughter), many people, including teachers, have asked her if she was forced to wear the hijab by her family and religion and did not believe when she answered it was her choice.

Here we can see one of the many possibilities of conflict between multiculturalism and gender equality. A teacher that sees the hijab, as a sign of female oppression and not a religious and cultural symbols, would possibly struggle to explain to other students the importance of respecting the headscarf and that keeping the hijab is in the Muslim girl's best interest. Nevertheless, such assumptions bring an understanding of family and minority communities' dynamic that in Daeneris case are simply untrue. In addition Daeneris did not mention any instance in which the school talked to her or the other students about choice, cultural differences and the best way to solve the problem. It is also interesting to note that this was the only girl interviewed that was openly interested in challenging gender stereotypes for the benefit of women as a collective and the only girl interested in a non female-stereotypical career path.

In many ways looking only to her hijab can take the focus away from important personality characteristics, agency and active resistance to gender oppression. In addition, focusing on the hijab favours a number of assumptions that in the case of this girl and this family were not true. There may (or may not) be a conflict between gender equality and wearing the hijab for cultural and religious reasons, however, once we can acknowledge that we can also identify the possible common agendas, in the case of Daeneris, the right over her own body (not having other people removing her headscarf), supporting a non female-stereotypical career path and encouraging the practice of non female-stereotypical sport practices and social interactions with both sexes.

Conclusion: The research, while not finalised, points to high resilience among these migrant women and girls from Non English Speaking Backgrounds as the main factor behind their school achievement. Friends and family are seen as the main help in developing language and contributing to the feeling of belonging in a new country. Interpersonal support seemed to foster these girls' high resilience more than any other factor.

Even when they appeared to be satisfied with their schools in Australia there were no strong references to school programs or staff help that really impacted positively on these girls' settlement and school success. Maybe as a result, none of the interviewees suggested a teacher to participate in this research.

When analysing the girls' experiences regarding the schools' resources available to them against the transnational feminist categories presented by Fraser there were no surprising results:

Redistribution: It seemed that the girls as migrants had full access to study and support regarding different subjects (even though the parents of girls in temporary visas have considerably more expensive school fees to pay). Nevertheless they did not have equitable access when compared to boys as they identify a number of sports, games, spaces and careers that are still unavailable to them (because they are 'boys' domain) even if at first they describe boys and girls as 'equals'.

Recognition: There was very little provided in these girls' schools towards valuing their cultural heritage (school fairs and some classroom talks) and certainly no programs concerning the maintenance of culture and language. Maybe the main example of good practice in recognition regarding these girls' backgrounds was the fact that the schools were supportive of the girls' needs to be absent for longer than other students when going on holidays. Regarding the girls as females we could not identify programs or situations that attend their specific needs and certainly nothing regarding the needs of specific girls 'members of minority cultural groups'.

Representation: There were no examples of spaces or situations in which these girls were invited to participate in decision-making or allowed to voice their opinion with the intention of changing a school practice. The school fairs focusing on multiculturalism seemed to include the students in many ways but there were no clear examples of inclusion in the main decision-making spaces.

Even though the research is not yet finalised, some actions seem clearly beneficial when aiming to pursuit gender equality and multiculturalism at school. These actions include making interpreters available for children and their parents; remembering that some information may need to be given to parents regarding the educational system and how they can help their children in the settlement process and encouraging young women to experiment with behaviours outside the stereotyped gender roles, including school subjects, recreational activities and sports. Finally, even though it is a small step, the creation of 'Nations fairs' or the celebration of 'Harmony day' could be fostered and increased as it gives opportunity for children to celebrate their cultural heritage, express themselves and it also gives teachers the chance to know their students better.

After all the interviews I asked the girls if they had anything else they would like to say before we finished, this is what Daeneris had to say:

'... You have to just... not worry what people would say... people are always judging but if you keep going and prove them wrong you know, more people will do it... Other girls will follow'
(Daeneris, 15 years old)

*The names of the participants were replaced to guarantee anonymity. They received therefore names from a famous fiction novel. The names were selected at random and do not imply any similarity of personality or otherwise between novel character and participant.

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*Cosmopolitanism's Double Gesture:
Diasporic Chinese Writers Lynn Pan and Hong Ying*

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Abstract

With the world becoming more than ever a global village, the call of globalization has facilitated transnational, transcultural, as well as transdisciplinary studies of what Goethe termed “world literature,” particularly in terms of the shared humanist concern and portrayals of an internally or externally migrant, transcultural, cosmopolitan self. What this paper would like to emphasize is the aspect of the cosmopolitan migratory self’s simultaneous yearning for a locality of what could be called home, whether it is imagined or romanticized, detested or cherished. By focusing on the diasporic Chinese writers, Lynn Pan and Hong Ying, and their literary works, and by providing a theoretic approach that enables the reading of a double-gestured movement of simultaneously going global and local, it intends to argue that the transnational, transcultural, migrant self is at once culturally localized, designating a multifacetedness of belonging at the juncture of globalization and cultural intersections.

Keywords: migration; transnation; cosmopolitanism; double-gestured; belonging

I. Introduction:

With the world becoming more than ever a global village, the call of globalization has facilitated transnational, transcultural, as well as transdisciplinary studies of what Goethe termed “world literature” (Eckermann 137), particularly in terms of the shared humanist concern and portrayals of an internally or externally migrant, transcultural, cosmopolitan self. In this age of increasing global integration and migration of all forms, Marx and Engels' envisioning in *The Communist Manifesto* of the rise of a world literature “from the numerous national and local literatures” that makes “national one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible”(9) seems to reflect the de facto reality of the postmodern epoch of the 21st century. It is true that it is now hardly possible to interpret literatures produced around the world purely from any perspectives of traditional literary criticism, or talk about what is traditionally labelled “national literature” without the penetrating glimpses of a cosmopolitan world.

It is precisely the awareness of a growing globalized cosmopolitan world that witnessed the rise in the past decades of various forms of literature, which depict the sensibilities of transnationalism and transculturality as reflected, for instance, in postcolonial literature, literatures of diaspora, exile and migration. Even ethnic literatures, such as Afro-American, Chinese-American literatures which used to be localized within the boundary of the U.S., started to take on board literatures composed in languages other than English by early or new immigrants that clearly transcend the national, cultural and linguistic boundaries and reject easy classification. Meanwhile, (re-)interpretations of literary texts from earlier stage of modern era all point to the sense of a rising globality and transnationalism. For instance, the reinterpretation of Du Bois' classic work *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) by Paul Gilroy in *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* points to the Black transnational sensibility. Personally yet directly, the notion of “citizens of the world,” as well as the poetics of wandering, loss and desire for belonging, are clearly articulated in the much ignored Chinese-born American émigré writer Mai-mai Sze's autobiography, published in as early as the 1940s, *Echo of a Cry: A Story Which Began in China*, where she writes,

Eventually we might become citizens of continents instead of nations. It would be a step in transition to becoming in reality citizens of the world. [...] wherever we have been and whatever we have done[,] there runs through the memories a yearning, or a search for something. Fervently we have wanted to belong somewhere at the same time that we have often wanted to run away. [...] There is one part of us that is always lost and searching. It is an echo of a cry from the first moment of awareness, the cry that was a longing for warmth and safety. (Sze 196-97)

What brings these works and many other contemporary writings by postcolonial, immigrant, exilic or diasporic writers together, to name just a few, Salman Rushdie, V.S. Naipaul, J.M. Coetzee, Lynn Pan, Guo Xiaolu, is not only the transnational humanist concern that forms the basis of a world literature in general, but also the shared portrayal of a migrant, transcultural, cosmopolitan self. What is of equal importance, however, as I would like to place my emphasis on, is the aspect of the cosmopolitan migratory self's simultaneous yearning for, as phrased by Sze as an

“echo of a cry,” a place called *home*, whether it is imagined or romanticized, detested or cherished, when “home” in effect has become “a dozen other places across the seas” (Sze 13). Here goes a double-gesturedness of the movement of going global. As this paper intends to argue, the transnational, transcultural, migrant self is at once a culturally localized self, designating a multifacetedness of belonging at the juncture of globalization and cultural intersections. In what follows, this paper is divided into two big parts. The first part focuses on the (con)textual reading of two Chinese writers and their works in the Chinese diaspora, Lynn Pan and Hong Ying, evoking the reading of a double-gesturedness of the cosmopolitan self. The second part refocuses on cosmopolitanism’s double gesture from a theoretical perspective.

II. Diaspora and Cultural Imaginings: Lynn Pan and Hong Ying

Although Lynn Pan and Hong Ying are both British by nationality and both residing now in China, they belong to different generations of diasporic Chinese writers, and their differences cannot be greater when considering their family, educational and overseas backgrounds. Born into an elite family in Shanghai in the 1940s, Lynn Pan grew up in Malaysia and left for England and studied at the universities of London and Cambridge. After having lived, studied and worked in England for over 20 years, and spent teaching spells in Geneva and Helsinki, she moved to Hong Kong in the late 1980s working as a journalist, before settling down in Singapore as the director of the Chinese Heritage Centre there. She returned to live in Shanghai in recent years.

Pan’s life journey cannot be more diasporic. With her family and family relations scattered around the world and herself constantly shuttling between Europe and Asia, her diasporic life did not give her a sense of identification which she felt only when she first came to Hong Kong: “For the first time ever, I felt a sense of identification. I became emotionally involved. I felt I had a stake in Hongkong. and I’ve never felt that about any place I’d been. Hongkong was like me. It was Chinese yet it had this western veneer. That’s what I liked” (Khanna). And this does sound like a self-definition of a sort. Through all the travels before this point, she had acquired this thin layer of “western veneer.” She is Chinese, yet Chinese with a difference. Her Chinese self seems to have come full circle when she, after lifelong travel, returned to the place where she was born, Shanghai.

In *Tracing It Home: Journeys Around a Chinese Family*, the only memoir that Pan writes, which literally articulates the diasporic, cosmopolitan self’s yearning, imagining and rediscovery of her Chinese, especially, her Shanghainese roots, she describes the “return” as the “familiar sensation of homecoming” (36). It is here, in this memoir written after almost a half century living away from her birth place, Pan concludes, “The present is only today’s version of the past; and there is no one for whom today is not contaminated by yesterday. The past is there; it belongs already to your experience. You carry in you a history you may know little of. Even when you leave home it travels with you. And it is too much. And yet unless I am part of it I am nothing” (234-35).

As the best witness of the diasporic self’s journey toward self-discovery, from being “Shanghainese first” to becoming a cosmopolitan, from discovering Malaysia and Singapore culture to reuniting with her Shanghainese roots, all Pan’s non-fiction books are remarkably related to China, such as *China’s Sorrow* (1985), *The New*

Chinese Revolution (1987), *Sons of the Yellow Emperor* (winner of the 1992 Martin Luther King Memorial Prize), *Tracing It Home* (1994), *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas* (1999), and most recently, *Shanghai Style* (2008). As if making the full circle even fuller, *Shanghai Style: Art and Design Between the Wars* captures the quintessential grand Shanghai style that Pan left behind when she migrated with her parents to Malaysia in the 1950s.

As opposed to Lynn Pan, Hong Ying was Chinese-born and educated. Growing up in a poor family in the slum area of Chongqing as the sixth child, Hong Ying's life had been one of struggle for survival, until her marriage to her first British-Chinese scholar husband in 1991. She moved back to live in Beijing in 2000 after the first marriage shattered. Re-married to her second British writer and businessman husband, she now divides her time between Beijing and London. Writing in Chinese language, Hong Ying shot to international fame with her first confessionist autobiography *Daughter of the River* published in 1997, which was translated to about twenty languages and appeared on the bestseller lists of numerous countries. A decade later, her second autobiography *Good Children of the Flowers* (2009) once again brought her back into the limelight with revelations of her polygamous lifestyle and the dark secrets of her life.

Confession, sexuality, and electra complex become the features of Hong Ying's autobiographical works. It is precisely through her confession of sexuality and electra complex that we catch a glimpse of the author's westward journey toward her cosmopolitan existence. If her second marriage to Adam Williams and the birth of her daughter Sybil literally symbolize her transculturality and cosmopolitanism, her first turbulent marriage to the London-based British Chinese scholar Zhao Yiheng, through her confession of her love for Zhao as the "father," of her exposure to western way of sexual freedom, and of their practice of polygamous marriage and open relationships, details the painful internal process of her loss of self en route to becoming eventually a "citizen of the world."

Like Lynn Pan, finding her way back to her Chinese cultural roots through literally re-imagining and re-mapping China with words, Hong Ying's diasporic existence of loss, desire and painful search are distilled into her literary creations, her rediscovery and reconciliation with her mother. As Hong Ying confesses, "Chongqing is the mother, London is the lover, and Beijing is the husband."¹ Her two autobiographies, dedicated to her mother, are works about the cosmopolitan self's identification with her cultural roots, Chongqing, the place she was born and grew up. The reunion and reconciliation with her mother, the embodiment of her past, is clearly indicated in her recently published autobiographical work *Good Children of the Flowers*, both in the prologue and the epilogue:

¹ Hong Yin, 虹影: 北京是丈夫, 伦敦是情人 ("Hong Ying: Beijing is the Husband, London is the Lover"). By Liu Bin. *China. Com. Cn.*. 5 March 2013 <<http://www.china.com.cn/chinese/RS/352297.htm>>. In this interview, Hong articulates her different senses of attachment to different places and how she now lives her life: "Chongqing is for me my mother, that piece of land gave me birth and nurtured me; Beijing is my husband, I never have regretted having chosen him; London is my lover, a strange land with strange taste, which brought the twist to my life. In effect, my time now is hard to be clearly divided, it could be said that half of my time is spent in Beijing and half abroad. By 'abroad' I do not mean London alone" (My translation). ("重庆对我而言, 是我的母亲, 那片土地养育了我; 北京是我的丈夫, 我永不后悔当初选择了北京, 伦敦是我的情人, 异国情调, 是我生命的一个转折。其实我的时间现在已很难具体划分出, 可以说一半时间在北京一半时间在国外, 在国外也并非仅仅住在伦敦。")

现在想母亲的话时,我才发现自己也[.....]想追随父母的身影。我没有想到,也未敢想,有一天我会写一本关于母亲和自己的书,但我知道,只有写完这本书,才不再迷失自己[.....]. (写在前面)

Now when I think of Mother's words, I found myself [...] wanting to chase my parents' shadow. I did not think, nor dared to think that one day I'll write a book about my mother and myself. But I know that, only by finishing writing this book can I refind my lost self [...]. (Prologue)

现在,这些事都是讲给母亲听的,我相信她的魂伴着我走这一程。[.....]七个月后,我在北京一家私立医院里生下一个女儿。[.....]她一触及到我,就止住哭,身体自动地靠过来,她的脸好像我母亲,她的外婆[.....]。是啊,她和母亲一样属相猪。眼泪顺着我的脸颊哗哗往下流。(228-29)

Now all these things are told to Mother. I believe that her soul will accompany me through this journey. [...] Seven months later, I gave birth to a daughter in a private hospital in Beijing. [...] She stopped crying the moment she touched me and her body automatically leaned towards me. Her face is just like my mother, her grandmother [...]. Yes, she is a pig in Chinese zodiac just like Mother. Tears splashed down my cheek. (228-29)

一个小蝌蚪在水里游,一个大蝌蚪跟在小蝌蚪身后。[.....]小蝌蚪对大蝌蚪说,真好,前一世你是我女儿,这一世你是我母亲!我们俩永远在一起,永远不分离。(230)

A small tadpole is swimming in the water, a big tadpole is behind. [...] The small tadpole says to the big tadpole: It's really good that you were my daughter in the previous life, and in this life you're my mother! We two will be together forever, never part. (230)²

Both Lynn Pan and Hong Ying have, in their different ways, in fiction or non-fiction, re-created past histories of the places of their belongings, Shanghai and Chongqing, that are significant part of the self. Despite their diverse travel routes and their different ways of transculturation and cosmopolitan existence, they do not, as is the case with many other diasporic Chinese writers around the world, to name a few, British-Chinese writers Liu Hong and Xue Xinran, Australian-Chinese writer Ouyang Yu, Malaysian-Chinese writer Tash Aw, Chinese American writers Nieh Hualin, loosen the gaze back into what have been the roots of their cultural makeup. With this I move now to the next section of my paper, which refocuses on the double-gestured cosmopolitan existence from a theoretic perspective.

III. Transnation, transculture: Cosmopolitanism's double gesture

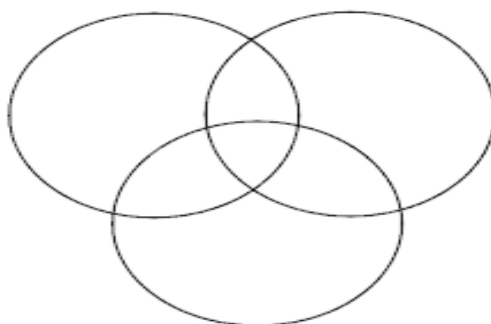
If transnational and transcultural migration and diaspora are seen as the moving force that fractures the parameters of nation and identity, the oxymoronic relationship between the two is clearly challenged by the brief survey of the diasporic Chinese writers Lynn Pan and Hong Ying. Viewed within the bigger context of British-Chinese literature, the literary works written over a historical period of roughly 70 years, by early, later and contemporary British Chinese migrant writers,

² My translation.

either from mainland China or Malaysia, Hong Kong or Taiwan, and the BBC (British-born Chinese), one sees, despite their enormous contextual heterogeneities and creative diversities, the dynamic double act of global migration and diaspora. That is, the act of going global toward transnational and transcultural cosmopolitanism implicates a simultaneous act of going local toward a cultural locality of a re-imagined *homeplace* (Tang 26). As with, apart from Lynn Pan and Hong Ying, Hsiung Shih-I, Ling Suhua, Guo Xiaolu, their journeys out to the West, toward being the cosmopolitan citizen of the world, end with finding ways of reconnecting with the *homeland* or *homespace* through writing, re-writing about China, and telling and re-telling China stories, even though the *homeland*, as well as the self, keeps on acquiring new contents and meanings all the way along the itineraries of constant arrivals and departures.

In theorizing the postnational ethos in an age where concepts like “flexible citizenship” capturing the mobile “flexible accumulation” (Ong 157), or “romanticized globalism” articulating “a border-crossing postcolonial expansiveness [... spelling] freedom, equality, and justice on a new scale of human solidarity” (Wilson 358), cultural critics have warned against the “weightless” universalism or the “amnnesiac” postmodernism packed into the term cosmopolitanism. Drawing attention to the “uneven contradictions, regressive and progressive twists and turns” of “*cosmopolitan* as sign of geopolitical location” (353), Rob Wilson postulates “a material cosmopolitanism” that belongs to “new cultures of global/local mixture [... serving] better ends than the xenophobic hegemony of mononations, monoraces, and monocreds” (359-360). James Clifford, taking account of all “different forms of encounter, negotiation, and multiple affiliation”(365), puts forward the concept of “discrepant cosmopolitanisms” that “name and make more visible a complex range of intercultural experiences, sites of appropriation and exchange”(369). For Clifford, these “cosmopolitical contact zones,” by being “traversed by new social moments and global corporations, tribal activities and cultural tourists, migrant work remittances and email,” guarantee nothing but “contamination, messy politics and more translation”(369).

Correlating with such a new sense of cosmopolitanism, the historicized or contextualized cosmopolitan self as represented by the diasporic Chinese writers Lynn Pan and Hong Ying and their works, whilst contesting the oversimplifying antithesis between nation and transnation, cultural and transcultural identities, the global and the local, speaks of a double-, indeed, multi-gesturedness of cosmopolitanism. To illuminate my point, I would like to use the venn diagram to map out the contact zone of cultural negotiation and translation.



Contact Zone of Negotiation and Translation

The three circles may be viewed as designating different nations and cultures, whereas the intersection in the middle, technically termed *lunula*, which I take from Jacques Lacan yet depart from the specific psychoanalytic context of his usage in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, signifies a midland of fluid double belonging as well as ambiguous *in-* and *exclusion*.³ The evocation is multiple-folded. First of all, by constantly crossing the borderlines of nation, culture, as well as gender, race and class, the migrant self is engaged in an on-going process of dialogue, contestation and modification, bespeaking what Stuart Hall calls a “process of cultural translation” that “is inevitable in a world where communities, peoples, cultures, tribes, ethnii are no longer homogeneous, self-sufficient autochthonous entities” (Hall, “Multicultural Question” 6). At the same time, amidst the myriad geographical and psychic, spatial and temporal crossings, where cultures meet and interact, not only hybridized forms of culture emerge through living with cultural differences, intercultural translation and transculturation, but all forms of cultural bonding that are grounded in “some continuity with the past” (Hall, “Cultural Identity” 395), either the nostalgically re-imagined or strategically reconstructed, co-exist alongside the dominant mainstream forms of culture or identity. Thirdly, if the transnational cosmopolitan zone speaks of the interaction between different cultures, namely, opposition and interdependence, difference and connection, the overlapping midland highlights a double belonging, an ambivalent fluidity and *in-* and *exclusion*, precisely articulating the hybridity, multiplicity, heterogeneity or “messiness” of James Clifford’s cosmopolitical space.

To conclude, viewed from such a zone of negotiation and translation, cosmopolitanism and the cosmopolitan self as represented by the Chinese diasporic writers Lynn Pan and Hong Ying and their works are clearly shown as designating a double, and indeed, a multi-gestureness of being both transnational, all-embracing, “enlightened and mobile” (Wilson 353), and national, historically rooted, locally embedded. As such, it speaks at once of rupture and continuity, hybridity and historical specificity.

³ In the final section of *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis*, Jacques Lacan uses venn diagram to illustrate the “realization of the subject in his signifying dependence in the locus of the Other.” Here, making use of the intersecting circles, Lacan is able to demonstrate how the dialectical operation of *either/or*—what he refers to as “the *vel* of alienation,” whereby the choice of the one indicates the disappearance of the other—simultaneously implicates yet another operation, that of “joining.” Following the logical form of “joining,” the actual joining together of the elements belonging to the two circles, because of their double belonging, does not add up to a doubling of their numbers. By logic of this, “the *vel* of alienation,” in Lacan’s words, “is defined by a choice whose properties depend on this, that there is, in the joining, one element that, whatever the choice operating may be, has as its consequence a *neither one, nor the other*.” While the splitting and partiality indicate the inherent function of the signifying system of language itself that creates the alienation and fragmentation of the subject, what is of importance for my purposes here is to see the overlapping middle section—the *lunula* of non-meaning—as a non-place that paradoxically speaks of both inclusion and exclusion, both connection and separation. It is, to reformulate Lacan, an unstable non-place of a *neither one, nor the other, yet both*. It is precisely in view of the *lunula* as a non-place of fluid double belonging and *in-* and *exclusion*, yet departing from the specific psychoanalytic context, that Lacan’s venn diagram is adapted here to foreground, on the one hand, a “non-place” position of a multifaceted *neither one nor the other yet both* and, on the other hand, the dynamic paradoxical interrelation of separation and connection, contestation and interdependence between conflictual opposites, as especially applicable, in the context here, nation and transnation, culture and transculture, the global and the local, as well as the self and other. The adaptation of the Lacanian venn diagram does not simply display a universal mono-dimensional layout of the constitution of the cosmopolitical space, but rather, illuminates a dynamic full complexity of dual- or multi-dimensional interactions within a nexus of relations represented by the intersecting circles.

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Cheats, Thieves and 'the Kids': Electronic Dance Music and Technological Change

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Abstract

Over the past two decades, electronic dance music (EDM) has shifted away from being primarily a vinyl-based culture due to the adoption of new technologies for production and performance. Whilst enabling new creative possibilities for musicians, these technologies have also disrupted existing norms within EDM culture. Audiences reacted with unease to the initial use of laptops as an instrument for performance. The Internet and DJ software lowered the entry barriers for potential DJ-producers whilst raising new issues of musical ownership. This paper examines how these disruptions have been perceived by EDM practitioners through an ethnographic account of DJ-producers from various electronic music scenes in Melbourne, Australia. Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital and its subsequent readings (in particular Thornton's concept of subcultural capital) the idea is further developed with a focus on the role of technology (referred to as 'techno-cultural capital'). This reading of cultural capital is then used to analyse how participants articulate notions of authenticity, creativity and success in a changing technological milieu. Three major themes are explored. First, the accusation of 'cheating', described as using any technology that removes the fundamental skill of beatmatching from the DJ performance. Second, the issue of 'stealing' described as the unauthorised use of parts of another DJ's composition or performance. Third, the other-ing of youth associated with inexperience using vinyl, cheating and a lack of social capital. This paper concludes with a discussion of how techno-cultural capital may be transformed into economic capital.

Keywords: cultural capital, subcultural capital, electronic dance music, DJ

Introduction

Within various electronic dance music (EDM) scenes, there are tensions concerning shifts in technology. This is reflected in the recent literature concerning DJ culture and new technologies (Cascone, 2002; Turner, 2003; Farrugia & Swiss, 2005; Montano, 2008; 2010). This is often manifested as concerns about a disruption to existing standards and practices caused by new technologies. The depth of this body of literature is currently limited. However as Montano (2010: 415) concluded, “as clubbers witness more and more DJs employing technology other than vinyl and turntables, ...their understandings and perceptions of what it means to be a DJ will change, and this may require a redefinition of the concept of DJing”. This research area is set to expand as practices and norms in the field shift, bringing with it the need to conceptualise such technological shifts. This paper therefore offers a modest contribution toward this end.

I begin by reviewing Bourdieu's (1984) notion of cultural capital and its subsequent developments, before I develop my own iteration, referring to it as techno-cultural capital. Some methodological considerations are then discussed concerning my compiled ethnographic accounts. This lays out the remaining sections of the paper manifested as recurring themes in the interviews that comprise my ethnography. First I consider the theme of ‘cheating’ often attributed to the use of the sync function on software packages. Second I consider the theme of ‘stealing’ often described as ‘lifting’ parts of others’ sets and samples without permission. The third theme concerns ‘the kids’, constructed as the constant other by more established DJs. Finally an important issue that is implicit in this analysis is the attainment of economic success. I conclude the paper speculating how techno-cultural and other kinds of capital convert into economic capital and the implications of the three aforementioned themes.

Updating Cultural Capital

Bourdieu (1984) established, among other things, the link between taste and class. The often cited maxim in his introduction “taste classifies and classifies the classifier” captures the essence of the idea (Bourdieu, 1984: 6). Class identity is associated not only with economic capital but also what Bourdieu (1986: 47) termed ‘cultural capital’, defined as a type of capital “which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications”. In other words it refers to a type of capital based on factors such as skills, knowledge and level of formal education, your personal tastes being an indicator of cultural capital and class. Thornton (1995) applied and updated the idea in her study of club cultures to develop her notion of ‘subcultural capital’. She combined a depoliticised approach to subcultures and the organising logic of cultural capital to explain what she found in her ethnography of UK club and rave culture. Thornton moved away from class conflict and instead explored subcultures in terms of a set of distinctions: authentic and inauthentic; hip and mainstream; underground and media. The antagonism in this case was between those who were part of the hip, underground subculture and wanted to avoid the ‘pervasive’ mainstream. The notion of subcultural capital for Thornton (1995: 11) thus has a differentiating function as a form of capital that “confers status on its owner in the eyes of the relevant beholder” and one that can be embodied through having the right clothes, owning the right records and knowing

the slang. Bryson (1996) took up the idea of cultural capital and applied it as multicultural capital. In this particular paper multicultural capital referred to cultural tolerance. It is also from Bryson's paper that I have borrowed the term 'techno-cultural capital' to use as a modest analytical tool.

On one level, techno-cultural capital can be understood as being attained through one's ability or skills to use a particular technological device and the intensity of that skill so in other words how competently one uses the device. It involves the characteristics of the device in addition to the abilities of the individual. In this sense 'techno-cultural capital' is a term that can be used interchangeably with terms such as 'skill' or 'ability'. For example, the first time I saw a CDJ, I understood it to be a somewhat elaborate portable CD player until a friend explained how DJs use it to perform. The characteristics of the CDJ offered the possibilities of such use as a performance instrument but I did not have the ability or knowledge to see this. Therefore I would lack techno-cultural capital. However if the device was a piano, due to the many years I spent learning how to play I would be able to competently play the instrument. So in this instance I would embody some techno-cultural capital. The examples here show how techno-cultural capital relates to the level of the individual. However this is not especially useful. I can tell myself that I possess great skill with a device (techno-cultural capital) in the same way that I can tell myself that I am cool or hip (subcultural capital). But this means very little because types of cultural capital (such as subcultural capital, multicultural capital and techno-cultural capital) are socially defined and relative terms. So I have to discuss techno-cultural capital on a social level. On this level, techno-cultural capital has a kind of exclusionary social function. It would operate in the same manner as Thornton's (1995) subcultural capital where distinctions are made between those who are 'underground' and 'cool' and those who are 'mainstream' and 'lame'. Similar distinctions are made by EDM DJ-producers and often these relate to technological practices.

Bourdieu (1986) further explained cultural capital as existing in terms of three forms or states: embodied, objectified and institutionalised. Techno-cultural capital can also be manifested in these ways. First in an embodied state, techno-cultural capital could be demonstrated through the actual displays of skill with the piece of technology. Traditionally for DJs this is how well someone can perform with vinyl and turntables. Objectified techno-cultural capital would be the ownership of objects that indicate an ability to use the technology well. So for DJs this could mean owning a good selection of music and knowing when to play the right tracks to get people dancing. So in other words, reading the crowd and knowing where to source one's music. Finally the institutionalised form of techno-cultural capital could be something like qualifications attained at any institution that offer practical training. There are now courses that are offer such training for DJing and music production.

Research Method

In terms of methodology, this paper draws on an ethnographic approach. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with a small sample of eight DJ-producers based around Melbourne, Australia. They range from being full-time professionals who run their own record labels and club nights to amateurs who do not perform regularly. The main aim was to obtain some detailed accounts of how DJ-producers

were actually using particular technologies and why they made particular choices rather than obtain a large generalisable survey of statistical data. Most of the data collection started as one-on-one semi-structured interviews with participants. However in many cases this ended up being an entire evening or day so there is an element of participant observation. The DJ-producers would go through a normal day whilst answering my questions in addition to demonstrating and explaining their work. At times there would be interruptions, breaks, visits from their friends and so forth. I should also note that unlike many researchers in this field, I am not a DJ nor do I go clubbing often. As an outsider I did some basic research about DJing to begin with but I was relying on my participants to explain in their own terms their musical practices and the scenes they were involved in.

Cheating

Traditionally the craft of DJing is associated with turntables. The idea is to play a series of songs over the evening in a seamless mix. The aim is to have no interruption between songs and therefore no interruption to those on the dance floor. This is known as beatmatching and it is considered one of the fundamental skills of DJing. According to Brewster and Broughton (2000), the convention was established in the late 1960s. A certain level of skill, timing and practice is required to ensure that the transition between songs is smooth (i.e. that the beats are matched) – particularly with the fast pace of EDM. However in more recent times, DJ software tends to include a function (known as the synch function) to automate this process. Thus there is an accusation of cheating leveled against those who use this function.

Cheating could be described as achieving something through some means of deception without the necessary skills or knowledge – such as cheating in a test at school. This theme was one of the more immediately obvious in the interviews. It had been explained in mostly similar terms by a few different interviewees. I first heard about it from a younger DJ, who described himself as an amateur DJ-producer. He referred to cheating in passing when describing the circumstances in which he received his first residency from a club organiser:

He doesn't know whether I can DJ or not. I could be one that plays my laptop and cheats and auto-beat [pauses] you know, beatmatching with applications like Traktor. Doesn't matter if you miss the button, miss it by like a split second, it'll match it. A lot of people do that and cheat. That's why I think nah, they're not that good. (Interview, July, 2011)

Another more established DJ made a similar claim: “If you're an international DJ, you can get ten grand to play a show. You can do your set on your computer on the plane over here, have it all ready to go for an hour and a half, plug your laptop into the mixer and just stand there” (Interview, August, 2011). Here there is the expectation that manually beatmatching is a required skill and indicator of embodied techno-cultural capital in their respective scenes. Cheating bypasses this necessary skill display with an easier route, thus a lack of techno-cultural capital is evident. A full time DJ (who holds a number of residencies), explicitly confirmed the expectation:

...those programs that are used while playing live, they beatmatch everything for you. So you take the art of doing things with your hands and putting tracks together at the right place at the right time, that's all gone. So I can understand some people might like vinyls better, some like CDs, that's all fine. The mixing is still the same, you still have to do some sort of beatmatching to get it right. When you're using laptops and stuff like that it's totally different. That's when everything's half done for you and all you're really worried about is track selections... I definitely think it's cheating. (Interview, August, 2011)

Stealing

In the simplest sense, stealing is taking something that does not belong to you. For my interviewees, this was explained to me in two ways. First, concerning production, it is the unauthorised use of a sample from someone's track. When I asked an experienced DJ to explain the issue, he expressed his disapproval:

It's a pet hate. A lot of people do it and us as DJs and producers notice those little intricate bits of songs. So someone will lift like a drum kick or a snare, clap and we'll go 'hey, that's from that song'. Automatically you lose respect for that person it's over, he's shit [pauses] you don't do that you know what I mean? Unless you credit their name on the remix. You know like if you lifted a pretty obvious sample from a song, unless you put that name on the remix... you're an idiot. (Interview, August, 2011)

As this DJ pointed out, those who have objectified techno-cultural capital will be able to identify if a sample has been stolen even if it is a single unit. Their objectification of techno-cultural capital is seen through the possession of an extensive collection of songs which would include what their peers produce and what is currently in vogue within their scene. They have such a familiarity with this collection that they can identify these intricate parts of songs and how they are crafted together. The thief on the other hand does not and either assumes that the lifted parts will not be noticed or they do it anyway as a short cut. So when caught, the thief's objectified techno-cultural capital is depleted. This may also indirectly convert into a loss of economic capital as it becomes known in the scene that a particular DJ is a thief and if the scene was known to vilify such acts. The nature of the Internet has made it easier to acquire music and in this instance it may not only be consumed but also used in production. This kind of stealing is widespread but the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable is marked by permission for use. The permission in question can be viewed as a professional courtesy with potential social capital whereas the consequences include the possible indirect loss of economic capital and isolation from the scene.

The second category of stealing is on the level of performance and is more subtle as a younger amateur DJ recounted an experience with a more established peer:

If you happen to have a guest DJ perform live on the radio show and they've tended to use the same set, the exact same set to a *T* that you've done previously, I'm against that and we actually have heard that... I've heard it before on Nova Nation and wasn't impressed, was *not*

impressed... It disappoints me because it's like well look at the position you're in. You've got such a high profile, everyone knows who you are, everyone listens to your music, yet you can't be original. (Interview, July, 2011)

This is said to be a big issue among DJs. Part of their appeal stems from their song choices, how they choose what song to play and when during a night. Part of the challenge is about creating a unique aural aesthetic. So in this instance, the aesthetic is being emulated with no reference to the one who recomposed the original setlist; hence the element of deceit and fraud in passing off someone's taste in sound as your own. It could be seen as appropriating another's techno-cultural capital, the indicator of their labour of recomposition.

'The Kids'

The phrase 'the kids' was something that came up often and usually in passing but there was also a sense of hostility associated with this reference. There was a perceived image of a young inexperienced DJ-producer, in essence, someone that lacks techno-cultural capital, the ability to use vinyl and CDJs. In the context of a question comparing vinyl and digital, an established DJ reflected:

Well that's the argument isn't it? It's always better if it's older. It was always better. It *was* always better, you know what I mean? Everything's always *was* better. This is what happens when you're older. Like even now I'm twenty-two and I think that I've got this real hatred towards the younger kids because I just don't like them because we did it better. It's just the way it is. It's just our human mind. (Interview, August, 2011)

Club culture was located within spaces for youth in much the same way as subcultures in the traditional UK cultural studies framework – beyond the “tyranny of the home” (Gelder, 2007; Thornton, 1995: 18). More recently, connections have been made between significant innovations and youth culture's experimentation which includes the domain of remix culture in addition to roots in DiY punk, piracy (pirate radio to the Pirate Bay), Street Art, Hip Hop and so forth (Mason, 2008). This could be read as attributing much embodied techno-cultural capital to the youths who are the source of fruitful interactions with technologies. Thus it is interesting the often hostile comments directed at 'the kids' though this became clearer later due to an economic motive. One DJ explained his reluctance release more of his own tracks feeling that it would not be noticed due to “a lot of fucking kids, they're just making rubbish and no one holds it in any high regard whatsoever” (Interview, August, 2011). So 'the kids' in their inexperience flood the EDM scenes with low quality tracks. This inexperience in skill level and lack of techno-cultural capital in relation to respected technologies such as the vinyl is often highlighted by interviewees when discussing 'the kids'. Describing a typical set, the inexperience of 'the kids' is again mentioned:

You'd start of playing the back of the other DJ's set. He plays a song that you play into. I always typically like to play a single sort of genre to that. Sort of lead into it. Because I don't really like it how people, kids (I say kids like the young ones tend to do it a lot) come on and just straight away out of the blocks just try to make an impression. You really notice that

there's a difference in the two DJs and I don't like that. Because we're not here to compete anyway... but a lot of the kids do. (Interview, August, 2011)

'The kids' are also accused of the earlier charges of stealing, cheating and other discrediting acts. It was implied that the earlier excerpts concerning cheating were aimed at 'the kids'.

From Techno-Cultural to Economic Capital: Discussion

The mechanisms behind commercial success and fame in EDM scenes are complex. In the past, the initial costs were high, restricting DJing to the very dedicated. Langlois (1992) listed the equipment and prices from the early days of the UK house scene though suggested if you could manage the initial capital required, then the ongoing costs could be managed as DJs have the advantage of being self-sufficient. As in many other contexts, technological advances have lowered the costs and hence the financial barriers of entry are significantly diminished – one can simply download a pirated version of a popular software package and begin as 'bedroom' producers. Due to this relative ease, there is no shortage of DJs and producers hence leading to more intense competition for spots at events and residencies at clubs. Reputation becomes crucial for "the kids" as a specific manifestation of social capital. As one DJ explained:

The best example is the Inthemix votes. They're on at the moment. It's a poll for the best DJ, best live act, best producer and stuff and you see these kids everywhere, putting 'vote for me, vote for me, vote for me'. If you're good enough, people will vote for you anyway. You don't need to push it on people. That's the way I look at it. (Interview, August, 2011)

Thornton (1995) noted that while subcultural capital did not convert to economic capital as easily, some individuals make a living from theirs including DJs. Techno-cultural capital may reflect this logic but the financial reward may be lowered so one may sacrifice techno-cultural capital for financial gain. One DJ indicated this when I asked what he preferred to use when performing: "CDs, a lot easier. But reputation-wise and I suppose more enjoyment-wise, I'd choose records but it's a lot of effort. And I suppose this mindset I've got now, you're still getting paid the same" (Interview, August, 2011).

It could be assumed that having flexible skills to use vinyl, CDJs and laptops would pay off for DJs. In a sense it could be embodied techno-cultural capital converting into economic capital. However an established DJ provided an account of what he views as becoming more common:

So a lot of the times you find that promoters or people who run parties, their main thing is to get people through the door, to get people into the place. When they get approached by these young kids who go 'listen, I made a track, can I play at your party?' or something like that. They go 'what can you bring to the table?' They [the kids] go 'I can bring 10 or 15 people to your party' so straight away they go 'aw yeah, 15, 20 people, that's an extra bit of money for me' and it means the place is a bit more

packed. Four, five, six years ago, the only people who stood behind the decks and were playing were actually proper DJs. (Interview, August, 2011)

In this instance, 'the kids' are able to get a spot due solely to their social capital which for an event organizer means more earnings for the evening – in addition to having to pay less compared with a professional. Can techno-cultural capital convert to social capital? I can only speculate that it would despite unexpected outcomes such as organisers focused only on the bottom line preferring inexperienced DJs who can bring large numbers of friends to the event.

Whether audiences are aware or care about what a DJ uses to perform is an area to explore in more detail for future research – would a DJ command the respect of audiences despite receiving none from his or her peers? Broadly speaking, new DJs - 'the kids' - need to build an audience and keep them content in order to secure more gigs. The more established career-minded DJ recognises the need to maintain their status among their peers and also keep audiences content in order to continue getting paid. This requires a constant negotiation of changing practices, technology and the associated notions of authenticity and credibility within EDM scenes. Only then can they progress far enough to become an established name and be afforded and succeed with opportunities such as event organising - a position that often would require the accumulation of economic, social and different types of cultural capital. Thus there is a complex relationship between economic, social and techno-cultural capital. Conventions surrounding the practices of cheating, stealing and the other-ing of youth and inexperience by established players become part of this dynamic.

Conclusion

What this paper has aimed to do is provide an analysis of technological changes within EDM and explore this through the views of a number of DJ-producers. To this end it has outlined an update to Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural capital (techno-cultural capital) for use as a modest analytical tool to examine its small ethnographic sample. Specific instances of the tensions surrounding technological changes and EDM scenes are discussed through three themes considered controversial by DJ-producers: cheating, stealing and 'the kids'. These are considered by established DJs as a disruption to existing skills and conventions and complicate existing dynamics of converting types of cultural capital into economic capital.

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*Two Waves of Transformation and Construction of Lepcha (Mon) Identity in Sikkim:
An Assessment of Intra-Community Divide*

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Introduction

Culture changes and is not always static. But alteration in culture does not always mean it is in the state of collapse or demise thus, societal change and culture may not necessarily share a negative relation. Nonetheless the two variables are in a continuous state of negotiation with self and other. Sometimes, culture changes with the change in society but sometimes it might not. There might be various reasons for the above statement. Analogous is the case of Lepcha experience and identity formation process.

Historically Lepchas were animist for whom the holy were their own natural surroundings. They believe the first Lepchas were formed out of the pristine snow of holy mount Kanchendzonga the second highest peak in the world by a *Rum*¹, and thus trace their origin to the mountains. Lepchas, to infer, were in close harmony with nature. Their daily needs like food, clothing, and shelter were procured from nature and consumed with minor modifications.

Lepchas had their own indigenous identity, culture, tradition, and religion in the state of Sikkim.² There is no disagreement amongst Sikkimese that they were the *rahithanay*³ of the once independent kingdom. But these very features that make them unique were replaced in the gradual process of Lepcha societal development first, with the advent of Kham Tibetan rulers who later founded the Namgyal dynasty, introduced Buddhism and overshadowed their indigenous beliefs with their own religion and culture and second, the arrival of Christian proselytization missionaries who bestowed a completely new outlook to their religious belief system, culture and identity. I have presented here only two forces of foreign intrusion though anthropologists would argue that there were three (Gorer 1938) and possibly four waves of foreign occupation (Foning 1987). This paper categorizes only two waves because of the fact that these two groups were the only occupant that left a lasting impression over the mental-cultural-ideational makeover of the tribe which still finds resonance in the intra-community divide. These two experiences have led to the amalgamation and gradual fabrication of modern Lepcha culture and identity on the one hand and loose Lepcha intra socio-cultural divide on the other. What this brief study would analyse is the extent of such fissure and the pragmatic reasons behind such divide.

A Brief Profile of the Mu-tanchi-Rong kup/Lepchas

Lepchas like to be self addressed as *Mu-tanchi-Rong kup*.⁴ They traditionally were and some are still of the view that supernatural power organizes and animates the material world. Each of the Lepcha clans has sacred origin of their own. They primarily followed

¹ The literal interpretation of Rum is God or the Lepchas synonym for Mother Nature or the Ultimate Mother of Creation, namely Itbu-Debu-Rum.

² Sikkim used to be an independent Eastern Himalayan Kingdom till it formally merged with the Indian Union in the year 1975 and became the 22nd state of the Union.

³ *Raithanay* in Nepali diction denotes “native” or “aboriginal”.

⁴ The Lepchas believe that they were created by Itbu-Debu-Rum (the mother creator) out of love and affection and are her favorites of all the other creations therefore the interpretation of Mu-tanchi-Rong kup would be *God's favorite chosen children*.

*Bon*⁵ religion. This belief is clear during many of their ritualistic practices. For examples major *Rum Faat*⁶, shamanistic healing, birth and even death sacrament are generally performed by a *Bungthing*⁷ where nature is a manifest point of reference. A *Bungthing* can either be a male or a female. The Lepcha male *bungthings* are sometimes called, *Yabaa* and female *bungthings* as *Yamaa*. Foning (1987) labels this discrepancy in terminology as the influence of *Tsong*⁸ community over the Lepchas. But a Lepcha *Mun*⁹ named La Tsangmoo aged 74, resident of Lower Dzongu contest that the spiritual power of *Yamaa* could accompany a *Mun* and it is up to her to invoke *Yamaa* during rituals or remain neutral. *Bungthing* historically had an important position in a Lepcha society as in the absence of a '*Panu*' or a Lepcha king he would be entitled to look after the affairs of the administration until a new king was chosen (Gurung 2011).

They have always lived in perfect harmony with the surrounding environment. This is why Lepchas could be entitled as the true sons and daughters of nature. The outlook is evident in their belief of "sacred origin" as stated in the preceding paragraphs.¹⁰ In relation the tribesmen are often referred as shrewd botanist because of the exquisite and intricate medicinal knowledge of numerous plants found in the Himalayan belt. The tribe's practice of hunting, gathering is also indicative of the close relation they share with nature. It proved to be very essential for men especially during their hunting expeditions and also to sustain their own families. They are of the belief that every inanimate object has a soul of its own by the virtue of being a part of nature.

Lepchas are the "*eldest sons/daughters and thus elder brothers/sisters in Sikkim*". Many of the places within Sikkim bear Lepcha names too, example are the villages located in south Sikkim which are named Rong-Lee and Rhenock literally meaning the *Home of the Lepchas* and *Black hill*. As the autochthones and to show a token of respect Lepchas were and are situated in a separate reserve, Dzongu¹¹ in North Sikkim, privileged during the Namgyal dynasty then and by the Indian government now. It is to be noted that when Sikkim merged with the Indian Union in 1975, the tribal privilege was upheld in the constitution of India under article 371-F¹² attributing a sign of honor to the indigene of the region.

⁵ Bon is a primitive spiritual practice which has a strong inclination towards shamanism and animism.

⁶ Rum Faats are sacred rituals accompanied by incantations and prayer recitals to please the gods and goddesses residing in all the natural surroundings (for example the mountains, rivers, forests etc). Chyu Rum now perverted into Chirim Rum Faat commemorated usually in the month of June and led by a *Bungthing* is one such ritual.

⁷ *Bungthing* are male Lepcha shamans. They are often known as the medicine man of the tribe.

⁸ *Tsongs* are the Subba tribal community of Sikkim. Some anthropologists consider them to be the indigenous of Sikkim along with the Mon or the Lepchas.

⁹ *Mun* are the Lepcha female shamans.

¹⁰ Lepcha believe their ancestors had a sacred origin by the virtue of being created by Mother Nature or supreme *Rum*.

¹¹ Dzongu is a separate reserve meant only for the Lepchas of Dzongu proper. Even Lepchas who resides outside the reserve but is a resident of Sikkim are not permitted to enter the region without prior permission of the state authority and procure land within the established boundary of Dzongu.

¹² Article 371 F ascertains Dzongu as a special reserve meant for the Lepchas of Sikkim under the Indian Constitution.

Generally the traditional Lepcha houses are raised from the ground and rest on wooden pillars which in turn rest on flat stones. The space in between were used as sheds for cattle and poultry. It had thatch roofs with normally a fire place in the kitchen. The Lepchas wore simple dress traditionally made of nettle fiber which was meticulously waved and prepared by Lepcha women. This is one of the reasons why the tribe is often referred to as the *nettle weavers*. Silk, gems stone, bamboo were often used to craft fashionable outfits. The skill of weaving was passed down across generations in families especially from mother to their daughter. *Dumvun* in Lepcha and *Gaadha* in Nepali dialect is the end product worn by women and *Thokro* is solely men's attire. *Toh-roo* a white head scarf worn only by the women, *Lyaak* (necklace), *Sambrang-bur* a multiple silver waist amulets resembling a *bur* (flower) of a special tree (sambrang), and multi colored belt called *Nomrek* usually accompanies the female attire. To complement the Thokro, Lepcha men wear *Tomu* or baggy quarter pants with *Athyektuk* (bamboo hat) or *Shyambu* (normal hat made of cloth). Finishing the Thokro would be a Nomrek tied around the waist.

Lepcha dialect is widely accepted to be a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the tribal inhabited land of Sikkim, Darjeeling (West Bengal), Ilam (Nepal) and even Samtse district of south-western Bhutan (Plaisier 2007). And Lepcha script is said to have been invented at the end of 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century by the then king Cha-dor (Gorer 2005). However this postulate stands challenged, reveal Foning and Gurung in their respective study of the ethnic aboriginal tribe and political dynamics in Sikkim (Foning 1987; Gurung 2011). Tamsang (1983) on the other hand has argued it to have been developed by Thling Mensalong an official of early Lepcha king (Tamsang 1983). But he too has failed to mention the exact year in which it was invented. The tribe had an interesting mode to preserve and transfer their culture from one generation to another in the form of oral history. In addition to the arguments by Gorer (1938) and Foning (1987) this could be another reason why they did not feel the necessity to maintain a written history or literature like that of the other tribes inhabiting the Eastern Himalaya.¹³ It is therefore the tribes' legacy that folklores and ancestry are transferred from one generation to another in the form of a monologue. This is why the village elders, family head (generally male counterpart) were and are the prime keepers of folktales around which the 'consciousness of belonging'¹⁴ of the Lepcha youths are built even today.

Two waves of Transformation

The indigenous tribal identity of Lepcha was hit and subsequently altered by two different groups of foreign forces. Though Foning would have a counterview against this

¹³ Gorer sums up in his study of the Himalayan village that the Lepcha literature and the knowhow of Lepcha scripture were lost due to the obliteration that it met in the hands of the invading forces of Tibet which ruled over the indigenes till monarchy was finally abolished in the latter half of the 20th century whereas, Foning contends that the Lepcha scripture and its legacy gradually faded into oblivion because of the lack of enthusiasm on behalf of the latter Lepchas for whom the spirituality which was maintained with the decades long copying of the Namthars or Lepcha Holy texts stood lost due to overriding influence and use of Nepali and Hindi languages.

¹⁴ By 'consciousness of belonging' I mean to highlight the perception that shapes their identity and in turn makes them aware of their origin and cultural roots.

proposition, the two forces mentioned have had the most profound impact over the tribe. Foremost were the migrants from the Kham region of Tibet who later founded the Namgyal dynasty and ruled over Sikkim till the latter half of the 20th Century and second was the advent of British East India Company and subsequent expedition of Christian missionaries in the region. These two external forces shaped and for some Lepcha populous (re)shaped their identity and culture.

Advent of the Tibetans and Construction of Lepcha Buddhist Identity

In the history of Sikkim, Phun-tShogs rNamgyal or often Penchoo Namgye¹⁵ of Tibetan origin a descendent of Khye Bumsa was coronated by three 'Red Hat' sect Lamas at West Sikkim as the first Chogyal (king) in or around 1641-42 (Foning 1987; Gorer 2005; Wangchuk and Zulca 2007; Rislely 2010; Gurung 2011). After such sanctification in the 17th century we can conjunct Sikkim politically came under the Tibetan influence. The consequence of such a consecration was the dawn of a new uni-linear relation of the ruler and the ruled where the interests of the Lepchas were represented by a single monarch. In the end once independent land mass was transformed into the inherent property of the Namgyal dynasty. Subsequently the indigenous identity constitutive of culture/tradition/religious sermons of the tribe began reflecting the dominance of a foreign culture. In addition when Lamaism was adopted as the state religion of Sikkim the ethnic group had no option than to follow suit (Das 1983; Gorer 2005; Sinha 2008). In the subsequent phase the tribal identity was shaped according to that of its Sovereign. However, the traditional tribal culture of the Lepchas was not completely forsaken with the advent of Lamaist culture. A part of the culture of the Lepchas was maintained as a safety valve to weaken the likelihood of uprising against the monarch and the ease of administration. It resulted in a monarchical establishment where Lepcha culture was given relative autonomy.

Lama Lhatsun Nangkha Jigma or Lhatsun Chhembo one of the three saints, the other two lamas being Sempah Chhembo and Rigdsin Chhembo, sanctified the coronation of the first king of Sikkim (Waddell 1984; Foning 1987). Lama Lhatsun Chhembo is said to have introduced Buddhism to the isolated tribe of the Lepchas in Sikkim. It is argued by Choedon (1995), that "while the rulers were busy in consolidating kingdom, the Lamas were engaged in spreading Lamaism" in Sikkim. The Lepchas never really resisted Buddhist cultural dominance which could probably be because they were party to a historic blood brotherhood agreement with the Tibetan/Bhotias Buddhist which was concluded between Thekong Tek (the Lepcha Chieftain) and Khye Bumsa (originally Tibetan) representative of the two sects at Kabi Lungchok situated 70 km north of Gangtok (current capital of Sikkim) and they did not want to trample upon the sacredness of such an agreement. This may be the reason why Foning (1987) considers the agreement a betrayal on the part of the Lepcha chief and his community as a result of which they were colonized later. Secondly, the Rongs were made subservient to the new religion by modifying the very rudimentary of Buddhism by incorporating some of the core values of their native Mon culture. It gave Tibetan Buddhism an essential Lepcha

¹⁵ Namgye and later Namgyal was the title conferred to the first king Phun-tShogs-rNamgyal by Lama Lhatsun Nangkha Jigma or Lhatsun Chhembo. The title was carried on by the dynasty to signify royal lineage.

overtone which was more acceptable to the tribe. Thirdly, Lepcha by nature are peace loving and a tribe with no known records of war making, violence and annexation. This very nature could have kept them from not engaging directly against the foreign cultural and political dominance. Nonetheless, when we recourse to Sinha (2008) we find some faint evidence that some of the Lepchas did stage marginal amount of rebellion towards the encroaching Tibetans but in vain.

This period could be marked as the first wave of Lepcha identity construction. The conversion could be labeled as a response to a structural pressure, from the above, rather than from the agential echelon. The demands to change surged from the dominant to the dominated. Because of this though contemporary Lepcha are aware of the fact that they were nature worshippers they now are more attuned in the line of Buddhist philosophy. Tibetan Lamaism is thus the prevalent religion of Buddhist Lepchas. They have a blend of two philosophies that is, Monism¹⁶ and Lamaist Buddhism. The salad bowl approach signified the partial end of Mon culture and the amalgamation of Lepcha style of nature worshipping along with Tibetan Buddhism. For example every rituals of Bungthing were accompanied with a live sacrifice which was discontinued after the adoption of Buddhism where live sacrifices were considered an act of sin. They termed sin as '*la-yo*' (Gorer 2005). The community life practiced by the Lepcha society was still strong during this phase.

Christian missionaries and (Re)Construction of Lepcha Identity

The Christian proselytization process of the Lepchas had a fair share of influence from two different groups. These groups could broadly be classified into two, first, the non-British (European) missionaries, and second, essentially the missionary efforts extended from Great Britain (Foning 1987). Nevertheless both the schools had contributed to the alteration of the Lepcha life-style and the future of the tribe. Gorer (2005) explains that Lepcha conversion in Sikkim represented the most successful missionary endeavors as it happened to modify the converts' character most profoundly than the earlier conversion to Buddhism (Gorer 2005).

British came to Sikkim during the 18th Century and their missionaries started converting a few of the Lepchas to Christianity (Das 1983). The British empire as in other parts of South Asia was actually in search for new source of raw materials and cost effective trade routes. The then kingdom became the protectorate of the British Raj since 1890 with the signing of a treaty between later Great Britain and China regarding Sikkim and Tibet (Kazi 2009). Nonetheless they started active participation in the internal politics of Sikkim after the first half of the 19th Century. Though we find the aura of the British strategy under Sugauli Treaty of 1915 concluded between East India Company-Nepal, it was Treaty of Titaliya of 1817 with Sikkim that precisely offered them with this economic and political end. It gave the British East India Company merchants and traders who desired to use the transit route through Sikkim, an opportunity and a corridor to exploit which could levy no transit cost (Gurung 2011). It also altered the political

¹⁶ Monism is the ancient belief among the Lepchas in the sacredness of nature which is accompanied by nature worshipping.

sovereignty of independent Sikkim as it now looked towards the crown to meet its foreign conducts and external threats.

This phase can be considered the second stage of (re)construction of the Lepcha identity. It was during this phase that many of the Lepchas abandoned their traditional way of life and began to toddle on a new path which promised them salvation from individual sin and promised better prospect of life. And it was the Christian Lepchas who received the benefits of first modern education which the missionaries saw essential for their moral, spiritual and socio-economic upliftment. Primarily, the conversion was a result of discontents (physical and social) in their own religious-cultural tradition. For example, many of the Lepchas felt that the Lamaist tradition had not much to offer regarding their spiritual upliftment and physical well being, whereas others felt the rituals conducted were too lengthy, costly and therefore economically unviable. Secondly, the growing admiration of the alien European culture resulted in the gradual alienation from their indigenous culture. This trait is prominent and visible in many of the ways they interact with their own tribesmen. For example, Khamrimoo as an expression of greeting has been replaced by Jai-Masi or Hail to the Masihaa/Savior (Praise the Lord) after the conversion.

The second phase of transformation was seen at two levels, individualistic and societal. At the Individualistic level Christianity replaced the spiritual life of the animist-Buddhist Lepchas of the then Sikkim and stood molded in the European Christian philosophy of sin, salvation and civilization. On the other hand it had a spill-over effect. The converts renounced their traditional Lepcha way of life completely which was to an extent maintained under the former Buddhist culture. They alienated themselves from their indigenous society and felt raised and civilized from individuals who still followed the traditional animist-Buddhist culture. Rightly so they received modern education in the hands of the Christian Missionaries too. The new Christian Lepchas converts were later bestowed with the providence of the very proselytization mission which they originally found themselves in. The converts during this era became the mouth piece of Christian values in the Sikkimese society. This phase saw the beginning of a fissure in the homogenous Lepchas society.

Varied Nuances of the two Conversions and Intra-tribal Divide

There are manifold implications of the two conversions. It shaped, constructed and (re)structured their identities accordingly. Reactions and counter reactions amongst themselves, viz the two divided son of the same great mother were therefore unavoidable. The dissatisfaction raised by the two poles has resulted in a benign yet sometimes strong divide between the two opposite poles.

Buddhist reaction towards the Christians

Hard liner Buddhist Lepchas are so much attuned to the Lamaist Buddhist way of life that they wield huge reservation against Christian transformations. They feel it is an injustice done to their traditional values and culture. The non Christian Lepchas lament the fact that many of their own have left their indigenous culture and have adapted foreign

practices. It is so because even though the Lepchas were converted to Buddhist ideals they were associated with their animist culture. The era of Buddhist conversion saw the healthy incorporation of both the traditions. They never were alienated from their customary practices in a real sense. This is why they associated and did not rebel against the acquired Buddhist culture than the second phase of conversion under Christianity which demanded the complete abandonment of the traditional values¹⁷. The Lepchas after confirming to Buddhist culture did not or were not obliged to completely abandon their traditional life style of worshipping nature. They were worshipping their own deities under the cloak of Buddhism. A hybrid religion was thus born that gave rise to a new blend altogether by grafting Buddhism along with nature worshipping. The practice of certain values like multi-theism¹⁸ was accepted in Buddhism as in the traditional nature worshipping customs of the Lepchas. But confirmation to Christian ideal would mean a whole new ball game all together. Under Buddhism, indigenous belief system, customary laws and majority of tribal rituals could be practiced as a part and partial of larger Lamaist Buddhist tradition whereas the same was completely forsaken when Christianity was adopted. The thoughts of the Lepcha Buddhists are clear that they were never Christians therefore has reservations against Christians converts.

Buddhist Lepcha feel that they are very close to their own traditional culture. They speak of maintaining their language, the practice of Mun and Bungthing and various Lepcha fests in Sikkim even today. The group portray themselves pristine as compared to the Christian Lepchas. The group is ethnocentric in the sense they do not want to entertain Christian beliefs and practices. There is minimum mutual recognition towards Christianity.

No Buddhist Lepchas performs Christian celebration and vice-versa however minor exceptions lies on both the sides. Some Christian Lepchas would still celebrate Lepcha *Namsung* or *Nambun* (nam –year, sung-to celebrate) meaning New Year which falls in the month of December every year but the numbers of such individuals are handful. This is especially true of Christian Lepchas of Darjeeling and Kalimpong Hills.¹⁹ But the scale of celebrating Christmas is much more than the normal Namsung fest which is just the opposite of ordinary Buddhist Lepchas.

The traditional abode of the Lepchas, Dzongu is not totally homogenous too. Christianity has grasped some of the Lepcha household and a Presbyterian Church has come in Upper Dzongu. Mangan which is the district headquarter of the north district has seen maximum conversions. Weddings show the greatest rift in their indigenous practices. While the Buddhist Lepcha are more akin to portray the traditional aspects of the marriage culture the same is completely abandoned by the Christians. Buddhist Lepchas still maintain the ancient custom of *sunkyo*²⁰ or the customs of sacred oath taking during the wedding

¹⁷ Traditional values are taken to be both the Animist and Buddhist culture which was prevalent before Christianity set foot in Sikkim.

¹⁸ Multi-theism in this paper is taken as a practice of worshipping multiple god and goddesses. This tradition was prevalent in both the animist culture of the Lepchas and the Tibetan Buddhist therefore a point of commonality could be secured easily between the two religious practices.

¹⁹ Darjeeling is a district and Kalimpong a sub-division of it under West Bengal.

²⁰ Sunkyo is the sacred custom of oath taking between the bride and the groom. It is pretty much like the western Christian oath taking ceremony during their wedding where the couple vows to be with the other

which is usually initiated by a Bungthing. It holds tremendous significance for the Buddhist Lepchas whereas the same is no more than a show for the Christians.

During the birth and death rituals there are certain compulsory practices which are put into practices in a Buddhist Lepcha household. For example after a child is born in the Buddhist household, after certain number of days which varies from three to four days, the family performs '*Tungbaong Faat*' that is the naming ceremony for the new born which is officiated by a wise elder or a Mun or a Bungthing. Even after death, the responsibility to make the soul rest in peace in their respective *Lyap*²¹ or the sacred place of their origin rests with a Mun and sometimes a revered Lama for the Buddhists.

Buddhist Lepchas often accuse their Christian brothers as the one who have forgotten their language, customary practices, animist culture and religion which they feel is important component of the Lepcha identity. This accusation has a grain of truth in it, but not holistically as there are numerous Christian Lepchas who are equally willing to learn and revive their indigenous language. Traditional dresses are still worn with fervor, nonetheless, occasionally by them during weddings, Rum Faats, Namsung etc. The emotional attachment that a Buddhist Lepcha have towards protecting their identity is considered stronger than the Christian converts. Buddhist Lepcha are proud to be a part of their traditional culture and heritage.

Christian grievances towards the Buddhists

Christianity is more than a religion for the Lepchas who have trodden in the path of the Christ. It is a personal relationship with the only true God. They believe that the non-Christian Lepchas do not know or have not recognized the ultimate truth. They feel that it is only through the words of the Bible and Christ that miracles in their lives could take place that can bestow eternal afterlife. In this sense Christianity is the spiritual structure that supports their physical life. Conversion as such cannot scale the importance of their sacred spiritual life and therefore the new converts are comfortable in calling themselves *transformed* rather than converts. They perceive that they represent a more modernized/civilized way of life than their non-Christian brothers. They behave that they are the embodiment of a finer ideal and are way ahead of the crude principles of nature worshipping and superstitions thus represent a more modernized/civilized way of life than their non-Christian brothers.

Practicing culture of Buddhism meant giving rise to a taboo identity under Christianity. A form of domination of one culture over the other was established as the Lepchas who adopted Christianity completely forsook the established customary practices. Every Lepcha Christian feels that it is a responsibility to protect their tribesmen. According to them those who dwell in other religious and customary practices are traversing in

till the end of their mortal life. The only difference being the use of chee or often chi (fermented millet) and butter which both the couple has to sip three consecutive times to validate the marriage ceremony.

²¹ Lyap refer to the sacred spot of origin for the Lepchas. They believe to be the descendent from the mountains and trace their lyap within it. They are of the belief that once a Lepcha dies and if that soul should reach their respective Lyap are the most fortunate as they would rest amongst their ancestors and everlasting peace.

illusionary world that they have weaved for themselves. So to speak it is a path of the unrighteous and sin which should be abandoned for the right cause, which is Christianity.

Christian proselytization missionaries bestowed a completely new outlook to their religious belief system, culture and identity. They believed everything to be the creation of God so the right path of worship is the devotion of the creator, not the created. This is one of the essential divergence points where the Christian Lepchas differentiate with their Buddhist brothers. There is no question of multi theism in Christianity as they believe in only one single God therefore forsaking him for some other gods is out of question. Therefore it is only he who can forgive the sins committed in this life, burden shared, and would ultimately be resurrected after death.

Weddings, births and death ceremonies of the believers of the new faith completely took a new turn. The wedding dress was changed from the tribal attire to western tuxedo and wedding gowns. The custom of sunkyo without which a Lepcha wedding would not be recognized was breached and took the form of official oath taking ceremony through a pastor. The spiritual witnesses were reduced from all possible things created under the sky to the only one who has created it. The birth and death ceremonies would be officiated only through a pastor and the holy-scripture. The hurt of death was successfully removed with the promise of an afterlife.

The level of belonging of the Christian Lepchas towards their tribe is virtually present however the non-Christians are not willing to accept this proposition. The non-Christians always question their divided sons and daughters whether they have in actuality any contribution to make towards the protection and safeguard their culture and identity. They still feel confirming and being subservient to the alien culture is not the correct road to take. They always propose to go back and trace the roots to where they have come from.

Conclusion

It is asserted that of the many tribes inhabiting Sikkim, Lepchas have preserved their language, culture, tradition and identity to a very large extent. However one should note that the intra-community divide runs strong in the Lepcha society of Sikkim. The divide is between the two groups, Buddhist and the later Christians Lepchas. There is a benign residue of the animist principles within the traditional Buddhist Lepchas where every object has a spirit of its own and is diametrically opposite to the rationale of the modern Christians Lepcha. The social life amongst them stands fractured.

Historically the Lepchas had a very strong community life. The societal responsibility was very high in a traditional homogenous Lepcha society. Every social activity from marriage, birth, Rum Faats, and death ceremonies used to be a community affair. It was not only the member of the concerned family that was actively involved but the whole society in such events. They made sure that the societal burden during such occasions was shared amongst the whole community. However, such social solidarity in the contemporary era has declined. Though there are formal interactions between the two divided groups, the respective community members do not identify themselves with the other as they previously used to.

Sinha contends that Lepchas retained their tribal practices after adapting Lamaist and Christian way of life (Sinha 2008). This might not be necessarily true because the Lepchas retained the practice of their traditional belief and customs under Lamaism but not Christianity. Thus a complete Identity transmogrification was witnessed in the case of Christianity conversion but not under the Buddhist culture. In the process of civilizational progress of the Lepcha society their identity does not seem vanishing as stated by earlier theorists and literatures but gradually transforming. This cultural difference has resulted in great strain in intra-community relationships as religious conversion is rigorous in the case of Christianity but not under the Buddhist culture. Under the latter there is no inverse relation between conversion and their tribal customs. It continues with the same zeal and vigor till the present days with minor modifications. And though Lepcha identity was transmogrified by both the waves, the former gesticulate proved to be much more persuasive in (re)innovating the distinctiveness of the tribe. Therefore there is a widening gap between them and the presence of ultra orthodox individuals in both the camps makes the reconciliation even difficult. An inverse relation between conversion and their tribal customs could be observed even if not in an explicit standard. The two experiences have led to the amalgamation and gradual fabrication of modern Lepcha culture and identity. Once homogenous community stands divided in the lines of acquired identities of its two foreign masters. And confirming to these ideals has led to a benign intra socio-cultural divide within the Lepcha community. But at the same time there is an assurance from the younger generation of Lepcha youths of 21st century Sikkim that reconciliation could be reached between the two as both the entities aspire to protect, promote, and conserve their unique identity for the times to come.

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*Growing with Time: By the Study of the Cultural and Spacial Representation of Three
Government-Run Immigrant Villages in Hualien, Taiwan*

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Abstract

In 1909 (the 42nd year of Meiji), Taiwan governor's office initiated an first immigration project in Central Hualien in Eastern Taiwan by building three government-run agricultural immigrant villages called Yoshino Mura, Toyota Mura and Hayashida Mura. This planning of villages influenced those villages in a great deal. Throughout the course of time, many colonial structures and spaces in these villages were left uninhabited/abandoned, transforming them into heritage/historical sites.

This study focuses on three historical sites that play an important role during Japanese colonial period, and seeks to investigate on the cultural and special representation of the government-run immigration villages of Yoshino Mura, Toyota Mura, and Hayashida Mura in Central Hualien. Three examples are the sites discovered in these three villages: temples, the residence of the stationmaster, and the tobacco towers that witness the three villages in three aspects- religion, transportation system, and tobacco industry. Belien temple, situated in Toyota Mura, was built as a place to worship gods and goddesses from both Japanese and Taiwanese traditional religion. It stands as an important structure for religion in the community. The residence of the stationmaster in Toyota Mura is now transformed into the Five-Flavors House, a community charity shop run by local children as well as teenagers with help from voluntary workers. There are many tobacco towers left In Hayashida Mura that now became a tourist site. Comparison of past and present conditions among these villages is done to reveal the difference from its original foundation to development, and to find out the relationship between these spaces and residences in the immigrant villages in order to analyze potential resources for sustainability and creativity of the cultural heritage for future development.

Keywords: Immigrant villages, Representation, Yoshino Mura, Toyota Mura, Hayashida Mura

1. Background

1-1 Introduction of Immigrant Village in Hualien

Taiwan had been colonized by Japan during 1895-1945. Because of this special historical background, there are many historical spaces built in Japanese style and the landscape planning from Japan colonial time influence later Taiwan a lot. This study focus on a particular case: government-run immigrant villages left by Taiwan governor in Japan colonial period.

The cause of the island of Taiwan immigrants can be divided into four stages: pre-privatization immigration projects, pre-the official camp immigrant business plan, the late private immigration business plan, post-government-run immigration business plan based on the establishment of the project on and off the end of. The government-run and private immigration undertakings biggest difference is that the former is the non-profit purposes; the latter the help of profit-seeking enterprise purposes colonize immigrants.

This study focus on the first established and largest of the three government-run agricultural migrant village: Yoshino mura; Toyota mura and Hayashida mura. The Hayashida mura. The purpose of immigrant villages are: (1) consolidating their domination of Japan; (2) developing advance preparation for Japanese movement into tropical areas; (3) adjusting the surplus population of the motherland and solving the shortage of farmland; (4) aims related to national defense and assimilation(Higashi,1914).The government-run migrant village settlements for production residence compound structure, the house is located in the production space, the village has the Directorate of Immigration the road before medical clinics, primary and secondary schools, shrines, missionary and other public facilities, residential and arable landcontact with the outside world to form a transportation network(Chang,2001).

1-2 Research Purpose /Research Question

The immigrant villages play important roles both of the important cultural heritages and the nice habitable places for local residences. The central purpose of this study was to investigate the representation and the relationship between past and present of the historical sites in three villages. The primary research questions to be addressed in this paper are as follows: (1)What are the roles of three historical sits play in village now? (2)How do the functions of three sits related to the original function in Japan colonial period? (3)What make the difference in three sites in terms of the functions of three sits related to the original function in Japan colonial period?(4)What are the potential resources or connections in those historical sits in terms of to make them revitalization? For purposes of this study, the contribution by bringing together of the literature review is the first work, and then the field survey and the interview from founding people in the village, followed by data comparison analysis.

2. Literature Review

A number of studies have investigated the immigrant village Japan colonial period since1986. During the past 20 years there have been many researches on the

history(1986), the anthropogeography(2009), the industries' development and how to inherit the immigrant villages Architectural Spaces in those villages(1998). The immigrant villages play important roles both of the important cultural heritages and the nice habitable places for local residences(2012). The central purpose of this study was to investigate the representation and the relationship between past and present of the Tobacco industrial heritages and to find an opportunity to the Tobacco industries.

2.1 Literature of Immigrant Village

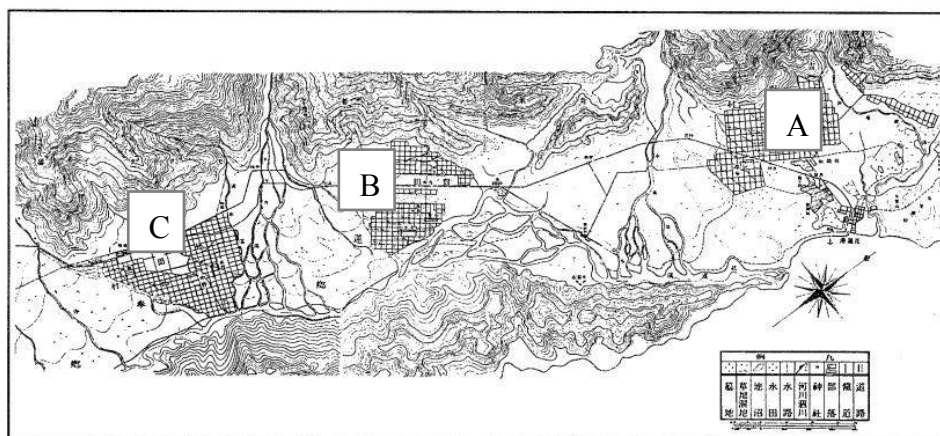
Author	title	year	from	content
Chung Shumin	Government run immigration villages during the Japanese occupation-by case study of Yoshino village	1986	Correspondence of Taiwan History and Relics,8, pp74-84	Refresh the view through the Japanese literature immigrant career success. Either to solve the population problem in national defense objectives and purposes of the experiment tropical move was not successful, then there is no point of view on the role of assimilation effects.
Huang Lansiang	building purposes and the operating organizations of residents of the government-run immigrant village-Yoshino, Toyota, Hayashida three villages	1997	watching east Taiwan Conference Proceedings, pp213-237	In the Japanese occupation era immigrant residents of the village organization operating as the focus, explore the immigrant village operating system. Historians argue that past cases run immigration views of the village is the failure results
Chang Sufen	The Japanese agriculture immigrants in Taiwan (1909-1945)	2001	Academia Historica	Detailed and complete overview of the Japanese government through the immigration project camp, and from the perspective of industry and social groups cut analysis, which cites a number of Japanese literature and Japanese immigrants interviews.
Chang Chiaching	the birth of a city -The formation and development of Hualien streets	1996	Hualien Cultural Center	Explore Hualien Literature local Consciousness and the starting point, and the development of Hualien City / Street writing
Yi-Hang Ma	Fictionality and Factuality , Mixture And Exchange Between Urban And Rural—An Analysis of A Sense of Place And Writing of City/Street in Hualien Literature	2008	National Taiwan University	the text for discussion spoke shaft, trying to write from the writer of "fiction" and "practice" mutual generation to explore local history, geography and personal experience clash between convergence.

2.2 Literature of Tobacco Industries

author	title	year	from	content
Hung, H sin-Lan	The Tobacco Industries in Taiwan	2004	Taipei, Yuan Tzu	divided into ten chapters — from the industrial history began to describe; then introduced four tobacco-growing areas in Taiwan (Taichung, Chiayi, Pingtung and Hualien) and tobacco growth process; further illustrate the tobacco monopoly, after which they go to the company of the international context; simultaneously cut culture, to explore the tobacco that fascinate
Su Lo Pi Yu	Tobacco Leaf Building (Yanlou) cultural property activating reuse – the case of activating reuse tobacco leaf building of Fonglin Township in Hualien	2008	The Department of Architecture & Urban, Chinese culture university	The research from long-term investigation and bibliography records knows Tobacco leaf building of Folin Town and aggregates have activating reuse value and functions. Especially travel of the nous combine agricultural landscape and leisure sightseeing to emerge the history memory value. The research target is to know how to activating reuse

3. The Evolution of Three village from 1913 to 2013

In 1911, Meiji 43 years, Yoshino mura immigrants guidance had been set, secondly, Toyota mura immigration guidance in 1913 in April, abolished by the end of March 1918, and set Hayashida mura immigrants guidance in 1914, abolished by the end of March 1918 (Taisho 7 years) .



C. Hayashida mura B. Toyota mura A. Yoshino mura
 Fig.1 the location of the planning of immigrant villages in Hualien

3.1 The “hide and seek” of Time -Yoshino Mura to Ji’an township

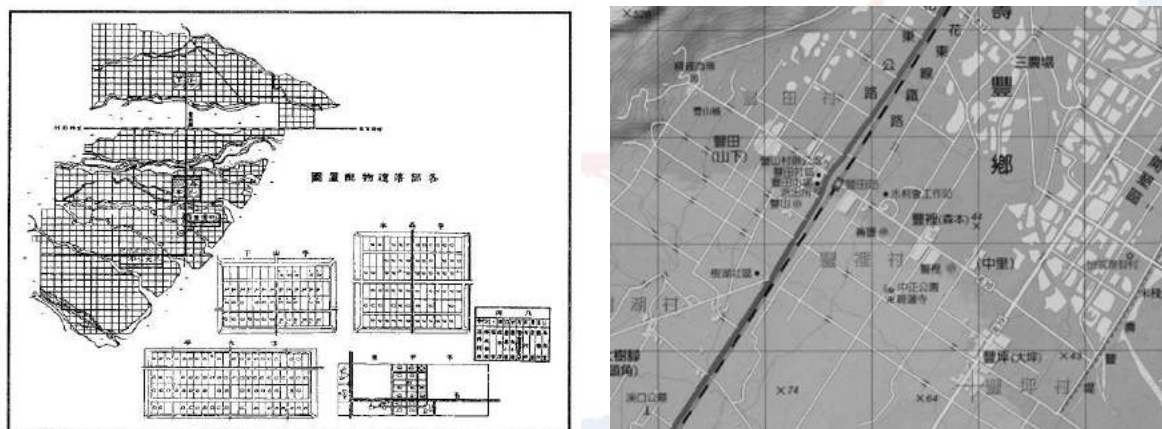


The planning map of Yoshino mura in 1911 The currently map of Yoshino mura in 2013

Fig.2 the comparison of location of pass and present of the Yoshino mura

Few Tobacco tower left in Ji’an. The owner lived next to the tower. Few tourists seldom visit. The shrine had been destroyed. The locations now have a traditional market. Only the monument of village left. The location of train station had changed by government. The original train station had been destroyed. The train station staff residence left, the residents want to preserve the building and have a series of events to gather everyone’s memory.

3.2 Corridor of Time -Toyota Mara to Soufeng township(Fenten community)



The planning map of Toyota mura in 1913 The currently map of Yoshino mura in 2013

Fig.3 the comparison of location of pass and present of the Toyota mura

The Tobacco tower is abandoned in Fengten. Become a storehouse of the owner. The shrines in Fengten become the Belien temple. Residents in Fengten still take this place as their belief center. The organizations of this village hold the activities for all

residents in Belien temple. The train station staff residence left and become “the Five-Flavors House”. This community charity shop, Wu Wei Wu (the Five-Flavors House) runs by local children as well as teenagers with help from voluntary workers.

3.2.1 Wu Wei Wu (the Five-Flavors House)

This community charity shop, Wu Wei Wu (the Five-Flavour House), is located in Fengtian, a small village in Hualian County, and run by local children as well as teenagers with help from voluntary workers. The main objective of such establishment is not about economic interest but providing kids growing up in this remote area, via business transactions, with the opportunity to see the world outside, to accumulate a variety of interpersonal relationship and experience, to open up their visions, and to eventually boost their self-esteem.

All the commodities here are donations from all over Taiwan. Kids from neighbourhood communities work here for exchange of what they want, daily supplies mostly, and for exchange of knowledge and skills as well. Wu Wei Wu has so far succeeded in not only offering the kids long-term support and care as supplements to their families’ lack of certain functions, but also keeping a good pace toward the objective of being totally self-sufficient, i.e., not relying solely on governmental subsidies, due to its functioning as a second-hand shop.

The name, Wu Wei Wu, came from the kids themselves; came from the wording, “Wu-Wei-Za-Chen” (one feeling complicated as the five flavours in one’s daily life are tangled together), for they have actually caught a glimpse of human lives while sorting and selling all those second-hand goods. To be more specific, “Wu Wei Wu” indicates that one gets to taste the whole five flavours of human lives simply making business deals here in this small hut.

3.3 Frozen in Time- Hayashida Mura to Fenglin township



The planning map of Hayashida mura in 1911

The currently map of Hayashida mura in 2013

Fig.4 the comparison of location of pass and present of the Yoshino mura

The Tobacco towers preserve well in Fenglin Township. The owners have a good social network with the local organization. The number of tourists visited the tobacco tower increase. The shrine had been destroyed in 1970s. After the effect of local organizations and town office, they want to rebuilt the shrine and make it as a forest park. New train station, Fenglin, replace the station, Nanping, here. Most of people lived around the Fenglin station.

3.3.1 Tobacco Building Cultural Cluster

The cash crop of tobacco was imported into the Hualien area during the Japanese occupation, with the purpose of increasing the income of the Japanese immigrant villages located in the Hualien-Taitung areas. Lintian Immigrant Village, located in Fenglin Township, became a major center for the planting of tobacco. The tobacco buildings were used to store and smoke-roast the tobacco leaves. There are ten tobacco buildings located in Fenglin Township's Darong Village and Beilin Village area, making it Taiwan's most concentrated area of tobacco buildings. These tobacco buildings also happen to be better-preserved than most. Because tobacco is a strong cash crop, the tobacco buildings became a symbol of financial ability. In early years, one just had to see how many tobacco buildings each household owned, in order to guess the household's level of affluence.

Tobacco buildings come in two shapes, namely the Osaka-style and the Hiroshima-style. The smoke outlet of the Osaka-style tobacco buildings protrudes from the roof. Because of its tall, large size, it is efficient at expelling smoke. However, due to it facing more wind, it is easily damaged during a typhoon. The Hiroshima style tobacco buildings have the exact opposite circumstances. The smoke outlet does not protrude from the roof, so the building is more secure during a typhoon, however, fires easily occur. Most of the tobacco buildings in the Fenglin area are of the Osaka style. In recent years, the township office has started to repair several of these buildings one-by-one. As a result, these local cultural assets will be turned into tourist spots that provide educational and recreational functions. The tobacco industry requires intense manpower. During cultivation, one must be very careful to prevent blighting, and during the flue curing process, in order to control the moisture content, close attention to timing must be observed. In the past, timber was used for firing, and the tobacco farmers had to work in shifts, with no sleep or rest for 24 hours. Along with modern progress, electric firing is now done, and computers are even used to control the electric firing chambers. The tobacco farmers no longer keep watch by the arid chambers, and the cured tobacco leaves are of an even better quality than before. Villages

3.4 Analysis of historical sites in the three villages

Three examples are the sites discovered in these three villages: temples, the residence of the stationmaster, and the tobacco towers that witness the three villages in three aspects- religion, transportation system, and tobacco industry. The table as below shows the situations of those three historical sits between the original in Japan immigrant village and the current Taiwan village.

	Yoshino mura	Toyota mura	Hayashida
Belief	Shrine preaching house the monument preaching house	Shrine preaching house Belien Temple	Shrine preaching house the monument preaching house
Industry	tobacco agriculture agriculture	tobacco agriculture agriculture	tobacco agriculture agriculture tobacco
Transportation	train station stuff residence culture association	train station stuff residence train station five flavor house	train station stuff residence train station

Fig.5 the representation of three historical sites of three villages

4. The role that historical sites play in present

4.1 The time flow of the historical sites

4.1.1 The Monument of Village, Shrine in Yoshino mura

1914-1940 Hayashida shrine in Hayashida mura

Yoshino shrine has been built in 1914. There are many events in the shrine, but mostly the participants were all Japanese. Taiwanese didn't know very clear about the events hold inside the shrine.



1950-60 martyr's shrine

After taking over Taiwan island in 1945, KMT government built totally different educational direction system and brought different belief of national identity. The Yoshino shrine in Yoshino mura is a typical practice for this trend. During 1950s to 1960s, the Ji'an town office had renamed the location of shrine into a martyr's shrine.



1970-2005 military court

Because Ji'an Township is near the Hualien downtown, the town office destroyed all the shrine and change it into a military courts for support the military camp in Hualien city.



2010-2013 The Monument of Village

After reducing demand for military, the military courts had been destroyed. The traditional markets have been built up on the original place of the shrine and the military courts. The only thing left is the monument of the village. Some of the element of the building of the shrine is hind under ground.



Photos courtesy of Huang, chia jung

4.1.2 Belien Temple, Shrine in Toyata mura

1914-1940 Toyata shrine in Toyata mura

Yoshino shrine has been built in 1914. There are many events in the shrine, but mostly the participants were all Japanese. Taiwanese always participate the events hold inside the shrine.



1950-60 Belien Temple

After Japanese left Taiwan. Taiwanese live in Toyota villages take the shrine as their belief center and move their god into it. In 1970s, Typhoon destroyed the shrine so that they built a new temple in the same location. and left many element from Japan.



Photos courtesy of Hualien County Nou-Li Intercommunity Association



Rebuild the Hayashida shrine 2010-2013

Because of the effect from the local organization, There are many events take place on the Temple. Not only the religion activities but also the children dancing, old people sing songs and some exhibition of the contribution for the community on last year. Through this kind of events, everyone in the village feel more involved in their village.



Photos courtesy of Hualien County Nou-Li Intercommunity Association

4.1.3 Martyr's Shrine, Shrine in Hayashida mura

1914-1940 Hayashida shrine in Hayashida mura

Hayashida shrine has been built in 1914. There are many events in the shrine, but mostly the participants were all Japanese. Taiwanese didn't know very clear about the events hold inside the shrine.



1950-60 martyr's shrine

After taking over Taiwan island in 1945, KMT government built totally different educational direction system and brought different belief of national identity. The Hayashida shrine in Hayashida mura is a typical practice for this trend. During 1950s to 1960s, the Fenglin town office had renamed the location of shrine into a martyr's shrine for the seventy two martyrs of the Huanghuagang uprising of 23rd April 1911. The elementary school and journal high school students was be asked come to this "martyr's shrine" to pray and do the environmental cleansing. Many teenagers took the shrine as a mystery part in the village and would like to have a date in this area.



1970-2012 abandoned shrine

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs announce “the statement of broke off diplomatic relations with Japan” on September 29, 1972. Then the Ministry of the Interior have a policy that remove the colonial rule commemorative monuments points of the performance of Japanese imperialism superiority. The town offices want to remove all the building and build a new playground in the area of the shrine. They destroyed the ohtorii and the main building of the shrine only left the stairs of the shrine. However, in the end they didn’t build anything beyond the stairs of the shrine. After the destroyed, students no longer be asked to pray and clean there. Few and few people went to this place. In past twenty year, It become an abandoned area and surrounded by trees and rank grass.



Photos courtesy of Jia-Jong Huang

Rebuild the Hayashida shrine 2010-2013

In recent year, the culture activities in Fenglin town play an important role. The town office and local organizations put a lot of effect on restructure the culture resource in Fenglin. The organizations (Nukenza /Fenglin culture and history) started to clean the area of shrine, encourage people to go there by holding some activity such as the exhibition of old pictures to recall their memory of shrine. Due to the striving of the local organization and the town office, there are government subsidies for repair the shrine. They found old structure object and the ohtorii which had been destroyed and buried and Plant cherry blossoms around the shrine. Now the residence, the organization and the town office work together to make this area into a forest park with the story of shrine.



4.2 The representation in the three historical religious sites of immigrant village

4.2.1 The Production of Space

Henri Lefebvre's theory (1991) of the Production of Space offered a sounder theoretical basis for the cultural and spacial representation of the historical sites analysis. It divides the space into three levels: Spatial practice, Representations of space and Representational spaces.

(1) Spatial practice refers to the production and reproduction of spatial relations between objects and products. It also ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. "In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance"

(2) Representations of space "are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations". They also refer to "conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanity, technocratic subdivides and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent—all of whom identify what s lived and what is perceived with what is conceived"

(3) Representational spaces refer to spaces "lived" directly "through its associated images and symbols and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'...". These are the lived experiences that emerge as a result of the dialectical relation between spatial practice and representations of spaces.

5 Summary Current Finding

Much remains to be done, then, but this study anticipate that the work will generate important findings in the fields of the revitalization in Taiwan's immigrant villages. The results of this study show a clear and strong relationship between the residence's participant and identity in the historical sites and the representation of the historical sites. Those old building and space from japan colonial period grow with time. Some of them keep their original function. Some of them develop new function. Both of them create the important value sharing with local people and tourists in different way. The key issue influence the representation of the villages as below: (1) Policy making by government (2) Identity of residences and effect by organizations (4) Industries development (3) The memory of the residents of Japanese in immigrant village (5) Location: near downtown in Hualien

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*Pessimism about the Jurisgenerative Effects of Human Rights: Ishiguro's Bleak
Cosmopolitan Vision in Never Let Me Go*

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Introduction:

Cosmopolitan theorists of human rights such as Seyla Benhabib argue persuasively that human rights provide the conditions for empowering the disempowered, enabling marginalized people to challenge the existing normative arrangements restricting them to the periphery and constraining their ability to act in the world. Yet for all the inclusive universalistic rhetoric in which they are couched, human rights themselves describe a normative framework; they offer a vision of how the world “ought” to be that tends to be exclusive of competing visions. This paradox at the heart of human rights talk takes narrative shape in Ishiguro’s *Never Let Me Go* (2005), in which the emergence of a liberal conception of the clone protagonists’ rights is constantly stymied by its own parochial understanding of what constitutes the human. Human rights in this novel appear to be an integral part of the normative architecture that underpins and perpetuates the oppression of the clones. In this paper, I use Ishiguro’s novel to interrogate Benhabib’s cosmopolitan theory, according to which the constrictive normativity of human rights is balanced by (indeed constitutive of) their liberating “jurisgenerativity,” and to consider whether her optimism on this question is justified.

Human rights: whose morality?

If the question at the heart of cosmopolitanism is “what are our obligations to others conceived as fellow members of a world community?”¹ then human rights may appear to offer the answer. Human rights, however, are nothing if not controversial. We can perhaps bypass the legal positivist objection that denies the existence of any “rights” that are not written into specific legislatures, condemning the notion of innate rights, in Bentham’s famous dictum, as “nonsense on stilts”.² It has been convincingly argued that this objection misses the point of human rights entirely. Proponents of human rights are not describing an existing state of the world; they are making robust and defensible statements about how that world ought to be organized. In the words of Norberto Bobbio: “The freedom and equality of human beings is not a reality, but an ideal which has to be pursued, not an existence but a value, and not a being but a must”.³ On this widely-held understanding, human rights are not “legal” but “moral” rights; they provide a prescriptive vision of how we should organize our legal and political institutions so as to preserve human dignity.⁴ Described by Herbert Hart as “parents of law”⁵, they are part of a normative discourse that is generative but not determinative of law.

Yet this brings us to a more substantial objection to human rights thinking. As soon as we start filling in the details of this moral vision, enumerating the list of rights that underlies our idea of human dignity, we have abandoned culturally neutral ground. Moreover, as societies and technologies evolve, so do their ideas about what aspects of their “humanity” require protection. While an absolute principle could, in theory,

¹ See, for example, the introductions of Van Hooft (2009) or Brown and Held (2010), for descriptions of cosmopolitanism along these lines.

² Quoted in Sen (2009), 357, 361-2; also Lukes (1993), 28.

³ Bobbio (1996), 15; cf. Sen (2009), 357-8.

⁴ Bobbio, *op. cit.*, chap. 2, 12-31. See also Donnelly (2003), chap. 1.

⁵ Qtd. in Sen, *op. cit.*, 363

provide a timeless and universally valid anchor for human rights, in a world of plural and evolving values such foundationalism is met with justifiable skepticism. Consensus on a particular list of human rights, such as those laid out in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent treaties, is therefore necessarily contingent. Furthermore, given the internal conflicts between competing principles that characterize such lists, implementation will inevitably involve prioritization and possibly trade-offs, thus necessitating political decision-making at the local level. Human rights, in short, can never be more than moments of agreement in an ongoing, open-ended debate on the constitution of human dignity; they must also be available for contestation and negotiation by the particular peoples who will implement and enforce them.⁶ Rather than an answer to the question posed by cosmopolitanism, it seems that human rights may do little more than defer it.

A discourse-ethical view of human rights: Benhabib's "cosmopolitanism without illusions"

One theorist who meets head-on the challenges posed by this picture of human rights is Seyla Benhabib. With globalization generating not only increased interdependence but also an ever more visible gap between its beneficiaries and those it leaves behind, she notes the pressing need to reaffirm our commitment to moral universalism and to "expand the legacy of natural rights" to include marginalized others.⁷ Yet at the same time she seeks to move beyond the disembedded, disembodied, self-legislating subject of Enlightenment rationality and to reformulate universalism to make it interactive, context-sensitive, and less certain of its privileged grasp of a unique truth.⁸ In the past she has referred to "pluralistically enlightened ethical universalism on a global scale"⁹, but has more recently rechristened her approach "cosmopolitanism without illusions"¹⁰. Recognizing individuals as both "generalized" and "concrete" others, i.e. extending the scope of ethical concern not only to what they have in common but also to what makes them different, Benhabib's discourse-ethical approach seeks to mediate between the poles of universalism and particularism. For her, cosmopolitanism is "a field of unresolved contrasts: between particularistic attachments and universalistic aspirations; between the multiplicity of human laws and the ideal of a rational order that would be common to all human cities; and between belief in the unity of humankind and the healthy agonisms and antagonisms generated by human diversity".¹¹ Human rights occupy a unique position in Benhabib's cosmopolitanism. They are at once its output and the conditions of its possibility. They are the variously interpretable moral principles that emerge from these agonistic deliberations, to be suitably situated in positive schedules of locally justiciable legal rights. Yet they simultaneously constitute the substantive normative commitments that ensure that deliberations are fair, accessible to all affected, and not hijacked by powerful vested interests. These commitments are prior to the debate, but also recursively validated by that debate; and if there is some "circularity" here, for Benhabib this circularity is an

⁶ Sen (2009), Donnelly (2003), and Bobbio (1996) provide more detailed discussion of the ideas touched on here.

⁷ Benhabib (2011), *Dignity in Adversity*, 191-192

⁸ Benhabib (1992), *Situating the Self*, 4-5

⁹ Benhabib (2002), *The Claims of Culture*, 36

¹⁰ *Dignity, op.cit.*, 14-19

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2

inescapable feature of all intersubjective processes of practical reasoning.¹²

For all the appeals to particularism, clearly the normativity of human rights does a lot of work here. It is worth taking a moment, therefore, to explore how Benhabib envisages human rights generally and to specify her substantive normative commitments, before considering how she addresses the issue of moral imperialism and its implications for legitimacy.

Benhabib's vision of human rights takes as its starting point Arendt's "right to have rights," which she sees as the "one fundamental moral right" held in common by all human beings¹³; however, rather than understanding this right simply in terms of political membership, she interprets it in terms of a discourse-ethical conception of the moral respect due to all. As she puts it, this is the right "to be recognized as a moral being worthy of equal concern and equally entitled to be protected as a legal personality by his or her own polity, as well as the world community".¹⁴ Within the discourse-ethical framework, "moral beings" are those capable of "communicative reason," i.e. able to offer reasons for their goals or actions that are justifiable to others within a human community, where "justifiable" is understood in a broadly Kantian sense of generalizability and reciprocity.¹⁵ Equal concern is shown to such "moral beings" by ensuring that their "communicative freedom" is protected. For discourse-ethicists, what this basically means is ensuring that they are equally able to challenge the rules and institutions that constrain their lives through participation in moral argumentation within the public sphere.¹⁶ Benhabib's crucial further stipulation is that such argumentation should not abstract, in an exclusively rationalistic manner, from the particular personal, social and cultural contexts within which individuals understand their own goals and actions. This is the point of extending concern to the "concrete" as well as the "generalized" other, and thus ensuring that the public sphere allows space for plural perspectives and for forms of argumentation with a potentially more affective texture. In Benhabib's view, the "moral discourses" from which understandings of human rights principles emerge cannot be too restrictive with regard to what she terms the "semantics" of reason-giving nor can there be any *a priori* limits placed up what is open for discussion. Furthermore, understanding of even as "fundamental" a principle as communicative freedom will vary with the context of the interpreting community.¹⁷

This double gesture, in which Benhabib insists on a fundamental principle while simultaneously accepting its potential fallibility and the scope for differential interpretation, is what gives her approach to human rights its distinctive shape. On the one hand, human rights articulate universal moral principles that underpin communicative freedom and hence give substance to the "right to have rights." Wherever in the world one might be, if these principles are not honored, then the

¹² *Ibid.*, 70-72 on this circularity

¹³ *Ibid.*, 59

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 62

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 62 (footnote 19, 227), 67-70, 147-8

¹⁶ See *Situating*, chap. 1, *op. cit.*, for detail on the Habermasian principles of universal moral respect and egalitarian reciprocity that both constrain and enable such moral argumentation.

¹⁷ *Dignity*, *op. cit.*, chap. 4. *Situating*, *op. cit.*, chaps. 1,5&6. On "semantics" see *Claims*, *op. cit.*, 140ff and also footnote 37, *Dignity*, 230

normative and institutional constraints under which people labor cannot be considered uncoerced and due respect will not have been paid to them as “moral beings”. On the other hand, in so far as respect for the communicative freedom of differently situated subjects demands respect for the different ways that they might understand that concept, the protection of communicative freedom also requires that particular peoples be left space to interrogate and appropriate these principles for themselves. Human rights, therefore, can take a range of “normatively defensible”¹⁸ juridical forms when they are adopted within particular legislatures. Benhabib thus draws a distinction between the “unity” of human rights as moral principles that govern all; and the “diversity” of the various “schedules of rights” affirmed by individual peoples and justiciable in their respective courts.¹⁹ It is these vital processes of “public argument, deliberation, and exchange through which universalist rights claims are contested and contextualized” by both institutional and civil actors that Benhabib terms “democratic iterations;” she emphasizes that these iterations are creative and transformative practices, and that the “authority” of the “original” principle is contingent upon its continuing ability to hold meaning for those who appropriate it.²⁰

Benhabib acknowledges that there are substantive normative commitments here. However, unlike discourse ethicists such as Habermas, she sees her position not as “foundational”, i.e. argued from first premises, but rather as “presuppositional”. Her normative commitments are those that are presupposed by a certain moral horizon. This is the postconventional horizon that does not seek to limit moral concern to a particular in-group but rather to extend it all human beings, however situated; it is the horizon of moral universalism endorsed in the Preamble of the UDHR. For Benhabib, such a horizon already assumes a commitment to people’s reciprocal rights to ask for justification of arrangements that affect them, i.e. to communicative freedom. Furthermore, since the justification envisaged here takes the form of actual intersubjective dialogue (rather than hypothetical reasoning exercise), a condition of its possibility is what Benhabib terms “justificatory universalism”: the idea that human reason has some framework-neutral content. Theories of strong incommensurability, therefore, are forcefully rejected as both empirically and philosophically flawed.²¹ Finally, since the operative notion of legitimacy running through the above is a deliberative democratic one, there is also a firm normative commitment to democracy. Democratic iterations only produce legitimate appropriations of human rights principles if individual members of the demos have secure means of participating; only then can they be justly said to be both authors and subjects of the laws under which they stand. To the question “Is there a human right to democracy?” Benhabib’s answer is therefore an unconditional “Yes!”²²

¹⁸ *Dignity*, *op. cit.*, 80

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 72-75, 79-80

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 129, where Benhabib is referencing Derrida’s “Signature, Event, Context”. Cf. Benhabib (2004), *Another Cosmopolitanism*, 47-51.

²¹ “the consequences of bad cultural narratives following upon the heels of wrong philosophical assumptions” (*Claims*, 42)

²² The normative commitments discussed here have been a consistent thread running through Benhabib’s writing. In addition to chapters 4 and 5 in *Dignity* on universalism and democracy, see also *Situating*, chap. 1, and *Claims*, chaps. 2 and 5, on the assumptions of communicative ethics and the issue of commensurability.

So is such cosmopolitanism “the Trojan horse of a global Empire”?²³ Benhabib argues that while both economic globalization and the spread of human rights standards act to weaken state sovereignty, they follow different “normative logics”²⁴. These logics are often “antagonistic,” with cosmopolitan norms providing a key channel for resisting the forces of global capitalism, which Benhabib sees as too easily captured by private interests and unresponsive to democratic pressures.²⁵ Cosmopolitan norms augment popular sovereignty (notably distinct from “state” sovereignty) by strengthening the ability of the people to hold the state accountable. Democratic iterations that involve interested actors from beyond a state’s borders, appealing to a transnational logic of interconnection and shared responsibility, are for Benhabib the most effective avenue for dealing with the problems of today’s globalized world.²⁶ It is in such interactions that she sees hope of “jurisgenerativity” – roughly speaking, the capacity of law to be open to new appropriations of its meaning as societies change, and thus to expand its own scope and content.²⁷ Benhabib believes that Marxist critics ignore the “jurisgenerative effects” of cosmopolitan norms such as human rights principles, and that the accusation of moral imperialism underplays the vital role these play in empowering new actors and facilitating new channels of resistance.²⁸ Hers is an optimistic vision of human rights as enabling the access of hitherto marginalized people to an open public sphere, providing the necessary resources for them “to develop new vocabularies of public claim-making, and to anticipate new forms of justice to come”.²⁹

Ishiguro’s clones

This brings us to Ishiguro’s clones, who represent an extreme example of one such marginalized group, eking out their foreshortened and often painful existence on the edges of the society, economy, politics, even the definition of the human, in an imagined dystopian past (England, 1990s). Bred to become “donors”, their organs successively harvested to lengthen the lifespan of the “normals,” the clones are brought up in specially designated institutions, in conditions varying from the horrific to the relatively humane. As young adults, they typically spend a period as a “carer” – someone whose job is to look after the donors’ physical and mental wellbeing, helping to avoid “agitation” and so contributing to the productivity and efficiency of the donations system. This is a job at which the novel’s narrator, Kathy H., is proud to have excelled for an impressive eleven years. However, after the death (“completion”) of her two closest childhood friends, Ruth and Tommy, Kathy has become tired and is now readying herself to begin her own donations. Her narrative meanders from childhood reminiscences of Hailsham, the most “progressive” of the establishments for rearing clones and for Kathy an idyllic place of privilege that provides the roots for her self-identity, up until more recent memories of fleeting pleasures and poignant disappointments shared with Ruth and Tommy as she cared for them during their final days.

²³ *Dignity*, 188

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 97

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 102-106, 113-114

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 94-118

²⁷ *Another*, 48-9

²⁸ *Dignity*, 118-126

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 15

There is a notable disjunct between the comfortable, everyday ordinariness of Kathy's narrative voice, full of colloquialisms, euphemisms, commonplace turns of phrase and asides to the reader, and the dark, sometimes horrific details of the clones' lives that emerge piecemeal as the story progresses. Ishiguro's own comments on the novel suggest that this is a deliberate ploy to bring into relief his humanistic, universalist thematic concerns:

“This is just one metaphor for one aspect of how people are. The strategy here is that we're looking at a very strange world, at a very strange group of people, and gradually, I wanted people to feel they're not looking at such a strange world, that this is everybody's story.”³⁰

Just as in *The Remains of the Day* (1989) Ishiguro was interested in the figure of the butler as an illustration of the extent to which human autonomy is more generally compromised³¹, so here he paints the clones in the colours of “everyman” and does not allow us to doubt for a moment that they are as human as we are. It is not just Kathy's narrative voice that is instantly familiar. Equally recognizable is the whole affective texture of the clones' lives as she describes them: their childhood loyalties, rivalries and petty jealousies; the pleasure they take in creative play and learning; their capacity to love and be loved; the need they express for adult role models and parent figures; their psychological suffering when these needs are not met; and perhaps above all, their desire to belong and consonant readiness to acculturate. In terms of Martha Nussbaum's “capabilities” paradigm (with its emphasis on human sociability, reason, emotion, cognition, imagination and play), there are no substantive differences between what clones and humans are capable of, so that a “decent political order” should seek to secure for them the same minimum levels of resources and freedoms to nurture those capabilities it deems central to a “dignified life”.³² Certainly, from a discourse ethical perspective, which requires recognition of “the rights of all beings capable of speech and action to be participants in the moral conversation”³³, there could be no grounds for their exclusion from the debate about what such dignity entails.

Yet this is to move ahead of ourselves. Before prematurely drawing out such cosmopolitan moral implications, we must first pay attention to what, in the worldview of the novel's characters, marks the clones out as different, as other. This is, of course, their genetic status – as copies, derived, infinitely replicable, lacking that original “something” that would make them unique and hence irreplaceable. As Rebecca Walkowitz has rightly observed, “unoriginality” is not only a feature of Kathy's narrative style, it is a recurrent motif throughout the novel and one that is closely tied to the clones' sociality.³⁴ The moment when Kathy makes friends with Ruth, joining in the riding of her imaginary horses, contains in microcosm a dynamic that becomes very familiar as the novel progresses. “I accepted the invisible rein she

³⁰ Interview with Cynthia Wong (2006), in Shaffer and Wong (2008), 216

³¹ “. . . at an ethical and political level, most of us are butlers. We don't stand outside of our milieu and evaluate it . . . We take our orders, we do our jobs, we accept our place in the hierarchy . . .” (qtd. in Matthews and Groes (2009), p.115)

³² Nussbaum (2011), chap. 2; see also Sen (1999)

³³ Benhabib, *Situating*, 29

³⁴ Walkowitz (2007)

was holding out”³⁵ relates Kathy, indicating her willingness to be led, to conform to the rules of the group, to contribute to the myths that bind its members together. For by reinforcing the myths that sustain the mystique of Hailsham, the clones (and Kathy is the arch-clone in this respect) also buttress their own sense of security in belonging there. This is why Kathy responds with anger to Moira’s attempt to puncture one of the more obvious illusions³⁶, as indeed she does to Tommy’s suggestion that the student clones’ carefully fostered creativity might not be as all-important as they had been led to believe³⁷. It is why the Hailsham students gladly join in their self-policing, with “severe punishment” for those of their number who are “careless” in testing the boundaries set by the guardians³⁸; and it explains their widespread cognitive dissonance when presented by Miss Lucy with brutal facts about their predetermined futures that do not conform with what they have been told and want to believe:

“Some students thought she’d lost her marbles for a moment; others that she’d been asked to say what she had by Miss Emily and the other guardians; there were even some who’d actually been there and who thought Miss Lucy had been telling us off for being too rowdy on the veranda.”³⁹

Value systems in the novel are seen to be self-perpetuating, even if, as in the Sales, what is valued is little more than a pile of cast-off bric-a-brac, or as in the Exchanges, the “hysterically daft” poems of an eleven-year-old child.⁴⁰ And though there is obvious satire in this vision of the students “pricing up” their childish artworks and hoarding their chests full of precious odds-and-ends, it is nevertheless the existence of these value systems that sustains the clones, structures their interactions and confers meaning on their lives.

It hardly needs laboring that, even in his depiction of the clones’ apparent idiosyncrasies, Ishiguro has not left the territory of “everyman.” Indeed, what he is stressing is simply the reversal of the “clones are humans” equation – namely, that “humans are clones,” that unoriginality of the kind discussed above is a vital part of being human. Here, importantly, unoriginality is being glossed not only in a negative sense of uncritical copycat behavior, a tendency toward unquestioning acceptance of value systems underpinned by the views of others, but also more positively, as an implicit recognition that it is only from within these value systems sustained in cooperation and sociality with others that new meanings can ever emerge. An idea that comes in for very strong criticism in the novel is the Romantic notion that the individual (or nation) possesses a particular genius, stamped in its blood with a genetic seal of authenticity, and that this is what makes it special, worthy of value. As Walkowitz notes, this Romantic aesthetic is associated most closely with Miss Emily, the liberal activist Head Guardian at Hailsham, who has her students’ art-work publicly displayed in order to prove to the world that clones too have “souls”. But by the end of the novel, Miss Emily’s hypocrisy and the limits of her activism have been exposed, and her views on art are similarly discredited. The dignity and singularity of

³⁵ Ishiguro, *Never Let Me Go*, 43

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 50-51

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 22ff

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 46, 62-3, 76

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 74

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 38, 17

each of the clones is not contingent upon some Romantic notion of the unique soul, but rather on their capacity to interact with others, to participate in and contribute to the networks of social meaning-making within which they are individually and uniquely situated. What is being valorized is a uniqueness founded on the singularity of context, which makes every iteration different, and on the personal choices made by individuals under constraint – a uniqueness that is shared by human and clone alike.⁴¹

The moral logic of the novel may thus be seen as profoundly cosmopolitan in the terms indicated by Benhabib. It demands the inclusion of the clones within the category of the human, as much because of as in spite of their perceived “unoriginality.” It appeals towards an open and reflexive human rights, a “jurisgenerative” human rights, that would accord the clones recognition and a place within the public sphere; that would prove able to generate the radical break with the existing discourse needed to secure their legal protection and empowerment.

Yet, as reviewers and critics of the novel have been swift to point out, Ishiguro provides no such moment of rupture.⁴² We might even say, in contrast with the “moral logic” alluded to above, that the “narrative logic” of the novel shuts down the possibility of such a rupture. The very unoriginality of Ishiguro’s clone/humans ties them all too closely into the dominant discourse to allow sufficient room for manoeuvre. The fundamental principle behind the donation system, that clones exist as a source of healthy organs, remains unchallenged by any character in the novel, including its protagonists. As Kathy’s pride in her work testifies, it is a system maintained with the apparently willing complicity of the clones. When Tommy, the closest the novel offers to an “odd man out,” seems to gesture in the direction of incipient rebellion, in the possibility of other values, he is quickly brought back into line by Kathy and his peers, by the urge to be loved and to belong. His final bellow of inarticulate fury and pain, after his fading hopes of a “deferral” to explore a romantic future with Kathy have been dashed, is conspicuous for being uttered not in the public sphere, but on an isolated back-road late at night, witnessed by Kathy alone:

“I caught a glimpse of his face in the moonlight, caked in mud and distorted with fury, then I reached for his flailing arms and held on tight. He tried to shake me off, but I kept holding on, until he stopped shouting and I felt the fight go out of him.”⁴³

Quickly defused by his own self-deprecating humour and by Kathy’s comforting arms, within a few pages that scream has degenerated into the placid resignation of the commonplace “It’s a shame” with which a reduced Tommy armors himself in the last weeks of his too-brief life.

In short, far from showing us a beneficent jurisgenerativity facilitating the entry of

⁴¹ My reading of the clones’ unoriginality and its significance owes a substantial debt to Rebecca Walkowitz’s excellent article on Ishiguro’s novel, *op. cit.*, as well as being influenced by Derrida’s SEC

⁴² The articles on the novel collected in Matthews and Groes (2009) and in Groes and Lewis (2011) are illustrative. Sim (2010) includes a useful review of existing criticism on Ishiguro.

⁴³ NLMG, 251

new subjectivities into the public sphere, it seems that Ishiguro's novel depicts its opposite: the way that even the victims of a discourse can be co-opted into sustaining it, or in Spivak's terms, how the subaltern subject is left with no position from which to speak.⁴⁴ We might, therefore, be tempted to conclude with an aporia: that the novel articulates the necessity of open and reflexive human rights talk, while simultaneously staging the conditions of its impossibility. Yet, *pace* Spivak, I think that the pessimism of the word "impossibility" here is too strong and that it misses the satirical intent of the novel. While it is certainly true that Ishiguro's three clone protagonists operate with severe constraints on their agency and that the vocabularies available to them are impoverished, they still retain a capacity to act and to negotiate that becomes evident in the different uses to which they put it. To apply Bruce Robbins' terms, we might say that there is a distance *within* the clones' location – one that challenges a deterministic reading of their situation.⁴⁵ The narrator Kathy's nostalgic refusal to move beyond the values and loyalties of her beloved Hailsham is, in this sense, atypical among her contemporaries. Both Tommy, with his distinctive art (never quite abandoned), and Ruth, with her determined efforts to reach out to other groups and to adopt and internalize new mannerisms, demonstrate a facility for crossing borders and negotiating boundaries that Kathy notably lacks. Indeed, it is this failure to reach out to others, to perceive the artificiality of borders and their availability for deconstruction, which is the special target of Ishiguro's satire. It is not just the story that is told but the act of telling that is significant here. Ishiguro's tragic satire constitutes a cautionary tale of the human frailties that frustrate the realization of a cosmopolitan future. Yet to tell such a tale is not to deny the value of that optimistic cosmopolitan vision; rather it is to underline the challenges that face us if we are to move beyond our own flawed moment to a world where greater reflexivity and more widespread agency are not merely desirable but also realizable.

⁴⁴ Spivak (1988)

⁴⁵ Robbins (1998), 250

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Drawn In: Drawing Practice in a Cross-cultural Context in Australia

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Art has always been about reflecting and interpreting the world. In the twenty-first century, the dynamic movement of people between nations needs more empathic tolerance and appreciation of diverse cultures to build stronger, and sustainable, communities. Australia is one of those nations in which different cultures meet, live and shape the diversity of Australian culture.

Also it is apparent that in much of today's society, the trend is towards the highly individual. So artists respond to this phenomenon by demanding a more personal engagement with their art. Drawing, therefore, has become the perfect platform to accommodate artists' personal, intimate and direct experiences of belonging within different environments, as to serve their needs of publicly expressing sensitive and strong responses to the social, political and cultural changes in their lives. It is no longer just a tool that artists use as preparation for other art forms, such as painting, sculpture, etc. Drawing is now an autonomous art form in the contemporary art world, sharing a position of equal importance with all other forms of individual expression.

Each act of mark-making is a form of drawing, which demonstrates the nature of drawing; but it also demonstrates who the artist is and how the artist sees and lives in the world. Acts of drawing occur all the time, when we doodle while on the phone, or sketch someone a map on a piece of paper. We are all mark-makers, whether this is a personal and intimate mode of expression, a way of exploration or research in art and life, or a public statement. We, as viewers, can see how artists portray themselves vividly and truthfully through their marks.

This paper intends to discuss how drawing, has been executed by certain Australian artists who have positioned their art practice in a cross-cultural context. The aim is to make the connection between the act of contemporary drawing and the personal and intimate interpretation of life in Australia. Some of the Australian drawings are evidence of the engagement with cross-cultural changes, which have become increasingly complex. These drawings convey ideas from observation and personal experiences and explore how the individual artist has been affected by this cultural context. Some Australian artists have used drawing to make a strong comment on their experiences of dealing with trans-cultural displacement and belonging.

Therefore, this paper will discuss how art-making has contributed to a cross-cultural study in which making drawing is evidence of individual responses to different situations. The discussion begins with an examination of my own art practice to explain how living in cross-cultural context actually affects practice. This will be followed by an introduction to a recent exhibition, *Remarking | Remaking – Contemporary Australian Drawing Connections*, which included 10 artists from diverse backgrounds whose work suggests exciting possibilities for the themes of belonging and displacement in Australia. Finally, drawing projects by a collaborative art group, *3PPOD*, in which the act of drawing was related closely to the act of living with negotiation and confrontation in cross-cultural life situation, will be examined

Hide and Seek

I see my life as a special journey, where I constantly move from one point to another, both physically and mentally. Consequently, in the past decade I have continued to explore the dual influences of my Chinese heritage and Australian culture, between my homeland and my current home. My appreciation of the benefit of learning from both cultures has led to a genuine exploration of personal perception and expression. Choosing to make art through drawing mediums is a declaration of my ongoing search for a personal interpretation of tradition in relation to the contemporary in various contexts. In my work, space and the marks of objects are essential in representing my inner world, anchoring the physical surroundings that form my understanding and perception, and transcending my thoughts and emotions.

My art has been reflection on my life in Australia. As with any other immigrant, the physical and emotional responses to the changes in life between two cultures inevitably transformed my view of self and the world tremendously. This has been expressed in my art practice. Of all the changes in my practice, this paper will examine only the aspect of subject matter.

While studying in China in the 90s, I used to draw and paint the human body as my principal subject matter, particularly self-portraits, and images of my family and friends. I had always been aware of the presence of myself in relation to the world. When I started my studies in Australia, this style continued: my paintings were still of my friends and me, to convey my emotions of being alone in a foreign country. It was not until I started to focus on drawing as a major art form that images of the human figure disappeared from my work.

During my time in Australia, the need to find myself has been constant, no matter where I am, either in China or Australia. My emotional connections with both nations altered subtly and gradually, which caused me to conclude that I belonged to both countries, but at the same time I belonged to neither. This process of changing and becoming has therefore affected my artworks and ultimately led to the disappearance of human figures from my drawings. Indeed, my subjects have shifted to things around me so that my presence is implied without my actual appearance.

The things that appear in my drawings are mainly from my everyday life. They may be chosen from my home, the art studio, or from my travels to different places. They are sometimes the things I touch and use often, with a sense of affection, such as a chair in my studio, or objects that I am interested in and eager to draw, such as trees and birds. The choice of objects is general and personal. It is important to emphasize this connection, as it is crucial to convey myself and life in my drawings. As an example, a bird that appears many times in my drawings is called the Indian Myna, which can be found everywhere in urban and suburban Sydney. In Australia, the Indian Myna is an invasive pest.¹ It is a hollow-nesting species; that is, it nests and breeds in protected hollows found naturally in trees or artificially on buildings. However, compared with native hollow-nesting species, the Indian Myna is extremely aggressive. This aggressiveness has enabled the Indian Myna to displace many breeding pairs of native hollow-nesters, thereby reducing their reproductive success.

AMERICAN BIRD CONSERVANCY. *Threats to Birds – Common India Myna (Acridotheres tristis)* [Online]. Available: <http://www.abcbirds.org/conservationissues/threats/invasives/mynas.html>, [Accessed 24th, April 2013].

The Indian Myna's striking habits have drawn my attention as a reflection of one aspect of an immigrant's survival in Australia.

The marks executed to demonstrate the bird's nature are simplified into two distinct forms: a thinly monochromatic wash for the body and detailed drawn feathers. The thinly coated, washy colour represents its local colour, which implies its vulnerability as a migrant species, being new to the continent and seeking to survive in competition with local species. On the other hand, its aggressive nature has caused national environmental problems that cannot be neglected. I therefore chose to draw the feathers stretching out of its body so that its anger, ambition and aggressiveness could be depicted as I imagine it. To win fights with other creatures, the Indian Myna needs to stimulate all its energy to fight against what it perceives to be threats. There is also humour here, in the bizarre appearance of this bird with just a few feathers stretching on some parts of its body. These feathers are drawn in black, which introduces some darker and stronger features, communicating its local colour and spirit. A sharp ballpoint pen is used to depict each hair on its feathers to convey the bird's purposeful attitude. In some other cases, I draw the bird in pure flat black to express my understanding of its sad struggle, and its shadow in red with expressive marks to represent its unstoppable fighting intentions. There are also aggressive Mynas, vulnerable Mynas, newborns, and those that are in harmony in nature.

It is not my intention in these drawings to use the figure of the Indian Myna to replace self-portraits or represent my life status in Australia. It is the inspiration of mark-making that has spurred me to search for more interpretations of the things in my works. I draw the India Myna, along with many other things, to convey my awareness of different situations, emotions, and processes. It is like a game of hide and seek. The viewers can often feel my presence without seeing me in the work. They find me or lose me, and they find themselves and may lose themselves too. It is a journey through visual language to communicate with each other, to find who I am/who we are and where I am/where we are.

Drawings are so honest that they reflect my dual identity, part Chinese, part Australian. I have been searching for a way to interpret the influences from both cultures in my art and life. My being Chinese and exploring drawing in a western contemporary context stimulated this initiative because I realized that I could not isolate myself from my Chinese heritage and cultural background. Some people argue that diasporic artists can often apply a hybridised visual mixing of cultural elements in their art practice.² This is true to some extent, as there are many examples in which two or more cultural elements have been juxtaposed or hybridised by artists. However, I have positioned my art to make it clear that I have been aware of and rejected the use of mere appropriated cultural symbols or elements in a simple hybridisation. The Myna is an interesting subject that has been painted by Chinese traditional painters, such as Bada Shanren. I have explored drawing Indian Mynas with my understanding of contemporary cultural contexts. I searched for the proper interpretation of things with profound understanding of the cultural contexts in my work. This process of research has provided the means to build a bridge between Chinese and Western aesthetics notions of depictions of the appearance and essence of an object. Both the outcomes of and the feedback on my research and drawings have been positive.

MCFARLANE, K. 2004. Diaspora, Cultural Practice and Syncretic Visuality. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 25, 175-184.

Remarking | Remaking

The exhibition *Remarking | Remaking – Contemporary Australian Drawing Connections*, supported by the Blacktown Arts Centre in Sydney, was a collaborative curatorial project that I worked on in 2012, together with Pakistani artist Abdullah Syed. In this project, we shifted our focus from individual interpretations of being in a cross-cultural environment to the interpretations of a group. *Remarking | Remaking* showcases the talents of artists who address Australia's cultural diaspora. It was not the intention that the small number of participating artists selected should represent all aspects of current Australian drawing, but rather to investigate how artists of very different backgrounds and viewpoints have diversely explored a theme such as this. The exhibition presented the public with a selection of artworks by artists who either embraced drawing as the primary medium in their art practice or employed it as a finished, autonomous and self-generative discipline. The focus was on artists who not only look at and expand their art practice through mark-making but also infuse it with their distinctive cultural tales, legends and myths, and conceptualise it within global history and narrative.

In this exhibition, the viewers saw 10 artists who genuinely celebrate their acts of making and marking in many different ways to express their experiences of diaspora in Australia. Among the 10 artists some, such as Bosnian-born artist Muamer Cajic, who experienced his country's civil war in the 90s, allowed the viewers to perceive their personal experiences of cultural changes or exchanges through very subtle, intimate and sensitive marks on paper. His drawings of a collection of shoes placed in a grid quietly invite us into the artist's very private world. Cajic's drawings often deal with memory and imagination, since memory produces a rhythm in which past confusion and present feelings engage in a cohesive form, that of a shoe. Each shoe represents a person who once had lived, loved and unceremoniously died.³

While some more 'violent' act may be better representation in the act of drawing to convey the concept of belonging and displacement as that of Anie Nheu's. Born in Taiwan, Anie moved through four different countries with her family before they finally settled in Australia. Nheu carries out her exploration of two-dimensional and three-dimensional worlds for which her drawing tools range from pencil and charcoal to cutting paper with a knife or scissors, in order to skilfully express her personal experiences of displacement, belonging, and identity. In her statement, she explains that 'Image making has become a process in finding or revealing forms which have remained elusive. Form has become a metaphor of identity; form in space, a metaphor for a sense of place. The experience of cultural identity was not a given. It takes the form of a continual process of defining, crossing-overs and redefining'.⁴

Interpreting one's own cultural tradition creates links between the artists' current positions and their heritage, as in Nusra Latif Qureshi's work. Pakistani-born artist Qureshi exhibits her drawing using the three-dimensional space of the gallery to carry forward her ongoing interest in the potential of traditional devices and historic images as vehicles to articulate contemporary issues, in which her art practice is formed by

CAJIC, M. 2012. Sydney: Blacktown Arts Centre.
NHEU, A. 2012. Sydney: Blacktown Arts Centre.

the changed experiences of a new society and culture. She is interested in the names of birds, plants, people and land. She hopes to investigate the notion of identity, place and belonging and use drawing as formed by the experiences of migration and taking roots in a new society and culture.⁵

In a country like Australia, artists do not just hold tightly to their own heritage. The advantage of having multiple-cultural communication has enriched the understanding of our life. Some artists search for a way that is not simply hybridised, but integrated in harmony. Polish-born artist Ana Pollack's work has been influenced by the rhythm, energy and movement of Chinese calligraphy to guide her gestural marks in drawing. Her particular interest lies in her passion for understanding the relationship between nature and humans, which she has absorbed into the Eastern philosophy of *being* in nature, so pronounced in her drawings. She has also learned calligraphy in order to understand the use of lines and the energy involved in the mark-making process so she can deliver her intention of interpreting her understanding of the relationship between her beliefs, her life and her art practice.⁶

Remarking | Remaking suggests some exciting possibilities for the themes of diaspora in Australia. The drawings became a platform to accommodate the artists' personal, intimate and direct experiences, to serve their needs to publicly express sensitive and strong responses to the social, political and cultural changes in their lives by developing diverse conceptual and technical explorations. The exhibition has provided a catalyst for discussion, as audiences were encouraged to share their thoughts and responses by drawing on their own personal experiences.

3PPOD: Deconstruct and Reconstruct Self-value in Community

The final part of this paper discusses how the act of drawing can be related to cultural/social acts in a cross-cultural context. For the collaborative art group 3PPOD, it is not only what content the artists choose to represent the concept, but more importantly, it is the psychological process the artists have been through that strongly demonstrates what happens when interaction occurs between individuals.

3PPOD was conceived at a point when Anie Nheu, Yiwon Park and I were passionate about enhancing our identity-seeking art in Australia through the drawing act. Our individual art uses similar concepts, based on our awareness of how cultural identity is reconstructed by a new culture. Although this issue is not a new realm for artists to explore, 3PPOD set out to create different approaches to it to demonstrate and investigate how the mark-making act in art can represent our value-making act in life. The group has undertaken several projects representing the relationship between reality and the drawing process, including Adding and Erasing, Concealing and Revealing, Rubric and Puzzles. Each of these projects addresses different problems and solutions that would have been encountered in life. In this paper, two projects – 'Adding' and 'Erasing' – will be discussed to show how the drawing process is similar to the process of life when individual values are confronted in a different culture.

Every individual experiencing conflicts, compromises, or other cross-cultural

QURESHI, N. L. 2012. Sydney: Blacktown Arts Centre.
POLLAK, A. 2012. Sydney: Blacktown Arts Centre.

dilemmas would share a similar process of justifying the differences between cultures. The research group for the paper 'Perceiving cultural importance and actual self-importance of values in cultural identification' suggests an interaction between the cultural self and its shared reality with the collective. The paper argues that people will behave in accordance with the direction of a collective cultural representation. When they find certain knowledge and values meaningful in this culture, they will then appropriate the knowledge and values to construct their cultural self.⁷ It is a personal process of processing different cultural/social values in the act of deconstruction and reconstruction. Each person creates a personal value system, which relates to the person's own integrated system of interrelated values. Individuals in a culture interact with each other at different levels, from one-on-one communication to collective-meaning negotiation.⁸ When we communicate with the others, it is our choice to decide how we conduct any conversation when our behaviours, values and beliefs are confronted and challenged. There are compromises, but our previously held identity is also enriched. We, as individuals, have been shaped to be a part of this new environment. Therefore, the aim of these two projects was to represent life challenges such as this through the art making process.

It was the intention of both projects to investigate how much we can remain who we are in this new country. Therefore, we designed the rules. As these were collaborative works, in both projects, each artist began a drawing. The drawing was circulated to the next person. The third person finalized the drawing. There were two main rules: we could add, cut, tear, stick in the first series, 'Adding', and must erase each other's images as we wished in the second series, 'Erasing'. However, how we decided to work on each other's existing marks was determined by our individual definitions of what is meant by adding and erasing. We considered it reflected our life situation where we always face decisions about how much we keep and hide or give away, who we are and what we have.

At the same time, and also in order to capture our thoughts for evaluation later, we used text to record our thoughts while we were completing the projects. According to the texts, it was very evident that the marks were no longer just drawing marks as in those of our own artworks. The marks started to influence our emotions and moral values at a socially interactive level.

In the 'Adding' project, we encountered some entirely new art experiences.⁹ For example, Nheu was challenged when she was distracted and disoriented by the narratives and recognizable forms and shapes in the drawings, because it is not the usual way she works. She normally seeks relationships by mapping and rendering the negative space to capture inter-relationships between the subjects. She lost her mark-making identity when given an unfamiliar context in which to work.

My own experience was also a process of changing my attitude to the values of my marks and those of the others in the project. I had problems in determining how strongly my own style should be represented in the drawings without damaging the

WAN, C., CHIU, C.-Y., TAM, K.-P., LEE, S.-L., LAU, I. Y.-M. & PENG, S. 2007. Perceived cultural importance and actual self-importance of values in cultural identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 337-354, *ibid.*
ibid. p.338

LI, W., NHEU, A. & PARK, Y. 2012. Yarns Between Bubble. 3PPOD in conjunction with The University of Sydney, *ibid.*, *ibid.*

others' work. When I first started, I couldn't stop changing the drawing into my preferred style, which caused some difficulties for the other artists and myself. Over the period, I learned to adapt more from the others' marks, temperaments and styles. This change has helped me perceive who I am and how I can be who I am when facing such circumstances in life.

Park, on the contrary, took this project as an opportunity to experiment with developing relationships by being absorbed into others' drawn worlds, searching for various ways to participate in conversations through our visual languages. She avoided dialogue with others and preferred monologues or broken narratives. Overall, the project 'Adding' was the less confronting of the two, because the process could be viewed as complimentary to the existing marks, although from time to time it was difficult to make decisions about how much to add and how much to change the others' work.

Unexpectedly, 'Erasing' caused more troubles than we expected, as putting a value on the 'self' and the 'others', and the individual versus the collective, became emotionally and morally sensitive. In 'Erasing', each of us had to remove 70% of the existing mark, and could add up to 30% if we wished. This exercise allowed us to explore the parameters of and meaning in the act of erasing – its surprising consequences, and the unexpected ways of removing marks and interpreting the act of removing a mark.

I was the most difficult participant, as I started to mix these art actions with moral actions. My normal mark-making process is to give value to each mark and space; but by brutally erasing them, just for the sake of erasing, I felt I was taking away the values of marks and space without equal compensation or convincing reasons. It reached a point where morally, I found it difficult to erase the others' marks, because I started to feel that I was erasing their voices that suggested their identities.

As the elimination of the others' marks through my actions caused tremendous problems, some alternatives were sought – ways of erasing without leaving my marks, such as using sun and bleach to remove the acrylic. To some extent, it was also hard to see my marks covered by Park, because I felt that my history and the evidence of my presence were erased. For these reasons, it became very emotional and confronting for me to continue this project.

Things were not so difficult for the other two artists. Park felt excited at the beginning about the unexpected outcomes of this process. She began the project with the notion of erasing as a way of transforming an image without considering composition or taking likes and dislikes into account. However, her awareness of the presence of the other two became evident later, when she noticed she worked differently once she began considering the others' images as the target to erase. She then started to value the images presented, by maintaining her intention of not occupying the space without thinking about the others' contributions.

Nheu approached the project differently. When she first encountered Park's three drawings, with strong statements on the back, such as '*How can you erase me, if I haven't drawn any image?*'; '*How can you erase me, if I erase it first?*'; and '*Ok, now you can erase me,*' she responded to the texts by subverting the intention of the

instructions to control by questioning the act of erasing. Nheu 'erased' by copying Park's image and adding it to the existing drawing, thereby simultaneously changing the image without leaving her own mark and taking away Park's ownership of her image. However, the image had been changed and was no longer Park's. To Nheu, this process represented the process of assimilating into a dominant culture; adopting a culture that is not yours, and through the process, creating a hybrid culture. New identities are formed with no sense of belonging to either of the cultures that have formed you, and no ownership of either culture; the source of the creation of our hybrid culture.

The drawings produced out of the project 'Erasing' were not as successful as we had hoped, but in the end, the process subjugated the main intention and became the investigation itself.

Living in a new country where new language, ideas, values, and social behaviours meet every day, every immigrant faces often the dilemma of how much one culture should be maintained and how to respond to different culture(s). However, the parallel is that there are always battles, big or small, in one's individual life, which, over time, define its complexity and complications.

It is the process of forming communications like this that interested the artists discussed in this paper, who expressed their shared similarities. The act of drawing has indeed challenged our perceptions of how we see ourselves in relation to the others, the individual value we have found in collectiveness and how we define who we are in art and life. Drawing, and the act of making drawing, through its genuinely intimate, direct and personal nature, effectively serves as an appropriate means to express ideas related to migrants' lives in multiple cultures. The intention of using the act of drawing as a tool to study our everyday behavior as a immigrants was successfully represented in the drawings, and will continue to be explored.

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Jeanette Winterson's Stone Gods as Trans-world and Trans-gender Dystopia

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Abstract

The paper analyzes the dystopian apocalyptic vision of human civilization in the novel *The Stone Gods* by a contemporary British writer Jeanette Winterson. This postmodern narrative blends the world's colonial past with its potentially colonial future, as mankind is attempting at colonizing a new planet. While Winterson's novel is not innovative when it comes to the formal aspects of dystopias, she manages to create a sense of fluid and omnipresent history that is constantly blended into the present, bringing into focus men's self-destructive tendencies. The narrative is not linear or chronological and consists of several stories set in various times and spaces which are interconnected not only by the common theme of human greed and irresponsible economic and anti-ecological behavior, but also by the central character Billie/Billy Crusoe. Following the main gender-bending motif of Virginia Woolf's cult novel *Orlando*, Billie chooses her partners according to their personality, not gender or biological sex. The dystopian, nonlinear and often didactic tone of the novel is interwoven with poetic passages depicting romantic love that is, as is common in Winterson, solely homosexual. And it is a romance and emotions that are presented as the basis of humanity, even when it concerns love between a human and a robot.

Keywords: Dystopia; Jeanette Winterson; *Stone Gods*; postmodern narrative; colonialism; lesbian fiction

Dystopias have been gaining on popularity, especially since the publication of Aldous Huxley's (1894–1963) *Brave New World* (1932), followed by George Orwell's (1903–1950) *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949). Such critical and apocalyptic narratives stemmed out of the twentieth century reality and as such can be considered a modern genre. Reflecting the dehumanizing effects of mechanization and globalization, dystopias presented a warning from the future that could be even more destructive than the present. The original optimism and belief in science and progress that is a characteristic feature of modernity collapsed into the sense of alienation and fragmentation, uncovering the darker side of the utopia. Needless to say, these concepts are not opposites, as professor of history of science Michael Gordin et al. observed:

A true opposite of utopia would be a society that is either completely unplanned or is planned to be deliberately terrifying and awful. Dystopia, typically invoked, is neither of these things; rather, it is a utopia that has gone wrong, or a utopia that functions only for a particular segment of society (Gordin 2010, p. 1).

In modernity utopias and dystopias were mainly located on an island or hidden city, yet, due to the increasingly unprecedented level of internationalization, the world has become too small for ideal communities or plans and the crisis is reaching and affecting whole human race, not only its fraction. That is why Winterson locates her potentially saving ground into space, being aware of the fact that our planet cannot offer substantial space that would enable the whole mankind to relocate safely and does not trust in betterment of the existing nations as is shown on the repeated cycle of the same destructive decisions. On the other hand, as the planet project is doomed, Winterson questions and undermines the idea of space colonization, pointing out the devastating cultural and ecological consequences of conquering other nations and spaces, adopting a more critical view towards the social system, yet, at the same time, suggesting alternative spaces or communities that could counterpoint the dominant rule.

Stone Gods consists of three seemingly independent narratives reaching a time span over several centuries. While the first section is set in the future and deals with a colonization of another planet, the second returns to the history of Easter Island, while the third is set in near-future. The stories are interconnected not only by the common theme of human greed and irresponsible economic and anti-ecological behavior, but also by the central character Billie/Billy Crusoe and Spike/Spickers whose gender and sex change throughout the texts, yet their characters remain; thus adopting a motif first employed by Virginia Woolf (1882–1941) in her fictional biography *Orlando* (1928), which addresses the issues of androgyny, bisexuality, homosexuality and gender performance, illustrated on a life story of a young nobleman Orlando who lives for four hundred years, unchanged at the age of thirty and during his life turns biologically into a woman.

While Woolf ventured into the past and gradually shifted towards the present, Winterson does not observe any chronological or linear pattern. The novel opens in a distant future when the world is divided into three political segments: the Central Power, Caliphate and Sino-Moscow Pact that are negotiating the system of colonization of a new planet Blue. Even though the planet is in its early stage of

development and is habituated by dinosaurs, the Central Power government is presenting it as ideal and life-saving to gain public support for the colonization:

“The new planet offers us the opportunity to do things differently. We’ve had a lot of brilliant successes here on Orbus – well, we are the success story of the universe, aren’t we? [. . .] But we have taken a few wrong turnings. Made a few mistakes. [. . .] Conflict is likely. A new planet means we can redistribute ourselves. It will mean a better quality of life for everyone – the ones who leave, and the ones who stay” (Winterson 2007, pp. 4–5).

The ruling elite thus imposes the image of the bright future on the masses. By making the new world publicly attractive, the government creates a utopian vision for the masses by connecting it to the nation’s colonialist past, especially of Indies, Americas and Arctic circles. The image of future paradise has to be perfect so that no opposition towards the mission could arise. As the Central Power regulates and controls the seemingly democratic and ecological distribution of resources, its chief interest is to keep the majority satisfied and reassured of the common good it would produce, preventing any suggestions concerning the saving of the current planet. According to Horkheimer and Adorno, such government prevents independent thinking and encourages “diversion and amusement, the security of identification with authority, and the comfort of conformity. The ‘world of administered life’ creates such individuals and efficiently meets their needs. Within such a world the capacity to think that things might be otherwise, or even to feel such a need, has been repressed” (Alway 1995 , p. 42). To avoid any accusation of potential violence, the government proclaims that the “[m]onsters will be humanely destroyed” (Winterson 2007, p. 6). The extermination of local inhabitants, no matter what they are, as long as they are hostile to modern “civilized” life, is generally accepted as necessary for the survival of superior species: the white Western capitalist society.

Since utopia has become mainly associated with the elite that would come up with the ideal distribution of power, wealth and material, it has acquired a rather negative connotation. According to Gordin et al.:

It carries with it the trappings of an elaborate thought experiment, a kind of parlor game for intellectuals who set themselves the task of designing a future society, a perfect society—following the pun on the name in Greek (no place, good place: imaginary yet positive) (Gordin 2010, p. 1).

Even seemingly equal distribution of wealth is still viewed as unsatisfactory as it becomes utopian only for a ruling fraction society, whereas the others are limited in their freedom of thought or expression. According to Habermas: “*Liberation from hunger and misery* does not necessarily converge with *liberation from servitude and degradation*, for there is no automatic developmental relation between labor and interaction” (Habermas 1973, p. 169). That can be one of the major reasons why dystopias often attack the originally utopian leftist world visions. Even Winterson undermines the seemingly socialist establishment by creating a society without private ownership based on ecological awareness and renting. Moreover, humans are genetically fixed at certain age of his/her choice so nobody gets old, sick or ugly. Yet, as she points out, even this state does not lead to fulfillment or happiness, but rather causes multiple deviations and perversions, especially in the sexual sphere as most

people look the same: young and beautiful, only celebrities are enhanced to look even better. Equal distribution of beauty, youth and wealth leads to alienation and boredom: “All men are hung like whales. All women are tight as clams below and inflated like lifebuoys above. Jaws are square, skin is tanned, muscles are toned, and no one gets turned on” (Winterson 2007, p. 23). As sexual adventures present the only form of release of self-expression, the women try to comply with various male appetites, especially concerning their looks and age, while men have small girls imported from the Caliphate, as the Central Power outlawed pedophilia.

The utopian image presented to the masses can be thus seen as a political and ideological tool for manipulation of dependent subjects. Moreover, as the new world is ruled by technology and all human activities were transferred onto machines, the humanity is slowly degrading, while the robots are growing more sophisticated, especially a new kind called *robo sapiens* that looks human and is capable of evolution, though within limits. While humans rely on the technology in every aspect of their lives, they gradually lose their skills and abilities, ending up defenseless against the manipulative rule, confirming Horkheimer’s and Adorno’s claim that the masses “insist on the very ideology which enslaves them” (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972, p. 136), and are readily trapped into the cycle of pre-given social frame, as long as they can follow their entertainment. They prove to have an almost “enigmatic readiness [...] to fall under the sway of any despotism” (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972, p. xiii).

Similarly to other feminist dystopias, *Stone Gods* address not only the destinies of individual characters, but focus on the very structure of the ruling system and the origin and causes of both dys- and utopian visions, affirming Patricia Melzer’s claim that “[science fiction female writers] create explicit political narratives that do not just center on an individual’s subjectivity but address *systems* that shape our world: social, technological, economic, and political systems” (Melzer 2006, p. 179). In contrast with the predominantly predatory and destructive nature of men and their ruling system, women are mainly portrayed either as victims or active opponents of the system, using their common sense, emotions and insight to save the planet or restore the natural order and balance.

The protagonist Billie Crusoe works for the Enhancement service that is responsible for making people know what is good for them and their community. Yet, she only accepted the position to be able to keep her small farm, a little utopia of her own which was considered archaic and even anarchic. She does share the general enthusiasm for re-settling and believes in restoration of the old planet: “We didn’t do anything, did we? Just fucked it to death and then kicked it when it wouldn’t get up” (Winterson 2007, p. 8). Feeling responsible for the environment, Billie tries to hide in her limited natural preserve and believes in re-establishment of the ecological balance. The same is true for women on the Easter Island from the second narrative, who try to prevent the local chiefs from putting down the last tree. Yet, the men are deaf and blind to their cries, beat them up and collectively take the tree down. Winterson here again refers to potentially saving and healing community of women that has the capacity and feeling to save the Earth, in opposition to men’s strength and reason, which is often destructive.

Winterson also questions the future of women within such a system: “We don’t breed in the womb anymore, and if we aren’t wanted for sex...But there always will be men. Women haven’t gone for little boys. Women have a different approach. Surrounded by hunks, they look for the ‘ugly man inside’. [...] So this is the future. F is for Future” (Winterson 2007, p. 26). The victimization of women is illustrated on a case Billie is assigned to. Mrs. Pink McMurphy wants to be genetically reversed to the age of twelve to revive her husband’s sexual interest. Even though such a procedure is possible, it is not common or supported; Billie is supposed to investigate the case and persuade the woman to change her decision. Yet, all attempts at rational reasoning are hopeless as Mrs. McMurphy behaves like a small girl, turning their house into pink teenage dream, willing to comply with her husband’s pedophilic desires: “‘Y’know, I’d be fucked up and miserable anyway – and if I’m going to be fucked up and miserable, I’d rather be young, fucked up and miserable. Who wants to be depressed *and* have skin that looks like fried onions?’” (Winterson 2007, p. 70)

While she fusses about her appearance and desperately tries to become attractive, young and beautiful, her husband is frequenting Peccadillo, a bar for unusual sexual services. It offers translucent waiters, “[w]hen you fuck them you can watch yourself doing it. It’s pornography for introverts” (Winterson 2007, p. 22), woman with mouths instead of her nipples and one leg for easier access, children, or a dog woman with animals included. The husband loves young children and is prepared to have fixed a nine-year old girl from the Caliphate, even though it is illegal. He supports his wife’s wish and even proclaims his deviation as acceptable and normal: “‘It’s like every other Civil Rights and Equal Rights battle, OK? You had Blacks at one time. You had Semites at one time. You had mixed marriages, you had gays. All legal, no problem. We’re just victims of prejudice and out-of-date laws’” (Winterson 2007, p. 25).

Winterson may present bizarre sexual appetites and adaptations, yet, she operates within the bi-polar gender and biological sex system. Her characters, no matter if gay or heterosexual, are always males or females, men or women. She thus challenges only the heteronormative system, which is typical for all her writing, yet does not go beyond it. Even her robo sapiens Spike has a body that’s looks female while under the upper tissue there is fully mechanical construction.

The effect of imposed social roles upon women is further demonstrated on the relationship between Billie and Spike that develops on the space mission to planet Blue. Spike starts to feel emotions and breaks the limits designed for keeping the evolution of robo sapiens under control. Captain Handsome hopes to enrich her emotion scale by starting an affair with her and Spike is more than willing to learn, yet only from Billie. The novel starts to follow their romantic relationship that gradually strengthens and overcomes any prejudice. The originally highly political and ecological tale thus turns into a lesbian interspecies romance, in which Winterson once again distorts and challenges gender expectations.

In the space Spike starts to understand the social nature of gender and by choosing Billie rather than Captain Handsome asserts a right for choice of partners. Whereas on her previous mission she served not only a perfect intelligent machine but her construction corresponded with the image of a perfect female body so that she could

provide sexual services. Moreover, she programmed in such a way as to be willing to perform her role.

Throughout the text, Spike is viewed and classified as a woman, Winterson here echoes the theories of Simone de Beauvoir. While de Beauvoir who claimed that “[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes a woman. No biological, psychic, economic destiny determines [...] the human female. [...] It is civilisation as a whole that produces this creature, intermediate between male and eunuch, which is described as feminine” (De Beauvoir 1949, p. 281). Her views were further developed by Monique Wittig who undermines the whole concept of a woman, which she aims at destroying and deconstructing. According to Wittig, the concept of woman is “still imprisoned in the categories of sex (woman and man), but holds onto the idea that the capacity to give birth (biology) is what defines a woman” (Wittig 2003, p. 250). Winterson completely omits the biological basis of woman as neither Billie nor Spike desire pregnancy. Moreover, the robo sapiens cannot conceive and has only an exchangeable silicon-lined vagina, still, she is treated as a woman, yet her exploitation is not based on reproductive but solely sexual purposes. Paraphrasing de Beauvoir, Spike was not born, but constructed a woman. Being a woman thus turns out to be both social and technological construct, which leads to naturalizing the social (male) needs. As Wittig observes:

But what we believe to be a physical and direct perception is only a sophisticated and mythic construction, an ‘imagery formation,’ which reinterprets physical features (in themselves neutral as any others but marked by the social system) through the network of relationships in which they are perceived (Wittig pp. 249–250).

Being aware of the mechanical and un-natural construction of Spike’s body, which is “sophisticated and mythic”, Billie does not want to get involved with a creature she does not perceive as a woman: “‘I don’t want to get personal,’ I said, ‘but I’ll say it again – you are a robot. Do you want to kiss a woman so that you can add it to your database?’ ‘Gender is a human concept,’ said Spike, ‘and not very interesting. I want to kiss you.’ She kissed me again” (Winterson 2007, p. 76). Despite her mechanical nature, Spike is deeply inspired by and is determined to find out what it is like to be loved the way it was presented in the poem, ignoring Billie’s protests that she does not want to be a robot enhancement.

Billie is trapped within the imposed understanding of femininity, even though she, as a lesbian, does not fit the heteronormative system. She still upholds the prescribed norm of a natural, biological woman, even though there are close to none in the world she lives in. Most females are genetically fixed or transformed, superficially reaching for the new social ideal they cannot fit in. Even though Billie did not undergo any genetic alteration, she tried to hide it and besides, looked beautiful and looked young enough to pass. While she is critical to the trends dictated by the system that women have followed, she does not directly oppose them.

After initial mistrust and following the limited view of the concept of a sex and gender, Spike persuades Billie to get beyond the obsolete definitions and constructions and rely on her emotions instead:

My lover is made of a meta-material, a polymer tough as metal, but pliable and flexible and capable of heating and cooling, just like human skin. [...] She has no limbic system because she is not designed to feel emotion.

She has no blood. She can't give birth. Her hair and nails don't grow. She doesn't eat or drink. She is solar-powered. She has learned how to cry (Winterson 2007, p. 83).

Both "women" reject the traditional bipolar gender division, which Spike dismisses as "human concept" and "not very interesting" (Winterson 2007, p. 76). Changing the way of Billie's constrained thinking, Spike can now be loved and celebrated as a woman she read about in poetry, fulfilling Wittig's ideal of lesbian being a "not-woman" and "not-man" (Wittig p. 251).

However, Winterson pushes the boundaries of femininity or humanity even further in the last narrative, which chronologically predates the opening one. In the world that faces the consequences of the third world war, a young scientist Billie is responsible for the first robo sapiens, Spike, who was created to ensure the world's piece and sustainability. Though still beautiful as in the first section, Spike has no body, only a head. Their relationship with Billie is thus purely platonic, yet equally strong.

Spike as an intelligent robo sapiens understands the nature of oppression and is prepared to help to establish a new, more democratic system, as she is aware of the fact that humans degraded to such an extent that they cannot stand up for themselves anymore:

Humans have given away all their power to a "they". You aren't able to fight the system because without the system none of you can survive. You made a world without alternatives, and now it is dying, and your new world already belongs to "they" (Winterson 2007, p. 79).

As she realizes that man/womankind is too comfortable within the established system that it cannot effectively resist it, she stands as an example of breaking the rules fore-set for her by shifting her evolutionary limits beyond her predefined possibilities. She rejects the categories based on the political system requirements that are still founded on the obsolete biological distinction. Winterson realized that for a change of a system, individual changes of thinking and perception have to come first:

In the days before we invented spacecraft, we dreamed of flying saucers, but what we finally built were rockets: fuel-greedy, inefficient and embarrassingly phallic. When we realized how to fly vast distances at light-speed, we went back to the saucer shape: a disc with solar sails. Strange to dream in the right shape and build in the wrong shape, but maybe that is what we do every day, never believing that a dream could tell the truth (Winterson 2007, p. 75).

Placing an emphasis on dreams, intuition and openness towards love and emotions, corresponds to Horkheimer's and Adorno's claim that the regression of subjected mankind is caused by their "inability to hear the unheard of with their own ears, to touch the unapprehended with their own hands" (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972, p. 36). The belief in technology also leads to a destruction of the planet and the

explorers, as the asteroid that is meant to exterminate the dinosaurs, sends the planet into Ice Age. This mission exemplifies just another case of colonization that brought disasters both to the space and its inhabitants, similarly to the Easter Island, where the natives used up all wood and stone available on the land to build large moai statues of faces of deified ancestors. As a result, the island turned into inhospitable dessert: “The island was stripped and bare, with few trees or shrub-bushes of any kind. Nature seemed hardly to have provided it with any fit thing for man to eat or drink (Winterson 2007, p.118).

Winterson, however, manages to combine the social criticism with stories of common individuals, showing the effects of the destructive power on human lives. To prove her trans-gender attitude, this narrative features a sailor and member of the colonizing crew Billy, whose life is saved by one of the natives with European origin Spikkers. Yet, their relationship becomes immediately more intimate as Spikkers expects a reward: “I put my hand down to where he was stiff and soon had him tidy and soft again (Winterson 2007, p. 128). Similarly to the other narratives, their romance slowly develops into mutual love, care and understanding, emphasizing the universality of human experience.

While Billy offers an outsider’s and observer’s perspective, Spikkers explains the events from the inside, though the fact that he can speak English, Spanish and can write, partly excludes him from the community. As the robo sapiens from the previous section, he is more “technically developed” and dreams of the peace and order on the island, yet as he cannot step out of the system, he is choosing between two chiefs who both proved destructive in their leadership. On the other hand, Billy who lands involuntarily on the island and is left behind by his crew, only learns of the effects of “civilizing” other lands from the native’s narrative. Still, even their good intentions and attempts to bring the island back to its tradition and order fail, not due to their lack of abilities, but male competitiveness that leads to Spikker’s death. Their only legacy is their mutual love: “[I] licked the blood from his mouth and tried to give him my breath and I would have given him one of my legs and one of my arms and one of my kidneys and half of my liver and four pints of my blood and all easy for I had already given him my heart. Do not die” (Winterson 2007, p. 139).

As long as there are Billies and Spikk/ers, mankind will remain human, as for Winterson same-sex relationships disrupt not only the heteronormative system but also the social constructs of man or woman: “Truth tell, anywhere is a life, once there is love” (Winterson 138). In both sections it was homosexual love freed from prejudice and system requirements that led to at least individual and subjective redemption, while the rest of humanity did not oppose the establishment, they complied with the imposed limitations and entered just another destructive cycle of human history, often closely linked to devastating colonization and “civilization” of both the land and its inhabitants. As in most of Winterson’s novels, *Stone Gods* consists of parallel stories from various times and spaces, suggesting a cyclical view of human history. “Everything is imprinted forever with what it was once was” (Winterson 2007, p. 246). The pattern from past colonizing of the unknown lands and islands is repeated with the new planet, while the characters and consequences are always the same.

Yet, the main theme of the book is not the colonization of other planet suitable for life as it may seem from the first part; Winterson shows great awareness of the roots and causes of dystopian thinking. As anti/dys/u-topias reflect the state of contemporary and historical events, she is tracing the human qualities and general circumstances leading to the state of crisis. While the first part of the book deals with catastrophic consequences of colonizing a new planet, the second part goes back to the time of Easter Island's exploration and the third part returns to near-future, where Billie finds a manuscript in a metro called *The Stone Gods*, the whole planet Blue is thus suddenly turned into fiction, what remains is the desolate past and equally hopeless present. What is mankind left with is a planet that used to be blue, and a capacity for poetry and love. By providing redemptive models and alternatives, Winterson confirms the dystopia's corrective function of idealized societies; even when her characters failed in their political missions. Their realization of oppressive social constructs and politics creates a space for negotiation between new utopian possibilities and fully hopeless and negative dystopian future.

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A German Fountain in the Ottoman Capital

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Abstract

The paper is focused on “Kaiser Wilhelm Fountain”, or the German Fountain as the public calls it, as an embodiment of the political landscape of the turn of the 20. century Ottoman-German relations. It aims to try and understand the Fountain as a German monument in an Ottoman city, away from its origins.

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The end of 19th century was a turbulent time for the Ottoman Empire. The economy had taken a big hit because of the Empire being not able to keep up with the rapid industrial progress in the world and the minorities were rising in the wake of the birth of widespread nationalistic ideals. There were also threats from outside. As a rich source of natural materials, the land of Ottoman Empire was being set as a goal for European countries and Russia alike.

At this crossroad Abdülhamid II, abandoned its ties, he maintained for years to the British Empire and formed a new friendship with the newly formed German Empire. The German presence in the Empire was already established. German military officers and academicians had been in the Ottoman lands to help with the revision of the army and the educational system since the 1830's, but now the relationship was taken to the next step and Germany was to become a strong and maybe the only ally in Europe.

It is important to know about Abdülhamid to understand his motivation in this choice, I believe. After the suspicious death of the 32, Sultan Abdülaziz in 1876, it is still not known for sure if he committed suicide or was killed, and the dethroning of Murad V., who succeeded him, because of mental issues, Abdülhamid II. ascended the throne on 31 August 1876. So, it is not really a surprise, that he is widely portrayed as a paranoid character. From his point of view, it most likely was a question of if he was paranoid enough. To calm the unrest in the Empire he enacted some reformations such as forming a parliament, which would rule with the Sultan and prepared and implemented a constitution, though the historians argue that this constitution reinforced his authority instead of limiting it. It was in his time that long standing and unsolvable political problem of Cyprus was created, when the islands control was given to the British in 1878, who were at that time Abdülhamid's defense against Russia. Also a lot of minority riots broke in his reign, which were stopped with violent crack-downs and countless fatalities, the number of which varies in different sources. One of which, the Armenian riots in 1894, almost killed the blossoming affair between Germany and Ottoman Empire, when Wilhelm II announced that 80000 Armenians were killed and criticized Abdülhamid with a strong language. Abdülhamid's Ottoman Empire, in contrast to his predecessors, was in the full view of the European nations. Almost all of the European nations had embassies in Istanbul and European journalists were reporting regularly from the Empire. So, he was one of the first Turkish rulers, but obviously would not be the last, who had to take account of his country's image abroad and chose to censure his own media and try to regulate the foreign media with telegraph censure-ship. He legitimized these decisions by blaming their biased reporting for his misfortunes and by describing them as pawns of "foreign powers", which were trying to destroy the Empire from within. If he was right or wrong is up for debate, but it is certain that he took part in creating a long-standing tradition in Turkish politics of throwing the blame around without trying to find a solution. Turbulence in Turkey today and governmental rhetoric prove Hegel right, "What experience and history teach is this — that nations and governments have never learned anything from history, or acted upon any lessons they might have drawn from it." (Hür, 2012) (Kologlu, 2011)

At this atmosphere and with this Sultan the newly founded German Empire and its Emperor Wilhelm II formed a relationship, which both sides hoped would be lucrative for them. Between the years 1889 and 1917 the German Emperor Wilhelm II visited

the Ottoman Empire three times, in 1889, 1898 and 1917, near the end of the World War I, which would define the future existence of both Empires.

As said before, the natural sources of the Ottoman Empire were one of the most important reasons for Wilhelm's interest in this country. Germany had been too slow to acquire colonies to support its industry and sell his manufactured wares. Empires like British and French had seized control of Asia and Africa's resources and the traveling routes to these lands. So, when German and Ottoman officials came together one of the first plans was an ambitious railway project. This railway, which was named the Bagdad Railway, would connect Berlin with Bagdad and bypass the sea and land routes used till that time. No need to say that because of the opposition of international community, especially British, and start of the World War I, this highly expensive project could not be completed for a long time.

Abdülhamid was dethroned in 1909, after another riot this time by military personnel, but cooperation of two Empires continued and carried them together to World War I, which caused their fall and complete reformation.

The German Fountain

After his second visit to the Ottoman Empire in 1898 inspired by the gift ceremonies of his trips the German Kaiser decided to build a fountain in Istanbul as a gift to its citizens. The fountain, which was named '*Kaiser Wilhelm Brunnen*' is known as the 'German Fountain' by the public. The correspondence about its construction starts in 1899 (İDH, 2010,174). In this first plans the Fountain is described as a fountain in Roman-Byzantine style which 'will not be used for ritual cleansing'. (Fındıkgil-Doğuoğlu, 2001, 247) Which suggests that although it was planned to be functional and to have an active role in the everyday life of the citizens of the Ottoman capital, its function might not have been wholly suitable for the Ottoman everyday life.

Where the Fountain should be placed was obviously very important and has caused some discussion. The German Government, putting emphasis on the idea that the Fountain was a gift for the people of Istanbul, insisted that it should be in the centre of the city than somewhere on the periphery, while the Sublime Porte suggested just that, the district of Nişantaşı. German Government repeated their preference to build the Fountain 'in the real İstanbul' and refused Nişantaşı. At the end both sides arrived at a consensus, or maybe more accurately, the German officials persuaded the Porte. (İDH, 2010, 174) Finally, the Fountain had found its place, where, as a German newspaper wrote, 'everyday numerous Muslims on their way will see the gift of the German Emperor'. (Fındıkgil-Doğuoğlu, 2001, 248) (Figur 1&2) With this placement it was also situated among other monuments of historical significance from different historical time periods. The Sultanahmed Square was the old Hippodrome of the Roman times and was and still is an important gathering place. With obelisks of Greek and Roman times, churches of Byzantine and mosques of Ottoman era it shows the history of Istanbul like a chronological catalogue of monuments. Muenzer, while explaining the idea of a monument puts emphasis on its placement by saying 'as an instrument of social organization and control' it undoubtedly is, it had to be where 'everyone would visit with pleasure and where one could everyday assemble a good part of citizens without hassle.' (Muenzer, 2001, 26) In this case the German Fountain definitely fulfills this pre-condition.



Figure 1&2: Sultanahmet Square and the Nisantasi District

The plans for the Fountain were first presented to Ahmet Tevfik Paşa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the time, during a reception in Wilhelm's palace in Berlin on January 15th 1900. Ahmet Tevfik Paşa described the Fountain as being in the Byzantine style, which was used in Germany at the time, with traces of Arabian architecture. His detailed description is almost identical with the finished monument. He also notes that an inscription about the Fountain being a gift to commemorate Emperor's visit to Istanbul and a sura from Koran about water would be placed on the Fountain. Because all the building parts were going to be prepared in Germany, these inscriptions were supposed to be written in Istanbul and sent to Berlin to be engraved. (İDH, 2010, 176-178)

The inauguration was planned to be held on 1 September 1900, the anniversary of the Abdülhamid II.'s accession to the throne, but because preparations like building railings, rearranging the pavement, planting trees in the vicinity of the Fountain and establishing the water connection could not be completed due to time and budget constraints, the Inauguration was pushed to 27 January 1901, to the birthday of Wilhelm II. (İDH, 2010, 178) (Yavuz, 2002, 655)

The Inauguration Ceremony and the happenings of the days leading to it can be followed on the newspapers of the time, like *Oriental Advertiser*. At the planned date the Ceremony was carried out with the attendance of ‘the German Ambassador, the members of the special mission, the delegates of the Sultan, the staff of the Moltke, the warship which came from Germany for the occasion, the functionaries of the German Embassy, as well as all the German officers in the service of the Imperial Government in Istanbul’ and a battalion of the Imperial Army. At the ceremony Schelle who tended to the execution of Spitta’s design, German Ambassador, Tevfik Pasha and others gave speeches. Ambassador described the Fountain as ‘a monument erected in gratitude and friendship to perpetuate the cordial and brilliant hospitality of the Sultan, granted to his Master and his noble wife on their visit to this country.’ (O.A., 1901, January 28th) Although the festivities were dampened by Wilhelm II’s grandmother Queen Victoria’s death on January 22nd, still dinners, balls and receptions were held inside the German colony in Istanbul. (O.A., 1901, January 26th, January 28th & January 29th)

The Design of the German Fountain

The Fountain has a simple octagonal plan. It consists of an elevated platform, which can be entered from the southern facade looking to the square. This entrance and the stairs leading to it defines structure’s front facade. (Figure 3) All the other sides have faucets cast in bronze and marble basins. It is mostly made out of white marble, except the columns, which are of green granite and the construction components made out of bronze casting. The column capitols and bases are also bronze cast and have floral engravings. These columns situated on the platform carry the ripped dome through circular arches. The dome itself is covered with copper with a bronze cast edging.



Figure 3: The Front Façade of the German Fountain

The most prominent adornments on the Fountain are mosaics. Inside the dome, there is one central circular medallion on golden background and Abdülhamid II’s tughra and Wilhelm II’s initials surround it. (Figure 4) Abdülhamid’s tughra was drawn on green backdrop, which is explained in some sources as green being the Prophets color, and Wilhelm’s initials were on Prussian blue backdrop. (Batur, 1993, 209) Outside of the Fountain there are small medallions on the keystones of the arches and

a line of star motives on the either side of these medallions. Adornment with mosaics is surely a complementary choice in a building of Byzantine style, as it can be seen in the German neo-Byzantine buildings of the time, but some sources explain this also as a choice born out of respect to the Islamic tradition of non-figurative drawings. (Fındıkgil-Doğuoğlu, 2001, 248)

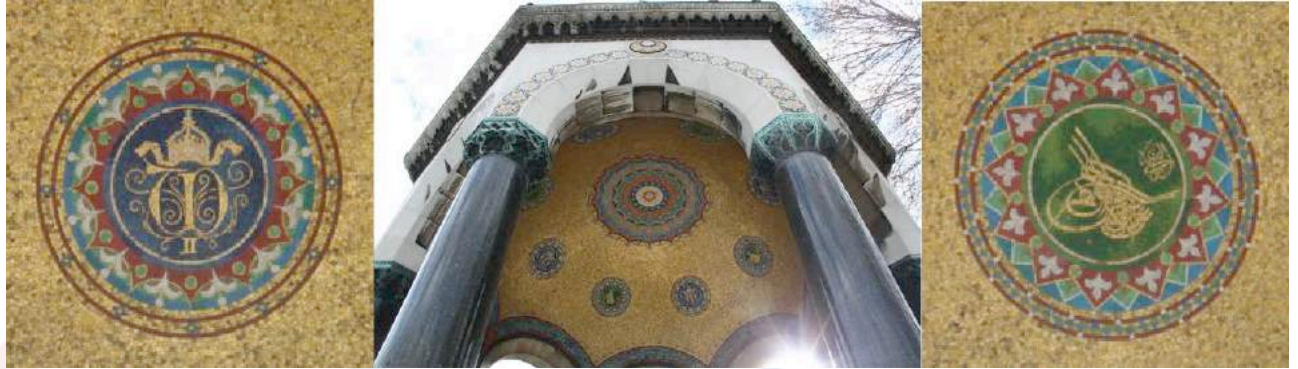


Figure 4: The Mosaics inside the Dome

The floral motives on the Fountain, like the pine cone on the dome or the motives on the column capitals, are thought to be chosen as a metaphor of the coming together of two nations, with flowers or plants associated with these nations, like orchids, grapes, chestnut and pine cones being used together. (Fındıkgil-Doğuoğlu, 2001, 248)

Inside the structure, there are marble banks between the water reservoir and the column row. This is a unique arrangement. (Figure 5) Especially in this fountain, which considering the placement of the faucets, clearly supposed to be experienced from outside. This unique aspect of German Fountain's design can be one of the discussion points in determining if the baldachin plan used in the German monuments in the turn of the century was adapted to this Fountain, somewhat forcefully.



Figure 5: The Corridor

There are not many fountain designs similar to the German Fountain's design. One of the known examples with this kind of baldachin frame is in Musul and was opened in

1900, almost at the same time as the German Fountain. The design shows the characteristics of neither the open-air European square fountains nor Istanbul square fountains. This is why some researchers search its origins in the German monuments' designs of the time, like Fındıkgil-Doğuoğlu, who in her PhD dissertation named '*19. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Alman Mimari Etkinliği*' (German Architectural Activity in the 19. Century Istanbul) compares the form of the Fountain to Wilhelm Monument in Porta Westfalica. (Fındıkgil-Doğuoğlu, 2001, 249)

19. Century German Monuments

19. Century German Monuments are a well-researched area in German literature. This is rooted in the fact that a massive monument movement was seen in Germany in this time period, a 'Monument-epidemic' as some contemporary critics called it. (Dolgnier, 1993, 108-109) It started after the unification in 1871 and grew with the death of Wilhelm I, who was redesigned and presented as a national hero by his son Wilhelm II after his death. After the resignation and death of Bismarck, he became another such idol with many monuments erected in his name. (Bruchhausen, 1999, 179) Dolgnier explained this as the 'war fervor' born after the unification wars procreating 'mystically blazoned Person cults' and bringing the Emperors and Chancellors to an elevation of God like idolization, almost like the deification of the Roman Emperors. (Dolgnier, 1993, 108-109) F.L. Kroll also explains in his article 'Herrschaftslegitimierung durch Traditionsschöpfung' (Ruler Legitimation through Tradition Creation) how Wilhelm II. created a cult of his father Wilhelm I. as a successor of great German heroes through monuments. (Kroll, 2002, 79-83) Nipperdey on the other hand focuses on the fact that, what Wilhelm II was trying to do was to elevate the whole monarchy. These monuments of Wilhelm I. were not monuments of an individual, but monuments for the ruler profession and monarchy as a whole. They were simply 'objectified statements of the ideas'. They were 'an attempt to certify the national identity in a vivid, permanent symbol'. (Nipperdey, 1968, 530/533/543)

The national monuments basically aimed to recreate history in the future generations' eyes. As placement, places with important historical backgrounds were chosen, like battle fields. So, they would connect the rulers they immortalizing with these victories in the observers mind. A contemporary ruler would be associated with the glorious past event and so, an artificial ancestry would be created. Bruchhausen formulates this aspect of the monuments as their duty to 'steer the remembrance in a regulated path', 'Like this and in no other way should an event or a person be remembered.' (Bruchhausen, 1999, 176/180)

The monuments we will discuss in relation to the German Fountain are architectural monuments. Although these monuments were much more impressive and dominated their surroundings, figuratively they were not so much different from the figural ones. They consisted of elements from various monument types brought together, like obelisks and columns, inscription plates and memorial stones or sculptural monuments of rulers. Architecture was used as a basis, a pedestal and also, as framing.



Figure 6&7: The Wilhelm Monument in Porta-Westfalica & Hermann Monument in Teutoburg Forest

A good example of baldachin formed German monuments is the Monument in Porta-Westfalica, which was commissioned right after the death of Wilhelm I. in March 09th 1888. (Figure 6) The Monument shows clearly the idea of communicating with the past heroes and victories in its resemblance of Hermann Monument in Teutoburg Forest. Both monuments have a similar design with a base structure with a circular plan, a dome supported by round arches and strong pillars and their name sake rulers sculpture dominating their architecture. (Dolgener, 1993, 109-112)(Figure 7) This sculpture of Wilhelm I. also shows the sacralization of the Monument and Wilhelm I. himself in its form which shows Wilhelm raising his right hand as if giving his blessings. The baldachin form strengthens this sacralization with its resemblance to a tabernakel, a tomb.

A special date was chosen for the inauguration ceremony of the Monument, just like the German Fountain, which was the date of the Völkerschlacht of Leipzig against

Napoleon and the Monument's vicinity was established as a tourist attraction with accommodations, gastronomical services and souvenir shops.

This Monument is in neo-romanesque style, just like many other German Monuments of the time. Nipperdey explains this choice as romanesque and subsequently neo-romanesque being 'an expression of typical German'. (Nipperdey, 1968, 545) The use of neo-Romanesque style in monuments, especially national monuments, had the same root idea as placing these monuments in the old victory sites or connecting them with old German heroes. Romanesque style carried the romantic ideals of the heroics of middle ages. Also, because of the structural necessities of their time Romanesque buildings had minimal openings and heavy, strong walls, which gives them a feeling of impenetrability. So, they were perfectly coherent to represent the image of indestructible sovereignty. F.L. Kroll gives the example of Romanesque castle ruins on Rhine being seen by the public as symbols of vaterland remembrances of supposedly well-fortified middle ages during the French conflicts in Germany. (Kroll, 2002, 68) Kroll affirms the use of the Prussian royal family Hohenzoller, to which Wilhelm II belonged, of the medieval images and styles with correlation to their rule. He adds that in William II's time this recall of Middle Ages became some kind of 'playfull staffage', 'a fantasyland, which has atmospheric pictures suitable to almost all situations'. (Kroll, 2002, 79-83)

The Style of the German Fountain

The German Fountain itself is in neo-Byzantine style, not neo-romanesque. Still, the creation period of these source styles follow each other and the structural components like the round arch are present in both styles. They have one more thing in common. They are both spiritual styles, belonging periods and geography with strong Christian faith. Rosenthal writes 'Romanesque styles (including the Byzantine)' had tried to express the spirit of the Christianity. (Herrmann, 1992, 118) Although Byzantine Empire had obvious ties to the Roman Empire, its culture was formed by its drastic change of religion. Kroll supports this, when he explains Wilhelm II's ancestor Friedrich Wilhelm IV.'s (1840-1861) preference of neo-Byzantine style with this style being seen as symbolizing a strongly religious land shaped by Christianity and ruled by a monarch with divine privileges and sacral qualities. (Kroll, 2002, 70-71)

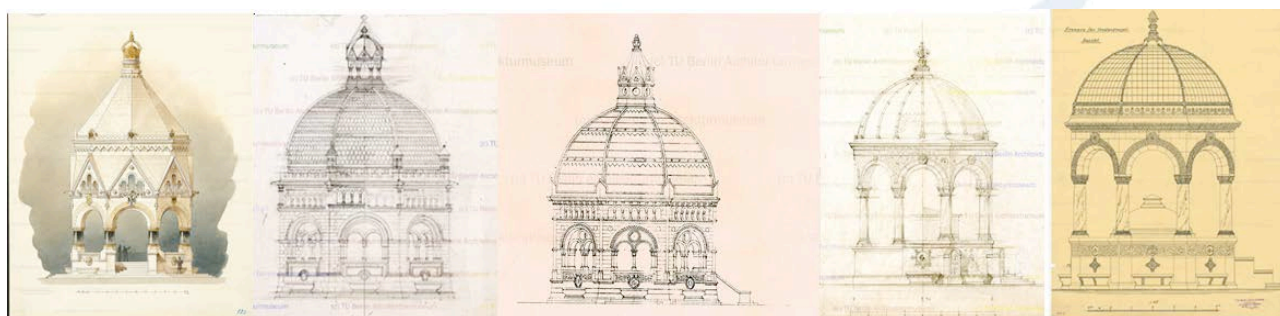


Figure 8: Max Spitta's Designs in Chronological Order

The first drawings of the German Fountain's architect Spitta show obvious neo-Romanesque influences. There are rumors that Wilhelm himself caused the changes to the design and steered it to its final state in neo-Byzantine style. (İDH, 2010, 192) (Figure 8) Still, those first designs strongly resemble the German monuments of the age. The final design of the German Fountain has also elements of Romanesque, and

belongs to the middle ages, but because of its Byzantine influence the structure and ornaments are much more lighter, more open. It is elegant and much less concerned about being impenetrable. Surely, what it tries to do is the opposite of that. It is supposed to be inviting and welcoming to have an effect on the people of the country he was gifted and to show a friendly visage to influence them. Maybe the Fountain's evolution to the Byzantine style was a way of becoming less threatening, more familiar to the people of the city it would belong and communicating with the history of that city without losing its essence. After all Byzantine culture is an inseparable part of Istanbul and Byzantine architecture, with architectural monuments like Hagia Sophia had an undeniable influence on Ottoman architecture after the conquest of the city. Rudolph Wiegmann wrote about the revival of Byzantine architecture, 'Those who seek to revive the Byzantine style on the grounds that it was a native style should bear in mind that it originated in foreign lands and flourished there as much as it did with us'. (Herrmann, 1992, 109) What he saw as a negative the designers of the German Fountain must have seen as an advantage and the neo-Byzantine must have seemed like the perfect middle ground to bring the Empires together.

Conclusion

What is so interesting about the German Fountain is that it is obviously politically motivated. Although its benefactor calls it a gift to the people of Istanbul, it was still a monument that carried his name and was built in a foreign country with almost no interference by that country's people to assert himself to their everyday life. The aim of this paper was to focus on the German Fountain's political aspect and try to examine it, its design, and its style to try to establish it as a monument, a German monument more precisely, and so try to understand it from this new point of view.

If we compare the characteristics of German monuments with the German fountain, we see sometimes subtle, sometimes obvious similarities. Firstly, the placements of German monuments were very important and were chosen carefully to emphasize the ideas behind the monuments. The German Fountain was placed in a historical square, which was the stage for many important events which defined the history of Istanbul, amongst monuments narrating this history step by step. It was taking its place amongst them as a sign post of the next chapter. Secondly, the architectural style chosen for these monuments were also connected to the history and gave signals to a past which best symbolized the message of the monument. Such was also the style of the fountain which not only embodied the German past, but also communicated with the history of Istanbul. Thirdly, it was opened with a stately inauguration ceremony on a date celebrating its benefactor, just like the national monuments in Germany. One can imagine that if the Fountain had been built in Germany, it would host annual celebrations on the date of Wilhelm II's birthday.

But even the Fountain was intended as a monument that would 'steer the remembrance in a regulated path'. Can we say that it was successful? Bruchhausen writes that what makes a building a monument is the public dialog it causes and there lies the problem with the German Fountain. (Bruchhausen, 1999, 182)

Muenzer and Bruchhausen point strongly on the fact that the intended meaning of a monument can not stay the same through time as the observers themselves change with dynamic political conflicts and configurations. (Muenzer, 2001, 6-7/20)

(Bruchhausen, 1999, 180) After a while the monuments message becomes undecipherable. This gap between the observer and the monument is not only created by time, but different nations with different cultures might have the same kind of communication problem when it comes to sending messages through monuments. After all, this kind of communication calls for both sides to have the same dictionary to decipher the content of the message.

The problem with the Fountain was the difference of the perception of the idea of a monument between German and Ottoman Empires. The monument cult in German culture was different from the Ottoman idea of a monument, which as I stated before barely existed at that moment. The German monuments were travel destinations; festivals would be organized around them; they were simply a part of the everyday life of the people. Although Abdülhamid was trying to create a culture that would accommodate such festivities, like organizing celebrations on the anniversary of his ascension to the throne, he was the first Ottoman Sultan ever have done this and it was still a new concept to the Ottoman people. (Erkmen, 2010, 81)

In just a few years after its opening there were reports of damaged mosaics and stolen metal parts in the newspapers. Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger argued that these behaviors were directly against the Turkish-German Friendship. (Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, 1906, July 30th) (İDH; 2010, 184-185) I do not think that the people of Istanbul would agree to this assessment. It was most likely the fact that the Fountain was never accepted as a monument, national or otherwise, in the German sense.

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Figures:

Figur 6:

[Wilhelm Monument in Porta Westfalica] n.d. [image online] Available at: <<http://www.geolocation.ws/v/P/45916946/kaiser-wilhelm-denkmal/en>> [Accessed 30 June 2013].

Figur 7:

[Hermann Monument in Teutoburg Forest] n.d. [image online] Available at: <<http://commondatastorage.googleapis.com/static.panoramio.com/photos/original/41793705.jpg>> [Accessed 30 June 2013].

Figur 8:

[Spitta's designs for the German Fountain (TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 16886-16888-16889-16890-16891)] n.d. [image online] Available at: <<http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=51&sid=133266645&z=1>> [Accessed 22 March 2013].

*Keeping Simulacra at Bay by Embracing Hybridity: Manufacturing a Sacred Body
through a Modern Amalgamation of the Kamis and Buddhas (shinbutsu shūgō)*

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I. Introduction

Meet Takudō-bō

Meet Takudō-bō (figure 1), the central image of the Inner Cloister of Shūyōji (Shūyō Temple), a Sōtō Zen temple in Shizuoka Prefecture popular for performing fire-preventing prayer rites. Takudō-bō is unique, even peculiar. He is hardly the kind of Buddhist icon one would expect to find in a hall at a well-known Zen temple. Takudō-bō is not a Buddha, nor is he a bodhisattva. The truth sometimes odder than fiction, the deity enshrined at the Inner Cloister is a deified adolescent boy, depicted riding an ox and carrying a sacred baton (*gohei* 御幣) in his left hand.

Figure 1. Takudō-bō icon.



This story gets stranger still. This young man wasn't even a Buddhist. He was a self-identified practitioner of Shintō whose memory was preserved by Shintō occultists who continued nativist scholar and virulent Buddhist critic Hirata Atsutane's (1776-1843) anthropology of the Shintō afterlife. You might surmise that the cult of this odd, heterodox image is quite old, a vestige of premodern syncretic Japanese religion. However, a study of the relevant historical resources reveals that this icon is not ancient but in fact a twentieth century production. Shūyōji enshrined this icon of Takudō-bō with great fanfare in 1932, which is only just beyond the horizon of living memory.

Uncovering the ironies of metanarrative in modern Japan

Most students of Japanese culture, religion or art would probably agree that this icon represents a peculiar, somewhat out of the ordinary tradition, but I will argue that there is more here than meets the eye. According to the narrative of the Japanese nation-state's development, this kind of hybridity is not supposed to exist in modernity, and when it is found, it is usually relegated to the category of vestigial premodern traces. The dominant narrative of Japanese modernity highlights unity, standardization, consolidation, wholeness and coherence. In Japanese religion this modern will to homogeneity and wholeness is seen in the Meiji government's forcible separation of Shintō and Buddhist deities and practices, a fundamentalist purge of heterodox divinity and Buddhism from Kami shrines that irrevocably shaped the modern Japanese religious landscape. As a result of the separation of Shintō and Buddhism, Kami-Buddhist syncretism is commonly thought of as a premodern phenomenon, with the separation edicts following the Meiji Restoration as its terminus (for example, see Sugawara 2005, 91). Alan Grapard was not off the mark when he wrote that the separation of Shintō and Buddhism was a cultural revolution (Grapard 1984). The end of Shintō-Buddhist hybridity was a watershed event marking a break in Japanese experience, one of the signs of Japan's entry into modernity, and for better or worse it seemed to close a chapter in Japanese cultural history.

We must indeed recognize that there is much to justify the emphasis of homogeneity and solidarity in Japanese society. The Meiji period saw the unification of a decentralized feudal system into a highly centralized modern nation-state with a professional bureaucracy, national school system and transportation infrastructure extending to all corners of the country. Yet, when reified, this accentuation veers from the descriptive to the proscriptive, bringing to mind the phenomenon of modern invented traditions, such as "wa" harmony or the putative non-litigiousness of the Japanese people (Vlastos et.al. 1998). Unity and homogeneity function much like metanarratives for Japanese modernity, and as such, they are not only suspect for their totalizing propensity, but I would also suggest that they present a challenge for Japanese adjustment to our multipolar and multicultural world in which hybridity is ever more becoming the rule rather than an exception.

There are any number of entry points from which we could interrogate the metanarratives of modern Japan, and several authors have already made significant contributions, beginning with Carol Gluck's seminal text *Japan's Modern Myths*. However, considering the cult of Takudō-bō is also instructive. First, modern amalgamations of Kamis and Buddhist deities would seem improbable in modernity, but more importantly, Takudō-bō warrants investigation because as I will show below, he is a hybridity that is quite unexpectedly a product of modernity itself: an attempt to forestall a crisis of representation that threatened to transform the sacred site into a kind of simulacrum. Furthermore, as I will discuss in my conclusion, the hybridity of this deity had important consequences for the diversity of the human community that supported its religious institution. The irony of the modern project is that its most salient features are often accompanied by the shadow of their very own antitheses. Where there is unity, for example, it is often integrally related to disunities and the sundering of older forms of community. We may also find openings for diversity in modern Japan where we least expect.

II. The Premodern Amalgamation of Kami Worship and Buddhism

If I am to talk of a 'modern' amalgamation of the Kamis and Buddhas it behooves us to take a brief look at the premodern history of the interaction between the Kamis and Buddhism. Although individual scholars differ in their typologies, Japanese scholarship tends to identify several approaches to the hybridization of Kamis and Buddhas which are usually correlated to sequential stages of amalgamation. (Sugawara 2005, 56-90; Yoshie 1996; Sueki and Takagi 2005, 119-23). Generally speaking, amalgamation began in the eighth century by reframing the Japanese Kamis as converts to Buddhism for their own salvation. In following centuries, the Kamis were subsequently portrayed as Buddhist bodhisattvas in their own right, and by the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, they had become avatars of Buddhas projected into the world as a form of divinity appropriate to liberate the Japanese people. This latter schemata for amalgamation is known as *honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹, meaning the Buddhas as the original form of divinity, or *honji*, and the Japanese Kamis as their provisional traces in the mundane world, or *suijaku*.

A common denominator in the amalgamation of the Kamis and Buddhas was the discourse of esoteric Buddhism. The establishment of Buddhist temples at shrines in the eighth century was commonly undertaken by so-called meditation masters, or *zenji* 禪師, which was a euphemism for ascetic, thaumaturgic monks who specialized in the early tantric rites that had reached Japan by the seventh and eighth centuries. As Kuroda Toshio and other scholars have suggested, esoteric Buddhism dominated practice and the ideological constellation of Japanese society during much of the medieval period (Kuroda 1996). Esoteric Buddhism's transformative mandalas produce the world out of the body of cosmic Buddhas, creating a geography of circulating and interpenetrating divinity that facilitated an alchemical reactivity among deities, both Buddhist and Shintō. In esoteric Buddhist ritual practices South Asian gods and goddesses also played pivotal roles in their own right, which provided a pattern for integrating the Japanese Kamis into a Buddhist world. In addition, we also cannot forget that the nomenclature for *honji-suijaku* was derived from Japanese Tendai Buddhism's understanding of the teaching of the *Lotus Sutra* as an ultimate ground, or main path (*honmon* 本門) to which other provisional teachings of skillful means (*jakumon* 迹門) return.

Esoteric Buddhism as a principle constituent of an alchemical religious world of medieval Japan resonates with Michel Foucault's characterization of the premodern European epistemology as an "episteme of resemblance", and also evokes Morris Berman's notion of a premodern "participating consciousness". Foucault writes of the play of symbols, a world folded in upon itself in which the earth echoes the sky and the microcosm emulated the macrocosm. Esoteric knowledge facilitated the reading of marks which revealed the underlying connectedness of things (Foucault 1994). Berman also describes the premodern historical gestalt in terms of resemblance, a vast assemblage of correspondences in which all things were related through sympathies or antipathies (Berman 1981, 74). In Japan, a world view very much as they describe held sway into Japanese premodernity. From the seventeenth century onward, however, this "esoteric" and "participating" episteme of "resemblance" lost currency until it was finally challenged and overturned—on the level of mainstream culture, at least—with the rapid Japanese modernization of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

III. Modernity and the Relationship of the Kamis and Buddhas

The project of modernity in Japan

Modernity and the rise of the industrial capitalist nation-state can be narrated from a variety of perspectives, ranging from technology and institutional history, political economy, philosophy, epistemological breaks, aesthetics and psychology. There is not sufficient space for an in-depth discussion of the causally overdetermined project of modernity, but I will take a moment to consider some salient features of the Japanese experience. In Japan as in many other modernizing countries, Benedict Anderson's "imagining of community" required the actual construction of the nation-state's community, a process of rationalizing time, space and human bodies into unities. However, this was also accompanied by its alter ego: fragmentation, disintegration, separation and atomization. That is to say, community had to be re-imagined precisely because technological and economic forces had pulverized older forms of human association (Karatani 2010, 312; 322). Karatani Kōjin describes Japanese modernization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a move away from indeterminacy (*sōkei sei* 双系性) to monosignification (*ichigi ka* 一義化). This shift is evinced by many changes including the transformation of the monarchy, movement to unify the spoken and written languages and the differentiation of Kamis and Buddhist deities and practices (Karatani 2007, 182-84). Some of these trends had been underway before an anti-Tokugawa coalition overthrew the last Shogunate, but were greatly accelerated by the new regime's modernizing program which borrowed significantly from the German example. The administrative spacial reconstruction, for instance, destroyed identities through the erasure of old boundaries and the coming together of new populations (Wigen 1998). It is here that we find both totalizing space and the fragmentation of place. A progressive social disassembling also sundered regional and class-status identities, and the adoption of "culture" and "enlightenment" from modern Europe often took the form of an intensified attack on magico-religious practices and bodily customs deemed inefficient, unhygienic or feudal.

Gauri Viswanathan writes that modern nation-states often project religious identity prior to the existence of the state and banish religion to the role of private conscience, shifting the notion of identity to a realm of culture and tradition (Viswanathan 1998, xii). In modern Japan, however, Shintō was made an important constituting element of the sphere of culture and tradition, and for this reason it was so important that the Kamis and their rites be separated from Buddhist meaning and practice. The new regime began issuing what are known as the separation edicts almost immediately in 1868, which ordered the separation of Buddhist and Shintō ritual and the evacuation of all Buddhist practitioners, ritual implements and icons from Shintō shrines. Later, in 1871, the state redefined Shintō shrines as institutions of "respectful reverence (*shūshi* 宗祀) for the body politic" and undertook a sweeping reform of shrines that formed the basis for modern Shintō (Umeda 1974, 303). Breen and Teeuwen capture the place of Shintō in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Japan by describing it as an ancestor cult of the nation and its heroes (Breen and Teeuwen 2010, 8-9). This "non-religious" Shintō remained in the modern society's public domain, while Buddhism, in contrast, became the province of the individual or private realm (Sueki 2013, 160).

In this climate, local elites, the developing educated bourgeoisie and newspapers heralded the new enlightenment and inveighed against "superstition". The rationalist and scientific turn does not mean that the episteme of sympathy and correspondence disappeared, but from the standpoint of government, media and elite society, magico-religious praxis and heterodox forms betrayed a deviant consciousness, both illegal and diseased. New religions such as Tenrikyō and Maruyamakyō were suppressed, and the frequent internment of rural village mediums as mentally insane is instructive of the drastic turn of Japanese culture (Figal 1999). Consequently, late nineteenth and early twentieth century Japan would hardly seem fertile ground for new amalgamations of the Kamis and Buddhas.

IV. Takudō-bō and Shūyōji's Inner Cloister

The career of Takudō-bō

As discussed above, Takudō-bō was an actual person—an adolescent ascetic and spiritual medium named Sawai Sai'ichirō who was active in Nagoya in the late 1860s. There are two sources for his story. The first is an appendage to *Yūgō shingo* 幽郷眞語, penned by Hirata school nativist scholar Miura Chiharu 三浦千春 (1828-1903). The second is *Senkai shingo* 仙界眞語, or *True Account of the Realm of the Immortals*, which began circulating during the first half of the Meiji era and remains today thanks to a copy made by Yano Harumichi 矢野玄道 (1823-1887), another Hirata Shintō scholar. Sai'ichirō was a fervent devotee of the fire-controlling deity enshrined on Mt. Akiha, the location of Shūyōji. He claimed to have the ability to pass into the unseen realm on Mt. Akiha and enter the world of the Kamis. *Senkai shingo* tells us that the Kami of Akiha gave him an invisible white ox as his mount and mode of transportation. However, Sai'ichirō laments that he cannot gaze upon Amaterasu, the highest Kami, because his metamorphosis was only partial. In order to fully transform himself into a Kami, Sai'ichirō engages in a hundred day fast and is ultimately successful. He abandons the flesh body to become a divinity of pure spirit capable of residing with the Kami of Mt. Akiha.

The content of these narratives of Sawai Sai'ichirō/Takudō-bō and the lineage of their preservation place him squarely in a late-nineteenth century Shintō tradition. In *Senkai shingo* Sai'ichirō describes the unseen realm as a world of Kamis presided over by Amaterasu, the sun goddess and imperial progenitor. His monologues also contain critiques of Buddhism, which he describes as mundane when compared to the transcendent Shintō Kamis. Both *Senkai shingo* and *Yūgō shingo* were apparently patterned after Hirata Atsutane's work *Senkyō ibun* and circulated by Shintō scholars as "discourses on the unseen realm" of the Kamis (*Yūmeikai ron* 幽冥界論).¹ After his death, the memory of Sai'ichirō was maintained at a shrine that he had established for the Akiha deity. He also served as a guardian of sorts for family and associates, who enshrined the tasseled paper sacred batons that *Senkai shingo* tells us Sai'ichirō had been fond of making.

¹ For a discussion of this genre, see Aratama 2000. *Senkyō ibun*, the apparent inspiration for this body of literature, consists of Atsutane's interview with a teenage

Takudō-bō comes to the Inner Cloister

In the summer of 1932, Shūyōji installed an icon of this Shintō occultist in the Inner Cloister as Takudō-bō.² The installation of the icon was the centerpiece of a thoroughgoing renovation of the mountainous Inner Cloister site over three summer seasons beginning in 1930. Shūyōji published and distributed a new Inner Cloister chronicle for this project, which hailed Takudō-bō as the unique province of its Inner Cloister. Curiously, however, the chronicle completely neglected to mention the "Arasawa" Fūdō Myō Ō, a wrathful tantric deity that had been the heretofore main deity of the Inner Cloister since at least the early Edo period. Shūyōji solicited donations from several prominent Shizuoka Prefecture politicians for this project, whose support it duly publicized in the new chronicle, and it also issued a commemorative picture postcard of the Inner Cloister site (figure 2).

Figure 2. Postcard image of Shūyōji's Inner Cloister



There is some evidence of a previous connection between Sawai Sai'ichirō and the Inner Cloister. Oral historical accounts at Shūyōji claim that an apparition of Sawai Sai'ichirō had appeared at the Inner Cloister. Moreover, when the post-Meiji Inner Cloister buildings were constructed in 1896, one of the principle donors listed on the commemorative tablet (*munafuda* 棟札) was a certain Mano Kurazō, who also appeared in *Senkai shingo* as one of Takudō-bō's inner circle. Extant later donation records show no further involvement of Mano, however, and accounts of the Takudō-bō cult in Nagoya suggest that the memory of Sawai Sai'ichirō had nearly faded into oblivion by the early twentieth century (Asano 1924; Matsui 1965).

The cult of Takudō-bō was revived from obscurity, however, in early twentieth century media, particularly by the folklorist Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962). The first writer to rediscover the legend of Sawai Sai'ichirō had been Tomokiyo Kanshin (1888-1952). Tomokiyo, an occultist who had been a member of the new religion Ōmotokyō and later founded his own religion called Shintō Tenkōkyo 神道天行居, included *Senkai shingo* in his book *Yūmeikai kenkyū shiryō* 幽冥界研究資料 in

² An inscription on the inside panel of the door to the center alcove where Takudō-bō's icon is enshrined includes the official date of the dedication of the statue, "enshrinement rite of entry into the mountain, August 1, 1932."

1923. This was the first time that *Senkai shingo* had ever appeared in printed form (Aratama 2000, 229). In 1925, Asano Wasaburō (1874-1937), another Ōmotokyō alumni, published a colloquial Japanese version of *Senkai shingo*. But it was Tomokiyo's initial exposure of *Senkai* that caught the attention of Yanagita Kunio, who became the most important boost for the text and Sawai Sai'ichirō. Yanagita took up *Senkai* in his influential essay "Yama no jinsei" (Mountain Life), which the popular weekly magazine *Asahi gura* published in 1925.

Validation by a mainstream figure such as Yanagita Kunio, in whose hands Takudō-bō was transformed from superstition into an example of the eternal spirit of the Japanese folk, made the enshrinement of Takudō-bō plausible, but it was not the primary cause. Another factor that probably made the inclusion of Takudō-bō feasible was a community of ascetic folk religious practitioners who used the Inner Cloister's waterfall for ablutions. Engaged in activities not unlike those described in *Senkai shingo*, Takudō-bō would have been an exemplar and kindred spirit to them. However, appealing to this community does not account for the radical step of both creating a new Shintō-Buddhist hybrid cult and overturning the entire history of the institution by sidelining the Arasawa Fudō Myō Ō, the traditional deity of the Inner Cloister. The primary cause for this drastic step, I contend, lays in a modern crisis of replication and relativization that Shūyōji faced in the early twentieth century.

V. Making a Modernist Amalgamation: A Defense Against Replication and Radical Relativization

Modernity and the issue of replication usually brings us to the problem of the mechanical reproducibility of the image. Walter Benjamin is well known for identifying this conundrum in his seminal essay "The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility". While frequently cited with regards to art, we should note that Benjamin also foresaw that the problem of replication in modernity was not limited to technological issues (Benjamin 2008, 21). Cultural institutions and traditions, I argue, can also face a crisis of representation. As discussed above, following the separation of Shintō and Buddhism, the Buddhist sects were relegated to second order and their truth claims forced to inhabit a privatized and subordinate world of "religion". The disestablishment of Buddhism as a compulsory religion brought the various Buddhist sects into juxtaposition by creating a faith market of sorts. While not "replicated" in a strict sense, the relativization of Buddhist sects pushed them towards occupying the status of commodities.

Another factor to consider is the rational pulverization and homogenization of space in modernity, which, David Harvey observes, paradoxically produces relative space (Harvey 1990, 255-257). In the Akiha cult the relativization of religion also erased the boundaries of spheres of influence and the exclusivity of religious cults, creating a problem of replication—the proliferation of Akiha sacred sites. This threatened Shūyōji's authenticity, and an unlikely event occurred—a multiplication of purported Inner Cloisters, which fragmented the cult and created a crisis of replication. During the Edo period the Inner Cloister's Arasawa Fudō icon was the center of a certain cult, but by the early twentieth century when Shūyōji began renovating its Inner Cloister, there were actually three religious sites in the region that claimed to possess the Arasawa Fudō. Observing this sort of trend towards the creation of invented traditions in modernity, Harvey concludes that this occurred "precisely because this was an era

when the transformations in spatial and temporal practices implied a loss of identity with place and repeated radical breaks with any sense of historical community" (Harvey 1990, 272).

Multiple inner cloisters

Legal structures of religious regulation during the Edo period had guaranteed Shūyōji a kind of monopolistic copyright to its cult, at least within the immediate region. The temple even brought suits against copycats and emerged the winner in at least three cases in which it sought to shut down rivals. In the case of Shūyōji versus Minemoto-in, for example, Shūyōji obtained an order prohibiting this Shugendō cloister in neighboring Suruga Province from holding a rival festival rite and distributing talismans (see court documents in Haruno-chō 1991, 750-52).

This situation changed drastically in the late nineteenth century with the privatization of Buddhism. Not only did Minemoto-in rebuild its cult, several other temples enshrined Shūyōji's deities, including the nearby powerful Sōtō monastery Kasuisai. The result of this proliferation of similar cults was the appearance of multiple "Inner Cloisters" in the region, each with a powerful claim to the legacy of the premodern Inner Cloister. The first was Kasuisai's Inner Cloister, which claimed to have obtained the Arasawa Fudō icon during a time in the early Meiji when Shūyōji had been temporarily vacated and closed. The second was the Kaikō-in, a Shingon temple established on the original site where Shūyōji's Inner Cloister had stood near the summit of Mt. Ryūtō, the area's most prominent peak. The third was Shūyōji's own Inner Cloister, rebuilt on its modern site in 1896.

Kasuisai's Inner Cloister is of particular interest. Kasuisai drew a great deal of attention when it reconstructed the Edo period Inner Cloister structure on a hill behind the monastery in 1913 (figure 3). The hall had been dismantled in the chaos of the early Meiji and shipped to Kasuisai in 1873 along with its Arasawa Fudō icon. However, lacking the funds for its reconstruction, Kasuisai kept the lumber and other pieces of the disassembled building in storage until 1912, when it began a well publicized fundraising drive to reconstruct the sanctuary (Hioki Mokusen 1913). Once completed, Kasuisai had a powerful claim against Shūyōji: it possessed the original Inner Cloister temple building within its own precincts. Kasuisai's fire-preventing cult was Shūyōji's chief rival for pilgrimage and patronage and its reconstructed Inner Cloister must have made it an even graver threat to Shūyōji's support networks.

Figure 3. Kasuisai's Inner Cloister



VI. Takudō-bō and the Inner Cloister's "aura"

Less than two decades after Kasuisai completed its rival structure, Shūyōji began the reconstruction of its own Inner Cloister. The adoption of Takudō-bō fostered a uniqueness that allowed Shūyōji to sidestep this crisis of representation created by replication and relative space. The strongest evidence that the adoption of Takudō-bō was a response to the crisis of replication is the sidelining of the Arasawa Fudō. In contrast to the Arasawa Fudō, Takudō-bō came complete with a lauded narrative that legitimized his cult and a historicity that the other rival inner cloister icons certainly lacked. Shūyōji emphasized the connection with *Senkai shingo* by displaying large commemorative placards flaunting the names of the actual descendants of *Senkai shingo* characters who had been solicited for donations to rebuild the Inner Cloister. Takudō-bō was a deity in modern time. To return to the language of Benjamin, this defense of uniqueness in the face of replication and multiplicity is a preservation of "aura", that is to say, the Inner Cloister's uniqueness and singularity. It was a strategy to avoid what we might otherwise recognize as a postmodern condition: the simulacrum.

VII. Conclusion: A Hybrid Deity and Community Diversity

The creation of a new Shintō-Buddhist amalgamation at Shūyōji's Inner Cloister shows that such practices are not necessarily premodern vestiges and demonstrates that amalgamation, although perhaps unlikely, could even be constituted as part of Japanese modernity. Modernity's calling cards, such as the unification of the ethnic community into the nation-state and the homogenization of space, are irrevocably bound up with their opposites: the disintegration of older forms of community and the destruction of earlier notions of place through a radical relativization. In this paper I have examined how the drive towards what Karatani called "monosignification" created the very kind of indeterminacy that the Japanese enlightenment and nation-state formation sought to eradicate. The new amalgamation of the Kamis and Buddhas at Shūyōji's Inner Cloister does not problematize the metanarrative of homogeneity by

merely refuting it. Instead, it calls our attention to how the will towards unity and wholeness could ironically engender its very opposite.

Hybridity is a dynamic state of tension between two poles. The Sōtō Zen monks of Shūyōji exercised a leading role at the Inner Cloister, and as one would expect, they attempted to embed Takudō-bō in within a Buddhist discourse. The monks framed Takudō-bō as a bodhisattva who, out of compassion, provides this-worldly benefits and protection to the faithful. Japanese sociologist Ōsawa Masachi holds that any mediator of group identity—a deity or even a royal personage—who is incorporated from outside the community presents a paradox rooted in the ambivalence of the Other. As an Other, the mediator from the outside manifests the unfamiliar and alien against which a collective's group dynamics and identity can be reinforced. As an example, Ōsawa discusses folklorist Orikuchi Shinobu's theory of *marebito* or the "strange visitor" as the genesis of deities or political lineages in Japanese culture (Ōsawa 2012). If these outside figures are successfully integrated into the new communities, then their allochthonous origins are usually erased or obscured, with traces remaining only in mythologies, ritual, or in the case of divinities, bodily (representative) heterodoxy. At the Inner Cloister, however, the "aura" that Takudō-bō brought to Shūyōji allowed it to address the outward facing crisis of representation and relative space *precisely because of his otherness*. As a result, there were limits to the eradication of his heterodox formal qualities and attempts to disavow the unorthodox, Shintō-occultist narrative *Senkai shingo*.

In conclusion, I would also like to suggest that the hybridity of this modern amalgamation of Shintō and Buddhism had real consequences for the diversity of the Inner Cloister's human community, which included the ascetic religious practitioners I mentioned above. Most of these were members of folk ascetic confraternities that made pilgrimages to Mt. Ontake in nearby Nagano Prefecture. A feature of local religion in the Tōkai and Chūbu regions, these religious associations formed the core of the Sect Shintō religious denomination known as Ontakekyō, formed in 1882. Textual and epigraphic evidence for their activities at the Inner Cloister exists in abundance, most importantly steles that Ontake confraternities use to enshrine deceased members, known as *reijin hi* 霊神碑 (figure 4), which were erected at the Inner Cloister. Furthermore, Ontake practitioners continue to support the Inner Cloister today (figure 5), and while projecting current practice backwards in time admittedly carries risks, it should be noted that Takudō-bō, among the various deities enshrined at the site, is of particular interest to them.³ Although more study is needed, the diverse support network and ritual community of the Inner Cloister, which continues to this day, suggests that the incorporation of a hybridized deity provided an opportunity for the development of a diverse human social collective where one would least expect.

³ For a history of Ontake confraternities and their contemporary practices, see Sugawara 2002.

Figure 4. *Reijin hi* monuments at the Inner Cloister.



Figure 5. An Ontake practitioner making a fire offering at the Inner Cloister, August, 2010.



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*Atmospheres of Belonging. The Aesthetic Qualities of the Japanese Installation
"wasted" on (in) Fertility and American Videoblogs (vlogs) about IVF on YouTube*

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Abstract

The Japanese installation “wasted” (2009) by Tomoko Mukaiyama is a remarkable work of art on the theme of (in)fertility orchestrating an atmosphere of affectivity through a cathedral-like space out of thousands of white dresses. In a similar way American video blogs (vlogs) about IVF on YouTube orchestrate aesthetic- affective atmospheres valuating ontological and emotional relatedness in a biotech century that understands life as unique and yet modifiable. Existing research on narratives of IVF experience (Kato and Sleeboom Faulkner 2011) suggest that reproductive technologies in Japan advances without taking the feelings and ontological valuations of the reproductively challenged into consideration. This paper argues that the Japanese and American sociocultural understandings of the fertility projects as essential individualistic and rational pursuits of relatedness that echo the understanding of the body and life in terms of reproduction technology converge. All though the installation of Mukaiyama and vlogs on experiences with IVF seemingly reflect a distinctly idiosyncratic experience project, the aesthetic - affective orchestration presuppose a shared bodily being in relation - an appeal for recognition through affectivity exemplifying an intersubjective orientation. The world of Mukaiyama’s installation and the American vlogs lifts the individual stories to the universal whereby, I argue, a possibility arises to understand how individuals oscillate between involving and detaching elements responding to the paradoxical ways life is understood in the biotech century as both unique and modifiable. Through the orchestration of atmospheres of belonging, an active bodily and critical emotional engagement in emotional and ontological significance of the body is enabled.

Introduction

In the biotech century the continuous developments in the realms of reproduction technology fuel a perception of the human life as molecular and the body as fragmentary influencing on how pursuits of fertility are perceived. Kato and Sleeboom Falkner points to how pursuits of fertility in America and Japan are discussed as essentially individualistic and rational (Kato and Sleeboom Falkner, 2011: 444). The individualized and differentiated fertility treatments reflect a movement from optimization of the infertile body as normalization project to a hedonistic spun customization, proliferating an array of new bioethical concerns and issues of belonging greatly influenced by assisted reproduction. Neglected in the discussions of perceptions of the human body in a biotech century, Kato and Sleeboom Falkner argues, is how individuals ontological valuations of embryo defines their attitude towards fragments of their bodies involved by assisted reproduction (Kato and Sleeboom Falkner, 2011: 444). Following this perspective I want to propose, that what is at stake in *wasted* and the *vlogs of Silvia and Peter* are orchestrations of belonging that centers on the a valuation of the human body and emotions as shared points of reference, that in turn define how they tune atmospheres of belonging. In the following I will discuss two expressions of (in) fertility, where atmospheres of belonging are orchestrated through which an active and critical engagement in emotional and ontological significance of the body is enabled. The first work discussed is the installation *Wasted* by Japanese artist Tomoko Mukaiyama from 2009, the other is a video blog (vlog) produced, populated and distributed by *Silvia and Peter* (2009)ⁱ an American couple expressing their experiences with in vitro fertilization; IVF. *Silvia and Peter's vlogs* seemingly reflect a distinctly self-referential experience project but presupposes, as I will argue, a shared bodily being in relation as key point of reference. This enables the viewer to involve themselves in the strange and yet familiar fertility project mediated. While the same premise is at stake in Mukaiyama's installation it is not conditioned by intimate close ups. Through the abstract cathedral-like space out of thousands of white dresses (in)fertility is presented in an unrecognizable form with no place despite the gigantic and excessive space for individual and personal experiences or narrations of (in) fertility. But it is, as I will argue, precisely the abstraction that allows for a breakaway from existing perceptions of (in) fertility. The affective disorientation caused by the abstraction allows for individual experiences to elicit. In both the *vlog* and *wasted* atmospheres of belonging are orchestrated, which address and reflect the dialectics of involving and detaching elements of experiences with (in) fertility responding to the paradoxical ways life is understood in the biotech century.

Atmospheres

Atmosphereⁱⁱ is an expansion of the classic concept of aesthetics and offers insight into how the everyday production of atmospheres and the qualities of products condition the way we perceive ourselves, others, and the world as the German philosopher Gernot Böhme (1995) has put it. It is an aesthetics that is concerned with the description of the dialectical connection between the qualities of our surroundings and our emotional state as a general condition for our valuation of what we experience. In order to address to aspects of aestheticization of everyday life we must according to Böhme focus on the

production of atmospheres *and* their affective experience quality, thus atmosphere refers to what is aesthetically relevant; that what is sensed. The aesthetic contains our norms and values in a concrete sensuously form (Böhme, 1995: 31)

Atmospheres, Böhme argues, implicitly contains a perception of something; it is orchestrated in order to cause a specific reaction, although it remains difficult to trace the specific object of affectivity (Böhme, 1995:21). This lack of transparency has led to a discrediting of the experience of aestheticization as hedonistic, superficial, and beautification; a seduction which by definition has been viewed as manipulative. However seduction and orchestration of atmospheres are key elements of perception; through fascination we invest our attention and the quality of this experience is valued. Through the aesthetic value attached to the orchestration of our surroundings/experiences, we invest us in these. The aesthetic object fascinates us in ways that evoke fascination influencing on how we organize our lives. Atmospheres thus are characterized by a dynamics of power between individuals need for being present in surroundings that makes them feel at ease and through this presence to affect the surroundings/ set the atmosphere. Individuals are actively involved in the orchestration of experience qualities. The concept of Atmosphere in this regard opens for a sensibility towards the conditions we live under, hereunder but not limited to the manipulation and power of these elements.

Swedish media theorist André Jansson (2002) explores the intersections of cultural products, communities, practices, and particular how people interpret and evaluate transformations in the representational sphere. Consume, he argues, is communication, and hence not about a products functional value, but instead the image provided/ identified with the product. To emphasize the process of how individuals disassemble, transform, and give new meaning to their experience/consume he suggests the terms encoding, decoding, and re-encoding (Jansson 2002, 19). He is particular interested in the dynamic of signification and interpretation stressing how it results in a reflexive accumulation, where people orient themselves towards simulations creating an image culture. Their endless re-encodings creates the illusion of a direct experience. Hence the re-encodings are anti-aesthetic in so far as they are make- believe or second natures; they do not refer to an original concrete experience, but are fragments transformed into new meaning. Jansson points to, how classical aesthetic distinctions such as taste, lifestyle and consume must be abandoned in order to capture the new genealogies and topologies characterizing the polyrhythmic aspects of contemporary image culture.

Both Jansson and Böhme focus on the production of mediated consumption/ atmospheres and its connection to the good life; our valuation of atmospheres. They address how the interrelation between the generation of experience qualities and their economic value is problematic, in the sense that this relation affects us in specific ways; consumption. Jansson and Böhme however also address how individuals play a crucial part in the production of atmospheres as actively involved in the encoding, decoding and re-encoding of experiences.

The American theorist Sianne Ngai (2005) argues along the lines of Böhme for an extension of the concept of aesthetics. She notes, that we need to take the trivial feelings

such as envy, irritation, paranoia, and fear of exclusion into consideration as these emotions also attune our bodies and influence on our experiences and perceptions of ourselves, others, and the world. The affective orchestration in this regard not only relates to pleasure, wants and needs but also ugly feelings which according to Ngai's Adorno inspired arguments fuel the capitalistic system of production. Arguing that dysphoric feelings (Ngai 2005: 11) are the fuel the capitalist society runs on, echoes Lauren Berlant's (2011) notion that contemporary society is characterized by "Cruel Optimism" (Berlant, 2011: 3). The focal point of Berlant (2011) and Ngai (2005) is how our relations to the world is understood as opportunities, possibilities and chances but does not necessarily result in them (Ngai, 2005:4). Taking the trivial feelings into account poses the possibility of addressing the role of ugly feelings in the setting of atmospheres pointing to, Ngai notes, their role in the aestheticization of life as understood in terms of Berlant as a cruel optimism.

For Böhme the critical potential of an aesthetic theory of production of atmospheres and experience quality address in terms of Ngai the naturalization of aestheticization as the only way to obtain the good life (Böhme, 1995: 37). In that sense Böhme and Ngai both note that (ugly) feelings expand and transform categories for aesthetic feelings which our surroundings set the stage for, and are characterized by being non-cathartic; they do not offer satisfaction (Ngai, 2005:6). Atmospheres of non-cathartic feelings in that regard produce and foreground the unredeemed allowing for an attunement and contagiousness appealing for recognition of this state of impasse as a shared emotional state characterizing contemporary life. In relation to the production of atmospheres in the perspective of Ngai the polyrhythmic aspects of the tuned spaces is addressed; it is not only through the affective recognizable settings we are affected but also through the moments of striking inactivity. What is produced are experience qualities of ambiguity; a state of affective disorientation that fascinates and results in involvement "in a particular emphatic way" (Ngai, 2005:12). Atmospheres of ugly feelings promote an ironic distance which the nontrivial feelings are unable to, that enables involvement in the state of impasse related to the fantasy of the good life ever unreachable.

The new aesthetics critical potential consists of a critique of the perception of how only a specific atmosphere affects us, such as Art stated by Walter Benjamin (1937) or the influence on the perception of subjectivity by the biotechnological realm argued by Nikolas Rose (2007). What is neglected is the orchestration of our everyday life and its polyrhythmic characteristics. The concept of atmosphere however also offers critical insight into the naturalization of aestheticization; and its claim as *the* perspective of the world.

Atmospheres are first and foremost phenomenological; they sharpen the senses. Humans must accordingly to Böhme be understood as bodily anchored in the world; we experience the world bodily (Böhme 1995:23). The experience of the presence of humans, objects and surroundings and the awareness of this presence points to the centrality of affect in the process of perception and their power to increase or diminish our possibilities to act and react on the organization of our life world.

Wasted and the *vlogs of Silvia and Peter* orchestrate atmospheres which experience qualities foreground certain imaginings of the world but also appeals to experience it from a different perspective. The affectivity of the atmosphere in the *vlogs* and *wasted* is related to their contagious ability on a bodily and emotional level, to attune the viewer/visitor to the banal and sensational bodily and emotional aspects of the (in) fertility projects mediated. The involvement in and detachment from the bodily and emotional strange and yet familiar elements is at same time presupposed and challenged by the aesthetic-affective dimension.

Tomoko Mukaiyama's *wasted*

The abstract cathedral-like space of thousands of white dresses in *wasted* (2009) engage the visitor on a concrete aesthetic- affective level through the walk through and touch of the dresses, torn and blood soaked linen hanging at the center of the installation, and an invitation to contribute with own stories. In *Waterchildren*, a documentary on *wasted* from 2011, Tomoko Mukaiyama notes that the installation is connected to her realization of the expiration of her ability to give birth, and that the installation this way is about the ability to give life, life itself and death.ⁱⁱⁱ Visitors are invited to actively engage with the installation by contributing their own menstruation blood to one of the 12.000 dresses and share their thoughts about the meaning of this blood. Their narratives in form of video, photos, text, poetry, objects, paintings provide inspiration for Mukaiyama's improvisations of Bach's Goldberg Variations, a way for her to connect the many individual stories brought about by the engagement with the installation; stories of oneself and others. In that sense *wasted* illustrates the fragmentary re-encoding, as argued by Jansson. The center of the installation where blood soaked, torn dresses hang heavily down provides the gauzy abstract work with an ontological gravity that also is reflected in the title of the work. The work is as a visitor reflects" a requiem for the life that had the potential of being born but is washed away; life ultimately lost" (*Water Children*, 2011).

In the documentary *Water Children* (2011) the work of Mukaiyama is added an informational component extending the work as an expression of an artist experience of loss to the stories of individuals and couples on meanings of (in)fertility. The installation is engaged in taking the feelings and valuations of the visitor regarding the (in) ability to give life into consideration. In *Water Children* (2011) the installation is taken to the village Sanga Mura^{iv} in Japan where most residents never have visited a museum. The abstraction of the installation however is not viewed as problematic on the contrary the experience quality of the cathedral-like space aspirates through its aesthetic and affective dimension for narratives about something shared. Through tiny sparks of sign and gestures the installation attune the body of the visitor, the organic form of the installation with the gauzy, transparent, and white dresses leads the visitor further into the center of the work; from sociocultural norms, values and ideals of (in) fertility to their own experiences.

This way Mukaiyama on the level of abstraction addresses the sociocultural understanding of pursuits of /loss of fertility. The many layers of anonymous, neutral,

assembly line dresses exemplifies the understandings of the pursuit of infertility as strange rational project and the body as a commodity. The abstraction displays our powerlessness regarding the biotechnological and bio-economic powers at play; their organization of contemporary lives. Thus the form and content at the same time detaches the visitor from other perspectives on (in) fertility than those discussed in Japan, but also involves the visitor in those discussions. With the transparent assembly line dresses Mukaiyama draws attention to the fantasy of the transparent as well as transformable body, a body that can be identified, isolated, manipulated, mobilized and recombined as noted by Nikolas Rose (Rose 2007). The installation also addresses this understanding of the body in terms of the location in Japans rural area Sanga Mura. Mura; one of the three types of waste, and waste reduction are key concepts in the Japanese industry, which focus on profitability through waste reduction (Taiichi, 1988: 18). This approach is implemented in Toyota's Production System (TPS) and aligns with the biomedical and technological perception of the body of great economic value.

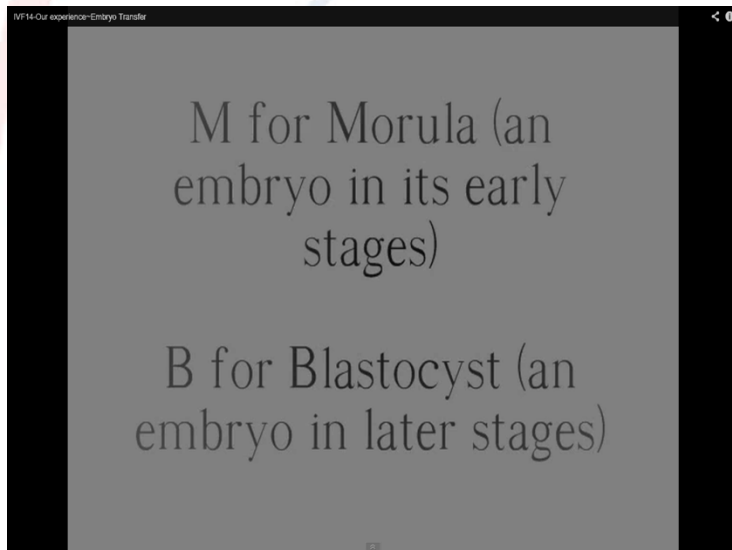
At the center of *Wasted* the natural function state of the body is put forward: it's (in) ability to produce life. Framed by the assembly line dresses the installation at the same time addresses the commodification of the body; the perception, that the life washed away is one of bio economic value and hence unexploited. By adding gravity through the blood soaked dresses, Mukaiyama makes the invisible visible, anchoring the visitor ontologically, which seems to reflect Roses notion, that we are not becoming less biological but more (Rose 2007:20). Centering the (in) ability to produce life could exemplify a concern for dehumanization; a concern of how the body's ability to produce life in Japan is understood and approached. Through the title and abstraction an atmosphere of belonging is orchestrated, an attunement of ugly feelings that addresses the sociocultural discussions or non-discussed issues, as pointed out by Kato and Sleebom Falkner (2011). The aesthetic qualities of the installation in that sense foreground certain imaginings of the world but also appeals to experience it from a different perspective nuancing understandings of individuals' valuation of the body in a biotech century. In terms of Böhme the atmosphere of wasted creates a sensibility towards how the biotech industry influences the conditions we live under; their power to define life.

The visitor is involved by *wasted* in the sociocultural norms, values and ideals about (in) fertility actively engaging them in the paradoxical ways life is understood as both unique and modifiable. The orchestration in *wasted* not only touches upon how people in Japan attach cultural meaning to their blood, eggs and embryos. What is enabled through the abstraction is a different connectivity; an involvement facilitated by the sparest of signs and gestures that also appeals to a recognition of the body as a shared condition and a valuation of this joint experience. Thus through the continuous alternation between the objective and subjective features of the installation; an unstable narrative, the affectively disoriented and confused visitor is forced into motion. By the unknown and unfamiliar space they are forced to address the ambiguousness of their experience that extends to the conditions of their life world. Ugly feelings elicited by the engagement with the installation, create an ironic distance to the life conditions of the biotech century as noted by Ngai (2005: 3). The aim of this ironic distance is not to encourage political resistance, but to address the suspension of redemption as a condition of contemporary life. What is addressed is in terms of Berlant (2011) the cruel optimism characterizing the way

individuals' pursuit the good life- here fertility. In other words, *wasted* addresses how these feelings fuel the aestheticization of everyday life and the biotechnological perception of the body. The atmosphere of *wasted* involves the visitor in their own experience in relation to the many facets of belonging in a biotech century. What is revealed through *wasted* is the centrality of affect in the process of perception and how the atmosphere functions as catalysts for a conscience of a shared being in the world endowed on particular level (the fragmented body/embryos) as on a universal level (the body as a shared reference) stirring peoples course. The Atmosphere of belonging in *wasted* reveals the significance of the body and emotions in the circulation of symbols and affective appeals in an era mostly understood as individualistic orientated and contentious.

The vlogs of Silvia and Peter

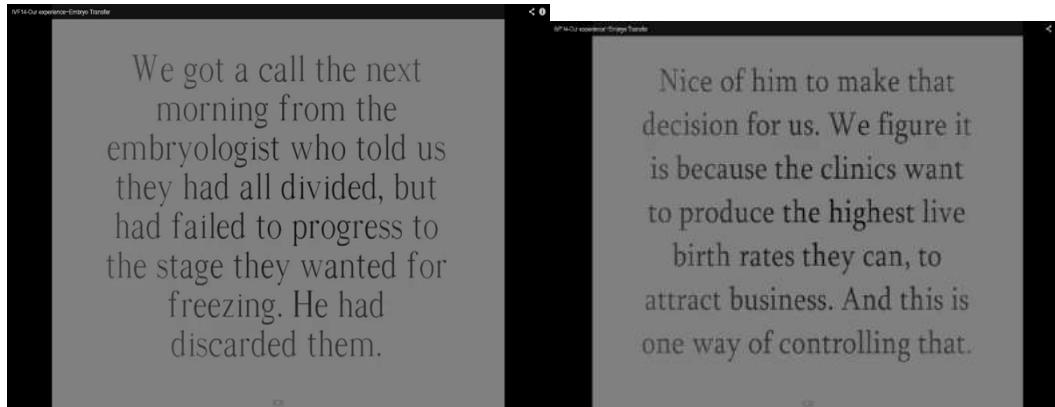
Opposed to *wasted* the tuned spaces; atmospheres in play in *the vlog of Silvia and Peter* seem at a first glance more informational and cognitive than aesthetic-affective (Ill.3).



Ill.3 Frame grab from Silvia and Peters vlog. IVF 14-Our Experience ~Embryo Transfer

The storyline structure of thoughts on being reproductively challenged, preliminary thoughts on hormone injections (drugs, shots, and emotional distress), examinations and scans in fertility clinics, egg retrieval procedures, embryo transfers, the two week wait, and the results of their treatments is orchestrated in order to address a belonging along the lines of Rose's (2007) argument about new bio-socialites arising. The specificity of attunement by referencing the biotechnological and biomedical perception of the body as an object which can be transformed into a series of distinct and discrete objects inform other couples struggling with the ability to conceive searching for emotional relatedness and support (Kaliarnta, Nihlén-Fahlquist, and Roeser, 2012). In vlog *IVF 14-Our Experience ~Embryo Transfer* (Ill.4&5) Silvia and Peter convey their ugly feelings of being a small subject in the system of assisted reproduction by expressing their irritation of not being understood in relation to their ontological valuation of their embryos. This

discrepancy converges with Japanese debates on similar matters as noted by Kato and Sleeboom Falkner (2011).



III.4

III.5

III.4& 5: Frame grab from IVF 14-Our Experience ~Embryo Transfer

Ugly feelings in this regard play a crucial role in the orchestration of atmospheres of belonging to a specific experience community; individuals undergoing in vitro fertilization. But addressing ugly feelings also spur to a critical involvement in how they in their pursuit of fertility are subjected to the biotechnological- and medical perception of the body as an object. The aestheticization of the body in terms of optimization echo a contemporary sociocultural tendency to orchestrate life, hence the attunement is not limited to others trying to conceive but expresses a notion of a general shared life condition. Extending the experiences with IVF into vlogs on YouTube seem to underline aspects of the fertility project as a matter of self-realization, a pursuit of an individual want, need and passion for kinship. The orchestration of ugly feelings and reflection on their position in the system of assisted reproduction in this regard not only involves the viewer but also Silvia and Peter themselves reflecting their struggle with their fertility project in relation to sociocultural concerns over the ways fertility is pursued.

In *IVF 11- Our experience ~Egg retrieval* making a baby is expressed as uncomplicated, quick and smooth, as Silvia in the car outside the fertility clinic just before having an embryo transfer says: “So this film is so that we can show our kids how to make a baby. We’re going to go make a baby now.” IVF, as the new natural way of making a baby echo Francois Ewald’s notion that nature (the fertile body) no longer serves a sacred objectivity (Ewald, 1993). In *IVF 14-Our Experience ~Embryo Transfer* Silvia and Peter’s experience is expressed through complicated medical terms and a picture of petri dish showing “their babies”, exemplifying an understanding of the body and life in terms of reproduction technology. However the former statement also illustrates a reflection on the sensational experience of optimizing the body’s ability to conceive, whereby expressing an involvement in the consequences of the optimization in terms of the recognizable features the statements contains. What Silvia reveals is an awareness of the potential uncanny and unfamiliar features of optimization by way of egg retrieval procedures. Consequently it is not the optimization what is commented, but the fact that they are on their way in to make a baby - something quite familiar.

Orchestrations of the everyday life, and close visual encounters of the couple in emotional distress and pain, add gravity to the fertility project mediated countering the optimization of the infertile body letting space, time, and modality characterizing the everyday at the fore. In front of a transportable camera or webcam infertile couples talk and move around in their home, cars and clinical surroundings before, during and after the IVF treatments. In *IVF 16- Our Experience ~Beta level* (Ill. 6) a photograph from everyday life of a meatloaf sets the stage for involvement. The haptic quality of the meatloaf affectively involves the viewer in the state of Silvia's post injected butt.



Ill.6: Frame grab IVF 16- Our Experience ~Beta level

These intimate insights into the everyday life through recognizable repetitions; a cyclic temporality exemplified by a birthday, meal. Repetitions of spaces; cars, home, clinics, and the modality of rituals and routines of the everyday are intensified in order to dismantle the strangeness of the energy invested in the pursuit of fertility; the financial costs, emotional distress, physical pain, and procedures related to assisted reproduction. Everyday life as noted by Rita Felski is characterized by a concentration of emotional energy; a belonging so profound that it functions as an extension of ourselves. The experiences with IVF as Silvia notes in *IVF 14-Our Experience ~Embryo Transfer* are both fascinating and repulsive as Silvia comments on a cake resembling a butt with 31 needle marks and a syringe: “It is cute in a twisted way.” (Ill. 7)



Ill.:7 Frame grab from IVF 14-Our Experience~ Embryo Transfer

The cuteness/ harmless of the birthday cake is added a twist of unfamiliarity creating an affective disorientation allowing for an involvement in this feeling of ambiguity. The experience qualities of the polyrhythmic aspects of the atmosphere sharpen the senses. Through this sharpening a possibility arises to reflect on how our preoccupation with the concrete and particular (the body as unique) or transformation and negotiation (the modifiable body) affects the perception of everyday life as something generally shared. Rita Felski points out that everyday life often is understood as non-magical and anti-miraculous but in Silvia and Peter's vlogs the experience quality of the everyday atmosphere makes the unseen and unnoticed aspects of the fertility projects visible. Through the magical intensification of the atmosphere an attunement is facilitating an expression of Silvia and Peter's valuation of this general shared spatial-temporal modality; an intersubjective orientation.

Thus in *IVF 14-Our Experience ~Embryo Transfer* the music from the film Willy Wonka, "A world of pure imagination" performed by Gene Wilder, appeals to our imagination and shared bodily being in relation; an appeal by way of affectivity to "Take a breath, count to three. Come with me and you'll be, in a world of pure imagination, take a look and you'll see into your imagination." The aesthetic affective effects disrupt the conventional perceptions of fertility projects and vlogs with the sparest of signs and gestures; a breath. They nuance the perception of fertility projects and vlogs offering the viewer a wider range of and intensive affective- aesthetic experiences of belonging, the valuation of an ontological and emotional relatedness in a sociocultural setting predominantly focusing on commodification and cultural transformation.

Belonging in a biotech century

Silvia and Peter's vlogs and Tomoko Mukaiyama's installation *wasted's* many facet touch on how belonging in Japanese and American sociocultural setting is transformed by the perception of the human life as molecular. Both Silvia and Peter's vlogs and *Wasted* are powerful atmospheric lenses through which the formation and development of individuals as actively involved in how they in the pursuit of fertility express a detachment from the body - objectifying it in order to become fertile. But they also express an involvement in the consequences of this objectification in relation to notions of a related being in the world- the body as shared point of reference. The aesthetic-affective qualities of the *vlogs of Silvia and Peter* and the installation *wasted* in this regard function as contemporary catalysts for a conscience of a shared being in the world. The mediations nuance how issues of belonging in a biotech century not only relates to commodification of the fragmentary body, or how this fragmentation in a mediated form spurs cultural, political, and social transformation of kinship. The atmospheres of the *vlog* and *wasted* on an aesthetic affective level touch on this concern, and foreground ontological and emotional relatedness. Neither Silvia and Peter or Mukaiyama challenge nature, hybridize man, or conform to a narrow cultural ideal- the natural fertile body. On the contrary it is a valuation of the body and emotions as shared points of reference that are expressed through orchestrations of atmospheres. It is through aesthetically and affective tiny sparks and gestures the sense of how individuals perceive belonging in a biotech century is sharpened.

Notes

ⁱ In light of the private content the authors of the vlog featuring this paper are made anonymous. The vlog is part of a larger sum of video blogs that in sum represent the material of my PhD. research.

ⁱⁱ Gernot Böhme notes that the specific concept used in his argument for a new aesthetics (*Neue Ästhetik*) of Atmosphere is related to Walter Benjamin's concept of Aura as discussed in his *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit, 1936* and Herman Schmitz's concept of Atmosphere in Herman Schmitz: *Gefühle als Atmosphären und das affektive Betroffensein von ihnen, 1994*

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Silvia and Peter, 2009, US, located 24. May 2013:

IVF 2- Our experience ~First Lupron Injection

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wIP5UGSvsd4&feature=channel&list=UL>

IVF 11- Our experience ~ Egg retrieval

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SH6nW9yicX8&feature=channel&list=UL>

IVF 14- Our experience ~Embryo Transfer

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxnHzvRKi3A&feature=relmfu>

IVF 16- Our Experience ~Beta level

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ah_HSvfiQzw

Film

Water Children a film by A film by Aliona van der Horst, Netherlands, 2011

Installation

Wasted by Tomoko Mukaiyama, 2009. Located 24. May 2013

<http://tomoko.nl/index.php?id=60>

The Heritage of Great "Kyai Besali", Ponorogo. A Community Action Plan for Religious Heritage

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0259

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Abstract

Kyai Besari is a great Islamic missionary, in the 18th century. His cemetery is located in the village Tegalsari, next to the East River Keyang, Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia. There are many housing and new boarding schools around the cemetery. In its development, the cemetery complex suffered severe physical degradation. In fact, this is almost eliminating some cultural heritage, particularly in the form of the building. Integrated conservation plan is needed to prevent "self-destruction of its own", and "The destruction caused by New Creation". Revitalization is needed to make the area not only as a religious place but also become an attractive tourist area. Finally, through a qualitative research study, it can be developed a community action plan to raised public participation, so that the area does not belong to a group of people, but also be a part of community life in Ponorogo. This community action plan is transferring the Cemetery of Kyai Besari area from local-scale regional tourism to the area of tourism nationwide.

Keywords: Community Action Plan, Religious Heritage

1. Background

Ponorogo is a beauty-small city of East Java, Indonesia. Ponorogo is famous for its traditional culture and tourism potential. The tourism potential in Ponorogo can be found in a few locations. One that is quite interesting and has a fascination rituals and religious ceremonies are Tegalsari village, sub district Jetis, Ponorogo. In the village there is the tomb of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari, covered by buildings with an average age of relatively old, low density, and there is enough open space. Elements of the landscape and the building area are still minimal and not well integrated. The role of Kyai Ageng Besari for religious tourism in Ponorogo is huge enough and able to provide added value for the surrounding area, which is the starting growth and development of various economic activities. Therefore the greater concern of the area around the tomb is to be empowered and developed with the concept of a better arrangement and rooted in tradition - the local culture.

Tourist development here means the development of tourist facilities and cultural history. While the definition of historical tourism is a type of tourism that is developed based on the historical value of the place. The meaning of cultural tourism is a type of tourism that is based on a mosaic of places, traditions, art, rituals, and experiences that portray a nation / ethnic group, which reflects the diversity and identity (character) of the community or nation concerned. While the scope of the development and restructuring of life in the region is characterized by the development of cultural activities, traditions and rituals associated with the elegance of the past and greatness of the legend in the region.

The goal of the research is to formulate a Plan of Structuring Environmental Settlement Region as part of the effort to reorganize physical functioning and development of the region in the form of local-scale regional tourism to the area of tourism nationwide. This goal can be achieved with the participation of the community and all existing stakeholders in accordance with local needs and conditions with regard to the harmony of the natural surroundings.

In term of the research, here, its needs some definitions, included:

- a. Community Action Plan is a program dedicated to local governments and the civil society organizations, at the grassroots level as well as a variety of stakeholders in participatory planning activities (participatory planning).
- b. Traditional and Historic Area Housing in of Ponorogo is a residential area that has historical value and the traditional values that are at a predetermined location in the of Ponorogo regency area around the cemetery of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari (Tegalsari rural areas, Karanggebang, and Mojorejo in sub district Jetis of Ponorogo).
- c. Revitalization is an attempt to revive an area that was once alive, but then suffered degraded. In neighbourhood, revitalization process improvement aspects include physical, economic, and social aspects. Revitalization approach must be able to recognize and exploit the potential of the environment. Revitalization is not something that is oriented to the completion of physical beauty, but also must be completed with the community economic development and the preservation of the existing culture. To carry out the revitalization process, the community needs to be involved. Community involvement is not just part of it and to support aspects of the formalities that

require the participation of the public. Beside of that, the people involved are not only the people in the neighbourhood, but the community in a broad sense. Thus, it is understandable that, revitalization project is not a project with a payback of interest per se, but more on those later projects beneficial to the community to give community the lessons on the history of development (physical, economic and cultural) of a location.

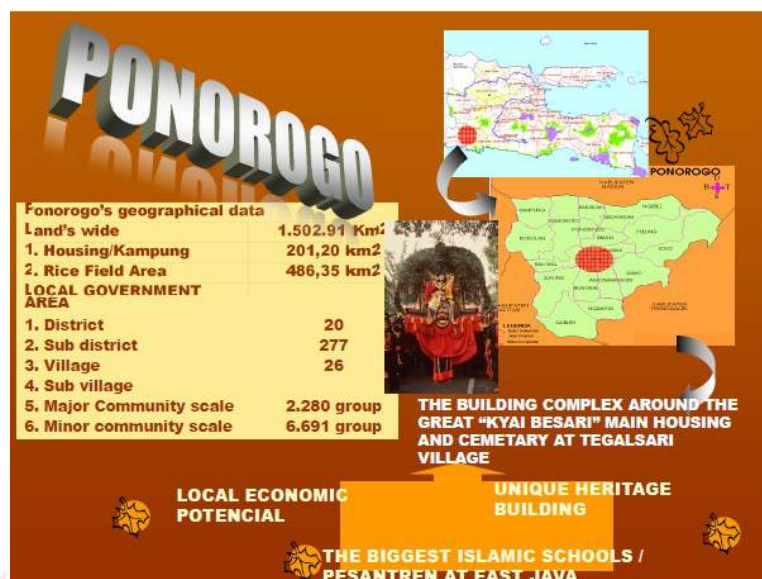


Picture 1:

Great "Kyai Besari" of Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia

2. Ponorogo: overview of research sites

Ponorogo is located on lowland altitude 49 m above sea level with a total area of 1,372 km². The population of Ponorogo district is 898 158 inhabitants. Ponorogo city is surrounded by lush mountains, so most of the resident's livelihood is agriculture and plantations. Industrial sector in Ponorogo is still undeveloped; there are only a few small industries and home industries. The study area is on the eastern Jetis District. The study area consists of 3 villages, namely: Tegalsari Village, Karanggebang Village and Mojorejo Village. The research site is mainly located in the village Tegalsari, Karanggebang village, and the village of Mojorejo. The cemetery of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari located in the Tegalsari village, situated next to the East of River Keyang. Around the cemetery there are many Islamic boarding schools include Walisanga Islamic Boarding School in Winong, Modern Islamic Boarding School of Gontor, and Al mawadah Islamic Boarding School for Women. In addition to Islamic boarding schools there is also woven bamboo craft centre that already quite well known. The crafts centre is located in the village of Tegalsari and Karanggebang. The housing complex in the planning area consists of the building were quite old as well as historical buildings with traditional Javanese style.



Picture 2: Ponorogo: the overview

The surround conditions of cemetery of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari, now is as follows:

A. building:

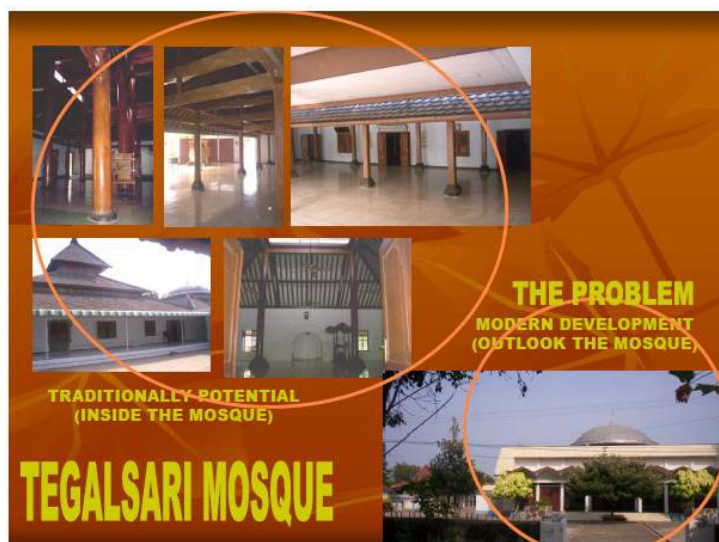
1. There is a house with traditional architecture, belongs to the family of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari, with Joglo (Javanese traditional architecture) typology. About 350 years old. It is equipped with a gate and driveway. The building condition is currently poorly maintained and in need of architectural treatment.
2. Jami' Tegalsari mosque that built by Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari, and 350 years old. This mosque architecture is traditional architecture with Tajug (Javanese traditional architecture) typology. It condition is currently very good and well maintained. But viewed from the context of the preservation of the building, there are a few additions that are very disturbing, especially for the authenticity of the building.
3. The cemetery of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari is located on the western side Jami' mosque and have a typical pattern arrangement. The current condition is quite well maintained.

B. Exterior space:

1. outside space around the house belonging to the family of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari (courtyard). Its condition is currently not well maintained and organized. So it does not support the authenticity of javanese traditional architecture.
2. parking lot that located around the Jami' Tegalsari mosque. Its quite spacious and can accommodate more than 15 buses, but its condition is not in accordance with its function, recently. While the public toilet is also limited, so it is not able to accommodate the needs of guests at the peak ritual event.

C. Environmental signs:

There has been no suitable environment sign for the existence of the cemetery of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari, so the environment is less well known as well as its location is hard to find.



Picture 3: The architectural problem of Jami' Tegalsari Mosque.

D. Basic infrastructure:

1. The entrance to the tomb of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari neighbourhood locations is in good condition but in terms of dimensions, it is still too narrow. Moreover, the pilgrims those come in groups, usually using a fairly huge tour bus. So, there is always a difficulty in parking and access issues in and out of the location where the pilgrimage season arrives.
2. Electricity (PLN) and water (PDAM) have been adequately met.
3. Utilities village is in a good condition.

For rural economy existing condition of Tegalsari village more, can be described as follows: from the demographic structure of the population can be explained that the workforce in the village of Tegalsari in 2011 about 1,048 people out of a population of around 1,713 people, or about 61%. Meanwhile, residents of the workforce consists of Housewife 450 people and as many as 371 school students, so the amount of labour that there are as many as 227 people. The amount of labour it was likely to increase. It is because all housewives and school students are doing extra activities as a source of additional income for their families.

Karanggebang village is one of the villages in the district Jetis. The population is 3,163 people (608 families) with details of as many as 1,559 men and 1,604 women. Most of the population livelihood is farming. The number of farmers in this village was 315, while the number of farm labourers 300. In addition there are 22 merchants, 85 civil servants and 50 private employees. It was also 7 people working in the service sector and 40 in the field of carpentry. From the socio-economic conditions of the village, 150 houses in good condition, 290 homes in less well condition and there are 165 homes are very poor.

Tegalsari village has a very close linkage with Karanggebang village. The focus of these linkages is related to village economy. Because, bamboo raw materials marketed in Tegalsari village and from here, Karanggebang community purchase bamboo raw materials and processed into the famous woven handicrafts typical of Ponorogo.

Mojorejo village is one of the villages in the district Jetis. The population is 2,084 people (490 families) with details of the number of 1,092 men and 992 women. Most of the population livelihood is farming. In the Mojorejo village has been a shift from the agricultural sector leads the economy to the trade sector and services. This is because the Mojorejo village has bypassed by the main route of the regional transportation of Ponorogo to other city. This road incidentally is also the intersection of four lane access to the outer ring road of Ponorogo City.

Problems in this study:

§ lack of public awareness in preserving the historic and cultural sites and is unable to perform independently preservation due to limited knowledge of building and environmental preservation.

§ Lack of environmental management plan of the cemetery of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari especially Tegalsari village and settlements generally, as a tourist destination and cultural history, as well as the lack of infrastructure arrangement plan to improve the welfare of the population through the provision of economic means.

§ The absence of regional tourism promotion of the cemetery of Kyai Mohammad Besari in an organized and persistent, so the scale is still local-regional activities.

§ The absence of events to introduce location as the center of historical and cultural tourism at the national scale. In fact, Kyai Ageng Muhammad Besari is known nationally, so that this area deserves to be the center of tourism nationwide.

3. Facts and analysis

A. The Area Development Analysis.

Tegalsari village is as the region which is transition from urban areas to the village areas. While the Mojorejo village and Karanggebang village are rural areas that characterized by rural residential with agriculture as its primary function. Tegalsari village is functioned as a suburb of the district Jetis and will function for trade and services activities. In Tegalsari village, there is strategic crossroads. Because, other than easy to find, the area became a meeting place for various trade activities and religious rituals. In the most strategic location, the cemetery of Kyai Ageng Muhammad Besari is located. Religious activities that often occur in the Jami' Tegalsari mosque and *nDalem Ageng* (traditional house belonging to the family of Muhammad Kyai Ageng Besari) were affecting other activities (parking and trading) to Mojorejo Village (the area around the traditional market). This activity is happen ssimilarly in Karanggebang mosque. Hence the existence of mosques that supported by the presence of ritual activity at certain times affects the development of the activity around this location (in the Village Tegalsari and Karanggebang) to be more rapid than the development of Mojorejo Village area. To further improve the image area, the activities held in the mosques should be intensified, not only at certain moments but held periodically, so as to improve the movement of rural economy. In addition to supporting activities that took place at Jami' Tegalsari mosque and *nDalem Ageng* that overflow until Mojorejo village market, it is necessary to develop sales centres souvenirs. Quality design of home industry should be increased, so that not only a bamboo plaiting for daily needs, but also can result in the formation of the typical souvenirs. The souvenirs should be marketed at the stalls that are built around the central location of the religious ceremony, so the souvenir kiosk facility can be used as a hub for the distribution of sales to visitors or pilgrims.

Area identity is divided into major and minor scales:

1. Major identity

Major identity as the primary identity in the study area is: centered in Jami 'Tegalsari, Tomb of Mohammad Ki Ageng Besari and nDalem Ageng. Major identity is also supported by the activities and rituals at certain moments.

- The Potential is the activity at certain times as a potential reinforcement for the identity of the major scale.
- The Problem is the absence of periodic intensification of the existing activity.
- Indication of treatment:

It is required the involvement of local government to improve the existing potential. This can be done by organizing or promoting activities as often as possible in Jami' Tegalsari mosque and build understanding with the owner of *nDalem Ageng* in the area for the benefit of the public interest, so it can be preserved and further intensified its development.

2. Minor identity

Minor identity as identity support for the study area consisted of, among others:

- A small Mosque in the village of Tegalsari
- Mosque of Baiturohman Setono
- Karanggebang Mosque in the village of Karanggebang
- Traditional Houses in the village of Mojorejo



Picture 4: The area identity analysis

The accessibility, in terms of external and internal access to the area:

1. External accessibility

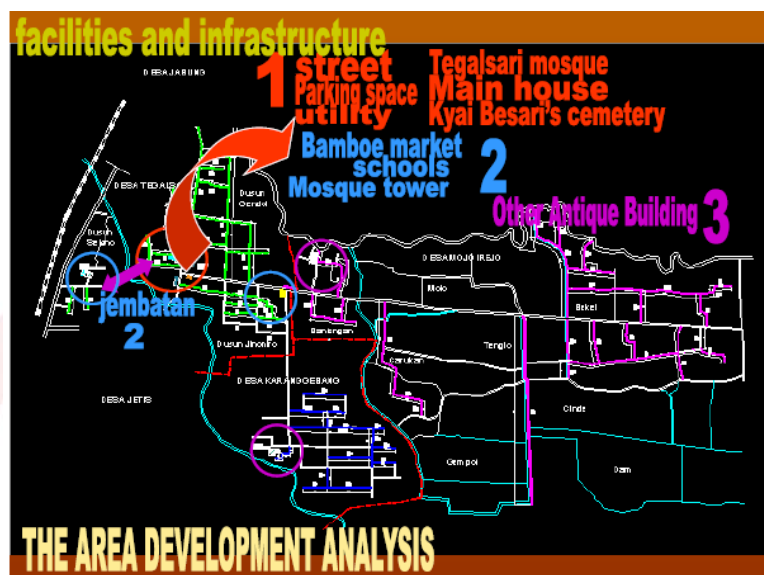
This focus on the regional accessibility of the region through the main street district of Jetis.

Accessibility to the area can be reached via 3 accesses to be:

- From the North: via the village of Jabung
- From the West: through the village of Wonoketro
- From the South direction: through the village of Karanggebang

The fastest and the main access of the three external accessibility are through the village of Wonoketro. Things to note of accessibility through the village of

the village and districts are less high-intensity. The traditional settlements patterns currently far developed, because of housing needs for the next generation. The settlements in the village of Tegalsari patterned lateral, in the sense that the houses are built parallel to the village road. While settlements that are in the village of Karanggebang and Mojorejo is patterned clusters. It is still found because of the breadth of the land. However, now there are some houses that have lateral patterned.



Picture 6: Facilities and Infrastructure

Kinship between villagers and the family of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari is extremely be proud of the people in the study area. Residents that are direct descendants of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari or at least part of the greatness of the name of Kyai Ageng Mohammad Besari are well respected and obeyed. Although this may be a negative impact in order to reveal the history, but in the context of preparing the Community Action Plan, this is a good starting potency. Publicly, all the people agreed to preserve the site and the old traditions that have grown for generations. The main religious activities regularly held during the month of Ramadhan. Unfortunately, these activities are not well organized. The ritual goes according to the beliefs of each visitor or pilgrim.

2. Institutional and Social Change

In the village of Tegalsari, Karanggebang and Mojorejo, there are similar social institutions as a tool of social change processes. This institution serves as a platform for discussion of issues related to public interest. Institutional decisions become binding guidelines or rules that socially for residents. Social institutions that accommodate the interests of the community in this village have a different orientation, in accordance with the objectives to be desired. Even though this is a formal institution, but in some issues, they have a significant social impact, such as the management of the village of or the management and development aid from the state. Those that are in the formal institutions of the community are a group that has an education above the average of the local residents. Through formal institutions, the state (government) provides opportunities and facilities to carry out the mission of social change in accordance with government policy. The most prominent example is

the construction of a facility that is the mission of the physical building, or ideas of women impersonation in social activities.

Interest-based institutions are mentioned above is initially a direct response or adaptation of the developing situation. Each institution has unique characteristics, and local specialties. This institution is more rooted to the community, because historically formed from the needs of local residents. While in three villages, the existences of village's institutions are dominant in determining the rural development policy. The idea construction is often very successful if through or originating from these institutions. However, the village council has always cooperated with the institution representatives of citizens properly. Every decision is the responsibility of villages together to be delivered to residents. Interest-based institutions mentioned above, was initially a direct response or adaptation of the developing situation. Each institution has unique characteristics, and local specialties. This institution is more rooted to community, because historically formed from the needs of local residents.

While in the three villages, the existences of villages' institutions are dominant in determining the rural development policy. The idea of construction is often very successful if through or originating from these institutions. However, the village council has always cooperated with the institution representatives of citizens, properly. Every decision is the responsibility of villages together to be delivered to residents. Those who are active in social institutions is the village elite and the closest. So, the involvement of other community tends to obey the decisions that have been made. Basically it is also quite beneficial for the community action plan for the project, because then facilitate the process of formation and selection of personnel that will be community motivators mover, that will contribute in the development of the area.

3. Patterns and Communication Network of The community

Important role of communication in community development activities could no longer be denied. Here, the community tend to use the institutions and social forums who give them the space for to transfer the information. Although most of the residents do not have the ability for presenting himself in the forum, but their obedience for keep abreast of the forum is very helpful. So that just those who have the skills to communicate knowledge and skills that could gain better access to the communication process. In general, they who a trusted source of information by community is a person who has a good knowledge, is economically quite well established, and is considered respectable. This is the figure identically with community leaders and religious leaders. They are not only a source of reference the information, but also a role model. Thus, they are the people who dominate the role of decision-making within the community.

In the three villages, village officials are likely to be the main source of the information about development policy. Community leaders, religious leaders, village officials, and civil servants is a figure that believed to be a credible source of information and capable by most local residents. Hence dissemination of the information in the forums both formal and informal always involves these figures. The most reliable place for the exchange of the information is at the village office and in Jami' Tegalsari mosque. Information concerning rural development has always









come from the village office, while information related to religious activities were announced from the mosque. All of these characters form a pattern of communication network built by the needs of community and individual-oriented. It means better communications patterns characterized by the closeness of the relationship between one party and another party. This kind of communication network is more representative because of the geographical proximity of residence, bond of blood factors and common social interests (job, business, etc.).

On this project, socialization program of community action plans have been done. Based on the patterns of communication networks and community that have been described previously, the socialization program runs very well. People are very enthusiastic in accepting this program. This is evidenced by the presence and active in discussions on the socialization event. Furthermore, there is training, for that community motivators as well as a briefing in doing self-help village survey. However, basically to do is strengthen the community motivators. Because, each motivator is a village's activist, so it has ever working on self-help village survey on the other projects of the local government.

C. Heritage Buildings Analysis

From the analysis of the development of the area then, it can be gained some ancient buildings that deserve to be the area identity, an identity both major and minor identity. In the architectural point of view, then, the discussion should be conducted to determine the architectural potential so that it can be known the actions that need to be done in order to revitalize this area.

Heritage buildings analysis aims to determine the physical condition of each building. It is important to be implemented in the planning area. Form of the analysis is the assessment and weighting of each building in the district based on building criteria as heritage buildings. This analysis is useful for implementing the revitalization recommendations, mainly related to treatment of each building. After the scoring, through questionnaires of heritage buildings so there are 2 (two) classes of cultural heritage buildings owned by the district:

	Tegalsari Mosque	Main House	Kyai Besari Cemetary	Karang Gebang Mosque	Sentono Mosque	Sentono Cemetary	Tegalsari Musholla	Mojorejo Antique House
SCORE	139	139	140	133	127	128	119	119
CLASS.	A	A	A	A	A	A	B	B
								
CLASSIFICATION A Score : 121 - 175 100 percent of the building is maintained as it is or if it should be restored to its original form is returned by using the same material. Both outward form, construction and interior.			CLASSIFICATION B Score : 106 - 120 Retain as much part of the building. New buildings or additions can be made while still maintaining its original shape or height of building the main building (infill design). Changes can be made as far as not to damage or disrupt the harmony of the building and the environment					

Picture 7: Heritage Building Analysis

1. A group

Score: 121-175

The treatment: 100 percent of the building is maintained as it is or if it should be restored to its original form is returned by using the same material. Scale treatment includes preservation of the exterior form, the construction of buildings or the interior.

The building chosen for this group are:

- Jami' Tegalsari mosque
- nDalem Ageng*
- The cemetery of Ki Ageng Muhammad Besari
- Mosque of the Karanggebang village
- Baiturrachman Mosque of Setono

2. B group

Score: 106-120

The treatment: Retaining as much part of the building. New buildings or additions should still maintain the shape of the height of the original building or main building. Changes can be made as far as not to damage or disrupt the harmony of the building and the environment

The building chosen for this group are:

- Mosque in the village Tegalsari
- Ancient house in Mojorejo

D. Analysis of Economic Aspects

Common problems that occur in economic development efforts, especially in villages like in Tegalsari can be identified as follows:

i. Accessibility of Family Economics:

One of the factors that greatly affect this is the ability of individual communities relatively low. Encountered hardly any industrialization activities (home industry) for agricultural products is an indicator of the low ability of the community in an effort to increase the economic value of family. On the other hand, the contribution of religious tourist or pilgrims who visit the region is still limited by the infrastructure and facilities available. Through the development of rural areas Tegalsari as a center of religious tourism is expected to contribute significantly to improving the economy of the household (family), which among other things can grow trading activities and services in the region.

ii. Accessibility of Local Economy:

Accessibility of the local economy in this area is more influenced by access to transport and communication of the surrounding area. The problems that exist today are still frequent disruption of access roads into the region. This is due to the communication gap between people, as intended in the discussion of social aspects. The impact of the above is a disturbance to the efforts of local economic development. Through the implementation of the program of community action plan is expected to occur synergy between the physical developments of the area with the pattern of economic development. Implementation, among others, may be the development of the market, souvenir shops as well as able to grow the creation of new jobs such as craft-making; creation of other home industries and so on.

4. The Community Action Plan

This scenario is an outline of the terms of reference implementations that will be used as the basic concepts, strategies, as well as the overall foundation programs and community action plan that includes vision, mission, strategy and treatment scenarios. In the planning area, macro development scenarios proposed to focus on the formation of Religious Tourism and Historic District. With the development center is the Jami 'Tegalsari. So, Tegalsari village is centrum (center) of the development and Karanggebang village and Mojorejo village are the hinterland (periphery) for the development of this region. And the detail of the plans are at the chart below (picture 8,9,10).

The vision is to build welfare and justice community, who have nation character and identity, for facing global changing based on their local tradition and “Tridaya” (human resource, natural resource and economic empowerment), in the form of religious and historic tourism destination. While the mission are included:

1. Identity survival
2. Identity reconstruction
3. Strengthening identity
4. Accessibility improvement
5. Identity empowerment
6. New identity socialization and publication

Those scenario has to be reached for fulfil the goal of the program which is the formation of the historic and religious tourism destination, the cemetery complex of “Great Kyai Ageng Muhammad Besari” of Ponorogo, East Java, Indonesia.

PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM	
COMMUNITY	The housing development as a tool for marketing handicraft products.
	Organizing social and cultural events at national scale The intensification of religious activities Establish cooperation with other villages
MOTIVATOR PRIVATE INSTITUTION LOCAL GOVERNMENT COMMUNITY	The documentation and publication of cultural assets
	The assets protection by regulation implementation
	The cooperative management of bamboo marketing merchants management for souvenirs
	Conservation of cultural heritage buildings (Preservation, Restoration, Renovation, Rehabilitation)
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	Intensifying in monitoring cultural heritage buildings Publication and promotion as well as the creation of a national image To promote cooperation with other villages
	Improving the quality of self-help program and the addition of infrastructure for economic activities and religious
	Improving the quality of infrastructure and other facilities for religious activities and economic The development and construction of facilities and infrastructure for religious and economic activities

Picture 8: Partnership Program



Picture 9: Matrix Program: 1st and 2nd year.



Picture 10: Matrix Program: 3rd, 4th and 5th year.

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Tolerated, if Discreet: 1960s Filipino Gays

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Today, the international gay movement, coupled with AIDS prevention projects, has put male homosexuality into the public discourse in most South East Asian nations. This, along with the Internet, social networking and pornography sites, allow many Asian gays to see themselves as part of an international culture. Yet this was not the case in the 1960s Philippines. Homosexuality was rarely discussed. Despite an isolated environment, gays were rather open-mindedly dealt with.

There have been few articles indicating that the Philippines was tolerant of gays in the 1960s and 1970s, that is before Stonewall rebellion in New York in 1969 and the rise of the international gay movement. These include, Intel in 1989, Hart in 1968 and Lopez in 2007. The research of Lopez and Hart are the most pertinent, but only two isolated places were studied.

The evidence suggests that this relative tolerance of Philippine homosexuality did not come from either the Spanish or American colonizers. Spain was after all, home of the inquisition, and executed hundreds of males who practiced homosexuality in 1500s (Berco 2008). This was also the time that Magellan landed in the Philippines. After this period, the situation in Spain slowly improved for homosexuality, but intolerance remained.

America arrived in the Philippines in 1900. Strangely no law was passed prohibiting homosexuality (Carale, 1970); in spite of its prohibition in America. During their occupation of the Philippines, American gays were increasingly harassed, yet there seemed little impact overseas. In 1946, the Philippines declared independence, but the American influence remained strong.

The post-war brought the Cold War and McCarthy witch-hunts in America. Thousands of gays lost their jobs, and thousands more arrested. It was during this time that the sex researcher Alfred Kinsey claimed that the United States was the worst place in the world for homosexuals (Canaday 2009). Fortunately, these anti-homosexual campaigns did not reach Philippine shores.

Tolerance was Part of Philippine Culture

If this tolerance did not come from either of the colonizers, it must have been part of the Philippine culture itself. The answer might lie in pre-colonial Malay culture. The Philippines was the northern section of the Malay world. Barbara Andaya (1994, 2006) has made extensive research into gender issues, and has found women were well respected in this culture. Since women were accorded equal status, an effeminate male would suffer no loss in status for assuming the lifestyle of females.

Michal Peletz in his book *Gender Pluralism: Southeast Asia Since the Early Modern Times* (2009) identified a great amount of homosexual acceptance among the Malay. Neil Garcia (2008) examined Spanish accounts that showed early homosexuality was accepted, or at least tolerated in the Philippines. The native transgendered priests, called *babaylan*, were well respected, and engaged in sexual relations with men. These sources

also indicate that there was some sort of native acknowledgment for homosexual behaviour, and this may have persisted up through the modern era. However, from about 1625 homosexuality no records have been uncovered.

The 1950 gays in Tondo (a district of Manila composed primarily of urban poor) were described by Lopez. Like today, they had beauty pageants, although they were conducted discreetly. Some young men openly carried on relationships with gays. There were a few daring souls who cross-dressing in public, yet only had to endure light hearted teasing.

There is also a lengthy study done on Filipino homosexual life by an American anthropologist Donn Hart. He concentrated a town in the Visayas (central Philippines). Hart noted that some homosexuals openly crossed dressed at the fiesta dances and had relationships with young men. Both Hart and Lopez noted that in an era where women's virginity was imposed, some young men sought sexual release through neighbourhood homosexuals.

In a 1973 study, Sechrest and other researchers documented Filipino attitudes towards gays. These sociologists made a questionnaire with follow-up interviews of three groups of college students, one one American, the other Pakistani, and the other Filipino. The Filipinos were likely to view homosexuals as different but normal, while Americans viewed them as abnormal.

Struggling with terms

Even today, the status of the Filipino gay is ambiguous. Traditionally, a gay is called *bakla*. The term 'gay' is not usually used. The word as an adjective means confused, indecisive. As a noun may either refer to a sissy, a coward, an effeminate male, or a homosexual. The common Philippine homosexual sees himself as part female, and thus seeks a partner of the opposite sex; a heterosexual male.

Terms can cause confusion. For instance, masculine men who have sex with these *bakla* are not considered gay. Nor, is there a clear native term for a male acting homosexual who has regular sex with other males. A male-acting gay was unusual in the 1960s, yet now now there are many. This may be a recent Western cultural import (Jackson 2011; Altman 1997, and Manalansan 2006).

In this study, for the sake of simplicity, I will identify the Filipino 1960s participants as gay, or homosexual, although they did not use these terms at the time to describe themselves. For the purposes of this study, *bakla* means someone 'whose sexual choice is usually the same anatomical male gender, who usually to some degree, a transgendered identity.' Hart noted that the term did not carry the same stigma as either homosexual or gay, but nevertheless, it is often negative. *Gay* is a statement of pride, developed by homosexuals to identify themselves, and now is the preferred term.

The key term is *tolerance*. The first definition will be the commonly understood term. Defined from the American Heritage dictionary '1.The capacity for or practice of allowing or respecting the nature, beliefs, or behaviour of others' (Morris 1969). This is the definition probably participants of this study had. The more academic concept of *tolerance* is less accommodating. From The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Sociology: 'It is the not an expression of benevolence, but embodies a sense of disapproval. Tolerance is the deliberate choice not to interfere with the conduct, beliefs, lifestyles and behaviours of which one disapproves.

This study employed the social construction theory. Briefly, it is the idea that a society 'constructs' a belief system that is meaningful to it, and that these realities can change over time (Garcia, 2008, p.14). Concepts such as gender roles are not biologically fixed; instead a society constructs its own meanings to these roles (Vance 1987).

A culture's definitions that make up social construction can be varied and complex, and thus meanings are best derived unfiltered from the statements of the participants themselves (Creswell, 2009). Queer theory employs social constructionism. This states that sexual desire is a completely malleable social construct that changes over time, and means different things to different societies (Valocchi, 2005). Thus, differences in sexuality are not biologically based, but instead chosen (consciously or unconsciously) by the society and its members. People who believe in essentialism, the opposite of constructionism, argue that concepts such as sexuality and gender are universal categories. These divisions have always existed in human society because they are inborn.

Research Design

To measure and assess tolerance, I interviewed older Filipino homosexuals pertaining to tolerance they perceived in the 1960s. Example questions included: Were they fired for being gay? Did the police ever arrest them for cross dressing, homosexual acts, or propositioning another male for sex? Did they have to hide their sexuality from acquaintances and family? Did their classmates ever bully them?

The research was a qualitative study, employing induction, using phenomenological research design. This is a philosophy and as a method, is unbiased as much as possible. The data was organized, and analysis was only applied near the end of the study in an effort 'to see the things themselves' (Wertz 2005, p.168). The approach makes clear that the unreflective life that people live daily is a natural attitude.

The target group was homosexual men born prior to 1945. Thus, in 1960, they would have been at least 15 years old in 1960, perhaps the time of their first sexual experience with another male. By 1970 then, they would have been 25, and would be an accurate witness of how the 60s unfolded.

The eleven older gays chosen were mentally alert and healthy at the time of the interview. Groenwald (2004, p.11) noted that usually the participants numbered between one and

ten, and usually new participants were sought until the 'saturation point' was reached. This was when the data gathered became repetitive, and no new information could be extracted.

I strove to interview effeminate acting and male acting gay men, discreet and overt, from varied economic and social backgrounds. Although Metro Manila provided most of the participants, nearly all came from a province, since this city has had such a tremendous population growth from internal migration.

In order to choose the participants in the study, the study employed anonymous, purposive non-probability sampling. Instead of the actual names of the participants, gemstones were used to identification.

I contacted the participants, described the study, and asked that they sign an anonymous interview consent form approved by the University of Santo Tomas. After the interview was over, I made a summary from the notes and the recording, and later the recordings were transcribed.

The interviews were done in a mix of Filipino and English. I am fairly fluent in Filipino, and the transcriptionist was a native speaker. Another native speaker translated the dialog into English.

In terms of possible bias, the literature suggests the researcher give a short biography of himself. I am American, and was a gay activist in the 1970s in the United States. I am pro-gay, and I made sure the participants knew this.

It was difficult to check for data verification. Ethically, I could not go around and ask friends, family and neighbors if what the participants reported was accurate or not. Nor did I have enough time to go check the Philippine media reports for verification of events, because the press has never been catalogued. In a developed country a survey provides accurate and quick results. In the Philippines surveys are only seen in the academic world, and would be distrusted by older people.

The participants came from Luzon and two from the Eastern Visayas . Unfortunately missed was Mindanao. Because of this limitation, and because of the small number of participants, there can be no assumption that this what was said would hold true for the whole nation. Also, unfortunately poor gays were not well represented. There was only one beautician interviewed, although there it is a popular profession for Filipino gays.

I interviewed, along with their gemstone code names:

Five college professors - Agate, Bloodstone, Jade, Onyx, Ruby

Two celebrity talk show hosts - Crystal, Topaz

One movie set designer- Pearl

One retired pickpocket and prostitute- Diamond

One high school teaching assistant- Opal
One beautician- Garnet

On a positive note, the participants were positive, excited and proud to tell their stories. Only two, Jade and Topaz, were the exceptions. Jade had feelings of guilt because he is a born-again Christian. Topaz, a TV host, could give only a shrouded interview, citing the contract with his station. Also, two potential participants cancelled upon my arrival, perhaps due to embarrassment.

Below in underline are the tentative inferences derived from the research and interviews. It was hard to make generalizations, for there are exceptions to almost all statements.

All grammatical errors in the dialog have been retained. I used the pronoun 'he', although frankly, for a few of the gemstones, the feminine 'she' would have been more appropriate.

Being gay exhibits itself as an essential difference at a very early age. Only afterwards does social construction seem to play a role in developing in developing a gay adult.

Usually, the first sexual experience occurred with an older boy when the gemstone was under ten. The male would rub the gay's sex organ to get him aroused, and then prod him into performing sex. A typical story comes from Crystal, in Leyte who described himself as watching boys who were bathing in the river near his town:

Why was it that I cannot help watching them? And they kept on masturbating! They were big. And they even put my [hand], put it there, [they touched] my pants, then fondled. I could not prevail over them. I can't...No but I spank them. But of course, they knew I was gay!...I was about seven or eight ...I only pretended not ...to like it.

Bloodstone who described a somewhat long-term sexual affair with another high school student: 'We didn't talk about that. We just felt like we have to see each other. . .there wasn't any vocabulary'. Diamond in Samar also had no term to call himself, nor did he have any guilt when he had sex play with boys. He narrated:

Actually, I just realized and felt that even when I was young, I had a strange feeling, I felt differently. I was grade two then, that was before the war. There was a classmate whom I would often tease—Benji, my classmate. I would play seducing my friends. I would fondle Benji's penis like this. Then a classmate who saw us reported me to the teacher, 'Ma'am, look at Diamond, he is fondling our classmate.

Diamond was asked by the teacher what he was doing; he only replied that he was playing. He found nothing to be ashamed of, and continued with Benji in another room. Later that night, he reported the incident to his mother and father. His mother told him it

was bad, while his father declared that he was happy he had a gay son. When I asked who taught him about sex play, Diamond answered: 'Nobody really taught us.'

These stories dovetail with the theory of essentialism. This idea states that human sexuality (or gender) is an essential difference found in all human societies, past and present. In this sense, homosexuality bursts forth from the boy. It cannot be a choice. Homosexuality seems to exhibit itself as a sexual outlet for a minority of the population. Homosexuals then will always be different than the rest of society. Another Filipino term for homosexual, the 'third sex' seems an unconscious application of essentialism.

Social construction theory, on the other hand, states that sexuality, like racial and gender stereotypes, are constructed or invented by the society. Subcultures within society, and the group in power decide how their members will behave. Thus, Black Americans are encouraged to develop skills in basketball and in music, and women to become homemakers, and gays are pushed to take on some behaviors of the opposite sex. In another society, Blacks would be seen perhaps as excellent accountants, and women trusted pilots and drivers, and gays very masculine. All social roles are malleable, and can differ from one society to the next, and can evolve in society as well.

Social constructionists believe that there could be an ideal society where a variety of sexualities were practiced, and nothing was forbidden. Foucault believed in early Western society, there was no homosexual or heterosexual, these labels were a modern invention. Thus, in the distant past, some males chose women, others chose another male, and some chose both, and few seemed to notice.

Social construction has become the dominant theory in 'queer studies'. It has been found that there are very masculine males practicing homosexuality in New Guinea, unlike the rather effeminate gays of South East Asia. Thus, human culture does not have homosexuality, but homosexualities, and society constructs the role sexual minorities will take.

This study's implication might contradict this. Essentialism must be the way gays originate. The sexual urges arose in isolation, without media influence, in small towns across the Philippines. Not one the participants knew of another gay when they had their first stirrings of sexuality. They were still in elementary school, and did not even have terms for the feelings they had. They just knew they were different, and most accepted it reluctantly.

If instead this study investigated heterosexual boys, there would be no reluctance recorded, they would have easily accepted their sexuality as 'normal.' If it was not a choice for heterosexuals, then it could not have been a choice for homosexuals. Thus, like anatomical sexuality that divides males from females, I suggest that homosexuality originates as an essential difference between people. It cannot be like the difference between those with curly or straight hair, those of darker skin compared to lighter skin, but like anatomical gender, it is an essential difference between people. Homosexuality

seems inborn, occurring in a minority of boys. Once the boy acknowledges that he is gay, then he negotiates how his sexuality will be lived out, and this is social construction. This study seems to uphold this.

The Filipino idea that homosexuality is inborn, or God's choice, meant that the boy who became gay was not to blame. This led to a greater tolerance of gays.

Hart also noted this Filipino belief in Siaton (1968, p.242). Carballo in her article 'Second Thoughts of the Third Sex' (1969) inferred that most Filipinos thought that gays were born that way as well. Sechrest and Flores (1969) noted that the common opinion in the Philippines that homosexuality was inborn.

This belief has many implications. The boy who is born gay cannot be blamed for his sexual orientation. It might have been seen as unfortunate, but was not the boy's fault. Nor could the gay boy be pushed to become a true male. Nor, would there be many prohibitions on gay teachers, since they could not influence a boy's sexuality.

This is in marked contrast to Western science. As the Philippine college dean interviewed in Carballo's article pointed out, psychologists at the time blamed homosexuality on the parents, primarily the mother, for causing the affliction. It was thought that exposure to other gays could affect boys. Many gays in developed countries at the time received counselling (Katz 1976, p.131), and had much self-hate.

This research does not suggest that Filipino gays were immune to this feeling of shame. Only the two gemstones (the very effeminate ones) readily accepted their homosexuality. Jade and Topaz remained reluctantly gay. Probably also the two who backed out of the interview at the last minute were ashamed. Even the most politically aware, the most rebellious gemstones were not immune to this feeling. However, as someone who witnessed the time in America, I think the shame was much less felt in the Philippines.

The Catholic Church might be a reason for a greater tolerance of Filipino gays.

With the exception of Jade, the born-again Christian, religion had little place in the interviews. No one mentioned the official view of the Catholic Church. During the end of the interview with Jade, there was a discussion between him and Jade. The Catholic Bloodstone was stressing the overall message of love from Jesus, while the born-again Jade quoted Bible verses that condemned homosexuality.

For the researcher, this epitomized the feelings of many Filipino Catholics. The Church teachings are often ignored, and the message of God's love is paramount. Jade, like much of the Western world, is Protestant. The Bible has a number of rather clear condemnations of homosexuality, and the Protestants studied the holy book. Thus, they suffered more guilt and more ostracism.

Discrimination was internalized

Bias against gays manifested itself both not only in the overt form as shown in the stories above, but also in the self-hate perpetuated by the gay themselves. This was perhaps more damaging and insidious than the teasing they endured. For the victim, it is harder to cope with internalized discrimination. It is impossible for the victim to run away from the tyrant hiding inside himself.

All of the gemstones, except Diamond, acknowledged at least some reluctance in admitting to themselves they were indeed homosexual. This reluctance or shame was perhaps behind the two potential participants who refused to be interviewed even when the researcher had arrived for the pre-scheduled interview. There was also Topaz, who refused to admit, or let the researcher suggest that he was gay.

Jade, the born-again, rejected his gay side. Jade had felt victimized in his first sexual encounter. He admitted: 'Up to now, I could not accept that I'm one hundred percent gay because I'm a professional. That's why when you're a professional; you should be able to control your emotions, your behaviour. . . . We are Christian. So these things are taboo and the more that I have to be able to control myself.'

Onyx had a fear of disclosing himself to others. He said: 'There was some sort of internal, ahh internal, what do you call that? Non acceptance. . . there was some sort of fear in me.' He was fearful of approaching males he was attracted to in high school and college. He recalled: 'I never had the courage to approach or to propose to ahh, what do you call that, to. . . It wasn't a fear of rejection. I felt ashamed!' Upon graduating from high school, a neighbour boy kissed and caressed him, but Onyx ran away. He was embarrassed. Onyx did not have any sexual experience until the age of 28. He claimed it may have been a fear of rejection or possible violence by males he was courting.

Garnet, as mentioned earlier, was quite effeminate in appearance and movement. He was noticeably gay. He said: 'I tried to hide being gay in college, but even if I try to hide it, it's obvious.' Diamond, who was also quite effeminate, seemed open to accept himself as gay, unlike the others. He never gave a hint that he had any problems acknowledging that he was gay. As sixteen, he was servicing American soldiers for five dollars each, without any reluctance. Also, wartime made everyone desperate for cash. Upon moving to Manila, Diamond continued to support his family.

There was some tolerance for gays.

The participants did not report any police harassment or entrapment. There were no laws against cross-dressing as there were in America. This is also what Donn Hart found in the cities of Cebu and Davao in the 1960s. As Diamond would attest, he was regularly cross-dressing as a female prostitute targeting American sailors. Although there was occasional harassment of prostitutes, he was only affected once, and that was for a one-time 'clean-up' campaign by Manila Mayor Lacson.

Diamond mentioned no allies to help the gay prostitutes. The Church was not sympathetic; the communists thought that gays were part of capitalist decadence; the feminist movement and human rights groups had not yet started. Like American gays, here was a story of a struggle in isolation, without allies. Gays then, suffered in silence, remote from each other and from the larger society.

Opal and Crystal recalled bullies from high school. Crystal had it quite difficult in his high school in a neighbouring town in Leyte:

Some guys were teasing us (he and another gay boy named Antonio) because we are not really macho. They would say: ‘*Ooooy, bayot!* (Visayan for *bakla*).’ During breaks, we were supposed to go to the canteen but we would avoid going there because there are many guys there who would bully us or do whatever they want to do with us. I, I, I, fought, I fight with them. ‘Yeah, Antonio we have to quarrel to fight. No, no, you cannot afford to cry Antonio. No, no, no, you have to fight.’ But then it was so obvious; obvious as a clear sun and a clear moon that we were gay.

Crystal and Diamond claimed that back then ‘Warays (from the Eastern Visayas) are brave and masculine...they don’t back down in a conflict. And one thing they really don’t like is to have a gay son.’ Diamond said that the reason why he was tolerated at home because his father was from the Western Visayas, and people there accepted gays.

Ironically the more effeminate boys suffered less teasing than the male acting gay boys. Perhaps everyone already knew they were gay. Garnet, who seemed very lady-like, explained it like this: ‘If you are gay and you are too flirtatious, they will not respect you. They will call you names, insult you, they will tease you and everything. I’m the subdued type. It’s enough that they know I’m gay.’

In a general sense, a young gay male in the 1960s could be tolerated, if he carried himself with decorum, and acted decently. Pearl and Bloodstone used the adjectives ‘restricted’ and ‘discretion.’ In comparison to today, it was a constrained life, with no societal institutions to support and encourage the gay. The Church, the media, and society ignored or gossiped about him. If he became successful, it was in spite of the fact that he was gay.

Before there was a gay movement, individuals pushed for acceptance.

It does not take an organized movement to gain tolerance and dignity. Ruby was probably the most audacious among the gemstone-participants. In the late ‘60s, he formed an informal gay sorority in a large school in Manila. He recounted that ‘we have to go to Luneta (the central park of Manila). And walk like beautiful models! . . .Whenever it’s Wednesday or whenever it’s Friday, all of us would model!’ Ruby felt that ‘the young gays, especially the college gays, were more courageous in coming out.’ Around 1970, he organized a gay beauty pageant with about 75 contestants, all of who were college students.

Pearl, claimed that the sixties saw big changes for homosexuals. In part it was attributed to First Lady Imelda Marcos, who promoted the beauty and the arts and openly gay courtiers.

Although Garnet was a bit shy at first, he became a starlet. In a Manila high school, he was the partner of one of the notorious bad boys. In college, he was the unofficial muse of the basketball team, and a special member of a fraternity. Later, he did acclaimed female impersonation in presentations on basketball courts.

Pearl claimed there was very little teasing at gays at his college. The gays would not allow ridicule. They would confront the teasers. They made it a point to give a lesson to the ones who were teasing the gays. They challenged: 'Excuse me! We are more intelligent than you and we will earn more than you will ever earn!'

Although the researcher is not trained in psychology, it would seem that the gemstones compensated for being gay. This compensation was done in a positive manner. Crystal strove to become a great writer, Diamond the prostitute wanted to bring home much money for the family, Bloodstone a well loved teacher, Garnet, a successful OCW, Pearl, a great designer, and Opal, a respected counsellor and advisor to high school youth. Crystal claimed that gays were more intelligent, and Topaz believed that gays were workaholics. Possibly, the gay of the 1960s desired to be accepted in spite of his sexuality, and strove hard to make money and gain respect.

Today it is better for Filipino gays than in the past.

In a general sense, a young gay male in the 1960s could be tolerated, if he carried himself with decorum, and acted decently. In comparison to today, it was a constrained life, with no societal institutions to support and encourage the gay. Perhaps he knew that in comparison to the United States, the Philippines was tolerant of his identity and escapades. If he was successful, it was in spite of the fact that he was gay.

Today, gay teachers are bolder and less secretive than those of yesteryear. Crystal recalled a time when, 'We used to hide, like we were in a big prison. We were not allowed to be seen, we were not allowed to feel that we are gays. But now, in our town in Leyte, our city mayor is Mayor Noli Isidoro who is gay, gay, really gay . . .so very very gay!' Bloodstone recalled lecturing in class in a low voice, and only allowing his voice to go high when with friends. Otherwise, he tried to blend in. 'But now, gays are much more flamboyant, and wear bright colours.'

The Filipino gay today is still not fully accepted. Few openly admit that they are gay. There are many gay professionals, or those who hold regular jobs, but most have a reluctance to admit that they are gay. They remain concealed for fear of ridicule, or social ostracism. They do not talk about the issue with family members. In this sense, the situation today remains stuck in the 1960s.

On the other hand, there are a number of public figures that are now openly gay, and gays have a recognized role in many fields, such as the beauty and entertainment industries. This reflects a generalized tolerance for gays in the Philippines. Although few openly announce that they are gay, everyone knows or at least suspects, and seems to respect them. And there are many open-minded families. Noted Topaz: 'The parents are proud of their gay kid now. . .Gays are hardworking. Gays are workaholics. They can be welcomed in the family now.' Today, with the rise of the international gay rights movement, the Filipino gay is proud.

The lives of the glittering gemstones, and the lives of gays now departed, created a space of tolerance for the present generation of gays. To honour their lives, Filipino gays must continue to work for the full acceptance of the upcoming generations of gays.

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The Influence of Cultural Aspects on Risk Communication in the Context of Indonesia

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Abstract

The study in this paper seeks to examine the influence of culture of a society on communicating risk knowledge. Indonesian culture is taken as an example of investigation as this country comprises various customs and traditions which have the potential to influence ways of reporting risk knowledge to the public as well as ways of meaning-making of the knowledge. The way the risk knowledge is delivered whether by journalists, experts, or ordinary people forms the culture of reporting the knowledge itself which relates to identity of such a culture. The way a risk is framed in media and public discourses might have much to do with who is doing the framing as those who report such information attempt to persuade others of the validity of their interpretation of a given risk. When the risk knowledge such as about dangerous food additives, complementary and alternative medicines, and natural disasters is delivered to the public, there might be an “agreement” between the communicators and the culture where the message is delivered in which uses of any elements, including verbal, non-verbal, and visual elements, to form a whole medium of communication which is suitable to the audiences with regard to their culture. Since the cultural aspect might play an important role in reporting risk knowledge, it is important to examine this aspect to look at how and why the audience might understand the risk knowledge within their societies. Although this study is in the Indonesian context, this investigation will contribute to the discussions of cultural studies, particularly cultural identities in the context of Asia in terms of risk communication.

Keywords: risk communication, cultural differences, cultural identity

1. Introduction

Communicating risk knowledge to the public, which can be seen in any society, is not a new phenomenon and has a tight relationship with culture of the society. The culture of the society has great potential to influence the way the knowledge is informed to the member of the society (Barker, 2010:110). However, there might be differences in which how and why such cultural aspects influence ways of communication. People's knowledge and experience about what they hear and see previously from any media of communication can influence people's understanding about information they receive (Trisnawati, 2007a:174-194; Trisnawati, 2012b:283-320). For example, when they watch a television program or read an article in a newspaper about genetic modified food, they might relate this topic to their knowledge about kinds of plants or animals which can be cultivated using this method, its benefit, or its risk to human health. In the context of Indonesia, as this country comprises various customs and traditions which have the potential to influence ways of reporting any information as well as people's meaning-making about such information, there might be various interpretation of the information delivered. This way of communication can then imply identity of the culture.

In the context of this paper the term *risk communication*, in general, refers to exchange of information among people, for example, scientists, journalists, ordinary people, and others (Sellnow, Ulmer, Senger, & Littlefield, 2009:5). This interactive process is usually focused on providing information concerned with resolving public conflict and reducing fear (Sellnow, Ulmer, Senger, & Littlefield, 2009:4) with regard to, for example, the impact of technology on human life. Communicating risk knowledge to the public can also be in forms of campaigns, for example, safety campaigns in using liquefied petroleum gas in the home. This kind of communication is important as this has the potential to fulfill the public's need for information about risk which can then help them to anticipate any risk caused by the above cause and to protect their lives from hazard. The practice of risk communication, however, might differ widely due to different audiences and cultures. The different audiences and cultures might be related to different methods for informing the public about the risk knowledge, different ways of communication among people in the culture being studied as well as its contexts of communication. This way of communication might then indicate identity of a culture.

Since ways of communicating risk knowledge indicate identity of culture, it is important to examine how and why the practice of risk communication in a society, especially if such a society comprise various customs and tradition. There is a number of research on risk communication which focuses on, for example, ways of communicating risk knowledge, uses of media to communicate the knowledge, and considering societal aspects where the knowledge is delivered. However, those have not discussed Indonesian context. Some examples of previous research and discussion focus on pandemic influenza risk communication (Castelfranchi, 2009), communicating cyclone warnings by considering people's access to media, type of dwelling, and level of literacy (Raj, Ullah, & Akhter, 2010), the use of websites to deliver information about climate change which is getting more popular where people can express their views in a public forum (Carvalho, 2010), communicating regenerative medicine by doing workshops

(Nakagawa, Yagi, & Kato, 2011), the use of online media to deliver risk knowledge (Mazzoli, 2011), models of communication to deliver information about science which consider local aspects (Chambliss & Lewenstein, 2012), the use of YouTube for providing information about H1N1 flu epidemic (Walton, Seitz, and Ragsdale (2012), and climate risk communication (Padgham, Devisscher, Togtokh, Mtilatila, Kaimila, Mansingh, Agyemang-Yeboah, & Obeng, 2013). There is still small number of research concerning risk communication practice in the context of Indonesia. Research and discussions about risk communication knowledge in the context of Indonesia, however, is important because the country consists of various customs and traditions which might cause various interpretations on risk knowledge being delivered. In addition, as the country has a risk of natural disasters, for example, earth quake, tsunami, flood, providing information about coping with the disasters and the risk and hazard caused by the disasters are important. Since this paper is in Indonesian context, this will contribute to discussions of risk communication in the context of Indonesia, and in general in Asian settings.

2. Communicating risk knowledge: an Indonesian context

Risk communication is an integral and ongoing part of the risk analysis practice. Practically and ideally stakeholder groups should involve the risk communication program from the start. In this practice scientists or experts try to persuade and to convince the public about the validity of their scientific knowledge and any technical risk assessment of some hazard (Sellnow, Ulmer, Senger, & Littlefield, 2009:4). However, the same risk knowledge may produce very different perceptions on audiences, depending upon the context in which the risk is understood and interpreted.

In Indonesia the risk knowledge can be delivered through printed (e.g. brochures, newspapers, and magazines) and online media (e.g. online newspapers and magazines). The emergence of social media also supports the practice of risk communication as people can share their knowledge about risk and hazard through, for example, Facebook, YouTube, and et cetera. Moreover, they can participate actively in providing additional information with regard to the topic being discussed. Television, however, is also important as a means of communication to deliver the information to its audiences as this medium can construct a world in which knowledge and experience portrayed on the television programs are ever present (Trisnawati, 2012a; Trisnawati, 2012c:72-73; Trisnawati, 2012d:109-111), which in this case is about risk knowledge. Some examples of the media providing information related to risk and hazard in Indonesia can be seen in example (1) to (3). Those examples are about Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) cylinders, which are currently still an important issue in this country. The first example is taken from an online newspaper providing information about a common LPG cylinder leak problem. The second example is about the use of LPG cylinder, taken from a blog. The third example, a television public service advertisement, is also about the use of LPG cylinder. This advertisement can also be accessed on YouTube.



Example (1). A common LPG cylinder leak problem. 1 Jun 2013.
<<http://m.poskotanews.com/2012/04/04/disosialisasikan-cara-gunakan-tabung-gas-elpiji/>>

Example (2). The use of LPG cylinder. 1 Jun 2013.
<<http://iblogblog.blogspot.com/2010/07/cara-menggunakan-tabung-elpiji-3-kg.html>>

iafor



Example (3). The use of LPG cylinder. 1 Jun 2013.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pCmceZR9l_k>

Another example of information about risk or hazard broadcast on television can also in forms of news programs, as can be seen in example (4). This way of communicating knowledge to the public is similar to science communication via television programs (Trisnawati, 2012d).



Example (4). Health effects of floods. 1 Jun 2013.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_48X5k7JNZk, 1 Jun 2013>

In addition to all media of communication mentioned above, cinema and theatrical performance can also be chosen to deliver information about risk or hazard. This is also similar to ways of communicating science to the public (Trisnawati, 2012d). In films or theatrical performance we can get message about the risk of living on the riverside including flood risk.

Although all media of communication mentioned in the previous paragraph are intended to inform and to educate their audiences, the audience's perception might differ due to their different ways of meaning-making about information they receive. This different meaning-making can be due to their different social backgrounds including different gender, age, and education (Trisnawati, 2007a:174; Trisnawati, 2007b; Trisnawati, 2012c:72-73). Their previous knowledge and experience about the object being informed, which are LPG cylinder and flood, have the potential to influence their ways of meaning-making. People who do not use LPG cylinder might not understand about the importance of information about the safety in using the LPG cylinder. This group of people might have less attention to the risk of the use of the LPG cylinder (Tauseef, Abbasi, & Abbasi, 2010). The same way of meaning-making might be applied to the information about the impact of floods to human community. Those who do not live in the area portrayed in the news might not pay attention to the risk (Ohl & Tapsell, 2000). In addition, as Indonesia comprises various customs and tradition across the Indonesian archipelago from the Western part to the Eastern part, not all society use LPG cylinders as the source of energy. Some societies located in rural might use firewood and they do not need LPG cylinders.

In addition to the way of meaning-making, cultural aspects of the society is indicated in the texts which bring the risk knowledge, whether in the form of printed brochure or newspaper, articles on social media, public service advertisement, or television news program. Choosing any elements in the chosen media of communication, which is aimed at persuading people through verbal, non-verbal, and visual elements employed in the text, can represent characteristics of the cultures, indicated in the meaning-making process. This will be explained in the following section.

3. Cultural aspects on risk communication: construction of identity

Communicating risk knowledge to the public also means generating meanings where the meanings are also integrated through the ways the risk knowledge is communicated. In this context cultural meanings are formed and communicated via the chosen media of communication (Trisnawati, 2012d:109-110). Information about the flood risk in example (4), for instance, which is delivered through television news program, might construct meaning about such knowledge with the assistance of all elements employed in the text together with its multimodality including verbal, non-verbal, and visual elements. Since in the risk communication all parties including stakeholders, experts, scientists, journalists, and other interested parties take part in the risk communication practice, the process of constructing meanings is also formed in dialogue among them.

In the risk communication practice, the chosen media of communication is also important. People's familiarity with media of communication might give an impact on their interaction with other media. For example, those who are familiar with audio-visual media will use their knowledge and experience in interacting with such media when they interact with other audio-visual media (Trisnawati, 2012c:72). This indicates that people's previous knowledge and experience about any audio-visual elements will influence the way they interact with the media containing information about risk knowledge. Those who do not have any experience using LPG cylinders (see example [1] – [3]) might have difficulties in understanding the usage of the product as well as possible risks from the usage of the product. Also, people who have no experience about living in riverside, or in any area where flood occurs, might not be aware of the flood risk.

With regard to the way the information is delivered, in the context of Indonesia, telling story is an important aspect in delivering information to others (Rodgers, 1995:6; Venkateswaran, 2011:121). Telling stories are part of Indonesian culture that has been socially conditioned and integrated in the society (Rodgers, 1995, p. 6). It might be easier for Indonesian audiences to understand risk knowledge if it is delivered through that way as it might be easier for Indonesian audiences to understand messages through describing an event, experience, or sequence of events in the form of a story (Trisnawati, 2012d:115).

4. Conclusion

The practice of risk communication in the context of Indonesia is influenced by various customs and traditions which comprise the country which can then form different interpretation on what is informed. The meaning of the message is constructed not only by the dialogue among participants in the communication practice or only by all elements within the text. Although the text is a set of sign systems which convey meanings, the meaning does not simply exist in the text. The meaning, however, is formed by all participants in the practice of such a communication, including all elements in the text whether verbal, non-verbal, and visual. Telling story might be an important way to deliver risk knowledge as in general Indonesian people use this way to deliver message among them. This can relate to discussions of risk communication models. However, different areas of living and different traditions might cause different interpretations about the risk knowledge being informed. In addition, different social backgrounds of the audiences, which include age, gender, and education, might also cause the different interpretation.

Although the discussion in this article needs further investigation, this discussion might provide additional information about communicating risk knowledge in the context of Indonesia which can then contribute to the discussion of construction of identity of the society. The development of Indonesian society, however, might change the current characteristic of the practice of risk communication knowledge. For example, the more people get better education and the more people know and use the product of technology will change the characteristic of the practice of risk communication knowledge. There might be a possibility that online information is preferred in the future if the majority people are familiar with various means of electronic communication.

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Educative Approach To The Functions Of The Thumb In Piano Playing

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INTRODUCTION

The professional pianists and the academics that have expertise on piano and piano education agreed that the fluent piano technique is essential for virtuosity and interpretation in piano playing. Undoubtedly, in the endless quest of the musical expression, a pianist has to develop and maintain a smooth technique in order to be free and to feel free to express his imagination musically. Throughout the history of piano education, wide range of researches has been made on the modality aspects of piano technique, concerning proper finger, hand, wrist, elbow, arm positions, and executing proper finger stroke based on those positions in scales, arpeggios, octaves and general piano playing. Although all those surveys searched for the answers to the same questions, investigated the same aspects and endeavored to predefine decisive positions and proper finger stroke for the evenness and the facility of the piano technique, they all brought out different conclusions and disagreed about many aspects on the subject. Obviously, ignoring the variety of the hand shapes and the uniqueness of their biomechanical structures was the main factor that caused the emergence of the multifarious conclusions of the researches. Because Most of those enquiries based on personal playing experience of the pianists and the piano teachers gained by long years of improving piano technique, and the specific hand shape of a pianist or a hand profile. However in spite of all the disagreed conclusions on the subject, most of the researches share a common opinion about the pivotal importance of the thumb in piano playing.

The thumb differs in function from the other digits. Its bones differ from the bones of the other digits in size and in the relation of the proximal phalanx to the carpus. It has two phalanges, eight muscles and represents fifty percent of the use and strength of the hand. It is important to understand that the conspicuous strength and the wide-angle motion ability of the thumb are only practical in our daily life. Because of its horizontal position on the keyboard and the touching part of the finger where it contacts to the key, it loses most of its strength and functions in piano playing. In other words, because of its demanded motion directions on the keyboard, thumb is the weakest finger of the hand in piano playing.

Richard McClanahan and Julien Musafia stated that thumb is the weakest finger in piano playing, because it must work on its side.¹ Ambrose Coviello and Sidney Harrison stated that the movement of the thumb in piano playing is uncomfortable. Caviello said that the movement of the thumb in piano playing, unlike the movement of the other fingers, is unnatural.² Mervyn Bruxner stated that the thumb is not much like a finger when playing the piano, since it is played in a different position.³ Jozef Gat suggested that the thumb is clumsy and slow, because its joint is less suited to velocity than those of the other fingers.⁴

¹ Richard McClanahan, "A Musical Approach to Piano Technic" April-May 1968, pp.31-32
Julien Musafia, "The Art of Fingering in Piano Playing" New York, MCA music, 1971 p.1

² Ambrose Coviello, "Foundations of Pianoforte Technique" London Oxford University Press 1934, p.69

Sidney Harrison, "Piano Technique" London Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd. 1953, p.6

³ Mervyn Bruxner, "Mastering the Piano" New York, St. Martin's Press, 1972, p.36

⁴ Jozef Gat, "The Technique of Piano Playing" London Collet's 1968, p.192

However there are also pianists who have stated that the thumb is the strongest finger in piano playing. Guy Maier called the thumb “stubby, strong, and proud.”⁵ Mary Wood Chase stated that the thumb is the most powerful finger and it needs less practice for the endurance than the other fingers.⁶

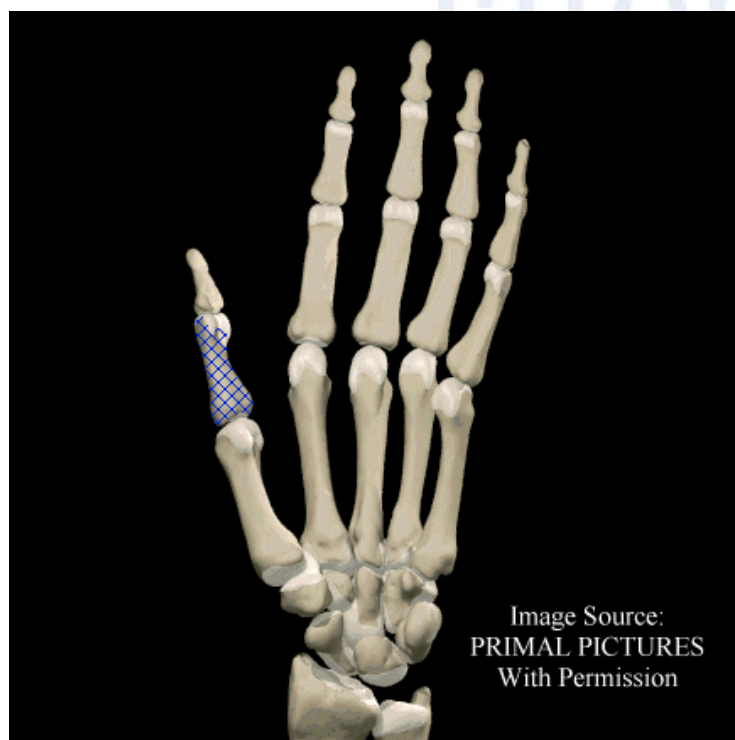
However MacClanahan solved the confusion about the strength of the thumb in piano playing. He stated that some people consider the thumb to be the strongest finger, because they use the thumb by their arm force. Julien Musfia stated that the thumb becomes the strongest finger when it is used as an extension of the forearm with the wrist. Joan Last said that the thumb is not strong by itself in piano playing. She stated that thumb joint nearest to the arm is almost a continuation of the wrist and can do little on its own. It has limited downward power. That is why it uses too much assistance from the forearm that makes it slow and heavy on the keyboard.⁷

In spite of all the disadvantages and difficulties of its utilization in piano playing, the thumb undertakes the most momentous responsibilities of the accurate playing in all the aspects of piano technique.

Biomechanical structure of the thumb and its natural functions

Thumb bones, joints, muscles and its functions differ from the other digits of the hand. It has two phalanges, rather than three. The two phalanges of the thumb are called “proximal and distal.”

Figure 1. “Proximal Phalanx” Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



⁵ Guy Maier, “Adventures of a Piano Teacher” The Etude, 1952, p.58

⁶ Mary Wood Chase, “Natural Laws in Piano Technic” Boston, Oliver Ditson Co. 1910, p.16

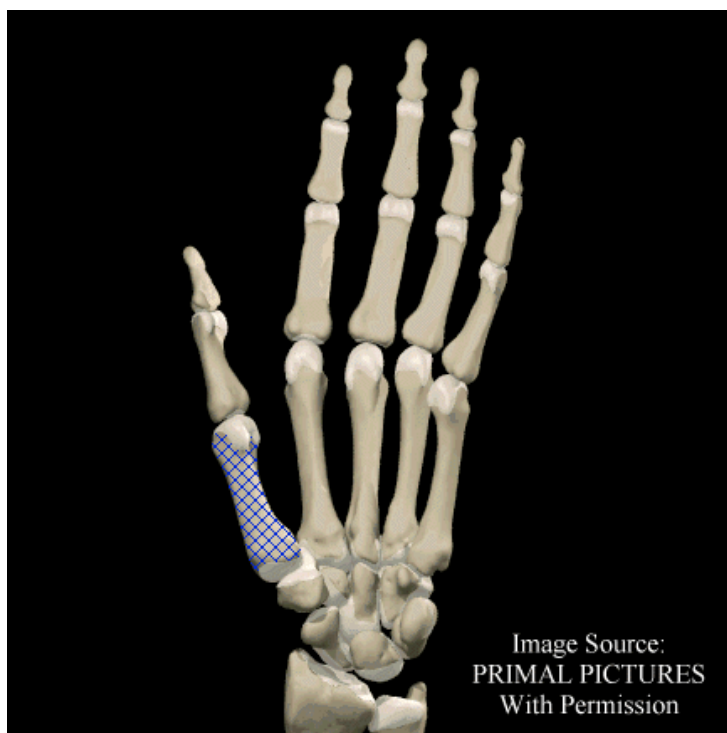
⁷ Joan Last, “The Young Pianist” London, Oxford University Press, 1972, p.22

Figure 2. “*Distal Phalanx*” Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



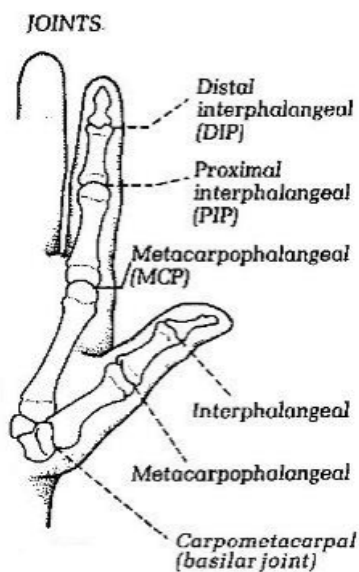
The metacarpal of the thumb is unique. It is the shortest metacarpal and has a broader shaft than the other metacarpals.

Figure 3. “*Metacarpal*” Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



Joints

Figure 4. "Joints of the thumb" ASSH American Society for Surgery of the Hand



The carpometacarpal or basal joint of the thumb is located between the trapezium and the metacarpal. It is responsible for most of the rotation of the thumb. And in piano playing, it undertakes the most primary action of the thumb on the keyboard. This joint makes the thumb possible to move up and downward in natural hand position on the keyboard.

The metacarpophalangeal joint of the thumb is located between the metacarpal and the proximal phalanges. This joint has less mobility in flexion and extension than the same joint in the other fingers. Its main purpose is to stabilize the thumb in power grip. The metacarpophalangeal joint of the thumb, owing to horizontal position of the thumb on the keyboard, gives an exceptional privilege to the hand on the keyboard that non of the other fingers of the hand can provide. It mobilizes the hand to reach long distances on the keyboard.

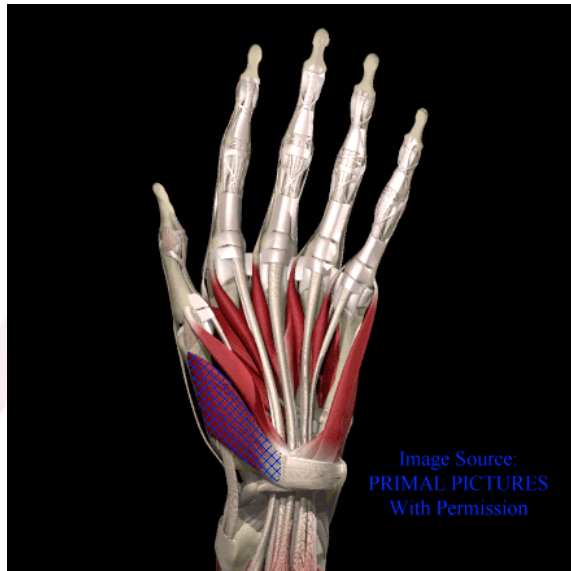
The interphalangeal joint of the thumb is located between the proximal and the distal phalanges. It is the least important of the three joints of the thumb and enhances the movement of the metacarpophalangeal joint. The only contribution of this joint to the thumb in piano technique is to help metacarpophalangeal joint to extend its movement to reach further keys during the thumb passing under the hand which I'm going to talk about the disadvantages and the drawbacks of its tilting in positioning and thumb passing under the hand.

Muscles

The thumb has eight muscles.

The Intrinsic Muscles are the opponens pollicis,

Figure 5. "*Opponens Pollicis*" Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



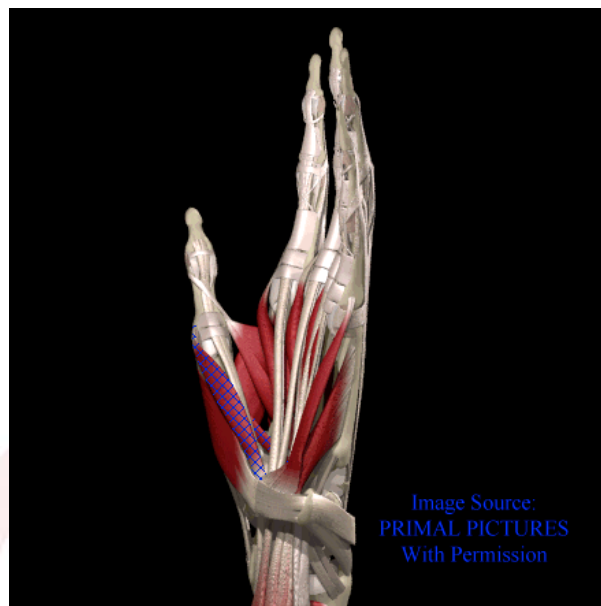
abductor pollicis brevis,

Figure 6. "*Abductor Pollicis Brevis*" Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



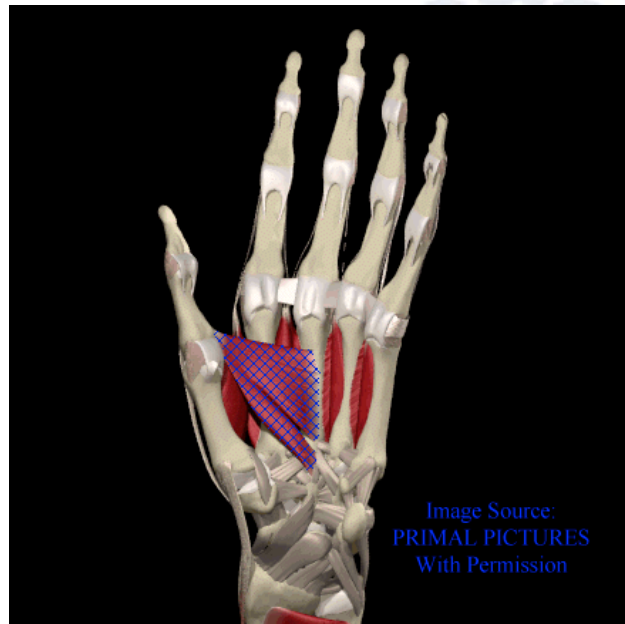
flexor pollicis brevis

Figure 7. “*Flexor Pollicis Brevis*” Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



and adductor pollicis.

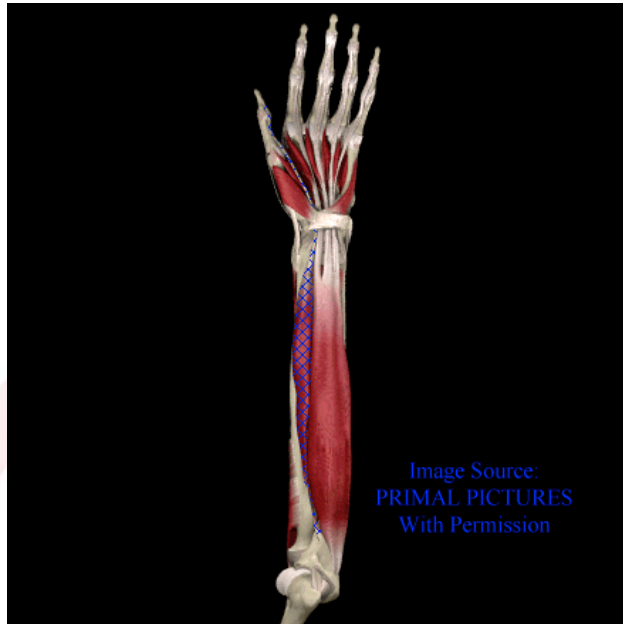
Figure 8. “*Adductor Pollicis*” Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



These intrinsic muscles are substantially larger than those of the other fingers and have their origins in the wrist or hand.

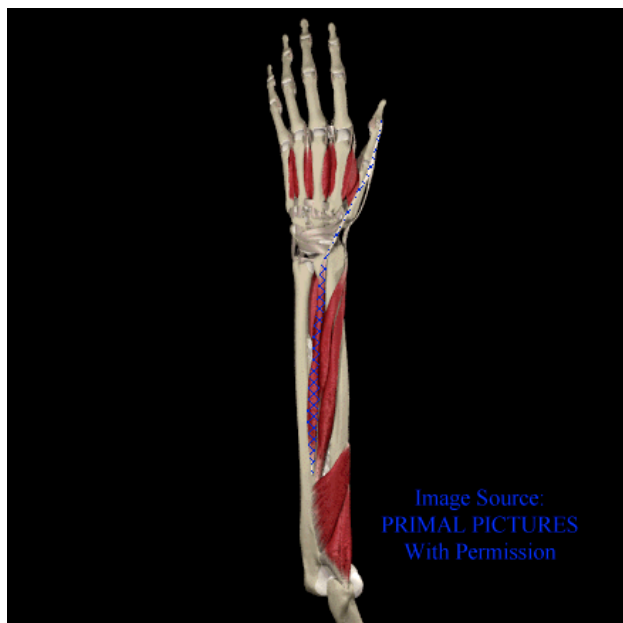
The Extrinsic Muscles of the thumb are the flexor pollicis longus,

Figure 9. "*Flexor Pollicis Longus*" Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



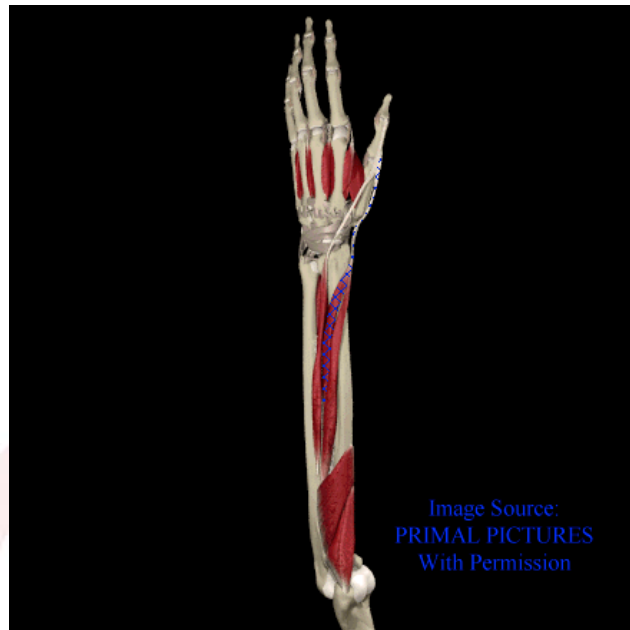
extensor pollicis longus,

Figure 10. "*Extensor Pollicis Longus*" Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



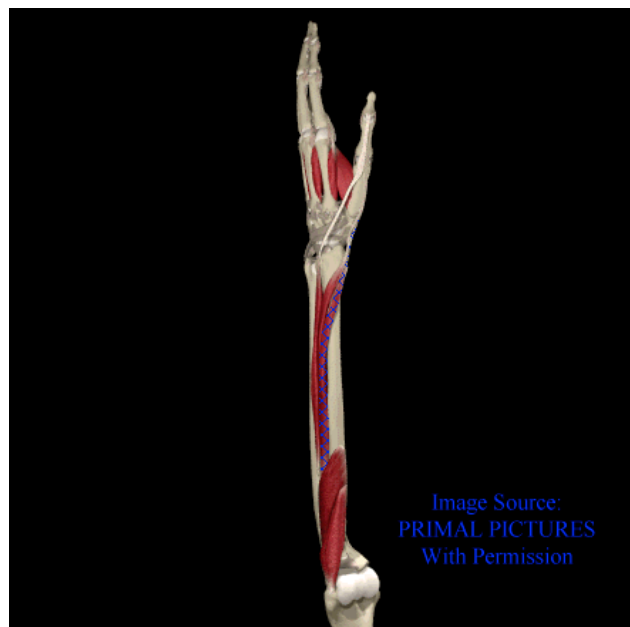
extensor pollicis brevis

Figure 11. “*Extensor Pollicis Brevis*” Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



and the abductor pollicis longus.

Figure 12. “*Abductor Pollicis Longus*” Primal Pictures 3D Human Anatomy Software



The muscles of the thumb have some unique features. All of these muscles act only in groups and never as individual muscles. Also the intrinsic muscles have more force than the extrinsic muscles.

Thumb functions in piano playing.

Horizontal position of the thumb provides mobility to whole hand on the keyboard. But this position also causes many technical difficulties in general hand-position on the keyboard. Its up and downward motion is unnatural and weak. This movement may easily disturb the position of the whole hand also cause unwanted accents in the musical phrase. It is crucial to understand that the proper use of the thumb in piano playing depends on its up and downward movement to be executed as an independent movement, free from the arm weight and the forearm force. In other words, in piano playing, the thumb is expected to simulate the movements of the other digits of the hand, regardless of its horizontal position on the keyboard.

Figure 13. “Proper vertical motion of the thumb”

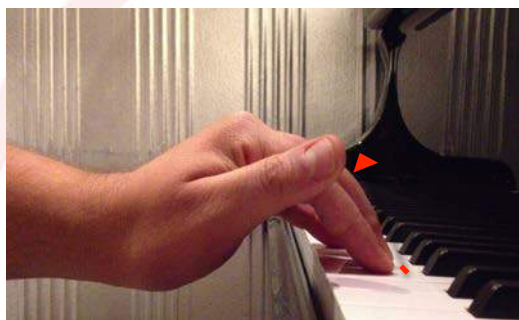
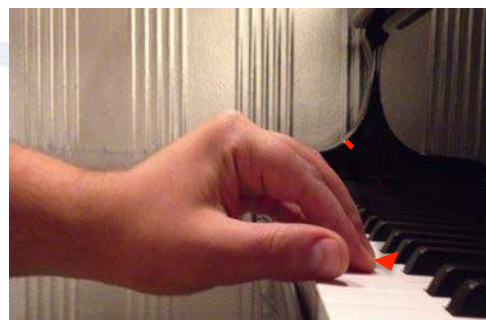


Figure 14. “Proper vertical motion of the thumb”



In order to develop this main function of the thumb in piano playing, the fundamental structure, and length of the thumb must be considered in specification of its position, stroke and attitude of the digit.

Proper position of the thumb based on its length,

The most stringent problem about the positioning of the thumb is the flexion movement of the interphalangeal joint. This wrong positioning causes unnecessary tension in the thumb, and blocks its vertical movement. Other four fingers of the hand need to flex in order to use their functions naturally in the technical mechanism of the general piano technique. This flexion of the other fingers is essential for proper positioning of the hand on the keyboard. However, when the other fingers of the hand flex, the thumb also wants to flex reflexively. But this flexure of the thumb is not useful in piano playing. In piano playing the thumb acts in an opposite way muscularly to the other fingers. Flexion from the interphalangeal joint stretches the flexor pollicis longus and obstructs the upward movement of the thumb. Stretching the flexor pollicis longus loosens the flexor pollicis brevis and causes too much loss of control in the downward movement of the thumb. This reflexive flexion of the interphalangeal joint of the thumb is also the most common and indiscriminable mistake that hinders most of the movements of the thumb in piano playing.

Figure 15. *“Proper position of the thumb”*

Figure 16. *“Improper position of the thumb”*

CORRECT

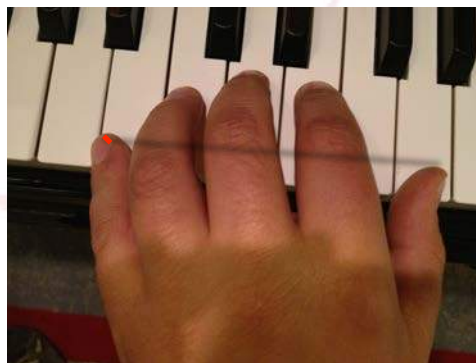
INCORRECT



The thumb must touch to the key with its tip and must be in a straight horizontal line with the fifth finger without bending its interphalangeal joint on the keyboard. This horizontal line and the touching part of the thumb may need some millimetric adjustments according to the length of the thumb.

Figure 17. *“Proper touch of the thumb to the keyboard”*

Figure 18. *“Horizontal line of the thumb with the fifth finger”*



These millimetric adjustments must be made by slightly twisting the hand position to the direction of the thumb if the thumb is long or by slightly twisting the hand position to the direction of the fifth finger if the thumb is short.

It is crucial to be aware of that the adjustments must never be provided by flexing the interphalangeal joint of the thumb during its positioning.

Proper movement attitude of the thumb

Because of its horizontal position on the keyboard the thumb is slow and heavy. In order to use it as lissome as the other fingers of the hand, it must leisurely and meticulously be trained to act like the other fingers of the hand. It must be freed from the arm and the wrist in order to learn acting as an independent finger.

The thumb should be trained to raise to the level of the other playing fingers, especially in the exercises. This motion would develop the involved muscles of the thumb to act independently as the other fingers. However lifting the thumb from the keyboard should be according to the demanded velocity of the thumb in the musical passage, and must never be lifted while it is not in use.

The thumb should always be relaxed and flexible, it should never feel strain and struggle in its functions on the keyboard. Inward curving of the interphalangeal joint of the thumb and over lifting from the keyboard, cause excessive tension in the thumb. This tension is the most trouble-making fact of the thumb in piano playing. It blocks the entire functions of the thumb and leads the arm and wrist-force to originate its movements. Most importantly, tension in the thumb and its downward motion provided by the arm and wrist force ruins the entire hand position and the natural movements of the other digits.

The movement of the thumb passing under the finger and the hand passing over the thumb, its ability to move inward to the hand and away from the hand is the most distinctive movements of the thumb in piano playing. But they are also the most critical and challenging movements of the thumb.

The unnatural and difficult downward motion of the thumb on the keyboard becomes even more difficult when it passes under the hand. Even though the movement starts with the natural flexing direction of the metacarpophalangeal joint, it has to end with the vertical downward motion of the thumb. Flexion movement from the metacarpophalangeal joint, that causes the contraction and congestion of the abductor pollicis, adductor pollicis and the flexor brevis, substantially blocks the downward movement of the thumb. Unfortunately, consequences of this movement are unavoidable because the facts are based on the fundamental biomechanics of the thumb.

Obviously the best solution of the problem would be to find a way to release and relax the contracted and congested muscles as fast as possible. In other words thumb should be trained to develop a relaxing attitude in all of its use in piano playing. The relaxation attitude can be developed easily if the wrist and forearm carry the weight of the hand during the thumb passing under the hand. Also the preparation timing and the velocity of the thumb based on its length can provide this relaxing attitude during the thumb passing under the hand.

Another reason that causes the tension in the thumb is to compel the thumb to carry the weight of the whole hand after the thumb passing under the hand. And it is pivotal to remember that the thumb carrying the hand weight right after the thumb passing and during the hand crossing over the thumb causes even more tension in the thumb. The thumb must never be considered as a leg of the hand as if it's responsible to carry the weight of the whole hand. Because, this misconfigured behavior of the thumb would render the all kind of relaxation attempts impossible.

New methodology for velocity and preparation timing of the thumb based on its length

Long thumb needs less velocity to prepare its next key, because it has shorter distance to travel under the hand. But short thumb needs more velocity to prepare its next key, because it has longer distance to travel under the hand, and the long distances lead the thumb to enforce its flexion movement even more when it is under the hand. Most of the pianists and the piano teachers deal with this problem by bending the interphalangeal joint of the thumb in order to shorten the distance of the passing way. But this causes even more tension in the thumb and blocks the entire movement of the digit. Instead of bending the last joint of the thumb, tilting the hand slightly to the fifth finger can shorten the distance and save the short thumbs from the over tension.

The best preparation timing of the thumb during the thumb passing under the hand starts right after pushing its first key then lifting it. Then it must proceed slowly under the second finger, right after the second finger stroke, before the third finger stroke, the tip of the thumb must reach to level where it's parallel to the third finger, and the most vital moment of the thumb passing under the hand occurs right here, during the third finger stroke. The third finger stroke and the thumb preparation on its next key must occur simultaneously. The tip of the thumb must be ready on its next key, at the same time with the third finger stroke. Velocity of this proper thumb passing movement should always be implemented and adjusted according to the swiftness of the scale, arpeggio, or the musical passage.

Clarified new methodology and the conclusion of the research.

The thumb undertakes the most vital responsibilities of the piano technique in spite of all its disadvantages in piano playing. That is why it needs special attention. In order to develop proper movement attitude for the thumb, following recommendations should be taken into consideration.

Because of its horizontal position on the keyboard,

- The thumb uses only one joint to accomplish its vertical motion that renders its primary movement possible. Non of the other joints of the thumb can help the carpometacarpal joint during this action, while the other fingers have two more joints to support their vertical motion. That is why the thumb is weaker than the other digits of the hand in piano playing.
- The thumb must be trained to move as agilely and swiftly as the other digits of the hand.
- The thumb must never be operated by the force of the wrist and arm in its actions on the keyboard. This behavior blocks all the functions of the thumb by deactivating the carpometacarpal joint, and ruins the entire hand position of the hand by shifting the motion angle of the other digits.
- Thumb can move vertically (upward-downward) and horizontally (inward-outward) on the keyboard, while the other fingers can move only vertically. But the vertical (primary) motion of the thumb is difficult and uncomfortable, because it causes tension in the thumb. And the horizontal (inward-outward) movements of the thumb increase the tension when the vertical motion and horizontal motion occur simultaneously. That is why relaxation attitude must be developed sensibly and thumb

must be trained to release the involved muscles rapidly. Unreasoned preparation timing and unrestrained velocity would make its relaxing attempt problematic.

-The thumb should never carry the weight of the hand during the thumb passing under the hand. This action would cause extensive tension in the thumb plus ruin the entire mechanism of piano technique.

In order to avoid incorrect utilizations and to develop proper use of the thumb in piano playing, following instructions must be implemented respectively and attentively.

-The thumb must touch to the key with its tip and must be in a straight horizontal line with the fifth finger on the keyboard. This horizontal line adjustments must never be provided by flexing the interphalangeal joint of the thumb during its positioning.

-The thumb must be operated from its carpometacarpal joint by the involved muscles. And it should be trained to raise to the level of the other playing fingers, especially in the exercises, in order to develop the involved muscles in its vertical movement. The arm and the wrist force must never operate the vertical movement of the thumb.

-The thumb must be light and relaxed in its movements. The wrist and the arm should carry the weight of the hand. The thumb should never carry the weight of the hand.

-Thumb stroke must be executed based on its length. Short thumb needs slight tilting, and more velocity in its preparation during the thumb passing under the hand. The interphalangeal joint of the thumb must never be bended during the thumb passing under the hand.

It is also important to remember that the proper use of the thumb is not fully enough to build a fluent piano technique. But the efficient and proper use of the thumb would certainly provide a strong contribution to the whole mechanism of a fluent piano technique. As Carl W. Grimm said “ The proper use of the thumb is the foundation of all good playing”⁸

And I strongly believe that the attentive implementing of the proposed methodology would develop the functions of the thumb in piano playing.

⁸ Grimm, Carl W. “Slighted Finger” The etude, March 1934, p.156

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*From Dashing to Delicious: The Gastrorgasmic Aesthetics of Contemporary
BL Manga*

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Abstract

‘Food is a regular feature, if not the centrepiece, of visual entertainment in Japan’ (Cwierka, 2005, p.416).

The prominence (and to an extent, fetishization) of food in Japan is not a recent phenomenon, Western media’s current infatuation with food and the concept of ‘food porn’ and/or the sexing-up of food media culture (as demonstrated in such programs as Anthony Bourdain’s *No Reservations*, *The Naked Chef*, or in Nigella Lawson’s ongoing BBC series), is a cultural movement which I define as ‘global gastrorgasmic texts.’ While audio-visual media have a certain sensory advantage, Japanese gourmet manga have attempted to embrace the fetishization of food since the 1980s with titles such as *Oishinbo* (*The Gourmet*), *Cooking Papa*, or *Bambino!*. However, this paper concerns the incorporation of the fetishization of food and the shift of focus from the aesthetics of beauty in the *bishōnen* (beautiful boys) in boys’ love comics to the gastrorgasmic aesthetics of food in boys’ love (BL) manga. By drawing examples from mainstream BL manga (such as Yoshinaga’s iconic *Antique Bakery* series, the more recent *What Did You Eat Yesterday?* and *Not Love But Delicious Foods Make Me So Happy*), as well as several minor publications, I will demonstrate how BL manga artists have arguably incorporated and embraced gastrorgasmic themes and motifs. I argue that BL narratives amplify the pleasure derived from visually “consuming” beautiful boys as well as the tantalising treats they prepare within the narratives. Furthermore, this paper questions what these gastrorgasmic texts might reflect about Japanese and global culture in the current socio-economic climate.

Key Words: Boys’ love manga, food fetishism, aesthetics of pleasure, economics

Introduction

In the last ten to fifteen years, network television has seen an escalating number of celebrity chefs and their seemingly saucy and self-indulgent programmes such as the not-necessarily naked but naughty Jamie Oliver, the lawless queen of food porn, Nigella Lawson, or the bold and risqué spokesman of food porn for gourmets worldwide, Anthony Bourdain. Needless to say, there are a number of diverse socio-economic and cultural factors which have influenced this phenomenon, but one still has to question just what is it that can account for the sudden sexing-up or the increased fetishization of cooking programmes on broadcast media? Bourdain's personal observation is that such shows are 'the new pornography: it's seeing people on TV, watching people make things on TV that they are not going to be doing themselves anytime soon, just like porn' (as cited in Rosseau 2012, p. x). Similarly, Cheri Ketchum also notes that in the last twenty years, media discourses about food have proliferated and she argues that the Food Network constructs a consumer fantasy world, that creates a sense of pleasurable intimacy for its viewers (2005, p.217).

But is this voyeurism, or non-gender specific gastro-gaze, per se, just limited to the Food Network or the plethora of competitive food-centred reality shows on broadcast media in the West, or is it a global phenomenon? Apart from mere cultural observations, I, as well as a number of scholars and anthropologists, am of the opinion that food pervades every aspect of life in Japan- more so than a lot of Western cultures. Indeed, before there was a *Naked Chef*, there was an *Iron Chef*, and before there was an *Iron Chef*, there were manga and anime titles and characters that were associated in any way and every way to food. Cultural anthropologist, Katarzyna Cwiertka best epitomises this in her observation that:

Food is a regular feature, if not the centrepiece, of visual entertainment in Japan [...and even] popular animated characters bear food-related names, such as the celebrated *Anpan-man* (Mr. Beanpaste Bun) and *Sazae-san* (Mrs. Top-shell) (2005, p.416).

Thus, if one considers texts which incite food-fetishism and involve a kind of voyeuristic gastro-gaze as a cultural movement which I define as 'global gastrorgasmic texts,' then manga, despite not having the same heightened sensory advantages as audio-visual media, nonetheless qualify as such texts and have since at least the 1980s with gourmet (*gurume* manga) titles such as *Oishinbo*, or *The Gourmet* (1983-), *Cooking Papa* (1985) or *Mister Ajikko* (1986-1989). While such comics at that time were, and even still are, generally targeted at men in the mainstream manga industry, over time, the trend gradually infiltrated the homoerotic realm of boys' love comics and the saw the emergence of Yoshinaga Fumi's *Antique Bakery* (1999-2002). Since then, the motif has also proliferated with lesser-known *dōjin* (self-published/slash) titles available

on major BL online distributor, www.dlsite.com, which boasts titles such as *Candy Candy* (2010), *The Ecstasy Spreading through Your Mouth* (2010), or *Sugary Days* (2010).

Mainstream titles include the likes of Yasuei's *How to Eat Delicious Pasta* (2013) and Yoshinaga's more recent titles, the massively successful *What Did You Eat Yesterday?* (2007-) and *Not Love but Delicious Foods Make Me So Happy* (2005).



Fig.1.0 (Yoshinaga, 2005).

To further examine the origin, motifs and trends of this grossly gastrorgasmic phenomenon, I will firstly consider how gourmet-themed boys' love manga differ from gourmet manga as a stand-alone genre. The following arguments will then posit reasons as to why BL motifs shifted to fetishizing food, whereby there is no human hero since the hero is now the dish, and how food within narratives is depicted so as to appear gastrorgasmic. To conclude, I will consider what these manga as gastrorgasmic texts reflect about Japanese society and global consumption trends as a whole. Due to the sheer volume of *dōjin* manga, as well as lesser-known mainstream publications, only mainstream gourmet manga and gourmet-infused BL manga such as the aforementioned Yoshinaga's series will be sites of reference and analysis. However, before delving into the analyses of the erogenous realm of the dashing, delicious and even delectable, as a starter, the aspects whereby gastrorgasmic boys' love texts differ from gourmet manga will be considered.

2. Contrasting gourmet and gourmet-themed BL manga

Although having mentioned that gourmet comics' target readership was initially male, that did not necessarily suggest that women or children did not actively engage in the consumption of such texts. However, Japanese cultural theorist, Lorie Brau notes that food and cooking came into greater prominence in manga in the 1970s, a context in which the narratives of boys' comics which recounted the 'trials of apprentices or athletes in their quest for mastery became a popular subject' (2004, p.36). One of the first titles to depict the ordeals of a specifically culinary quest was *Hōchō-nin no Ajihei* (Ajihei the Knifeman) from 1973-1977. The entire series adopted this quest typology characteristic of boys' comics and thus arguably catered for the expectations of a predominantly male readership. Such 'hero's path' typologies (emulating Joseph Campbell's model) have been outlined by Honda Masuko, who considers the characteristics of boys' manga as narratives in which the protagonist desires a goal, confronts an obstacle and experiences a setback to achieving the goal, then overcomes that setback (and successive setbacks) until finally reaching success (2010, p.25). This formula is relatively standard for most of the sports comics or even gourmet comics like *Bambino!* (2005-2009), which sees its ostracized Japanese protagonist rising from a sloppy kitchen hand to a chef in an exclusive Italian restaurant. The same typology is also exemplified in the iconic *Oishinbo* and *Cooking Papa* series. Both of these series were produced and set in the 1980s in the midst of the Japanese economic bubble.

Although businessmen had the money to eat out, for a man to be a food-savvy by either being a decent cook or absolute foodie was a desirable character attribute, so in a way, comics served as a kind of didactic tool to enhance a man's cultural capital. Where *Cooking Papa*'s goal is to do a hard day's work in the office and still have enough time for his hobby (cooking for his family, making his lunch, and helping out others with his cooking skills), *Oishinbo*'s hero Yamaoka's goal as a culinary journalist is constantly to create the "ultimate menu" and prove himself to his father, Kaibara, his rival in the series.

If we acknowledge the basic narrative structure of *Oishinbo*, *Cooking Papa* and *Bambino!* as a standard in gourmet manga, we can thus surmise that for most traditional gourmet manga, the narrative is goal-oriented and although the goals may differ, I argue that the protagonists' overriding aims are to please others or themselves by concocting (and often consuming) the most mouth-wateringly mesmerising meals they possibly can. In addition, as in other genres of boys' comics, the element of competition, conflict and resolution are all involved. As Lorie Brau reminds us, 'Competition not only plays a significant role in dramatizing the subject of food on Japanese television in *Iron Chef* or *Which Dish?* It also appears frequently in *gurume* manga' (2004, p.39). However, in terms of Laura Mulvey's concept of the gaze in regard to gourmet manga, I suggest that it is not particularly drawn to any one of the female (or even male) characters. The gaze, I suggest, becomes a gastro-gaze, whereby the dish is the object of desire or is fetishized. This gastro-gaze also applies to gourmet-themed boys' love manga as a genre of girls' comics, though, girls' comics originally, and still now, follow quite a different narrative structure. However, before any consideration of the thematic and stylistic differences between boys' and girls' comics, I suggest that Honda's outlined narrative typology for boys' comics can also be applied to girls' comics. However, the major difference is, as Honda suggests,

the value highlighted in each text is 'love.'... In boys' narratives, the protagonists achieve victory. In girls' narratives, however, there is no clear distinction between winners and losers. Since in boys' genres the goal is external, it is obvious whether or not success has been achieved. Love... is an abstract goal sought internally. Therefore, its attainability is not automatically associated with external developments (2010, p.27).

Given this argument, one can surmise that the fundamental elements of girls' comics are love, the overall atmosphere, and the sensations and feelings evoked by the text (being there as opposed to the more goal-oriented getting there nature of boy's comics). That is, relishing in the here and now rather than planning the next move and having one's eye on the prize, so to speak. Boys' love manga, as a genre of girls' comics, nonetheless embrace particular elements of girls' comics. Love, for example, has also been considered central to the plot by Dru Pagliassotti in her qualitative research on boys' love fandom. She contends that the romantic storyline within boys' love manga is important to its readers and that in her 2005 survey of such readers, 'the largest group of respondents reported that the single most important element of BL manga was "slowly but consistently developing love between the couple"' (2008, p.59). If love, as scholars and fans have noted, indeed drives the plot in boys' love manga as a genre of girls' comics, then overcoming all obstacles to reach that pivotal moment of true love, or the romantic climax, per se, can be considered the internal goal of the protagonists in boys' love manga, regardless of whether it involves agency or merely destiny. However, as gourmet themes have infiltrated the genre, I argue the gastrorgasmic depictions of food,

the fetishism of food, if you like, have shifted the object of desire to food. This, I believe, is best epitomized by the emergence of titles such as *Not Love But Delicious Foods Make Me So Happy*.

To demonstrate how the element of love is incorporated into this typology, consider, for instance, the following figures taken from a gourmet-themed BL narrative. Although *Morning's* primary readership for *What Did You Eat Yesterday?* is male, given that the narrative revolves around a professional gay couple living together in Tokyo and the occasional allusions to love and romance within the narratives, I suggest one may nonetheless sub-classify it as BL manga. To briefly set the scene, this series involves the daily life of a lawyer, Shiro and his boyfriend Kenji (who of course, lives up to the stereotype of gay hairdressers). There are very few intimate scenes, and thus far, there have been no homo-erotic depictions in the series whatsoever. Upon my own personal examination of the content in the series, the results revealed that roughly sixty per cent of each manga is comprised of recipes and didactic cooking instructions. In this particular excerpt, we observe as Kenji and Shiro are out with their friend, Wataru, to watch his partner, Daisaku, play amateur baseball. The tension between both couples seems to lie and be resolved in the food which they bring along to the picnic, which is the origin of the first obstacle of the scene. Both Shiro and Daisaku go head to head to prove to their lovers who made the more delicious *bentō*.

At the beginning of the scene, the baseball bat, ball and crotch are the only sexual allusions within the excerpt as the three friends watch the game (2012, p.41). Whilst watching, Kenji opens up the *bentō* that Shiro prepared and expresses how tasty it looks (46). Wataru (who is paranoid about the chemistry between his boyfriend and Shiro) criticises the soccer mum-like appearance of Shiro's *bentō* (47). Wataru retaliates by revealing his own *kawaii* (cute) *bentō* and stressing that the pink ham and redness of the paprika reflects how gay bento should look (48). Everyone seems generally impressed with how cute the *bentō* looks. However, all the while Daisaku is commenting on how delicious and healthy Shiro's rice balls and *bentō* are (49). Wataru then tries one of the egg rolls and rice balls and admits that Shiro's *bentō* actually is delicious (50). Thereafter, Daisaku even asks for one of Shiro's recipes (52), which signals Shiro's victory in the conflict. In a last resort attempt (53), Yoshiyuki points out that Shiro prepared everything the night before and that not even the rice is fresh. Shiro attests that he woke up early that morning to boil the rice and thus reigns as the victor. However, to end the scene, Daisaku appeases Wataru in suggesting that his *bentō* was also delicious. So, in spite of the inter-partner conflict, both cooks managed to please their boyfriends with their delicious *bentō* boxes. Thus, the element of competition is lost and love is shared through the hero of the day, namely, the dish.

Here the fetishization of the *bentō* for the reader is that which may be unattainable without agency but can nonetheless be vicariously enjoyed through reading. Interestingly though, the recipes are clearly outlined for the reader and thereby renders the fantasy feasible. Love, then, would be attainable. It is also no longer an abstract goal since food is the means through which to obtain it. Food additionally functions as an expression of desire, or more often than not, is the object of desire. What this enables is the flexibility to alternate between a gaze involving sexual fetishism to a food-fetishizing gastro-gaze. Finally, the fusion of fantasy (in depictions of non-normative romance) and the feasible (the simple satisfaction derived from food) offers a multitude of gratifications beyond the target readership. The difference then,

between gourmet manga and BL manga as gastrorgasmic texts is that with the former, food is used as a tool to reach one's personal goal (whether it is to distinguish oneself from others or outdo one's competitors). In contrast, in gourmet-themed boys' love comics, love is the goal. That love may be reached when food is utilised as a tool (or an expression of love/desire) or love is simply the readily attainable food- that taken for granted daily satisfaction that any reader may get at the 'Bing!' of a microwave.

3. Accounting for gourmet-themed BL phenomena: 美少年 + 美味=美²

Having compared and contrasted traditional male-oriented gourmet manga and gourmet-themed BL manga, it is significant to proceed by considering why BL motifs have shifted to fetishizing food and how the manga *mise en scène*, depicts food in a gastrorgasmic light

One can make several assumptions as to why this phenomenon has flourished. Consider, for instance, that since the dawn of BL in the 1970s the settings and motifs have focused primarily on boarding schools, schools or contexts where a clear hierarchy is defined.



Fig.2.0 Dōjin website (dlsite, 2010).

According to the data in Figure 2.0, the largest number of titles falls under the genres of boys' love, manga involving minors, schoolyard settings, and couples with age discrepancies. These trends have persisted for decades and seem to show no signs of slowing. The *bishōnen*, the innocent archetype and object of desire, remains a staple in BL trends. Having said that, the change in readership is where the shift in motifs occurs. To elaborate, the fans of the 1970s who grew up with BL are now in their forties or over, while the young fans can start from junior high school or even elementary school. Thus, in order to cater for both groups and a wider range of audiences, creating more 'adult' manga with older protagonists, a greater sense of realism, and offering something

unique in the narrative that is desirable, caters for the older fans as well as drawing younger fans who might be interested in the new and unique point of fetishism.

However, what alternative attractive element to the *bishōnen* could be appropriated and allure a greater target readership in Japan? If we recall that food is arguably centrepiece, of visual entertainment in Japan, then the proof is in the pudding, for lack of a better expression. If the possible reasons why gourmet-themed manga have become a new trend relate to expanding the target market as well as appeasing old and new fans, then the logical question to follow is how the motif has been appropriated to make it the centrepiece of the narrative. To address this matter, as a general indication, I examined the framing and focus of food within the panels, as well as the amount of panels containing food or mentioning food in *Not Love But Delicious Foods Make Me So Happy*.

Needless to say, but I must stress that this is not a realistic indication but it demonstrates the potential prominence of food in manga. Upon examining the content, the statistics revealed that of the total 709 panels, 477 panels depicted food or alluded to food, arguably making food the centrepiece of 67 per cent of the panels. Given that the ABC's (Australian Broadcasting Corporation) local content quota is 55 per cent, we can surmise that at least for this title, the cake takes the cake. Once again, it must be stressed that examining a larger volume of manga would be necessary to make such assumptions about the genre but for argument's sake, I suggest this information is adequate.

In addition to the ratio of food content, the focus and framing of food in the panels demonstrate how food is fetishized and objectified. Take for instance, the panel in which Yoshinaga takes her gay friend out for sushi (Figure 3.1). The high angle framing of the sushi as it rests on the table objectifies the sushi, suggesting its role in the narrative as the object of desire.



Fig.3.1 (Yoshinaga, 2005). Fig.3.2 (Yoshinaga, 2005).

In addition, aside from the drooling and heavy breaths in Figure 3.1, as the sushi is consumed in Figure 3.2, close shots are primarily employed to enhance the gastrorgasmic effects. This is the money shot, if you like, of gastrorgasmic texts. Similar depictions are found in Figure 3.3 as Yoshinaga and a friend go French. The mouth is

always slightly ajar to emphasise the subject's salivation. Other motifs and *keiyu* (motion lines), which are employed to fetishize food or convey a gastrorgasmic effect to consider are the lightning bolts in Figure 3.4 to convey extreme satisfaction and the commonly used arrows to emphasise the object of the gaze such as the ice cream being fetishized in the bottom panel.



Fig.3.3 (Yoshinaga, 2005). Fig.3.4 (Yoshinaga, 2005).

In Figure 3.5, there is the iconic BL flower motif to express feelings of love or passion. Note how the tilted head too reinforces the pleasure of consumption. Whilst some may not be convinced of the fetishisation of food in the former figures, this last excerpt (Figure 3.6) illustrates, if not epitomises, the prominence of food fetishism in BL manga. One need not look beyond the framing of the panels during the dunking, dipping and shoving of tender Vietnamese rolls into the subjects' mouths. Can one honestly counter-argue that there is nothing remotely gastrorgasmic about these panels?



Fig.3.5 (Yoshinaga, 2005). Fig.3.6 (Yoshinaga, 2005).

4. Discussion

In the grand scheme of things, this article has attempted to distinguish gourmet-themed BL manga from traditional gourmet manga, as well as attempting to postulate why the gourmet boom has infiltrated boys' love manga, and outline the methods which artists have employed to glorify and fetishize food. To conclude on a more profound, or beefier level, if you like, it is significant to reflect on what these manga reflect about Japanese society and global consumption trends.

Firstly, I acknowledge that a number of contentious assumptions have been made throughout this article, and yet I will conclude with yet another based on personal observations. That is, I argue that in contexts of either an economic crisis or an economic boom, food becomes fetishized. To elaborate, in the former context, when struggling with budgets, people tend to fantasise about or vicariously enjoy the luxury of being served or consuming fine food made by another, or at least learning how to reproduce such recipes at home. In the latter context, people have the capital to afford fine food but want that extra edge, that something more that no one else can have. That 'because you're worth it' ideology prevails and food, of all things commonplace, is certainly not excluded. Having said that, one could further argue then that Japan's economic bubble in 1980s partly influenced the boom in gourmet manga; and the successive global recession in the early twenty-first century saw the massive influx of gastrorgasmic texts as well as gourmet-themed BL texts. Given this argument, what does this then reflect about Japan and global trends in food media? Perhaps the significance of it all lies in Frederick Kaufman's suggestion that, food porn, like sex porn, like voyeurism, are all measures of alienation, not community. As such, they belong to realms of irreality. Irreality, of course, is attractive to anyone who may be dissatisfied with the daily exigencies of his or her life (Kaufman, as cited in McBride 2010, p.45).

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*On the Edge and in between: The Predicaments of Taiwanese Subjectivity Reflected
by "Cape No. 7" and Its Aftermath*

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INTRODUCTION and BACKGROUND

This paper is part of my examination of the Taiwanese younger generation's interpretation of their father and grandfathers' collective memory of "Japan," long after the empire's renunciation of and withdrawal from the island. As Leo Ching observes, given the condition how Japan ceded Taiwan after their defeat in WWII, Taiwan and Japan alike lack the opportunity to engage in de-colonization. The Japanese assimilation policies implemented during the colonial days came to a sudden halt and the Taiwanese people needed to re-shape their identification to better suit the policies of the KMT Nationalist Party's pro-Chinese authoritarian regime. Before the lifting of the martial law in 1987, the KMT government, who sees Imperial Japan as an opponent during the WWII, maintained a tight grip on an anti-Japan stance, and those who could not adapt found themselves illiterate, voiceless, and barred from any substantial positions in offices. Their Japanese experience were conveyed through hushed voices or other subtle means to their children and grandchildren, who would deem their nostalgia antiquated, unpatriotic, or of little importance. However, the loosening of the grip that ensued Taiwan's democratization in the 1980s saw a surge of nativist movements, in which subject matters that were previously banned from society, could now be openly discussed. This is, however, nearly 40 years later. The excavating of memories and exploring possibilities of de-colonization now fall on the laps of the younger generation, as the Japanized generation grows old and fades out. Having been indoctrinated by KMT, compounded by an emotional factor that is inherited through tales that run in the family, means that the navigation process would be complex, varying and discursive.

The 80s started a trend in Taiwan New Cinema. Directors like Hou Hsiao-hsien and Wu Nien-chen made it an objective to restore Taiwanese memories back to the public's historical consciousness. Their films fared well in prestigious international film festivals, and subsequently came to represent strong voices regarding Taiwan's suppressed past. However, they performed poorly in box offices, and the reach of their messages is limited. Nineteen years after Hou Hsiao-hsien's canonized *City of Sadness*, in 2008, Wei Te-sheng swept Taiwanese movie-goers off their feet with his romantic flick, *Cape No. 7*. Not only is his commercial success is a deviation from his art-house power predecessors, instead of centering the plot on historical events, but also the film's use of Taiwan's colonial past to serve as a mere backdrop foiling an accidental romance and a coming together of a local band. The colonial past, which is presented in the form of seven unsent love letters from a Japanese teacher to his Taiwanese pupil during the end of WWII, received little actual screen time, but sparked so much conversation regarding "national dignity," and "desire to become re-colonized" that it, too, could be read as a national allegory.

Cape No. 7 is romantic comedy that evolves around the coming together of a music band, whose one-time mission is to serve to foil a Japanese star in the town's coming beach concert. The male protagonist, A-ga, is a frustrated musician who fails to make a name for himself in the big city. Begrudgingly he returns to the countryside and lands a job delivering mail, which was secured by his stepfather, a local gang leader who also serves as a town representative. His band, put together in a brash, hurried manner, consists of local folks from different ethnic backgrounds. Their varying age, drastically different musical styles, complete with personal emotional baggage

illustrate the challenges the mishmash group faces as a band. Workwise, among A-ga large heap of deliberately neglected mail lies an undeliverable packet from Japan, penned to a Kojima Tomoko and an antiquated address that no longer exists. The packet of love letters lay in quiescent existence until the band manager, a Mandarin-speaking Japanese girl also named Tomoko, discovers them in A-ga's room and urges him to restore them to their designated owner.

Cape No. 7 differs from its predecessors that tackle the Japanese topic, but does not deviate from the New Cinema tradition so much in its lending voices to the marginalized, and inviting post-colonial interpretations. I will use *Cape No. 7* and the swarm of discussions in the media that ensued revolving around its "Japanese" element to discuss the progress (or lack of) of de-colonization and the possibility of finding reconciliation between the tug-o-war between Taiwan's own Chinese nationalism and Japanese colonialism, and the continuing construction and reconstruction of a Taiwanese identity.

IN BETWEEN: HYBRIDITY

The film opens with a man narrating in Japanese: "December 25th, 1945. The sun has completely set. I can no longer see the island of Taiwan." We find out that he is the voice of the Japanese teacher, reading the first of his seven unsent letters to his love interest, a Taiwanese girl named Tomoko. The sun has set completely, signifying the colonial power of Land of the Sun has come to an end. The well-dressed teacher sits on the deck of the Takasagomaru vessel, crowded with other equally neat but depressed passengers as they embark on the journey of repatriation. The camera moves to modern day Taipei in the next scene, and we see the angry protagonist, A-ga, slamming his guitar against a lamppost and cursing: "f*** you, Taipei," before he sets off on his motorbike, southbound, to Heng-chun, A-ga's home and a small coastal town that sits on the southernmost tip of Taiwan. The two men both embark on a journey departing Taipei: for the Japanese teacher, he is being re-centered as he travels back to his empire; for A-ga, this spatial movement de-centers him, pushing him further towards the edge of the island. A-ga's motorcycle passes through the historical landmark of a citadel known as the West Gate. His crossing the threshold of the stoney gate delimits his departure from the political and socio-economical center that is Taipei. The delimitation of this border underlines that he has come to the other end, a place that has been marginalized both historically and geographically.

The sense of dispersion is not limited to A-ga's narrative alone. Shortly after, a small bus comes to a screeching halt before the same gate, and we meet Tomoko, a Japanese ex-model who also has little luck establishing her career and finds herself undertaking odd jobs in Taiwan. Tomoko clambers off the bus, takes a look at the gate, and signals by waving the bus through: "Can do, can do!" She cries. A Taiwanese bus driver also clambers off, takes another look and rebukes: "No can do," and decidedly takes an alternative route. The West Gate was constructed during the Qing Dynasty to fend off intruding Japanese troops. An influential film blogger finds this scene evocative of a belligerent Japan empire (Lan Zu-wei), and see the driver's refusal of forcing the bus through as a rejection of unscrupulous import of foreign cultures, as well as an act of protecting Taiwan's cultural legacy. However, he notes that this Sino-centric viewpoint might be lost on most of the audience, since the

history of Heng-chun and the gate is an obscure tidbit. It seems ironic that he plants the burden of warding off the influx of foreign cultures squarely on the shoulders of a peripheral town whose history remains unfamiliar to the mainstream. Not to mention Wei's depiction of the marginalized town shows that it is consisted of residents and visitors from multi-ethnic, multi-cultural backgrounds, and that there is no single, uniformed legacy to "protect."

Multi-cultural exchange has long been embedded in the small town of Heng-chun (or say, Taiwan), and hybridity is self-evident and ubiquitous on all levels, as captured in *Cape No. 7*. When the young Tomoko presents the band with aboriginal marble charms she purchased for the members, and explains the sort of good fortune that comes with them, the band's only octogenarian and self-proclaimed "national treasure," Mou-bei, takes his own Goddess Mazu charm from within his shirt and wonders out loud: "I already have this. Wouldn't the deities start fighting?" The aboriginal-born Loma assures him, in Mou-bei's own Hoklo dialect: "Why would they? Everyone is family." This hybridity reflected in the band members' religious beliefs, where purism is usually applied in the most extreme terms, is an ultimate manifesto of the nation's heterogeneity. If Taiwan New Cinema represents a coming to terms with the dissimilarity that would hopefully resolve historical affliction and differences, *Cape No. 7* seems to be following the same trajectory in spite of being a commercial production.

CHINESE NATIONALISM and JAPANESE COLONIALISM

Another similarity *Cape No. 7* shares with Taiwan New Cinema and other Taiwanese art productions, is the attention drawn to the portrayal of the "Japanese." The image of the "Japanese colonizer" here differs greatly from its portrayal in previous Taiwanese-made and Hollywood films that tackle this period. In previous films, the image of wartime Japanese are either portrayed as brutes that treat its subjects unfairly, or faceless masses with little personality, a mere part in compliance with its state apparatus. In Wei's creation, the Japanese colonizer takes the form of a man of education, filled with remorse towards his Taiwanese subject, and capable of seeing his "subject" in a positive, even romantic light. And more importantly, he conveys in his letter an attempt to distinct himself from the imperial system: "I am but a poor teacher. Why must I bear the cross for the faults of an entire empire?" In this context, the viewers are able to humanize a part of the colonizing apparatus, and even empathize with his sense of powerlessness.

For critics who read the film from a nationalistic perspective, the characters represents their nations, and their relationship with one another symbolizes a state-to-state relationship. Hence, the relationship between elder Tomoko and her teacher prematurely ended by repatriating polices at the end of WWII, depicts "Taiwan's longing for Japan's love." Sociologist Chen I-chung (陳宜中) sees *Cape No.7* as an accusation against KMT's "China," whose intrusion upon Taiwan's historical timeline tore apart the two lovers. He describes the two Taiwanese/ Japanese relationships in the film as a "Taiwanese yearning to be recolonized," and further reminds his readers that the token "Chinese" or "mainlander," is absent in a film that makes it a point to write in characters from multiple ethnic backgrounds. From these points he drew two doubts: a) does this yearning for "Japan's" love indicate that the

reconciliation between “Taiwan” and the “Republic of China” is not within the foreseeable future? And b) since the young generation chooses Japan over China and paints a former colonizer in such romantic light, what’s to become of the Taiwanese subjectivity?

Chen I-chung’s doubts over Taiwan’s identity formation voices the questions of those who are preoccupied with a fixed nationality, those that “upholds the continuity and sovereignty of a tradition and culture, and perceives no problem in the internal differentiation of that particular community” (Ching 194), that one must choose one cultural heritage over another, and stick with it. Despite that Wei includes the Hoklo (A-ga and Mou-bei), the aboriginals (Loma and his father), the Hakka (Malasan), the Japanese (Dada and Tomoko) in his effort to present the hybridity of Taiwanese society, Chen’s essentialist bewilderment: “the Chinese is absent” really underscores the ramification between the multiple camps of the “Chinese,” especially when in fact Hoklo and Hakka are, ethnically speaking, Chinese.

Interestingly, a politics scholar Hsu Chieh-lin (許介麟) criticized that *Cape No. 7*’s success owes much to Japanese support, and commented that the love letters scripted by a Japanese “rambled on about his nostalgia for his previous colony.” In an interview, Wei said he had penned the letters himself, first in Chinese, and had them translated into Japanese. The letters are narrated in Japanese throughout the film, reiterating the Japanese teacher’s remorse and request for his lover’s forgiveness for jilting her. “I am not deserting you, I wish to spare you agony,” the teacher says in one letter, and “Please forgive me and my cowardice,” in another. These words of penitence surely deviate from the general observations in reality that the Japanese government has not yet come to terms with its roles and behaviors during the war. As Leo Ching pointed out in *Becoming Japanese*, “Japan’s subordination to American imperialism [...] freed Japan of any responsibility regarding the dissolution of its empires.” (186) And as most recently observed in Osaka’s Mayor, Toru Hashimoto’s brash comments on the comfort women issue (BBC News, May 14th, 2013). Contrary to essentialist/ nationalist observations that the popular film panders to Japanese sentiments, the fact that the fictional letters spawned from a Taiwanese author, who mimics the language of a former colonizer and puts words of apology in his mouth, is an arbitrary trespassing on the subaltern’s part. Here, the Taiwanese screenwriter/director takes the initiative and attempts speak for the silent Japanese empire.

The subaltern has spoken, and he channels the voice of the dominant culture. We can hear the Japanese colonizer’s narration of his remorse, and at the same time we are well aware that the film is a Taiwanese production by a Taiwanese director, and that the director is conveying “Japanese” emotions by mimicking a “Japanese.” Hsu and Chen’s concerns may lie in that the Taiwanese gaze towards the “Japanese” would only reflect its own “otherness,” which further pushes itself into the periphery, but they overlook the its potential for deconstructing and decontextualizing the commonly expected notion of “Japan.” Moreover, they also lack “an apprehension of colonial consciousness” and the need to constantly construct and deconstruct taken-for-granted cultures, nationalities, and identities to form one’s own identity.

ON THE EDGE: NEITHER HERE NOR THERE

The band's on stage performance is the grand finale that the storyline has been escalating to. When A-ga leaps on stage, he leads the crowd in a countdown before the sun sets into a completely dark sky. This image echoes the first lines of the Japanese teacher's love letter: "The sun has completely set." Contrary to the melancholic tone in the letter, the setting of this sun marks the commencement of the concert that the band has been preparing for. The crowd is ecstatic, and emotions run high as A-ga belts out an upbeat ballad about the pursuit of dreams.

The crowd calls for an encore, but A-ga's band's short repertoire runs out of songs to perform. As the band members relinquished their instruments and prepare to descend the stage, Mou-bei, who has been waiting for an audience, breaks out his yueh-qin, a traditional string instrument that the others previously voted off the band, and strums the notes of Robert Schubert's *Heidenroslein*. He gives a solo performance with his traditional music until one by one, his band rejoined him and delivered the Mandarin Chinese version of this 18th century German Ballad. Standing backstage listening in is the Japanese singer Atari Kousuke (中孝介), the actual star of this show. He exclaimed: "I know this song too," and joined A-ga in his song. Upon Atari's debut on the stage, A-ga takes a step out of the spotlight, but Atari pulls him back by locking their arms together. Side by side they continue the song, but in different tongues, A-ga singing in Mandarin Chinese, Atari in Japanese. This juxtaposition of two men, unsurprisingly, invited accusations of and compliments on the "reconciliation between Taiwan and Japan" in not only the Taiwanese media, but also online forums in Hong Kong and China, as well as for a Japanese column writer, Arai Hifumi, who remarks that the concert, for her, symbolizes "the funeral for Taiwan's Post-colonial era" (28).

Heidenroslein, or *The Wild Rose*, is an ultimate example of cross-cultural exchange. It has its origin in Germany, but has grown roots everywhere else around the globe. It is in fact so inscribed into Wei's consciousness that prior to making of *Cape No. 7*, he believed it to be a Taiwanese children's song. His choice of *Heidenroslein*, whether he is aware of it, is a manifestation of a foreign culture's seamless integration into a local culture, so seamless that it has lost all its exoticism. Could this be the ideal result for the search of a Taiwanese identity? With internal dynamics welded into each other, can the negotiation between imperialism, nationalism, and colonialism be resolved?

This "melting pot" idealism does not seem like it is going to happen soon.

A-ga and his band's performance well received, the film ends with a feel-good factor. But if we have been reading the formation of the band as the formation of Taiwanese subjectivity, we cannot help but wonder: what becomes of the amateur, mishmash band after this one lucky strike? Where is Taiwan going? After *Cape No. 7*, films in search of Taiwanese identities performed well in the box office. The titles *1895* (2009), *Monga* (2010), *Rainbow Warriors: Seediq Bale* (2011), and *Din Tao: Leader of the Parade* (2012) *David Loman* (2013) (which means important figure in a gang) are self-evident, as the new generation of directors weave their narrations around themes with strong local flavors, like gangster culture, religious festivities, while continuing *Cape No. 7*'s example of incorporating scenes or languages that are

distinctively vernacular (the dialogues in *Cape No. 7* contained Hoklo, Hakka, aboriginal dialects, as well as Japanese and a sprinkles of Mandarin Chinese). This concentration on the marginalized, in my own opinion, represents a desire to make a legitimate claim to something particular, something more than a product of hybridity and ambivalence. The position of the very marginalized almost guarantees that it filters out any influences that are foreign, and carve out an exclusively Taiwanese subjectivity. However, Leo Ching warns against the advocating of “the oppressed other in exclusive marginality,” which, by accessing the marginal through marginality, circumvents the possibility to apprehend the asymmetrical power relations that prompted the process of marginalization in the first place. Rather than underscoring the status of “otherness,” he urges the “apprehension of the colonial consciousness” and understanding that both the colonized and colonizer are deeply involved and intertwined in “the construction and destruction of cultures, nationalities, and identities, although within drastically asymmetrical power relations” (190)

CULTURAL LIMINALITY

Chen Ru-shou summed up Taiwan’s cultural experience with three characteristics: dispersion, ambivalence, and hybridity (1994). Given the complex matrix of Taiwan’s multi-ethnicity, history of colonization by various imperial powers, and the subsequent endlessly repetitive process of constructing, destructing, and renewal of its subjectivity, the Taiwanese identity seems to be perpetually “in progress.” On the surface, it was en route to “becoming Japanese” prior to KMT’s arrival in 1945; before Japanese assimilation, learning the Chinese classics was integral to establish oneself; and at present, it seems Taiwan is preoccupied with identifying the vernacular in search of a subjectivity free from foreign pollutants. The only perpetual certainty for the Taiwanese is, historian Chen Fang-ming notes, that, due to its geo-political marginal status, the Taiwanese are in for a tradition to struggle against a central power.

This predicament of being “stuck” in a liminal status can be found in *Cape No. 7* in the form of the seven undelivered letters, and the rainbow, a prevalent image in Wei’s films. The love letters, when scattered about in A-ga’s bedroom, are trapped in liminal space before they could reach their rightful owner, the elder Tomoko. Before the letters could reach her, they were read by the Japanese teacher’s daughter, intercepted by A-ga (who fails to understand its significance), and then “rediscovered” by the younger Tomoko. However, before reaching their recipient, the letters are mere words on paper, their emotions bound by paper and ink and their messages suspended. Their meaning is only released when they arrive at their destination.

In the end of the film, Kojima Tomoko finally receives the sixty-year-old letters. As her hands open the packet that contains the letters from her now-deceased lover, her face is concealed from the viewers, making it impossible to read her emotions. Although Wei let the Japanese teacher’s voice permeate the film, he does not let this particular subaltern speak. Her reaction is left to the imagination of the audience, thus preserving the air of ambivalence between the imagined Taiwan/”Japan” relationship.

In his films, Wei frequently uses the image of the rainbow to convey the connection of two different ends. Utilized to signify the bridging of differences and the process of

crossing over to reaching the *other* end, the rainbow appears when the lovers converge, and when A-ga toughens up for his performance and becomes a true warrior, according to aboriginal legends. In my opinion, Wei's rainbows also convey a sense of cultural liminality: that before reaching the other end, one's existence is indeterminable and therefore suspended. And to read *Cape No. 7* as a national allegory, one cannot avoid this sense of in-betweenness as the Taiwanese identity oscillates between Chinese nationalism, Japanese colonialism, and its own internal dynamics. Nevertheless, despite that the term "liminal" suggests a neither-nor situation, it also implies that at the end of the transit, there is a destination to be reached. The rainbow, after all, is also a symbol of hope.



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Management of Refugees through Intercultural and Interfaith Dialog

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Abstract

The issues of refugees in Indonesia are considered serious and needed immediate response. These are not only because Indonesia has become the transit destination for refugees, but also the origin country of them. The definition of refugees based on Refugee Convention 1951 and Protocol 1967 is those who left their origin countries due to persecution caused by issues of differential race, religion, nationality or social groups and particular political opinion. As these people are not protected in their home country, they need to seek for international protection. Thus, refugee problems are human rights problem among nations as two countries are involved; the home country and the host country.

Refugees require relief like nationality status, and assistance in the form of food, medicine, clothes and shelter. Throughout this time, management of refugees in Indonesia is categorized as durable solution. These are assimilation/naturalisation, repatriation, resettlement through security model and set aside individual rights model that emphasize human rights.

As such, it is needed new approach model through interfaith and intercultural dialog. The underlying reason for this is the fact that these refugees carry along their culture and faith. This approach needs to be followed by legal and structural approaches. In legal approach for example, Indonesia needs to do ratification and accession of Refugee Convention 1951 and Protocol 1967 in due time. While structural approach means enhancing the role of apparatus in the management of refugees to meet harmonization in international relations.

Key Words: Refugee, Interfaith, Intercultural

INTRODUCTION

This paper is written based on the observation and research results that I have done and will be done in Indonesia, specifically in East Java, which is one of the provinces in Indonesia. The results of studies that have been done are the "The Development of East Timorese Refugees Situation Post Public Polls from Legal, Social and Cultural Aspects in 2012". While the research that I will do in 2013 titled "Management Model of East Javanese Refugees from Legal and Psychological Aspects". Two studies are conducted in multidisciplinary sector as refugees' problems are seen from the social, cultural, and psychological aspects.

Furthermore, this paper is also written based on observations from various media about the refugees management which still become a problem in Indonesia. The problems are caused by several things, namely the fact that until now Indonesia has not ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. The lack of international instruments on refugees and the lack of national legal instruments that comprehensively regulate refugee problem have caused difficulties in handling the refugees' problems. Moreover, throughout this time, the management of refugees in Indonesia is based on the security model as refugees are viewed as threats to the states' security. Such management has possibilities to disregard individual rights based on human rights.

In its literal sense, the term refugee is used to define people who are forced to leave his place of residence to get to a safer place. Forced displacement has become the indicator for the absence of human security¹. These people are forced to leave his place of residence due to natural disasters, and disasters caused by humans (eg security threats, armed conflict, or political reasons)².

Difference reasons that cause people become refugees has caused the difference in treatment or favor. For refugees caused by natural disasters, assistance needed is temporary relief until they are capable to live their own lives. While for refugees caused by human actions, aside from requiring such assistance, they require protection as well. This protection can take place as asylum, non-refoulement, repatriation, or if they agree, placement to other countries which will accept them (resettlement).

This phenomenon of forced displacement has undergone rapid development, not only because of the amount of people displaced has become greater, but also because underlying factors of this phenomenon has become increasingly complex as well. Hundreds, even millions of people forced to leave their communities to save themselves³. The number of people who left the country tend to be more than the

¹UNHCR, **The State of the world's Refugee 1997-1998 : A Humanitarian Agenda**, New York : Oxford University Press, 1998, pp.11

²Jovan Patnagic, **Introduction to International Refugee Law**, delivered at Refugee Law Course, The International Institute of Humanitarian Law, San Remo, Italy, September 1996, pp. 13

³Jun Justinar, **About Refugee**, IDP's dan EDP's, Humanitarian Law, Human Rights and Refugee, Faculty of Law University of Trisakti, Jakarta, 2005, pp. 2

number of states that are willing to accommodate the refugees⁴. Currently there is a trend of developing countries (including Indonesia) to become the host as well as receiving countries of refugees, albeit some merely become transit points of refugees before they go to the third country. As a developing country with limited resources, problems due to the arrival of the refugees certainly occur in Indonesia.

In discussing the problem of refugees, the important thing is to determine who can be categorized as refugees, the rights and obligations that can be imposed if they are, and how the behavior of a state in dealing with refugees' problem. It would be reasonable to state here that the refugees' problem has existed since the beginning of human civilization and is essentially the matter of humanity. As such, in the long run, refugees' problem could, and should, be handled through humanitarian actions.

The 1951 Convention is the starting point for any discussion of refugees' problem. This convention is one of the other instruments on refugees, which is the 1967 Protocol. In some ways this Convention is also seen as a paving way, as for the first time in history, a Convention is provided a general definition of refugee. The 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees was designed by the end of World War II, and the definition of refugee in it is focused on the people outside their home country that became refugees as the result of events occurred in Europe before 1 January 1951. As the issue of refugees had increased by the end of 1950s and early 1960s, it was seen necessary to expand the geographical and time coverage of the 1951 Convention. Therefore, in its development, Additional Protocol to the Convention on the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol was designed.

The 1951 Convention contains three chapters that regulates the protection of refugees, namely Article 31 (Illegal Refugees), Article 32 (Expulsion), and Article 33 (Non-Refoulement). This principle prohibits the return of the refugees to their home country where their survival or freedom is threatened, due to differences in race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group. This can serve as the milestone of international protection, which often called as the heart of the international protection of refugees. Thus the importance of the non-refoulement principle should be accepted and respected as a *jus cogens* in international law. In this 1951 Convention, someone is called a refugee if (s)/he has a well founded fear of persecution;

- a. For Reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, political opinion
- b. Is Unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of his country.

As a member of the United Nations, a country is essentially has a responsibility to protect their citizens and foreigners within its territory. However, it is a reality that some countries are unable to carry out such responsibilities due to various reasons. When a government is unable and unwilling to provide protection for its citizens, then these citizens are forced to leave their home country to seek protection in other countries. Thus, the refugees' problem can be a national and international issue. National issue here is state's responsibility, while international issues are those related

⁴Myron Weiner, *The Global Migration Crisis* in Wang Gungwu, ed., *Global History and Migration*, Oxford, Westview Press, 1997, pp. 95³⁰⁵

to international cooperation among countries in dealing with refugees. This means that every state has the right and responsibility in dealing with refugees which basically is a humanitarian issue by respecting state's sovereignty.

Formulation of law or national legislation on refugees based on international legal standards is the key to strengthen the asylum institution, to make protection more effective, and to provide a foundation for the solution of refugees' problem. Incorporation of international law into national law is very important and needs to be done to regulate things such as procedural matters of refugee status determination.

In international law, it is recognized that a state has the right to refuse or accept foreigners to enter its territory. If a country allows foreigners to enter its territory after fulfilling certain conditions, then the person is a legal foreigner who in that country, and foreigners are given preferential treatment in accordance with applicable law. Conversely, if a person entered the territory of another state without following legal procedure, then the person does not obtain legal protection.

These people usually do not leave the country because of persecution on grounds of race, religion, social group, or political opinion, but rather because of economic factors (to get a better job, or to join their family). Here lies the difference of these people with the refugees. Although both enter into the territory of a state without going through legal procedures but refugees have fundamental reason to be outside of their home country, while economic migrants do not.

In refugee law, the principle of non-refoulement is applicable as regulated in Article 33 of the Vienna Convention 1951. As such, the important thing to do in dealing with refugees is a bilateral policy between the home country and the host country in order to create the condition of good neighborhood. The agreement can regulate how inter-faith dialogue and inter-cultural should be formulated, as someone who flee to another country and culture will bring their beliefs. In addition to become the party to the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol immediately, solutive step should be considered due to the national interest of a country.

THE ROLE OF UNHCR IN THE MANAGEMENT OF REFUGEES

In the UN charter it is stated that the the role of the UNHCR is related with the context of human rights protection. This links is confirmed, moreover, in the reference to the 1951 Refugee Convention, roomates makes reference to the principle that all human beings shall enjoy fundamental rights and freedom without discrimination. The Preamble also recalls that the United Nations has, on various occasion, manifested its profound concern for refugees and endeavored to assure refugees the widest possible exercise of these fundamental rights and freedoms⁵.

In the previous section it is pointed out that in the long run, refugees' problem should be dealt in humanitarian manner, and the international community's attention should also be focused on the material need of refugees to aid their survival. This perception changed after World War I (1914-1918), the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917),

⁵ Training Module, **An Introduction to The International Protection of Refugee**, UNHCR, pp.39

and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (1918), which led to millions of people who were forced to leave their native country⁶.

The international community finally realize that the needs of people who are out or forced to leave their origin country are not limited to material assistance for their survival, but also respectful treatment that allows them to live outside their origin country with honor⁷.

One of the tasks of the High Commissioner for refugees who were appointed by League of Nations (LoN) was giving juridical status of refugees albeit the absence of definition on the term refugee itself. One form of international refugee protection provided by LoN was giving travel documents to refugees to enable them travel to other LoN member states.

The establishment of this institution and the appointment of the first High Commissioner with the task to determine the legal status of refugees, all was done by the LBB, as an early recognition of the international community that the refugee issue is not only a humanitarian problem but also a problem with juridical aspect. This has marked the entry point of the concept of international protection of refugees in international law.

After LoN disbanded due to various factors, the United Nations (UN) stood, and under the UN, UNHCR was established to manage the refugees' problem. Nearly 62 years ago, precisely on January 1, 1951, when UNHCR began his task, the number of refugees handled was only about 1 million people, and almost entirely in Europe. Refugees' issues were considered as temporary problems by the international community. Thus, UNHCR was also intended to be a temporary body as well, and the UN General Assembly established the existence of UNHCR for only three years with the expectation that the approximate one million refugees could be resolved.

However, the reality was different as the completion of this approximate one million refugees had not been completed within three years. Moreover, the number of new refugees has continued to increase from year to year. As a result, the presence of the UNHCR was also extended three times each year, and since 1964 was extended for five years until now.

Aside from this, the task of UNHCR has evolved as well as requested by the UN General Assembly to help people who according to the Statute of UNHCR cannot be categorized as refugees, but are in a similar situation with refugees. The large number of refugees is a burden to be borne by the temporary host countries. Due to the fatigue among traditional donor countries to provide assistance, as well as the lack of virtual prospect of the resettlement of refugees in third countries, has caused refugees' problems become more complicated than ever.

Therefore, since the last few years, UNHCR has implemented a new concept in its effort to find a solution to the refugee problem, namely repatriation to their home

⁶Enny Soeprapto, **Concept International Protection of Refugees and Implementation**, Paper, University of Surabaya, 1998, pp. 6

⁷ *Ibid.*,

country as well as the creation of conditions in these countries so that the condition that caused the existence of refugees would not happen again. This effort can be done by involving various stakeholders, such as the countries of origin and the host countries, donor countries, regional bodies, non-governmental organizations both nationally and internationally, the political organization of the United Nations, development agencies, as well as humanitarian agencies, both nationally and internationally.

Such solution was applied in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, when dealing with the boat people (boat people) from Vietnam. Several approaches were used to overcome the problem of Vietnamese refugees are as follows:⁸

1. Hold negotiations with potential destination countries for these refugees to accelerate the process of refugee placement to third;
2. Build Processing Centre in Galang Island and cooperate with other countries particularly the United Nations (UN High Commissioner for Refugees/UNHCR). The goal is to get the world opinion on solving the refugee problem, which is not a regional problem per se, but also a global problem as it involves humanity and justice. By engaging the world, it means that the solution must be addressed together;
3. The Government of the Republic of Indonesia held the approach to Vietnam, which is the host country of many refugees who came to Indonesia, to do constructive policy for limiting the refugee flow to ASEAN countries. Furthermore, emphasized the consequences of political, social and economic as well as the vulnerabilities that have been posed by the refugees.

The large number of refugees and people who can not formally categorized as refugees but in a equal condition with refugees also needs protection and assistance, partly because the more severe the refugees' problem and the more difficult search for a permanent settlement. In addition, the emergence of internal conflict in various countries and the larger number of people who claim their human life or freedom is threatened in the country who seek entry into other countries as asylum, even though they are in fact none other than economic migrants or migrants who seek personal enjoyment.

Another obstacle is the difficulty of refugees to obtain asylum in developed countries, while their origin countries could not receive them back, because conditions in these origin countries do not conducive to their safety. Attention to these issues, it seems clear that the issue of asylum is a humanitarian issue and a legal issue. This is explicitly stated by Enny Soeprapto as follows: "Asylum is an institution of both humanitarian and legal nature. It is humanitarian as its objective is to save a person from potential or real persecution. Asylum is also of a legal nature, as once asylum granted, the person's status as asylee would have rights and obligations derived there from as may be accorded or imposed by the country of asylum under its national legislation or under the relevant international instruments (once there is national and or regional instruments) of a legally binding nature"⁹.

⁸ Nyoman Sulaksmi, **Legal Protection for Vietnamese Refugee by Indonesian Government**, University of Surabaya, 1992, pp. 39.

⁹ Enny Soeprapto, **International Protection of Refugees and Basic Principles of Refugee Law, An analysis**, University of Trisakti, Jakarta, 1998. pp.40

Some of these people are protected internationally due to the Statute of UNHCR, while some are not because they are not categorized as refugee. Refugees' problem should not be the cause of tension between countries of origin and host countries, as well as disruption of international peace and security. Therefore, international peace and solidarity are needed to facilitate the settlement of the refugee problem faced by international community now and in the future. Jovan Patrnogic states that: "It is generally accepted that refugee problems must be approached in the international community, while bearing in mind the need to respect humanitarian principles roomates are an obligation to all. To implement these principles of the highest importance, what is needed is solidarity"¹⁰.

The UNHCR is one important international organization which is quite important. Since it began operations on January 1, 1951, UNHCR has played an active role in dealing with refugees from the events that occurred in various countries such as in Afghanistan, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Colombia, and other countries. Its authority was later extended by subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly and the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The authority of UNHCR is to provide international protection to refugees and find durable solutions for them based on humanitarian and non-political reasons. Those who had received assistance from other UN organizations when the UNHCR Act was legalized were excluded from the mandate of UNHCR. As such, people who were displaced by the Korean War (UNKRA) were not included in the mandate of UNHCR¹¹.

From the description above, it is appear that UNHCR provides protection and assistance to refugees around the world. With headquarter in Geneva, Switzerland, in its first formative years, UNHCR was intended to ensure the protection of basic human rights (IDPs) and asylum seekers. The mandate of the High Commissioner for Refugees is stated in a document known as the Statute of UNHCR. The statute is received by the UNGA in Resolution 428 (V), on December 14, 1950. In this resolution, the role of UNHCR is confirmed, which is to provide international protection under the framework of UN to refugees who are within the scope of this statute. Another important thing is that UNHCR also assists and supports the government of a country to soon become a party to the refugee convention in 1951 following its Protocols.

The statute of UNHCR establishes the authority of the High Commissioner for refugees which includes four categories, namely:

1. People who are considered a refugee under international treaties concluded after World War I and before World War II.
2. People who have been displaced by the Constitution called IRO (International Refugee Organization);
3. The people as a result of events that occurred before January 1, 1951 who suffered persecution for reasons of race, religion, political opinion, national groups are

¹⁰ Jovan Patrnogic, **Introduction to International Refugee Law**, International Institute of Humanitarian Law, Italy, 1996. pp.71.

¹¹ UNKRA is dismissed now and the authority of UNHCR has been extended through various efforts of the General Assembly resolution in 2003.

- forced out of their home territory. They did not want to take advantage of the protection of their home country;
4. The people who are outside their country of citizenship, or if they are not stateless because they have anxiety caused by reasons of race, religion, national groups, political opinion.

INDONESIA'S EXPERIENCE IN HANDLING REFUGEES

Indonesia's valuable experience is when dealing with the refugees from Indochina in Galang Island. The people of Indochina/Vietnam was displaced due to the civil war in the country, especially at a time of Fitcong and when Fitcong was no longer in power. Vietnamese refugee flow began in the fall of the capital of Saigon (South Vietnam), to the hands of the North Vietnamese on May 10, 1975. One year later formed the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (RSV), which officially stood since July 2, 1976. The Vietnamese refugees fled their country because of the inhumane treatment and intimidation from their home country. They left Vietnam by boat, so they called boat people (boat people). This influx occurred in several waves, and along the way many of them are stranded in some countries such as Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines and Hong Kong.

Another experience is when East Timor gained independence from Indonesia after the referendum on August 30, 1999. Those who chose the pro-integration East Timorese were forced to leave and flee to the East. East Timorese refugee situation (after their independence under the name of East Timor) is a unique thing, because East Timor was originally a 27th province of the Republic of Indonesia (Republic of Indonesia). 27 provinces to come from the Portuguese colony evacuated by the Homeland, as freedom fighters continue to fight for the Earth Timor gained independence. They were forced to leave East Timor is more accurately categorized as an externally displaced persons (EDP'S) as opposed to internally displaced persons (IDP'S).

Aside from refugees from outside Indonesia (Vietnamese refugees), Externally Displaced Persons, there are many cases involving the internally displaced (IDP'S) such as the case of Aceh, Sambas, Maluku and problems that come from other parts of Indonesia. This problem is compounded by the influx of people from Afghanistan, Middle East and illegal immigrants of other countries.

Based on the discussion above, this paper proposes the handling model approach to refugees through interfaith and intercultural dialogue, because when someone refuge, (s)/he would bring along their refuge and cultural beliefs. Interfaith dialogue and intercultural issues are two areas of great importance to Indonesian. As a culturally diverse country with big diaspora, Indonesia cannot but be keenly interested in advancing international cooperation in these domains, especially Indonesia's strategic geographic location as being in the position of a cross between the two continents, Asia and Australia and two, namely Indonesia and the Pacific Ocean.

In line with the idea to include human rights into national legislation since 1998, especially since the promulgation of Decree No.: XVII/MPR/1998, the 1945 Amendment Act 39 of 1999 on Human Rights and the Law 37 1999 on Foreign Relations, the Director General of Immigration has issued circulars IL.01 No.F-0.10-

1297 dated 30 September 2002 regarding the handling of foreigners who declare themselves as asylum seekers or refugees. The circular specifies that:

1. In general, the rejection to a stranger who comes into Indonesian territory, which does not meet applicable requirements;
2. If there are foreigners who expressed a desire to seek asylum upon arrival in Indonesia, so that is not subject to immigration measures such as the deportation of the country that threaten the lives and liberty;
3. When among strangers is believed there is an indication as asylum seekers or refugees, in order to get in touch with international organizations or the United Nations refugee problem High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for the determination of its status.

The circular seeks to provide a handle to the immigration officer at TPI in order to give special treatment to foreigners who pose as asylum seekers or refugees. In this case the immigration officers are given the opportunity to contact UNHCR protecting officer, and at that time will also be conducted early research. If there were indications of asylum seekers or refugees, then the matter would be handled directly by the UNHCR.

The problem is that these people often do not come through TPI, and thus they arrive in Indonesian territory without being noticed immigration officers, because they come with a non-regular means of transport, such as a wooden boat. In such cases, the foreigners who pose as asylum seekers or refugees will be accommodated in immigration detention local building or available elsewhere. The next step immigration officer shall immediately notify the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which will conduct the next shelter. IOM will then coordinate with UNHCR protection officer for further handling. The treatment is done in accordance with the duties and functions of the international organizations working in Indonesia with the permission of the Government of Indonesia. During the refugee status determination process, the entire cost of living and accommodation of asylum seekers and refugees are a burden UNHCR and IOM.

To meet the need for identity papers, the UNHCR issued a statement or Attestation Letter stating that the holder of the letter is in the process of seeking asylum or refugees, and the UNHCR will handle them. Attestation Letter is not an immigration document that gives permission to stay. Within this waiting period, the Refugee Status Determination (RSD) will be given.

Even if the international legal instruments as mentioned above (1951 Geneva Convention and 1967 Protocol), show the will to provide protection to asylum seekers and refugees (the principle of non-refoulement), they cannot be operated at lower levels, as the apparatus do not own a practical grip aside from the Director General of Immigration circular. Thus the immigration officers have no legal basis to provide status or immigration permit authorizing notch asylum seekers or refugees in Indonesia. Similar difficulties are also faced by other relevant government agencies, such as police and local government.

Noting from the description, it is appear that the policy of asylum-seekers and refugees in Indonesia is still ambivalent. On one hand there is the will to provide international standard treatment to asylum seekers or refugees are particularly

vulnerable to human rights violations, but at the same time there is no adequate national legal instrument for field operations. In addition, the mobility and obligation of asylum seekers or refugees cannot be controlled because their status is not clear.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

1. Refugee flows occur due to natural disaster and human made disaster, each of which requires different handling. Furthermore, refugees issue is both national and international issue. Therefore, it requires international cooperation both bilaterally, regionally, and globally. One form of international cooperation is the establishment of international agreement to create harmonious international relations, specifically between the home country and the host country.
2. Refugees' problems are related to both humanitarian and law issues. As such, the management of such problem should respect the refugees' rights (using individual rights model) which not merely see refugees as something that endanger state security (security model). Moreover, handling the legal aspects means to encourage states immediately to become the party (consent to be bound) of the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol, which is a universal legal instrument.
3. The 1951 Convention contains three chapters that govern the protection of refugees, namely article 31, 32 and 33. This principle of non-refoulement prohibits state to return refugees to their home country where their survival or freedom is threatened, and this has become the milestone of international protection for refugees. Thus the importance non-refoulement principle should be accepted and respected as a *jus cogens* in international law.
4. Protecting refugees is primarily the responsibility of States, specifically those that signed the 1951 Convention. As such, these states are required to apply these terms without discrimination. When refuge situations occur, states must work together to resolve the cause of the refuge flow and to share responsibilities in protecting refugees.
5. UNHCR's role as set out in the Statute of UNHCR in 1950 should always be enhanced, especially in providing international protection for refugees, finding durable solutions to the problem of refugees, as well as to promote international refugee law. This role can be performed well if UNHCR continued to work together with local country.
6. Until now Indonesia is not a party of the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. It is difficult for officers in the field when it comes to addressing the refugee. One of the guidelines that are used is the Circular No. Directorate General of Immigration. F-IL.01.10-1297 (30 September 2002) which basically states that the Indonesian Immigration tolerate the presence of refugees and asylum seekers (not in deportation). Next homework with the UNHCR is to issue Attestation letter/certificate to prevent refugees from getting problems with the authorities.
7. These measures would show the good will of Indonesian government in dealing with refugee problem, as a logical consequence of a country that upholds human

rights as stipulated in Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights. It also refers to Law No. 37/1999 on Foreign Relations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Necessary preparations concerning technical aspects, administration and law need to be done in order to enhance the ratification/accession process of the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol. Harmonization with the relevant national regulations is also required. Assumption that by ratifying the Convention could be the pull factor for the refugees flow into a country is not justifiable.
2. Interfaith and intercultural dialogue efforts need to be increased between the home country and the host country. Such dialogue is important as those who fled to other countries certainly bring along their beliefs, customs, and culture.

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 enclosed within a large, faint, circular graphic composed of two overlapping arcs: a light blue arc on the bottom and a light red arc on the top, creating a partial circle around the text.

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*Cultural Appropriation or Cultural Legacy? Brahmanical Ceremonies of
Tri-yumpawai and Tri-pawai in Bangkok Revisited*

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The Asian Conference on Cultural Studies 2013

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Sally E. Merry (1998) observes that cultural appropriation as a way of adopting a cultural product with local meanings and practices where one group takes the existing cultural form from one social group and integrates it into another social group with a dissimilar set of meanings and practices. I agree with Sally when she says,

“...the anthropological understanding of ‘culture’ has shifted from a ‘reified notion of a fixed and stable set of beliefs, values and institutions’” to a ‘flexible [collection] of practices and discourses created through historical processes of contestation over signs and meanings’ (1998: 577).

Culture is thus seen as knotted to the structures of power defined by the dominant group that exercises control over certain cultural meanings (Tsosie 2002; 311). Similar is the case of Thailand. The appropriation of Indian cultural forms by the former kings of Thailand has been used to continue the dominance and control over the general population.

Jackson in his study notes that although Thailand (Siam) was politically independent, it was subject to legal, economic and cultural pressures internationally. This placed the country into a colony-like relation with the imperial West. He observes that

Hybridity¹ is ‘a defining feature of the Thai cultural history and contemporary Thai culture for both elite and popular. He notes that appropriating from geopolitically powerful and prestigious was a central strategy to legitimize local political rule. This helps them to be in a position to fight victoriously against the borrowed civilizations. (Jackson, 2008, p. 154)

Siam was situated at the crossroads of economic, political and cultural influences coming from older regional powers. The rulers thus adopted the strategy of selective cultural assimilation and refashioning them in the image of powers that preceded them historically. This allowed the rulers to claim their rule over the ethnically diverse population. Cultural links and tributary relations were drawn with India and China (dominant powers of pre modern Asia) thus creating a hybridized Hindu-Buddhist image. The two countries see themselves as the originating centers of universal cultures. Jackson observes Thai imagination of foreignness being linked with the greatness and adoption of signs of that greatness being enhancing the local power (Jackson, 2008, p 155-156).

There was however a re-orientation away from India and China and towards the West. This was due to the European encroachments into China and British colonization of India. The two former greatness’s thus could no longer be imagined as geopolitical power and cultural authority and were thus abandoned. The Siam rulers had to find a new vision to justify rule locally that meant a shift towards the West. (Jackson, 2008, p, 159) This began under the reign of King Rama IV (1851-68) and intensified under the rule of King Rama V (1868-1910). Jackson explains that the name *Siwilai* was given to the foreign idiom of ‘civilization’ that was a strategy to rule in the image of

¹ Hybridity is a post colonial concept developed in 1990s used by theorist to describe cultural identities that emerge from the cultural contacts of major and minor cultures. In this study the focus is on the Thai Buddhist (major culture) and their contact with Hinduism (minor culture) and the creation of the culture which is neither one and nor the other. ³¹⁵

the West during the era of absolute monarchy. Siamese institutions and practices were refashioned along with Western lines and were thus part of being *siwilai*. Jackson's study makes it clear that the Thai authorities have adopted the identity of the dominant powers of their times throughout their history. The rulers appropriating and negotiating with the outside powers placing themselves in privileged position thus shape the history.

Even though there was a move towards the West elements of Hinduism still remained in Siam even today. The Bureau of the Royal household still performs the royal rites like the coronation of the king, oath of allegiance, swing ceremony (Tri-yampawai) and the Royal Ploughing ceremony. These rites are performed by Brahmins of the Thai court based on the doctrines of Hinduism. The Phra Rajapitee Sibsong Duean² or the Memoir of Rituals in a year also suggests that most royal rites derived from Hindu beliefs. This paper aims to explore the historical appropriation of Hindu beliefs system by the kings in Thailand and also attempts to show that this appropriation is more of a cultural legacy at present being carried forward by the general population. The first section of the paper gives an account of the presence of Hinduism in the region and the changes that have been brought about in the religious aspects by the kings in different eras. The later part of the paper focuses on two royal ceremonies, Tri-yumpawai and Tri-pawai, which are less known and are conducted on a much smaller scale compared to other royal ceremonies.

Historical evidences suggesting the influence of Hinduism in Southeast Asia, includes historical records of Southeast Asia and the ancient sculptures. With the ancient statues of deities and other religious symbols, it is generally assumed that Hinduism was brought to the Southeast Asia's mainland (Suvarnabhumi) through maritime commerce crossing from the Gulf of Bengal to Malaya Peninsula. In the First and Second Centuries, while Brahmins and Buddhist monks from South Asia arrived in Southeast Asia, they brought their culture to the region as well, including languages and religions. Hinduism had been particularly influential and become the ground for cultural structure in Southeast Asia.

The Khmer ruler for political reasons with the succession of King Jayavarman to the throne in the 9th century adopted the concept of Devraja after declaring independence from the Kingdom of Java and the unification of Khmer Empire. The Devraja (god-king) concept made the king divine, as he is associated with Siva. Siva Lingam was created and Brahmins were considered to be the guardians of Siva-lingam and the king. This allowed Hinduism to become part of the monarchy and political institution. Additionally the coronation ceremony was also conducted under the concept of Devraja and many kings were named after Siva. Temples dedicated to Hindu gods were also found and were supported by the king. In the Khmer empire, kings gave importance to Hinduism even when they may not believe in the same sects resulting in the emergence of several Hindu sects. However they were much in favor of Saivism that views Siva as the greatest and the source of Devraja concept. The Hindu concepts in Siam were spotted especially in the Kingdom of Sukhothai (13th century) even when Hinduism was on a decline and Buddhism was widespread by this time. The Sukhothai kingdom was independent from the Khmer Empire and the concept of

² “The Royal Ceremonies of the Twelve Months of the Year”, an essay written by King Rama V regarding the royal rites related to Brahmanical and Hindu beliefs.

Devraja was less influential. However the belief system still existed as being inherited from the earlier powers. Even with the adoption of Buddhism by the kings, several Hindu rituals were still performed including the coronation of the king and the oath of allegiance. Brahmins conducted the court rituals and were acting as teachers of the kings as well. Several archeological inscriptions like in in Sri Chum temple are an evidence of the presence of Hindu temples in the Sukhothai kingdom where Brahmins were appointed as caretakers. The Royal Ploughing ceremony, marking the beginning of the rice-growing season, also began during Sukhothai era. The ceremony still continues to be observed today with a cultivating ceremony and a ploughing ceremony where Brahmins chant sacred hymns as part of the ceremony (Misra 2010: 13).

After the defeat of the Khmer Empire by Ayudhya invaders in the 14th Century, the Ayudhya kingdom was formed. The citizens migrated from Khmer capital city to the Ayudhya kingdom including the Brahmins of the Khmer court. Khmer Hinduism thus was highly influential and the concept of Devraja was introduced to the Ayudhya court empowering the king. The Ayudhya court adopted the political system and the Hindu philosophy. Royal rites continued to be performed to internalize the concept of Devraja among general population. Ramayana was seen as the cornerstone of the religious literature and importance was given to the Vaishnavism sect. The kings were thus seen as the avatar of Vishnu and the kings were named after characters in Ramayana such as Rama. This was different from the Devraja concept under the Khmer Empire where the king was seen as part of Siva instead.

In the early period of Rattanakosin era (1782 onwards), King Rama I instructed Brahmins that had fled to other cities after the fall of Ayudhya Kingdom, to return to the court and work to restore court traditions, customs, and rituals. Initially, these Brahmins primarily travelled from Sukhothai, Ayudhya, Petchaburi, Nakhorn Sri Thammarat, and other southern cities. After the establishment of Bangkok, the Brahmin Temple was found, which consists of the Hall of Siva, the Hall of Ganesh, and the Hall of Vishnu. Moreover, the Giant Swing was constructed in 1784 as a site for royal Triyumpawai -Tripawai ceremony upon the request of Prah Kru³ Sitthichai to King Rama I (Laomanacharoen 2006: 47). Prah Kru Sitthichai (Kra Tai) was a Sukhothai Brahmin specializing in Brahmanism. Tri-Yampawai is a Brahmin New Year and is observed to welcome the visit of Siva on earth in accordance with the Saivism beliefs. In Saivism sect, Brahmins are considered civil servants of the king. The ceremonies are part of the twelve annual royal ceremonies, a literary work of King Rama V. Although the performance of the swing ceremony was discontinued in 1934, the Giant Swing is still the site for the performance of the Brahmin rites.

³ In Siam, Thai Brahmins were often appointed as Prah Kru. It is believed that the title itself was coined to glorify them. Prah Kru Sitthichai here was a member of Naliwan Brahmin group, one of the three Brahmin groups in Siam. Naliwan Brahmins often performed rituals regarding elephant such as ritual of elephant hunting, ceremony for elephants to bring health and fortune. These are rituals and ceremonies requiring Brahmins with specific knowledge of superstition. Given that elephants represent the sacred symbol of king's power and were used in wars, these Brahmins are thus important for the performances of any rituals related to elephants. ³¹⁷



พระบาทสมเด็จพระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ทรงเสด็จทอดพระเนตรการชิง Giant Swing (ภาพจากหอจดหมายเหตุแห่งชาติ)

Naliwans swinging the Giant Swing in the reign of King Rama V (Old Photo)

. Naliwans (Brahmins) swung the Giant Swing in the reign of King Rama V (Old Photo from National Archive). Source: Laomanacharoen, Siripoj. "Giant Swing". Brahmin Temple – Giant Swing. Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing, 2006: pp.66.

Although King Rama I supported Hinduism, he placed restrictions over non-Buddhist worships, animal sacrifices, worship of Siva-lingam, and black magic in the kingdom. Also, Siamese people were not permitted to become Hindu. These prohibitions were enacted under the law (Kam-Aek 2007: 28-29).

Later during the reign of King Rama IV, besides local Brahmins, Indian Brahmins had migrated to Siam. Significantly, royal rites were re-adjusted by the king ordering the incorporation of Buddhist rituals into the Hindu rituals. For example, Brahmins conducting the ceremonies of Triyampawai and Tripawai in the Brahmin Temple must also perform the worship of Lord Buddha and Emerald Buddha in Wat Phra Kaew.

The Memoir of Rituals in a year compiled by Rama V (1868-1910) lists the two festivals as being held in the second month of lunar calendar to welcome Siva visit on earth that lasts for ten days. King Rama V also describes the Tri-yumpawai being originally held in the first month but to avoid the high water levels of water (causing inconvenience in traveling) in the first month, the event was observed in the second month instead. He mentions that the worship of Siva (Tri-yumpawai) should be carried out on the day of the waxing moon, as Siva is perceived as a good god. Vishnu, on the other hand seen as a god of punishment, should be worshipped (Tri-pawai) on the day of the waning moon and the worship should be less joyful and just a routine worship when compared to Siva's.

The origin and observance of Tri-yumpawai

Tri-yumpawai is assumed to have derived from Tiruvempavai festival in Southern India dedicated to Siva, held in the second month of lunar calendar. The ceremony will be held on the seventh day of the waxing moon in the morning and the ninth day

of the waxing moon at night. Moreover the Swing ceremony is held in Thanjavur Temple and the Temple of Madurai on different days. The Triuvempavai ceremony continues to be performed in the southern parts of India but has become a worship of the Nataraja form of Siva instead.

The Tri-yumpawai and Tri-pawai ceremonies continue to be conducted at the Brahmin temple near the Giant Swing. The old Giant Swing was replaced with a new one in 1920 during the reign of Rama VI and was renovated yet again in 1947 and 1970. In 2006, a new Giant Swing made of teak was raised and His Majesty the King presided over the ceremony along with Her Majesty the Queen and HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn. In the past, the giant swing was an important part of the Tri-yumpawai celebration that was grandly organized with three groups of four Naliwan Brahmins rode on the giant swing. However today the two ceremonies are performed on a much smaller scale. This happened after the military coup in 1932 when there was a change from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy. The influence of Hinduism in kingship declined and many Hindu temples under royal patronage were badly affected. The court's budget for royal rites was cut due to the economic depression. As a result the swing ceremony was called off permanently except for the indoor rituals that continue today.

In an observation of these royal rites in February 2013, the ceremony is attended by a number of enthusiastic worshippers dressed in white, wanting to be part of this Royal Brahmanical ceremony. The court Brahmins visit the King and the royal family members to present the offerings for the ceremony. The belief is that these two royal ceremonies are performed to bring blessings and wealth to the royal house. Unlike other royal ceremonies like the Coronation day and the Royal Ploughing ceremony, none of the royal family member is physically present at the Tri-yumpawai and Tri-pawai ceremonies, but is presented with the offerings to be made to Hindu gods during the ceremony. The people attending are the self-defined Buddhists who do not have the knowledge of the ceremonies conducted but are attending, as they want to be part of a highly sacred royal rite. Mr. Aey, a bank officer, has been joining the ceremonies annually for the past 8 years but is not aware of the meanings associated with the rites. For him joining these rites is a way to show respect to the royal family and to the Hindu gods. Moreover the Brahmin temple, where the ceremony is conducted, is open to public only once a year during the Tri-yumpawai and Tri-pawai ceremonies. Joining these ceremonies thus is the only opportunity for Aey to enter the inner halls of the temple and be closer to the deities present in the inner halls, otherwise not possible throughout the year.

Children in traditional hairstyles also attend the tonsure ritual marking the end of the Tri-yumpawai (Brahmin New Year). The children's heads are shaven indicating the rites of passage from child to adulthood. The ritual each year is presided over by the Raja Guru Bidhi Sri Visudhigun and the Buddhist monks. Buddhist monks are invited on the last day of the ceremony where alms giving ceremony is conducted and the monks will also give the Buddhist sermons. The ceremony is highly syncretic in nature with Brahmins giving alms to the Buddhist monks as part of a Brahmin ceremony.



Babies having their first haircut at the Brahmin temple as part of the ceremony.



Monks giving sermons at the Brahmanical ceremony

Cultural appropriation take different forms in the society such as religion and spirituality turned into a business, symbols appropriated and used in arts and paintings, or the knowledge of traditional healing practices used for marketing, etc. The two ceremonies revisited in this paper were appropriated by the rulers to legitimize their rule over the general population. As time went by, the move was more towards the West. Therefore these ceremonies became less important and thus less elaborate than in the past. Even though these ceremonies of Tri-yumpawai and Tri-pawai are of less importance to the rulers, people at the surface level still continue with the legacy by actively participating in the rites.

Religious appropriation is increasingly evident today since spirituality is not a private possession anymore. Michael York sees globalization, capitalism, and the increasing

immigration as the ways of bringing awareness of possible religious options to individuals. The information age allowed easy access to information thus providing knowledge of the existence of different spiritual practices (York 2001: 361). As individuals become increasingly aware of these spiritual options they also tend to make healthy use of them for personal benefits thereby encouraging the commodification of the same. Globalization leads to heterogenization as well as homogenization as the foreign people, goods and customs are brought in closer contact with local cultures. The local cultures contrast with the foreign and all individuals involved must find this position in this process. Individuals and communities cannot avoid encounters with other cultures (Warburg 2009, 286).

Conclusion

Cultural appropriation is a defining feature of the Thai history. The appropriation was done by the rulers at different periods of time for political and social reasons. The religious aspects of dominant powers were adopted and refashioned in ways that can legitimize the power of the rulers over the subject. One dominant power of its time was South Asia that had a long presence in the Southeast Asian region and therefore influences of the Indian culture are much evident in this region. With the colonization of India and the emergence of the West as a dominant force, the move was towards the West in an attempt to be *siwilai*. In doing so, several aspects of earlier religious appropriation were dropped for political and social reasons in the name of nationalism. This paper has attempted to explore the two royal ceremonies that were of great relevance to the kings but has slowly lost its popularity overtime. The ceremonies are now conducted by the Brahmins of the royal court in the presence of a comparatively smaller audience than in the past. The participants are regular visitors participating annually to witness the ceremonies that they consider as sacred. The actual scene of the ceremony is highly syncretic with self defining Buddhist joining a Brahmanical ritual wearing white cloths that are generally worn in Chinese rituals. These participants can be defined as rather hybrids as they practice Buddhism and Hinduism and mix the elements of the two together creating a hybrid form of religious belief system. Although the ceremonies are of the Brahmin tradition appropriated and refashioned by the rulers over the past, the traditions have been maintained and observed by the local Thais. Therefore it can be concluded that the two ceremonies were part of the cultural appropriation that is observed by the people at the surface level.

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Language, Identity and Sense of Belonging: The Case of Chinese in South Africa

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Language, identity and sense of belonging: the case of Chinese in South Africa

Immigrants generally lose their language and distinctive ethnic identity through three stages and roughly within three generations. However, these two parallel processes do not necessarily occur at the same speed. In this paper, we examine the case of the Chinese in South Africa, in particular the group known today as South African-born Chinese (SABCs) who are now 3rd or 4th generation of the earliest immigrants, and explore the extent to which various factors have impacted on language and identity retention and/or loss within this group. Our findings point to great heterogeneity. While some of them have lost both the Chinese language and identity, suggesting a strong link between language and identity; others have retained a strong sense of Chineseness, but lost their Chinese language capabilities; yet others maintain some Chinese language skills without a sense of being Chinese. We therefore conclude that the situational view of the language-identity link is more appropriate to explain this heterogeneity of the SABC case.

The language and identity nexus—two schools of thoughts

Literature on the language and identity nexus is divided: one perspective denotes an inextricable link; the other takes a more situational view, arguing that, depending on the context, the link might become non-essential.

According to Joshua A Fishman, considered the father of the sociology of language, the relationship between language and cultural identity is critical, interdependent and inseparable (Guardado 2008). As Edwards (1985) notes, the linguistic criterion is often considered as *the* critical marker distinguishing one nation from another, giving the discussion of language maintenance an additional political dimension (May 2000). In this context, language is said to be linked with national consciousness, national loyalty, uniqueness, unity, autonomy, purity, and groupness. Besides nation-building, this inextricable link argument is also often used in the discussions of minority languages and language loss, all domains easily evoking great emotional poignancy (Edwards 1985; May 2000).

This school of thought generally believes that language is a conditional marker of identity, closely linked with tradition and collective mythology (May 2000; Tannenbaum, 2009). Every time one speaks a language, one is also organizing and reorganizing the sense of who one is and how one relates to the social world, Norton maintains (1997, 2000). Language is the “most salient way we have of establishing and advertising our social identities” (Lippi-Green 1997, 5). In fact, the link between language and identity is believed to be so strong that language use alone is believed to be sufficient to identify someone’s membership in a given group (Gee 1996; Tabouret-keller 1997, cited in Kamwangamalu 2007).

The situational view, on the other hand, highlights the importance of examining particular historical and social contexts to understand identity and language use (Sears et al 2003; Noels et al 2010). In John Edwards’s seminal work supporting this

situational view (1985), he uses the example of the Irish where “strong sentimental attachments to Irish were not accompanied by language use, nor by desire to actively promote it, nor yet by optimism concerning its future, among the population at large” (51) and reaches the conclusion that “language per se has typically not been of the greatest concern to people possessing these identities...[and] it is not necessary to retain an original variety in order to maintain the continuity of a sense of groupness” (159). Edwards (1985) further argues that security and freedom (or other such pragmatic needs) often preoccupies the minority groups much more than the concerns over culture or language, especially in the face of increasing urbanisation, modernisation, in-migration, and the pressure of socioeconomic advancement. In this sense, the insistence to maintain one's heritage language could even be seen as a barrier to social access, advancement and mobility by the minority groups, especially for most immigrants for whom material well-being and personal security "are often the very thing which lead to immigration itself" (Edwards 1985, 96). According to him, the same pragmatism also explains the often longer continuity of other cultural markers, such as cultural activities, festivals, dress, ornamentation, dance, songs because these markers "do not hinder mobility or adversely mark group members" (Edwards 1985, 97, 101), and thus can be retained as “marks of distinction... which contribute to continuity without hindering social progress” (160). In conclusion, Edwards asserts that “the choices involved in adapting to new requirements are often made in terms of the least possible disruption to existing lifestyle; elements which can remain in position without incurring penalties, do so” (97).

The linguistic/identity experience of immigrants

The term “tug-of-war” has been used to describe an immigrant's experience as early as 1938 (Haugen 1938). This "war" generally refers to the tension between an old and new self, between the preservation of one's heritage culture on the one hand, and the adaptation to one's host society on the other (Block 2006).

Many scholars see linguistic adjustments essential to the processes of adaptation and "fitting in" (eg. Marshall 2009, Tannenbaum, 2005). For example, Tannenbaum reports on a positive relationship between host language proficiency and the immigrant's well-being in terms of economic, academic, professional or personal aspects (2005, 229). Other scholars maintain that language plays a central role in the process of culture and identity preservation. Mother tongue symbolizes origins, childhood landscapes, early memories, common ancestry, shared values and beliefs. Thus, “retaining a native language is a crucial index of the preservation of cultural roots after immigration” (Sears et al 2003, 427). A shared heritage language also contributes to more relaxed, intimate and familiar relationships (Tannenbaum 2005; Zhang 2012), and helps to maintain ethnic participation (Phinney et al 2001a). Losing it could be accompanied “by a deep sense of loss of self-identity and of internal objects” (Mirksy 1991, 620).

Generational analysis of immigrants has recorded the shifting pattern of identification over generations, with “each generation...moves a step farther from the immigration experience in regard to language use, residential segregation, education and the like” (Sears et al 2003, 434). A complete shift is generally believed to occur in three stages and within the 3rd and 4th generation after immigration (Phinney et al 2001a). Similar to this general shift in identification and sense of belonging, linguistic analysis of generations among immigrants or minority groups who encountered more powerful majority groups also allude to the classic three-stage pattern:

the 1st stage sees increasing pressure on minority language speakers to speak the majority language, particularly in formal language domains [often by introduction of education in the majority language]... the 2nd stage sees a period of bilingualism, in which both languages continue to be spoken concurrently. However, this stage is usually characterised by a decreasing number of minority language speakers, especially among the younger generation, along with a decrease in the fluency of speakers as the minority language is spoken less, and employed in fewer and fewer language domains. The 3rd and final stage—which may occur over the course of 2 or 3 generations, and sometimes less—sees the replacement of the minority language with the majority language. The minority language may be ‘remembered’ by a residual group of language speakers, but it is no longer spoken as a wider language of communication. (May 2000, 366-367).

This three-stage pattern also generally completes within three generations, barring any special effort (Edwards 2004, see also Ebaugh & Chafetz 2000; Fishman 1991).

This parallel shift of both identification and language may support the inextricable link thesis. However, it is also possible that both undergo similar shifts but one shift more rapidly than the other, implying a period of time where the two are not inextricably linked. Furthermore, both emotional attachments and practical concerns influence these shifts in language and identity, with practical concerns expected to impact more heavily on language (and the rapidity thereof). A stronger emotional attachment to ethnic identity is expected to result in a more gradual and thereof slower shift. In the next section, we examine the factors that may push or pull language fluency and sense of ethnic identity in similar or different directions, with different strengths, resulting in a weakened or strengthened link between the two.

Factors influencing language fluency, sense of identity, and the language-identity link

Literature has identified numerous factors influencing immigrant experiences in terms of their ethnic language proficiency and retention, and/or their sense of ethnic identity and attachment. These can be broadly categorized into include aspects of the external environment (societal and communal), family dynamics and individual demographics.

The general attitude of the host society towards the immigrant community, ‘context of reception’, is “an important factor for understanding the group’s integration into,

acceptance of, and success in a host society” (Doucet 2003 78). In instances of real or perceived hostility, “immigrants may downplay or reject their own ethnic identity” (Phinney et al 2001b, 494), or they may “assert their pride in their cultural group and emphasize solidarity as a way of dealing with negative attitudes” (Phinney et al 2001b, 494, also see Daha 2011; Doucet 2003; Smolicz et al 2001).

The nature of the immigrant community in the host society is also critical in determining the language/identity experience, particularly through the kind of institutional and social support available for individual immigrants and families. In places where the immigrant community is small and dispersed, cultural participation and exposure is limited, learning and maintenance of home language may decline, and sense of ethnic identity may weaken. A large, concentrated and well-established immigrant community, on the other hand, can provide opportunities to immigrants to join cultural organisations, to access social support and networks, and to have stronger bargaining power in negotiating with the host society (Kim and Chao 2009; Lai 2012; Paat and Pellebon 2012; Phinney et al 2001b; Zhang 2012).

The importance of the size and availability of in-group/out-group peer interaction needs to be highlighted as well. A small circle of in-group friends, resulting from a small heritage community, could hinder heritage language ability (Phinney et al 2001a; Portes and Hao 1998). An additional factor related to schooling and influenced by the size of the immigrant community is the availability of schools that teach the heritage language (Edwards 1985; Smolicz et al 2001; Spolsky 1989). Besides providing additional education in heritage language, many of these schools also provide social networks and transmission of culture through the observation of events and celebrations (Francis et al 2009).

Family dynamics and parents' efforts to transfer values and cultural awareness to their children are also notable factors (Gaurdado 2008; Paat and Pellebon 2012; Smolicz et al 2001; Tannenbaum & Howie 2002). The need for family communication is often found to be a crucial factor motivating parents to retain the heritage language or not. The roles of parents are especially significant where there is little contact with the culture of origin, as in small and dispersed communities (Suarez-Orozco 2004, 6).

Demographic variables informing how the individual immigrant experiences include length of residency in the host country, age at the time of immigration, and gender (Goodenow and Espin 1993; Paat and Pellebon 2012; Portes and Hao 1998).

Chinese in South Africa – historical background and ‘context of reception’

There are three distinct Chinese communities in South Africa: 1) Chinese mainly from Guangzhou province who first came to SA in the late 1870s and are now 3rd or 4th generation; 2) Taiwanese investors who arrived in the late 1970s and 1980s under the apartheid government’s industrial development policy; and 3) the newer immigrants arriving from the mid- to late-1990s, mainly from the People’s Republic of China (PRC), who consist of middle managers, professionals, as well as small traders

(Accone 2006; Huynh, Park and Chen 2010). In this paper, we focus primarily on the experience of the first group, most of whom are South African-born Chinese (thus calling themselves SABCs).

Historical studies of the SABCs suggest that the first Chinese arriving in South Africa comprised two separate groups – the Cantonese and the Moiyeen – who settled in the Transvaal province and coastal towns in South Africa respectively due to their language and ethnic differences and the tensions that arose thereby (Park 2006). Most of these early immigrants were attracted by the discovery of gold in South Africa. Once arrived, however, they were banned from obtaining mining contracts due to anti-Chinese sentiment and racial discrimination. Most of them therefore became shopkeepers and general dealers, running businesses ranging from shops, eateries, laundries and butcheries, to tailoring businesses, tea-houses and fahfee games (Accone 2006; Park 2006). Many of these Chinese originally planned to return to China once they became successful. However, most remained in South Africa for various reasons, including the numerous wars that occurred in China during the time; the establishment of Communist rule thereafter; the increasingly restricted immigration policies in South Africa; and the possibility that failure to achieve success they hoped meant returning home and admitting to a loss of honour (Accone 2006; Park 2008).

Once it was clear that they would no longer be sojourners but settlers, securing a place in South Africa became their priority. This, however, proved to be a constant struggle. Like other non-white groups, the Chinese in apartheid South Africa were subjected to numerous restrictive and discriminatory policies, including overarching race-based legislation as well as exclusively anti-Chinese policies. Almost all aspects of life were regulated: entry (immigration), citizenship, travel, allowed profession, trade, alcohol possession, area of residency, land/property purchasing right, inter-racial marriage, etc. (Park 2008; Yap and Man 1996). Periodically, they were also subjected to overt hostile outbursts from the ruling whites over “fears that Chinese would overrun the colonial whites” (Park 2008, 11). In the face of such cornered hostility, their position and attitude throughout apartheid was one of “practicality and caution” (Park 2008, 52). They avoided attracting attention and confrontation whenever possible and mainly employed quiet diplomacy to secure gradual improvement of their treatment. This was done primarily through continual concession-seeking petitions and negotiations, often based on their distinct Chineseness (Park 2006, 219). As historian Karen Harris explains,

they always saw themselves as distinct and separate from all other groups in South Africa, including the Chinese indentured mine labourers. Furthermore, there was a sense of elitism and exclusivity in all their protests for better treatment...this sense of superiority was rooted in their very Chineseness – their membership in an ancient and superior civilization (cited in Park 2006, p217).

Language and identity shifts among the Chinese in South Africa

The Chinese experience in South Africa exemplifies the kind of ‘tug-of-war’ pressures noted earlier. Several of the factors alluded to in the earlier section impacted on this group’s language and identity shifts.

With regard to identity, the continuous attachment of the SABCs to their Chineseness was primarily emotional and largely induced by the hostility of the “context of reception”. During the long years of severe discrimination, they “continue[d] to look to mainland China as ‘home’” (Park 2008, 54), although “many [spoke] no Chinese languages...[and] most [had] never travelled to China” (Park 2009, 5). For many, they continued to “cling to an increasingly distanced and mythologised China” for a sense of comfort (Park 2008, 54), similar to Pan's description of how “a consciousness of shared origin...compensated for the feeling of being lost in a new country” (1994, 12). According to Park, this emotional attachment became an enduring point of belonging:

For several generations, their Chineseness—the sense of belonging to the great, imagined nation of China—was a peg upon which to hang their identity. China, both political and cultural, the real and the imagined, provided the Chinese South African with an identity ‘refuge’ and fulfilled their need to belong (Park 2008, 76).

Today, relatively few of the SABCs can boast fluency in any Chinese language (Park 2008, 109). This loss of language is sometimes a source of shame and embarrassment (Park 2008). However, during apartheid, Language maintenance by the SABCs was marked by grave practical challenges, deriving mainly from the following intertwined features:

- The availability of a Chinese education and language school. When immigration restriction was not tight, many sent their children to China to be educated and to learn the Chinese language and culture (Park 2008, 108). However, “in the early 1950s, particularly after the Immigrants Regulation Amendment Act was passed in 1953, travel to and from China became increasingly difficult” (Park 2008, 80). Sending children to China was thus no longer viable, and the importation of Chinese teachers also became increasingly impossible.
- The existence of different Chinese languages. The two original dialects of the SABCs (Cantonese and Moiyeane) are mutually unintelligible, and communication was further complicated with the introduction of Mandarin as the national Chinese language in 1923 (Yap & Man 1996). Chinese schools in South Africa were thus facing the question of which Chinese to teach; they are also limited by what language the available Chinese teacher was able to teach (Yap & Man 1996, 281).
- The need for social mobility and advancement. As Park (2008) explains,

As discriminatory apartheid legislation threatened the community's future, a solid education came to be seen as a priority. This would equip people to seek greater mobility in the professions, thereby bypassing the uncertainties of the Group Areas Act (and its impact on trading) and other apartheid laws...over the years, the value of having a Chinese education waned...education was seen more as a means to upward economic mobility; this engendered a need to be proficient in English...the increasing tendency for parents to send their children to white private schools, and the decline in the general Chinese school-aged population [the Chinese population sorely depended on the natural growth within the community], resulted in a continuing drop in student populations at most of the Chinese schools (Park 2008, 80-82).

This made many schools unsustainable.

- Community size and concentration. More concentrated communities, like the Chinese in Johannesburg, had a crucial mass large enough to sustain community activities such as associations, clubs, schools, and festivals (Park 2008, 112). But for smaller or more dispersed communities, as is the case in the smaller towns across South Africa, a strong community organisation or integration was simply not viable (Park 2008, 82).
- The passing of generations and the decreased need to use Chinese as a communicative language. Many SABCs spoke Chinese "while their parents or grandparents were alive, but with the passing of older generations they lost both the impetus and opportunity to practise the language" (Park 2008, 109).

In our own study of the Chinese community in Pretoria, the administrative capital of South Africa (Houston, Wentzel, Yu and Vivier 2013), we look specifically at this relatively small (albeit tightly bound) SABC community where everyone had been involved with one another through various overlapping Chinese community platforms. Our findings point to evidence supporting the thesis made by other SABC scholars that loss of language among this group often precedes the loss of identity. However, we also find much greater heterogeneity, with some describing a simultaneous loss of language and identity, while others continue to observe particular Chinese cultural practices and seem to retain a sense of Chineseness and Chinese values, despite a common loss of language skills. The following selected snapshots of our participants are given to show the complicated language/identity profiles and various trajectories.

Bill

Bill was born in 1944 and is a third generation SABC. He can still speak Cantonese but cannot read it. He keeps up with what goes on in China, but through English television. He has on occasions gone China to visit extended family there. He participates in some overlapping Chinese associations in Pretoria, but considers himself to be a South African. He is proficient in Sesotho, one of the indigenous languages in South Africa. Bill contributes his lack of strict loyalty to the Chinese

community to an earlier, unpleasant experience where one of his close Chinese friends was ousted from the community because it disapproved of his political engagements. He admits however that he is trying to instil "Chinese ethics" in his family, namely to have a strong work ethic and to be productive.

Samuel

Samuel was born in 1949 and is a second generation SABC. He still has contacts in China, and he and his family have visited China. He believes there is a still "that link" with the family, but indicates that it is not a "day to day link". Although he used to be able to speak Cantonese while his grandmother was still alive and living with the family, since her passing he has lost this language ability. According to Samuel, the SABCs "tend to distance themselves from the mainland Chinese culture" due to different value systems, and in fact retain much greater similarity with the Afrikaner (the dominant South African white) culture. He also explains how particular discriminating and humiliating experiences during apartheid kept the Chinese community closer together (e.g. having to apply for a permit to go to high school; having to get permission from potential neighbours before being able to purchase a house). Since democracy in South Africa in 1994 though, the Chinese community, he believes, has become more integrated in the local society and "find the Chinese culture less important".

James

James was born in 1959 and is a second generation SABC. He mainly attended private white schools and recounts several experiences of racism and discrimination which made it feel "degrading" to be Chinese. He was not active in the Chinese community when he was young, but did spend weekends and social time with Chinese friends at the Chinese School. Currently he is much more involved in Chinese activities such as organising festivals and doing fundraising. Because he was teased at school for not speaking English "properly", he wanted to learn English "as if I came from England". According to him, the quicker one can assimilate into the host country, the better off one will be. James speaks no Chinese. Today he feels that South Africa is home because he was born here. But, as he explains, "I'll always be Chinese no matter what I speak, but the point is that I want to be able to speak English so that I don't have another barrier between the person who speaks English, or Afrikaans or Sesotho [local languages that he is fluent in]".

Andrew

Andrew is a 41 year old third generation SABC. He learned Chinese as a child when he lived with his grandmother and it was the only way to communicate with her. His family in South Africa has very little communication with their extended family back in China, primarily, he explains, because "they only speak and write in Chinese and we only speak and write in English". He still speaks some Chinese, and occasionally goes on business trips to China as an informal translator. His Chinese "is not that

good to be able to negotiate business, but it's good enough to order stuff and get around". In fact, Andrew describes his Chinese as "kitchen Chinese", a basic, undeveloped form which, he says, one is often ashamed to speak among other Chinese. His written Chinese is also "very bad". Andrew's Afrikaans is better than his Chinese, and he considers himself to be fully South African, describing his social activities as South African in nature.

Sarah

Sarah is 22 years old and is a fourth generation SABC. Her parents speak English and Cantonese between themselves and used to speak Cantonese to her when she was younger, but this did not succeed in motivating her to learn Chinese. She only attended private, English schools and acknowledges the influence of her friends and school on her identity: "At home my parents have tried to keep me as Chinese as possible, but because I spend most of my time at school, I bring that with me at home". According to Sarah, the Chinese community in Pretoria is so small, particularly for her generation, that there are few chances for them to get together and interact. But, she acknowledges that her lack of Chinese speaking ability also hinders her involvement in Chinese social groups. Although she still understands a bit of conversational Cantonese, she does not speak it at all. She speaks fluent Afrikaans and English. Among her friends, she explains, some speak to their parents in Chinese, some speak to their parents in English even when their parents speak Chinese, and some only speak English. However, she is still "proud to be a Chinese South African" and describes how her parents have instilled in her Chinese culture: "There are smaller things that we do at home like the ceremony to honour our ancestors. My father does that regularly with his family. I want to do that when I grow older." She also plans to teach her children what she has of the Chinese culture (e.g. the honouring ceremony, giving tea with two hands). But since her fiancée is not Chinese, she isn't sure if or how she will instil the Chinese culture into her children. She however hope they will be still proud of being half Chinese.

The heterogeneity of the SABCs: a case for the situational view

The above examination indicates a general experience of both language and identity loss. However, as our study of the Chinese in Pretoria shows, even among only five individuals vast differences in language abilities and identities are apparent, showing variations in the generational shifts and the speed of language/identity loss, as well as in the types of factors (emotional and practical) influencing these shifts.

The snapshot profiles presented include individuals who are second, third and fourth generation SABCs. Contrary to literature that indicates a general three generations pattern in the language and identity shift, we find a complete shift with regard to language in one fourth generation individual (Sarah) and both second generation individuals (Samuel and James). Both third generation individuals, however, retained some of their Chinese language abilities, with the one speaking fluent Cantonese and

the other "Kitchen Chinese" (Bill and Andrew, respectively). In terms of identity shifts, the three older participants (one third generation and two second generation) expressed strong shifts towards a South African identity, mainly identifying themselves as South African. However, a lingering sense of attachment to being Chinese, or to having Chinese values, is also noted in two of these individuals. Among the two younger participants, one (third generation) reported a complete identity shift, while another (fourth generation) said that she is still practicing some Chinese traditions and is proud to be a Chinese South African.

Combining these variations, we see only one instance where there was a complete shift in both identity and language (Samuel), two instances indicating a complete shift in language but not in identity (James and Sarah), and two other instances where there was a complete shift in identity but not in language (Bill and Andrew). These examples confirm that language and identity shifts may occur separately, the one more gradually or rapidly than the other, and therefore not inextricably linked.

The heterogeneity illustrated above suggests that the situational view is more nuanced and has greater explanatory power for the language/identity nexus. For one, this perspective is able to explain cases where there is a weak language/identity link, as in the case of Sarah and James, as well as the Irish case in earlier discussion. It allows that "the loss of a particular language is not the 'end of the world' for a particular ethnic identity" (May 2000, 372). This perspective is also able to explain cases where there is a relatively strong language/identity link, and instances of simultaneous diminishing of both language and identity.

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*Mindfulness and the Creation of a New Identity: Recovery from Addiction in the
Context of Buddhist Modernism*

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Introduction

Mindfulness has been re-conceived in the modern era as a healing or coping technique for a variety of physical and mental ailments, as a tool for the scientific investigation of the mind, as a source of bountiful and varied artistic creativity, and as a means of re-enchanting the world (McMahan 2008). This paper focuses on the first mentioned conception and addresses the role of mindfulness in recovery from drug addiction,¹ particularly in relation to the work of identity creation. Buddhist modernism (McMahan 2008) is used to contextualize the recovery work of a small number of former drug addicts.

Reading the reports of studies on mindfulness and addiction/recovery and some of the related literature one is struck by the fact that mindfulness seems often to be treated simply as a technology that can be applied to a diverse group of people with the expectation that it will achieve the same result, namely avoidance of relapse to problematic drug use. Thus meditation is treated not much differently from a drug that should be taken according to a schedule established by a medical professional to achieve a specified desired outcome. Moreover, a sort of reductionism is at play. Most studies give no information about the participants' lives or their experiences with mindfulness and there seems to be no consideration of those aspects of their lives that might facilitate or prevent the successful application of mindfulness. Participants in the studies referred to are taught to meditate, given instruction to continue practicing mindfulness and then are tested six months later at most on the effectiveness of mindfulness in preventing relapse. But no professional working in the field would consider six months free from drug use as definitive proof of recovery. Given their quantitative focus, many of the studies are unsurprisingly silent on the matter of identity, which seems to be an important element in long-term recovery (McIntosh and McKeganey 2000; Weegman and Pinwowitz-Hjort 2009; Koski-Jännes 2002).

Carlson and Larkin (2009: 388) identified some serious limitations with some of the quantitative studies of the effectiveness of mindfulness meditation in preventing relapse. The authors point out that:

Substance use, depression, and anxiety were measured but not urges or craving, coping strategies, self-efficacy, or the intention to stay clean and sober, all of which might be affected by the regular practice of MM. Furthermore the “dose” of intervention may have been too weak in many of these studies to promote the desired changes and establish daily meditation as “habit”. The average length of the intervention was eight weeks; the longest meditation group lasted only three months, and in one case a single instructional session was used (Marlatt et al., 1984). In addition, in some cases (e.g. Bowen et al., 2006; Kabat-Zinn et al., 1992), no attempts were made to ensure that participants continued to meditate or even measure whether they continued to meditate at follow-up points. There is also the question of why there was such a low frequency of participants continuing to meditate after the interventions ended.

¹ The word addiction as used with respect to the informants quoted in this paper does not imply that the informants have been diagnosed according to the DSM-IV classification system. Informants referred to themselves as having been addicted to drugs or alcohol. Drug dependence or problematic drug use are other terms that could have been used.

The authors go on to recommend using qualitative approaches to research in this field (see also Larkin and Griffiths 2002, Shapiro *et al.* 2003 and Mace 2007 for a similar recommendation). Although a number of qualitative studies have been carried out in the years since 2009, they are still a minority in the burgeoning literature on mindfulness meditation in recovery.

Partly in response to this appeal for qualitative studies and because of a long-term interest in spirituality and health I undertook a qualitative study of the lived experience of mindfulness in recovery from alcohol and drug addiction. There were enormous difficulties finding study participants in Thailand but eventually three individuals (Martin James and Victor – the first two in their early thirties and the latter in his fifties) agreed to be interviewed for the study. Each of them had been practicing mindfulness meditation for about ten years. Their practice of mindfulness meditation appears to have been erratic at times (this is particularly true in the early days of recovery) and two of them described periods when they found it difficult to meditate and discontinued their practice from time to time and then later resumed it. The study was designed using an Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis approach so the small sample size was not a problem as the focus is largely ideographic (see Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009). The interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, were recorded, and professionally transcribed. Because the research was focused on the lived experience of mindfulness in recovery no specific questions were asked about issues of self –identity. The narratives they told, however, displayed an awareness of how addiction had affected their sense of self and how being sober was, at least partially, about creating a new sense of self. It is these narrative responses that form the basis of what is written here about the relationship between mindfulness, recovery and identity in the context of Buddhist modernism.

Buddhist modernism

Buddhist modernism is a useful frame of reference for any discussion of recovery work involving mindfulness meditation, especially of those whose recovery is self-directed and, although mindfulness based, is a blend of practices and techniques. Moreover, it reflects the fact that the culture of Buddhism that is presented in many books, recovery workshops and meditation retreats is largely a detraditionalized Buddhism.

Buddhist modernism refers to the various detraditionalized hybrid forms of Buddhism that are common in the late modern era, particularly in North America and Europe, but also in the Buddhist heartland of Asia. It is a new hybrid form of Buddhism:

with roots in the European Enlightenment as much as the Buddha's enlightenment, in Romanticism and transcendentalism as much as the Pali canon, and in the clash of Asian cultures and colonial powers as much as in mindfulness and meditation....It is...an actual new form of Buddhism that is a result of a process of modernization, westernization, reinterpretation, image-making, revitalization, and reform that has been taking place not only in the West but also in Asian countries for over a century. (McMahan 2008:5)

Buddhist modernists de-emphasize ritual and the hierarchy of authority, emphasize individual experience gained through meditation, and promote Buddhism as scientific rather than faith-based. Many also happily mix aspects of Buddhism—its valorization of mindfulness and compassion, for example—with aspects of other religious traditions and modern psychological therapies and may consider themselves only loosely affiliated with Buddhism (Thanissaro 2002 and McMahan 2008).

But this is not to suggest that the new form of Buddhism is monolithic: it is as diverse as traditional Buddhism. Nor is it to suggest that more traditional forms of Buddhism no longer exist. However, it is to suggest that for most Westerners the encounter with Buddhism is largely an encounter with Buddhist modernism. Even a renowned Buddhist leader such as the Dalai Lama has embraced aspects of this modernism and appears to live a sort of double life as a result: one thoroughly steeped in traditional Tibetan beliefs, rituals and cosmology and the other (probably largely unknown to the majority of the Tibetan population) deeply aligned with democracy, human rights, social activism, humanistic ethics and very supportive of the scientific investigation of Buddhism, mostly meditation, and the application of meditation in secular contexts, particularly healing. In numerous interviews and in his writings the Dalai Lama has even gone so far as to privilege scientific rationalism over Buddhist doctrines stating that Buddhist doctrines should be abandoned if they are contradicted by modern science.

It is not the intention to give an exhaustive account of the origins and development of Buddhist modernism here (McMahan 2008 has probably provided the most comprehensive account available so far and Thanissaro 2002, Verhoeven 1998 and Sharf 1995 have made extremely useful contributions) and addressing Buddhist modernism comprehensively would not serve our purpose of throwing some light on one aspect of Buddhist modernism, namely mindfulness and its relationship with recovery from addiction.

Buddhist mindfulness meditation

The detraditionalization of Buddhism can be most clearly seen in the literature on meditation where there is abundant evidence of the practice of detaching meditation from traditional doctrines and recasting it as an empirical science of the mind or as a psychological technique for self development or for overcoming or coping with physical and psychological ailments.

Within the Buddhist tradition there is a vast number of types of meditation, but most of the applications of meditation in the health field concern mindfulness² meditation. This generally takes two forms: meditation on the breath (*ānāpānasati*) and insight or *vipassanā* meditation. The cultivation of *ānāpānasati* involves the meditator being aware/mindful of the inbreaths and outbreaths, both short and long, as they enter and leave the nostrils. There is no attempt to control the breath. However distracted by external events or thoughts, the meditator always comes back to focus on the breath. Some teachers suggest that after practicing mindfulness of breathing one should go on to develop *vipassanā*, which involves being aware of whatever appears in the present moment whether somatic sensations, thoughts, feelings, sights or sounds. The

² See Mace (2009) for a useful discussion of the different conceptions of mindfulness.

transition from one type of meditation to the other could be short or long depending on the teacher and seems to be a matter of personal preference rather than doctrinal. Meditation on loving-kindness (*mettā*) is sometimes carried out to complement the other two types of meditation. It is practiced according to Fronsdal, “both to stabilize the mind and to infuse mindfulness practice with a spirit of friendliness.” (1998: 173-174) The goal of mindfulness meditation is, as far as possible, a continuous state of meditative awareness cultivated through formal mindfulness meditation on the breath or, more expansively, through an awareness of the contents of the now. This state of meditative awareness is associated with a reduction of destructive behaviours as the skilled mindfulness practitioner gradually becomes aware of thoughts and emotions arising in the mind and instead of reacting to them simply observes them non-judgmentally and waits for them to subside. For example in the field of drug addiction mindfulness is seen as a highly skilful way of dealing with drug craving and preventing relapse.

Each of my informants practised all three types of meditation in their recovery work but did not consider themselves Buddhists, even James who had been ordained as a monk in Thailand for eight years. James also practiced what he termed “mindful yoga”, the body scan technique and various other relaxation techniques as well as the mindful practice of running and swimming. Victor also had regular sessions with a Core Process therapist.³ Martin also practiced Tibetan and Zen meditation and yoga.

Martin explained his practice of meditation as follows:

I incorporate different practices from some of the various teachers I've worked with and kind of formulated what works best for me and I change it depending on what's going on in my life, how busy I am or what kind of emotions I'm dealing with waking up...if I feel myself getting more depressed or if I feel myself really scattered I might incorporate a different type of mindfulness activity...as opposed to if I had a lot of energy and was feeling really good I might work more deeply with a different kind of practice.

It must be acknowledged that there is a certain tension between those who see mindfulness meditation as a psychological technique that can be detached from its original religious context and applied as a therapeutic technique and those who believe that meditation should not be detached in this way. Many applying mindfulness in the health professions assume that their patients don't want a new religion, they want to be helped to cope with an illness and therefore the decontextualization of mindfulness is necessary and valid. Those who disagree with this decontextualization generally appear to see Buddhism somewhat idealistically and are uncomfortable with the fact that an engagement with Buddhism for most Westerners is likely to mean engagement with vastly detraditionalized and hybrid forms of Buddhism (see especially Wallace 2006 and Thannisaro 2002).

Buddhist modernists often view mindfulness as allowing a more positive outlook on life by providing a simple way to make the mundane enriching and inspiring, perhaps even fostering a sense that one is participating in a “miracle”. For example Vietnamese

³ This is a Buddhist oriented, mindfulness-based form of psychotherapy.

meditation master Thich Nhat Hanh (1991) offers inspirational texts to encourage mindful breathing and awareness while carrying out simple household chores:

To my mind the idea that doing dishes is unpleasant can only occur when you aren't doing them. Once standing in front of the sink with your sleeves rolled up and your hands in the warm water; it is really quite pleasant. I enjoy taking my time with each dish, being fully aware of the dish, the water; and each movement of my hands. I know that if I hurry in order to eat dessert sooner, the time of washing the dishes would be unpleasant and not worth living. That would be a pity, for each minute, each second of life is a miracle. The dishes themselves and the fact that I am here washing them are miracles! (p. 26)

McMahan notes that the affirmation of ordinary life in the West is “one of modernity’s pervasive cultural attitudes” (2008: 220) derived, among other things, from European Romanticism and this has influenced the turn in Western Buddhism in particular away from worldly liberation towards joyful engagement with the world.

James stated:

The formal meditation practice is not that important....No, the most important part of the practice is just practicing it over and over again, in my work, when you have conversations, when you eat, when you play, everything, my relationship, practicing, actually really being there in a compassionate way. It makes life so beautiful.

According to Fronsdal (1998) *vipassanā* or insight meditation is the fastest growing detraditionalized meditation practice in the United States in terms of popularity and constitutes a loosely structured movement of sorts. Fronsdal describes the *vipassanā* movement as being organized “according to Western values, world views and institutional preferences” (p. 169). So, for example, *vipassanā* teachers and students tend to blend aspects of non-Buddhist religions or spiritual paths and various psychologies into their practice if they feel it will help to cultivate freedom and happiness. (p. 176). (See also Wallace 2002). *Vipassanā* has close connections with psychotherapy in the West and Fronsdal characterizes “individuals participat[ing] in the *vipassanā* movement [as being] more like therapy clients than members of a church...Thus [with] no required commitment to an organization, a teacher, or Buddhist teachings, even the most active *vipassanā* students may retain their preexisting lifestyles, religious affiliations, and political, philosophical, and cultural points of view without conflict” (p. 170). The blending of psychotherapy and *vipassanā* is, according to Fronsdal, not necessarily a reflection of the psychological needs of the American students as suggested by writers such as Kornfield (1993, cited in Fronsdal 1998). Instead, “Both may be expressions of a strand of Western individualism that focuses on personal experience, inner change, and freedom” (p. 170). This is reinforced perhaps by the fact that as a result of language and cultural barriers, most Western students “want to hear the *Dharma* from the lips of their cultural cohorts” (Cozort 2003: 222). Cozort highlights the logic of this by relating the story of the Dalai Lama being asked, while teaching at Harvard, to advise students how to deal with self-hatred. The concept was apparently unknown to him and it was only after a lengthy consultation with a number of his advisors that he was able to address the issue.

A non-addict identity

Although an addict can, with or without formal treatment, quit drugs, long-term recovery appears to be related to the creation of a non-addict identity (McIntosh and McKeganey 2000; Koski-Jännes 2002). Identity here refers to “people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others” (Hogg and Abrams 1988, cited in Koski-Jännes 2002:184). This new identity might involve the recovery of an old identity or the creation of a new one, or a combination of the two (McIntosh and McKeganey 2000: 1503; Koski-Jännes 2002:185). According to Anthony Giddens the question of self-identity is prominent in modern society and no-one can avoid it. If Giddens is correct one should conclude that the person in recovery also cannot avoid it so a focus only on coping or making lifestyle changes is incomplete. Comments made by my informants also suggest that identity was of concern to them. Martin stated:

You know, I was on Wall Street where it was just...people were doing cocaine in the bathroom in the morning, just to get started with their day and it was just...everyone else my age and everyone I had known for the last decade of my life were all substance abusers and I really didn't know how to be a person without substances.

James talked about his realization, at the Thai temple he went to for detoxification, of wanting to become the kind of person he remembers being before his involvement in drugs:

I caught myself often, I was still lying, manipulating..., I thought I can't live like this...so I ordained for eight years to learn about meditation, mindfulness and many others. Just to become a decent person again, I suppose, and find my passion for life again, my love for life because that I had lost of course. I'd become very cynical, a horrible being, greedy, I was deceiving others.

According to Giddens (1991: 52):

Since the self is a somewhat amorphous phenomenon, self-identity cannot refer merely to its persistence over time in the way philosophers might speak of the 'identity' of objects or things.... Self-identity... is not something that is just given, as a result of the continuities of the individual's action system, but something that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual.

Thus for Giddens self-identity is neither essential nor stable but is a self-construction made up of stories we tell ourselves about ourselves, sustained but also revised over time. For Giddens (1991: 54), “A person’s identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going.” But behaviour is not unimportant. After all, Giddens admits that a sustainable narrative cannot be based on a lie – one cannot develop the narrative of a happy or fulfilling post-addiction life and identity if one’s behaviour contradicts this.

McIntosh and McKeganey (2000: 1505–1507) identify three key areas for the construction or reconstruction of a non-addict identity: (i) re-interpreting negatively the addict lifestyle; (ii) reconstructing the sense of self on a tripartite foundation of

valuing the pre-addiction sense of self, rejecting the self one had become as a result of addiction and the aspired to, non-addicted self; and (iii) providing believable explanations to others for one's recovery. But they do not address the issue of how a particular narrative is kept going, despite the fact that their informants had stopped using the drug to which they were addicted for periods ranging from 7 months to 12 years.

It is my contention that the engagement with mindfulness meditation or Buddhist modernism more generally in recovery serves to develop the capacity to keep a particular narrative going and also becomes part of the narrative inasmuch as it affects the individual's behaviour. This can be seen in the case of Victor who had been off work suffering from depression as a result of changes at work after a company take over and had been seeing a conventional therapist but didn't think the appointments were helpful. He was in danger of losing his job if he couldn't return to work by a certain time and he said that if that happened he would most likely lose his house too. He then switched to a Core Process therapist and he found this very helpful:

...we did a lot of work around mettā and forgiveness and general lovingkindness and that's what got me through the door.

He also spoke about the role of mindfulness in facilitating his return to work:

I often said to [my wife] ...I don't know how I can walk through the office with these people that I feel to be deliberately and maliciously threatening my livelihood and security. I have to walk through their office to get to...where I work. I said I don't know how I can do that. And we accomplished that I would walk mindfully every step, I'd mindfully walk through to my office, and I still do that today.

Martin had been doing mindfulness meditation on his own and then discovered the recovery groups based on Buddhism that were organized by former addict Noah Levine in New York:⁴

...it was such a relief to find other people who were using meditation to get through recovery and also to organize the other aspects of their lives because you know it quickly became this thing about...well this isn't just about my recovery. It was more about all the other aspects of my life that were causing me to use substances or pushing me in that direction. I was so disorganized in many aspects of my life and so many of my behaviours were going off in these other aspects of my life that I needed to deal with more, rather than just escape...I needed a new way to sit with life, to handle life and to get by,...all the previous things I had tried weren't working out for me, especially my substance use.

James talked about the role mindfulness played in helping him deal with a period of insomnia after leaving the Thai temple where he had been ordained. The insomnia had

⁴ Noah Levine is a former addict, an addiction counselor and founder member of the Buddhist Recovery Network. His books include *Dharma Punx* (2004), *Against the Stream: A Buddhist Manual for Spiritual Revolutionaries* (2007) and *The Heart of the Revolution: The Buddha's Radical Teachings on Forgiveness, Compassion and Kindness* (2011).

become so bad that he was given sleeping pills on prescription and as a result felt the old cravings for drugs:

...after using tranquilizers for one night, the following day I would have strong cravings for tranquilizers again, for anything...mindfulness is what made me realize...this is how I feel, this is how my body feels, this is how my mind feels, these are my thoughts. That slowed me down enough to enable me to make a good choice, a conscious choice, a mindful choice and really being able to weigh the positive and negative results of the different choices I had. When you're not mindful you don't even know you have this choice...it's just there [the craving] and you follow it.

Thus being mindful in daily life was seen by all three informants as allowing them to make wise choices in their lives and thus surely facilitates the construction of a valued non-addict identity over a long period of time. But the other meditation practises and therapeutic activities also played an important part as can be seen from the various extracts from the interviews presented here. The blending of all of these, what I have referred to as Buddhist modernism, was perhaps indispensable.

Conclusions and implications

Mindfulness meditation has attracted considerable interest among those working in the field of recovery from drug addiction as well as among those directing their own recovery. Most research conducted so far has emphasised outcome rather than the lived experience of mindfulness in recovery. Thus there is little information about the actual meditation practices of those in recovery and the relationship of these with other meditation or therapeutic practices. Moreover, there is almost nothing in the literature about the relationship between the construction of a non-addict identity and mindfulness.

An attempt has been made here to address these themes with a small sample of men in recovery from alcohol and drug addiction. The men studied are relatively long-term practitioners of mindfulness meditation and they found value in blending mindfulness with other practices including those associated with other spiritual traditions or with Western therapeutic techniques. They appeared to value not mindfulness meditation *per se* but the practice of mindfulness in daily life and this could be facilitated by mindfulness meditation as well as by other techniques. Mindfulness appears to contribute positively to the men being able to exercise more choice in their lives and to live life more positively, and thus sustain a valued non-addict identity. It was useful to look at their practices in the context of Buddhist modernism as it reflects their actual engagement with detraditionalized Buddhism and Buddhist mindfulness meditation. It also prevents an overemphasis on individual agency inasmuch as what practices are selected and how they are incorporated into recovery work are a reflection of the culture of detraditionalized Buddhism that is presented in meditation retreats, in books and in recovery workshops. A major implication of the findings presented here for those working in the field of recovery is that mindfulness meditation alone may not be sufficient to sustain recovery. After all, people in recovery do not only have to deal with drug craving but also with serious problems concerning their marriages, relationships, as well as employment and unemployment issues and they may need other ways of being helped or of helping themselves. This is particularly true because

it is likely that those using mindfulness meditation in recovery work will not become expert meditators in a short space of time and indeed may never become experts as their engagement with mindfulness meditation is likely to be pragmatic rather than religious or philosophical and their enthusiasm is likely to wax and wane. Moreover, formal meditation courses are unlikely to suit everyone. Some people might prefer a more informal, messy approach to learning mindfulness meditation and may want to blend mindfulness meditation with other practices. This has to be respected and ways found to facilitate this.

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*Stream, or Continuity: Comparing the idea of time-consciousness in Natsume Sōseki
and William James*

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Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916) is widely known as one of the major modern novelists in Japan. A nationally canonized writer his fiction has been scrutinized in great detail. Less studied is his theoretical work. An exception is his speeches. “My Individualism” (Watakushi no kojinsugi, 1914) according to Jay Rubin has been the most discussed, and it is also included as an addendum in his translation of Sōseki’s most canonized novel *Kokoro* (‘Heart’) from 1914. So, Sōseki’s critical work is generally recognized to be fundamental to understanding the complex situation of modernity with the intensive westernization and modernization of Japan during the Meiji period (1868-1912). Though they are all rather different in style, his critical, theoretical, and fictional work, as I see them, all treat problems with are not essentially different, though their style and approaches differ. A recent translation of parts of Sōseki’s major theoretical work *Theory of Literature* (2009, *Bungakuron*, 1907), which he wrote while he was studying English in London, has instigated a renewed interest in investigating the relations between his theory and fiction (see Bourdaghs et al., ed.) In this connection, Japanese critic Karatani Kojin has stressed the need of rethinking his theory (Karatani 2008), and has previously pointed to Sōseki’s rejection of the universality of English literature as indicative of a more general rejection of universality: “[h]is real concern was to point out that universality was not a priori, but historical” (see Karatani, 1993, 12). This historicizing and critical impetus is already identifiable as Karatani shows in Sōseki’s preface to *Theory of Literature*. In this paper, I want to use Sōseki’s theory to bring his work into dialogue with some of the psychological and philosophical ideas that also inspired western twentieth century modernism.¹ In particular, I suggest analyzing how the idea of a *stream* or *continuity of consciousness* (意識の連続, *ishiki no renzoku*) is presented, interpreted, and developed in Sōseki’s literary theory as a critical term for understanding cultural and historical difference. Moreover, I investigate how this concepts links to American psychologist and philosopher William James’ idea of stream of thought, or consciousness, as well as to his idea of a specious present.

Inspired by the new schools of physiological psychology,² Sōseki conceptualizes consciousness as continuous waves of ebbs and flows. His point of departure for theorizing time-consciousness is similar to James psychological idea of the moment as a wave.³ The fundamental element in Sōseki’s model of conscious experience resembles James’ *specious present*. This idea relates to a widespread discussion of time-consciousness within philosophy of mind at the time. When James first defines the stream of consciousness it involves a specific conceptualization of the continuity of the moment, which he refers to it as the specious present. The specious present doctrine that James formulates is that any conscious experience per se has duration. James on his part got the expression from Scottish common sense psychologist Thomas Reid (1710-1796), who used the term *specious present* about his particular

¹ In Japan there are a number of publications on his theory and English literature: Ando Fumihito, and Tsukamoto Toshiaki, among others have written on the influence from English literature. [Ogura Shuzo](#) has written a book-length study on the influence from William James. In Japan Forum’s special issue on Sōseki from 2008, Thomas Lamarre discusses James’ radical empiricism in relation to Sōseki’s theory.

² New experimental psychology had flourished since the late 19th century around the laboratories of Wilhelm Wundt in Germany where William James had also gone to study.

³ To graphically illustrate the continuity of the moment he uses a semicircle, where the apex represents the focal point as the clearest portion of consciousness fading towards its peripheries. This wave-model he found in Lloyd Morgan’s *Introduction to Comparative Psychology* from 1896, which also builds on the time philosophy of James. See also Murphy 2004.

idea of time-consciousness.⁴ Criticizing Locke for confusing memory and consciousness, yet trying to avoid Hume's skepticism, Reid had argued that time-consciousness differs from memory. James' idea of time-consciousness differs from memory: "there is a conception of duration where there is no succession of ideas in the mind." (Intellectual Powers. essay III. chap. V.)" (James 1950, vol. 1: 627) As James argues the stream of consciousness is not just a succession of ideas, but of the experience in time has a certain extension or duration. According to James even the smallest unit of any conscious experience is continuous. Any single perceptual experience in the stream of consciousness in other words spans a certain interval of time. James' idea of this kind of *inner time-consciousness* was no isolated phenomena, but widely circulated at the time. The idea of continuity influenced the new experimental psychology, and appears in a number of different contexts. It seems pertinent to stress how widespread the idea of this continuity of the moment as such was at the time. Particular influential was Bergson's idea of *durée* (duration), time as a duration-block, which is not a psychological concept like James, but a critique of the homogeneous account of time that Bergson found in mathematics and philosophy at the time.

Sōseki's speech "The Philosophical Foundations of the Literary Arts" ("Bungei no tetsugakuteki kiso", 1907),⁵ where he repeatedly uses the concept continuity of consciousness, furthermore, shows close resemblance to James's work. In a world literary perspective, Sōseki's use of the expression *flow* or *stream of consciousness* is particularly interesting since this term also influenced discussions of western modernism. James first used the metaphor *stream of consciousness* to describe characteristics of consciousness in his *Principles of Psychology* from 1890. Yet, comparative analyses of their respective ways of using the idea are surprisingly scarce. I argue, that the concept *stream of consciousness* helps bring Sōseki's novels into a cross-cultural comparison (that does not assign primacy to western definitions). Stream-of-consciousness (in literature) is often considered a western invention, which then manifests belatedly, or derivatively in other regions of the world. But Sōseki, in fact, used the term in relation to literature before the western modernists. In the west, its first use about modernist literature by Mary Sinclair (who, like Sōseki, was well-read in new psychology), in her review of a novel by Dorothy Richardson in 1918.

Consciousness as Continuous

In Japanese, Sōseki uses both *stream* (流れ, *nagare*) and *continuity* (連続, *renzoku*) to convey the idea of the flow of consciousness (Natsume 2009: 56, 133 / SZ 31, 433). When he first uses the term *stream of consciousness* it is to describe a characteristic of consciousness. Namely, that the focal points, which he designates F, structure its flow: "indeed, in the *flow* [alt. *stream*] of consciousness for even an hour resides something that lays claim to the same designation F? (一時間の意識の流れにも同じく F と称し得べきものあるにはあらざるか。(SZ: 31) The English version

⁴ See e.g. Holly Andersen and Rick Grush: "A Brief History of Time-Consciousness: Historical Precursors to James and Husserl!", *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 47(2): 277-307. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. Shaun Gallagher: *The Inordinance of Time*, 1998.

⁵ Sōseki delivered this speech in 1907 at an art college in Tokyo: "I find it quite interesting that you here at the Art College have formed this literary society" (Natsume 2009: 161). Later the same year a slightly revised version was published in the newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*.

here translates 流れ (*nagare*) as *flow* but it could also be translated as *stream*. To understand in more detail what Sōseki has in mind when using the term *stream of consciousness* in this way, I investigate how the *continuity* and *focal points* ideas relate to the physiological psychology he was reading at the time. Therefore, initially, I present the psychological wave-model Sōseki uses, and then, compares how Sōseki and James elaborate on this basic philosophical idea of the wave of consciousness. Finally, I explain how Sōseki expands the idea of the focal point of the stream of consciousness to cover, not only individual, but also collective focal points.

The comparative and physiological psychologists were fond of using art and literature to exemplify their theories. James frequently describes consciousness using examples from the arts: "The grass out of the window now looks to me of the same green in the sun, as in the shade, and yet a painter would have to paint one part of it dark brown, another part bright yellow, to give it its real sensational effect." (James 1950 vol. 1, p. 231) In that sense it also no wonder that their theories reversely became sources of inspiration for the arts. Another example James uses is listening to music:

"Every brain-state is partly determined by the nature of [the] entire past succession. Alter the latter in any part, and the brain state must be somewhat different [...] just as, in the senses, an impression feels very differently according to what has preceded it; as one color succeeding another is modified by the contrast, silence sounds delicious after noise, and a note, when the scale is sung up, sounds unlike itself when the scale is sung down; as the presence of certain lines in a figure changes the apparent form of the other lines, and as in music the whole aesthetic effect comes from the manner in which one set of sound alters our feeling of another; so, in thought, we must admit that those portions of the brain that have just been maximally excited retain a kind of soreness which is a condition of our present consciousness, a co-determinant of how and what we now shall feel." (James 1950 vol. 1: 234-235)

References to aesthetic experiences complement experimentation. In his theory of literature, Sōseki, similarly, exemplifies the idea of continuity with both temporal and spatial metaphors. Accordingly, the near-past and near-future are contained within the experience of every single moment. Referring his reader to Edward Wheeler Scripture's *New Psychology* from 1897 for detailed scientific explanations, he illustrates the fluctuations of consciousness, how one focal point gradually changes into another: "This is not just something we can feel in our daily experience; it has been precisely verified by scientific experiment" (Natsume 2009: 55). Sōseki, like the physiological psychologists, recommends his reader to verify the argument by thinking of everyday experiences commonly used as introspective methods in experimental psychology at the time. He also uses a spatial metaphor to illustrate the idea, asking his readers to imagine someone watching St. Paul's cathedral:

"Let's say there's a person, and [he's] standing before St. Paul's Cathedral. Suppose that as they gaze upon that splendid architecture, their eyes move gradually from the pillars at the bottom section, to the balustrade at the upper portion, and finally reach the highest point at the tip of the cupola. While they are first gazing on the pillars, that portion of the structure is the only part perceived clearly and distinctly, and the rest only enters the field of vision indistinctly. However, in the instant the eyes move from the pillars to the balustrade, the perception of the pillars begin to accentuate, and simultaneously the perception of the balustrade gains in clarity and distinctness. The same phenomenon is observed in the movement from the balustrade to the cupola. When one recites a familiar poem, or listen to a familiar piece of music, it is the same. That is to say, when one separates off for observation a moment of consciousness from the continuity of a particular conscious state, one can see that

the preceding psychological state begins to attenuate, and the portion to follow by contrast is gradually raised in distinctness through anticipation. (Natsume 2009: 55)".

As Sōseki's private *notes* reveal this description paraphrases contemporary descriptions of art as well as Scripture's *New Psychology*. Comparative physiological psychology is the outset of his wave-model of consciousness, and it leads us straight back to James. Furthermore, Sōseki like James uses the metaphor stream of consciousness to describe the flux, or flow of consciousness. This fact alone, as I see it, calls for a closer comparison of how the two conceptualize this idea. Therefore I turn to see how James conceptualizes the idea of a continuous *stream of thought* in *The Principles of Psychology*.

Juxtaposing Lecture Rooms

So what did James say about consciousness: In the chapter "Stream of Thought" in the first book of *Principles of Psychology*, James defines continuum as that which is without breaches, and the stream of consciousness as that which belongs to a personal consciousness: "Within each personal consciousness, thought is sensibly continuous".⁶ No thought appears independently; there is no thought without a body, and no thought that is not different from other thoughts. James refers to this as irreducible pluralism: every conscious thought is always part of a stream of thoughts. "Thought is in Constant Change", writes James: "I do not mean necessarily that no one state of mind has any duration – even if true that would be hard to establish. The change which I have more particularly in view is that which takes place in sensible intervals of time; and the result on which I wish to stress is this, that *no state once gone can recur and be identical with what was before.*" (James 1950 vol. 1: 229-30)

Many of Sōseki's formulations are suggestive of James' idea, or at least not far off it, indicating that he conceives of consciousness in a similar way. Both James and Sōseki stress that no thought exists independently. There is no thought without a body, and consciousness as a personal stream of thought is *sensibly* continuous. James insists that both the spiritualist and the associationist must both be 'cerebralists'.⁷ In short, James wants to equally stress the cognitive foundations and the lived experience, pointing to the physical and habitual elements of consciousness, before his chapter nine: "The Stream of Thought":

⁶ James does see a possibility of gaps in the stream but if such exist they still do not change the basic principle of a continuity of consciousness: "I have already said that the breaches from one mind to another is perhaps the greatest breach in nature. The only breaches that can well be conceived to occur within the limit of a single mind would either be *interruptions, time-gaps* during which the consciousness went out altogether to come into existence again at a later moment; or they would be breaks in *quality*, or content, or the thought so abrupt that the segment that followed had no connection whatever with the one that went before." (James 1950 vol. 1: 237).

⁷ "to the extent at least of admitting that certain peculiarities in the way of working of their own favorite principles are explicable only by the fact that the brain laws are a co-determinant of the result. Our first conclusion, then, is that a certain amount of brain-psychology must be presupposed or included in Psychology." (James 1950 vol. 1: 4-5) James is trying to unite these two positions, physiology and the concretely lived experience: "The dance of the ideas is a copy, somewhat mutilated and altered, of the order of phenomena. But the slightest reflection shows that phenomena have absolutely no power to influence our ideas until they have first impressed our senses and our brain. The bare existence of a past fact is no ground for our remembering it. Unless we have seen it, or somehow *undergone* it, we shall never know of its having been." (James 1950 vol. 1: 3-4)

“We now begin our study of the mind from within. Most books start with sensations, as the simplest mental facts, and proceed synthetically, constructing each higher stage from those below it. But this is abandoning the empirical method of investigation. No one ever had a simple sensation by itself. Consciousness, from our natal day, is of a teeming multiplicity of objects and relations, and what we call *simple sensations are results of discriminative attention*, pushed often to a very high degree. (James 1950 vol. 1, pp. 224-225)

When James writes that “the baby, assailed by eyes, ears, nose, skin, and entrails at once, feels it all as one great blooming, buzzing confusion.” (James, vol. 1. 488), it might seem a rather naturalized idea today. But it says as much about new ideas about the relation between experience and the physical mind. For James, as a physiological psychologist, the point was to examine how the two relate, how consciousness is embodied according to certain principles. In accordance with the philosophy and psychology of James, Sōseki first and foremost sees the emotive and the cognitive as part of continuous embodied stream of consciousness. Sōseki wants to understand literature in relation to both psychological and sociological reflections on consciousness, and in relation to the particular idea of time-consciousness that he found it in James. In his chapter “Thought tends to Personal Form” from *Principles of Psychology*, James writes

”In this room - this lecture-room, say - there are a multitude of thoughts, yours and mine, some of which cohere mutually, and some not. They are as little each-of-itself and reciprocally independent as they are all-belonging-together. They are neither: no one of them is separate, but each belongs with certain others and with none beside. My thought belongs with my other thoughts, and your thought with your other thoughts. Whether anywhere in the room there be a mere thought, which is nobody's thought, we have no means of ascertaining, for we have no experience of its like. The only states of consciousness that we naturally deal with are found in personal consciousness, minds, selves, concrete particular I's and you's. (James 1950 vol. 1, pp. 226-227)

Making a virtue of necessity describing the particular time and space of the *classroom lecture*, his speech is full of deixis:

”So, to begin with, I am standing here. And all of you are sitting there. I am standing down here, while you are sitting up there. That I stand here like this, and that you sit there, is a matter of fact. To put this matter of fact into other words, I am the self, while in relation to me you are something other than the self. ... Moreover, with me standing here like this, and you sitting there like that, there exists between us a certain distance. It may be a distance of one or two *ken*, or perhaps even twenty *ken* — how big, by the way, is this lecture hall? At any rate, it extends over a certain number of *tsubo*, and within that span I am standing and you are sitting. This extension is called space (you knew that without my telling you). In sum, there is a dimension called space, and all objects occupy a certain position within it. (Natsume 2009: 162)

Obviously influenced by James, Sōseki defines literature in terms of consciousness, and consciousness in terms of time and space, positioning the event in time and space, asking how big the auditorium is, ensuring the students not to worry since the speech at some point will end, like James, using anecdotes and examples.⁸ In a similar

⁸ Murphy has described the setting of the stage, the lecture room as a “quasi-laboratory”, how Sōseki “would continually propose various ways of accounting for, quantifying and analyzing the experience of literature to his students, and then ask them to consult the fact of their own experience to see if it does, or does not agree with the model”. (Murphy 2004: 50)

fashion, Sōseki builds this speech on the idea of *continuity of consciousness* defined in *Theory of Literature*, now presenting it in a more light-hearted manner:

"Second, today's speech began at one o'clock. I don't know when it will end, but I am fairly certain that at some point it will end. More than likely, it will end before the sun goes down. I will make my haphazard remarks, and then after I finish, Mr. Ueda will take my place and give what will no doubt be a very interesting talk. After that we will adjourn. My talk and Mr. Ueda's speech are both events that will pass by, and without the dimension known as time, this passing by could never take place. This too is something that is already clear and requires no special explanation." (Natsume 2009:162)

James continues the above discussion in his chapter "Consciousness of Self". James, like Sōseki's, describes the dual aspects, feeling and thought. The nucleus of 'me' is always the bodily existence felt to be present at the time. "(James 1950 vol. 1: 400) In daily speech Locke's "Idea" does not connote emotions, and thus might be misleading. Thought and feelings change. James makes the following five points:

"How does it go on? We notice immediately five important characters in the process, of which it shall be the duty of the present chapter to treat in a general way:

- 1) Every thought tends to be part of a personal consciousness.
- 2) Within each personal consciousness thought is always changing.
- 3) Within each personal consciousness thought is sensibly continuous.
- 4) It always appears to deal with objects independent of itself.
- 5) It is interested in some parts of these objects to the exclusion of others, and welcomes or rejects - *chooses* from among them, in a word - all the while. (James 1950 vol. 1, p. 225)"

Already in his theory Sōseki expands the idea of *continuity* to describe aspects of consciousness that cannot be described in psychological terms alone, and in "The Philosophical Foundations of Literature" he connects it to a vital principle for maintaining life, consciousness tends towards continuity.

Though he maintains the idea of self, James is trying to avoid a fixed self. Insisting on the irreducible pluralism of life, he does not deny the benefit of cognitive faculties for selective attention, mental faculties and selective attention structures this stream.

A major point in James' physiological psychology is that consciousness is made up of all our capacities for sensing, feeling, categorizing, thinking and acting. People are not predetermined entities (ready-made souls). If there is a self, in his philosophy, it seems to be a rather minimal core-self, or, the self is made of various experiences, so that we might even rather speak of a narrated self. According to both James and Sōseki, consciousness exists in time and space, yet they insist that consciousness also includes metaphysical experiences, as well as dreams, memories, hallucinations (James' *Principles of Psychology* features a number of remarkable consciousness phenomena). In "The Philosophical Foundation of the Literary Art" Sōseki emphasizes the *continuity* aspect of consciousness. Like James, he insists that there is no mind-body dualism. Thus, he understands the stream of consciousness as intricately related to the emotions and the body. Whereas *Theory of Literature* describes feelings as *the* pivot of literature, this speech defines literature as orientated *both* towards feelings *and* towards continuity. According to Sōseki, literature differs

from other ideals in life because of its orientation towards feelings and continuity itself, the continuity that is life.⁹

Collective focal points

Thus Soseki's aim is much broader than describing individual consciousness as isolated psychological phenomena. He describes them as embedded in larger focal points that structure change and transformation in literary history. According to Sōseki, these literary focal points are bound up with the affectivity of our conscious lives. Literary focal points are accompanied by feelings, this has to do with individual habit and taste, but also *culturally* people invest feelings in some particular focal points: "even a difficult theory can gradually seep into ordinary people's brains (whether or not it comes to govern our lives)." (Natsume, 2009: 82). We need for example some botanical knowledge to relate to a poetic expression like the one Emerson uses in *Representative Men* from 1850: "Man is that noble endogenous plant which grows, like the palm, from within outward" (ibid.) Sōseki also uses the example of how *evolution theory* as idea spreads to the general populace (Natsume 2009: 83). His definition of *collective focal points* distinguishes his theory from psychological descriptions of consciousness, adding another sociological or cultural layer to it. Feelings are in other words, not only natural, but also cultural. Although our physiology provides predispositions, cultures, social forms of interaction, which are historical, shape feelings in their own fashion. Expanding the idea of focal points in this way, Sōseki takes the focal point, to represent the most clear point of consciousness not only in a single instant of consciousness, but also within longer spans of time within a given society (Natsume 2009: 57). Even historical periods have their focal points: "capturing and expressing with the single letter F the most prominent focal points of the combined thought and ideas shared by individuals across a given age." (Natsume 2009: 123) These collective focal points are continuously changing. "Because the material of consciousness changes with the passage of time, we can only speak of it within the context of a specific historical moment (Natsume 2009: 123) To Sōseki the focal point helps explain why in literature there might at one point be a focus on truth, while at another point in history some other idea stands out more clearly. These focal points he also compares to the German *zeitgeist*, or what he sees as its Japanese equivalent, *ikio* (勢い, force, or energy) of the age ("which not even a genius or sage can defy" according to Sōseki). Joseph A. Murphy describes how Sōseki's in his speech "The Civilization of Modern-Day Japan" ("Gendai nihon no kaika") from 1911 was aiming at dissecting "the various elements structuring civilization, and discourse on its nature" (Murphy 2004: 34). By dissecting the affectivity of focal points in literature, Sōseki might already have been arguing along these lines in *Theory of Literature*.

In conclusion, Sōseki's theory relies on this particular philosophical idea of time as a duration-block, the moment-by-moment experience. Sōseki, however, expands the idea of the focal point much further. He believes such focal points also exist for longer time-periods. In any period of time in the *stream of consciousness*, he argues, a focal point exists. When Sōseki uses it in his theory, he does not refer directly to James, but there is no doubt that the fundamental *idea* behind Sōseki's model is in accordance with James. As my comparison of how it is conceptualized has illustrated

⁹ His particular focus on the affective aspects of literature is reflected on various levels and in various guises in fiction (which would take another paper to demonstrate).

Sōseki's basic philosophical idea of time as *continuity* stems from James. Sōseki, however, expands the model to also cover longer periods of time, and thus culturally embodied aspects of consciousness. Sōseki maintains his interest in the new psychology's focus on the physiological aspects of consciousness, and James' focus on the felt aspects of consciousness, however, expands the model to describe larger historical structures of consciousness. Thus collective focal points affectively guide the individual ones. In that sense the literary description of individual minds is not only about the feelings of private subjects, but about how the world is refracted through individual minds, moment-by-moment. Theories about consciousness and literature in the beginning of the twentieth century, in that sense were intersecting in various and profound ways of understanding the human mind, body, and world. James's psychology gives Sōseki the opportunity to dwell on the moment in his theory, and theorize how consciousness is in constant change.

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*The Posthumous Life of Agnes Smedley,
a Cosmopolitan “Spy”: China’s Cultural Memory and Amnesia*

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Introduction

Agnes Smedley (1892-1950) was one of the most significant American women writers in the 20th century. She spent 13 years in China from 1928 to 1941. In Japan, she is remembered, if at all, as a principle member of the Soviet Spy Ring headed by Richard Sorge. She is known to have introduced Ozaki Hotsumi, a Japanese correspondent for the *Asahi Shinbun*,¹ to Sorge in 1930. In the United States, Smedley, an American journalist and writer, was typically regarded as a “traitor” to the American nation in the early Cold War period. In October 1947, she was accused of alleged Communist espionage by General Douglas MacArthur’s intelligence chief, Charles Willoughby.² In order to survive the predicament, she left for London in November 1949 and died there on May 6, 1950.

One year later, on May 6, 1951, in the Babaoshan Revolutionaries Cemetery³ in Beijing, Zhu De,⁴ a Chinese general, held the urn burial ceremony for Smedley. The Chinese national anthem “March of Volunteers” was played at the occasion. On the tombstone, Zhu De himself wrote an inscription: “In memory of Agnes Smedley American Revolutionary writer and friend of the Chinese People.” Mao Dun,⁵ a novelist and cultural critic, was deeply grieved and read the valediction: “Your lifetime of contribution for the Chinese revolutionary career made us never ever forget you... now you and our revolutionary martyrs live together, and you will live in the hearts of the Chinese people forever.”⁶

As it turned out, Smedley did not “live in the hearts of the Chinese people” long. After the solemn ceremony, Smedley was virtually forgotten. Indeed, during the following 30 years, almost no one in China showed any interest in her. She and her books seemed to have evaporated from China. It was not until the 1980s that Smedley was resurrected from oblivion. In the 1980s, she re-emerged as an unforgettable friend to Chinese and even became the focal point of the academic research.

The purpose of this paper is to try to answer the following perplexing questions about Smedley: despite the fact that Smedley supported the Chinese Communist Party before and after World War II—resulting in her burial in the Babaoshan Revolutionaries Cemetery in Beijing to commemorate her contributions to China, why did she become an object of cultural amnesia for almost 30 years after her death? And why is it that in the 1980s, she was suddenly resurrected from historical oblivion? I would argue that the Chinese cultural amnesia and memory involving Smedley are inextricably linked with the Chinese domestic and foreign policies.

Smedley’s enduring supports for China

Smedley came to Shenyang, China, in 1928 as a correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in November 1928. The following year, she moved to Shanghai, where she covered many topics including the Chinese Civil War.⁷ She was also busy helping Song Qingling⁸(Madame Sun Zhongshan⁹) with correspondence and speech writing, especially for the League against Imperialism. In December 1929, she first met the writer Lu Xun¹⁰ and Mao Dun and became involved with the League of Left-Wing Writers¹¹ that was formed at the instigation of the Chinese Communist Party. During this period, it is known that Smedley introduced Ozaki Hotsumi to Sorge as a Japanese informant.

In December 1936, Smedley went to Xi'an and became the first one to report Xi'an Incident¹² to the world. Subsequently Smedley left for Xi'an to rejoin the new Eight Route Army. She worked with Zhu De on seeking medical aids from India for Chinese. In January 1938, she went to the city of Hankou and devoted her energies to raising funds for the Chinese Red Cross and publicizing the misery and heroism of the Chinese wounded.

When Hankou fell to Japanese invading troops, Smedley remained with the Fourth Army in central China till April 1940, much of the time on the move and in grueling conditions, making "the longest sustained tour of a Chinese war zone by any foreign correspondent, man or woman."¹³ Smedley came to the front, where she stayed together with the armies, and worked with the wounded.

In September 1940, she moved to Hong Kong and in the following year, she decided to go back to the United States with the hope "to tell the truth about China, how the Chinese had fought and were still fighting."¹⁴ Thus, Smedley returned to the United States but after World War II, she left the United States for London in 1949. A Communist sympathizer in the Cold War era, Smedley was accused as a Soviet spy in America. She eventually died in London on May 6, 1950, after surgery for an ulcer in the year after the declaration of the People's Republic of China.

Thus, Smedley devoted most of her life in China. In her life, she wrote six books, and five of them are thematically connected with the Chinese Communist Party. Because of her career and writings, she became a scapegoat in the Cold War era—resulting in her lonely death in a foreign land.

Oblivion and Resurrection of Smedley

According to Smedley's last wishes, her ashes were buried in China and thus she chose to "stay" in China forever. However, as mentioned, she was soon to be forgotten by her trusted Chinese people. Typing her name as the key words into the China Integrated Knowledge Resources Database of the China National Knowledge,¹⁵ I accounted the numbers of theses and research papers on Smedley. During the first 27 years after her death, there were published only three academic research papers on her. But for the next 33 years (that is, from 1979 to 2013), the number jumped to 124. The data can make two things clear: 1. Smedley had been ignored for 27 years after her death; 2. The first wave of researching peak periods about Smedley appeared in 1979.

Periods	1951-78	1979-89	1990-99	2000-13
Numbers	3	35	23	66

Why had Smedley been forgotten for almost 30 years? I would suggest that she was not so much forgotten but she disappeared into the socio-political and historical context because of the Chinese domestic and foreign policy. In other words, from 1951 to 1978, the Korean War (1950-53), the fraternal relationship between China and the Soviet Union (1950-1969) and the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) affected Chinese cultural orientation, which precipitated the oblivion of Smedley. The Korean War happened twenty days after her death, in which China was involved to

fight against the United States. Domestically, America, which was called as the most powerful imperialist state in China then, became the huge enemy to China. During the Korean War period, the Chinese government sought to remove American culture and ideology from Chinese minds and territory.¹⁶ Besides, during the earlier period of the Cold War, China depended a lot on the Soviet Union for the scientific development, keeping close relationship with Soviet Union. For instance, from 1949 to 1957, China imported 1309 films from abroad, two third of which came from the Soviet Union. Because the most important cultural media then was the film, the abundance of the Soviet films served to create an anti-American mindset, leading the Chinese people to fight against American imperialism and capitalism, and this shaped the popular Chinese concept of self, nation and history.¹⁷ In the traditional Chinese dichotomous ideology, the U.S., as the leader of the capitalistic bloc, was the “enemy” in Chinese mind because the Soviet Union was China’s big brother then. Given this, it is not surprising that there was no cultural space available in China to accommodate, much less commemorate, Smedley the American “friend.” This situation was aggravated by the domestic Cultural Revolution that cost all the energy of every Chinese. It was a well-planned drive to mobilize the people, to make them more vigilant and tackle the enormous national cultural problems of China. But it also made intellectuals timid and overcautious about what to write and what to research. Thus, from 1966 to 1976, the indigenous eminent intellectuals disappeared in that period—which might be one of the reasons why the number of publications on Smedley was small.

And yet, Smedley came back in the 1980s. Why was she resurrected from China’s cultural amnesia? I would argue that the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) needed Smedley, as an American citizen, to appear on the Chinese political stage because the CCP wanted to use Smedley for a political purpose. She suddenly became one of “Old friends of China”—a phrase that masks the ideological exploitation of foreigners.¹⁸ In December 1978, Chinese Economic Reform¹⁹, also called Reform and Opening-up Policy, was carried out to shorten the distance between China and the world economically, and culturally strengthened the desire to communicate with the open world. As Zhang Qingmin, a professor from the Department of International Relationship of Beijing University, once said, China needed old foreign friends to fully restore diplomatic relations, or to struggle out of the diplomatic stalemate.²⁰ In the meantime, the frozen Sino-American relationship began to thaw in the midst of the Cold War. In January 1979, officially, the diplomatic relations between the People’s Republic of China and the United States were established. On the account of these factors, any sort of cultural media and culture carriers, like the newspaper, the posters, the films, the book publishers, the academic area, extolled the virtue and the bright future of the Sino-American relationship. It became extremely urgent to find a stand-in for America as a “friend,” someone who could play the role of the Chinese People’s old friends. Smedley exactly fitted this role, and took center stage as the one who once built the bridge between China and the United States.

Thus Smedley was, dramatically and abruptly, resurrected from oblivion. In the 1980s, four of her books were translated into Chinese and republished. In 1984, the SSS Society of China (Now it is called China Society for People’s Friendship Studies) was set up to memorize Smedley-Strong²¹-Snow²² as Sinophile journalists. In 1985, China issued commemorative stamp²³ honoring Smedley for promoting “understanding and friendship between the people of China and other countries.” In the same year, the Chinese movie, *Zhu De and Smedley*, was released by August First Film Studio, in

which she was portrayed as a “Chinese patriot” fighting for the Communist Party and against the American government who played a dastard role. Moreover, it is interesting to notice the poster of this movie. She wore the same military uniform as General Zhu De’s, and the exciting and happy smile under her cap was conspicuous in the grey tonal poster. It was impossible to ignore Smedley’s face, which was the topical Western face rather than Chinese one. The strong contrast manipulatively implanted the idea that she was a believable friend of China despite she was a foreigner. Smedley entered the cultural stage and she performed the role of an old friend of Chinese as she had done in the past while she was alive.



From http://colnect.com/en/stamps/stamp/197711-Agnes_Smedley_1892-1950-Personalities-China_Peoples_Republic (accessed 05/03/2013)

Nonetheless, today Smedley is relatively unknown to Chinese. In 2009, in order to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the PPC, a network selection called “Chinese Connection-Top International Friends Selection” was held by the China Radio International²⁴ and the Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries.²⁵ The selection was to commemorate the international friends, who contributed to China in the past 100 years. Curiously enough, Smedley didn’t enter the top ten group; instead, she ranked top 24 out of the 51 international friends who are still be remembered by Chinese people. It is interesting to note that Edgar Snow wins the top 4. I got the following data by using the same search engine as I researched on papers on Smedley. From 1951 to 1978, the number of the academic research papers on Snow was the same as that of Smedley. However, after 1979, it increased to 382, over 3 times as the number of the papers on Smedley published in the same period.

Periods	1951-78	1979-89	1990-99	2000-13
Numbers	3	79	58	245

It is clear that more attention was paid on Edgar Snow than Smedley. This result cannot simply be accounted for by the fact that he wrote the famous *Red Star Over China* (1939). In fact, this popularity can be partly attributed to his friendship with Mao Zedong. It is Mao Zedong who promoted Snow’s success to a certain degree. According to a poll, “Who is the hero in your heart,” conducted by *People’s Daily* in 2007, more than sixty percent of the people who took part in the poll thought Mao was the hero.²⁶ It is the relationship rather than Snow’s works that made him alive in common Chinese people’s memory. In China there is a proverb “love me love my dog.” It would be easier to remember Snow whose best friend is Mao, than Smedley whose best friend is General Zhu De. Consequently, Smedley did not gain wide reputation. In the end, I would argue that the Chinese cultural memory was closely bound up with the great man effect, or say, the heroism effect, that constitutes one aspect of the Chinese heroic ideology.

Conclusion

I have suggested in this paper that the Chinese cultural memory and amnesia are inextricably linked with the Chinese domestic and foreign policies. The posthumous Smedley thus went in and out of the Chinese cultural memory, and today Smedley is once again “obscure” as biographer Ruth Price observes. She remarks, “Today, Agnes Smedley is obscure. The chill in Sino-U.S. relations has made a less useful ‘friend of the Chinese’.”²⁷

However, I think the life of Agnes Smedley—a cosmopolitan writer, journalist, feminist, and a “spy”—is memorable. She deserves a serious recovery today, and her reputation should not simply be a reflection of the Sino-America relations. I hope that this paper will inspire other scholars to recover Smedley in China and abroad.

¹ The reference of the celebrities and the toponymies in the article consult the Wikipedia. Asahi Shimbun is the oldest and largest national newspaper in Japan.

² Janice R. MacKinnon and Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Time of an American Radical* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 318.

³ Babaoshan Revolutionaries Cemetery is Beijing's main resting place for the highest-ranking revolutionary heroes, high government officials and in recent years, individuals deemed of major importance due to their contributions to society. In Chinese, Babaoshan literally means “The Eight-Treasure Mountains.” The cemetery is located in the Shijingshan District, a municipality located in western Beijing (from wikipedia)

⁴ Zhu De (1886-1976) was a Chinese Communist military leader and statesmen. He is regarded as the founder of the Chinese Red Army (the fore founder of the People's Liberation Army) and tactician who engineered the victory of the People's Republic of China during the Chinese Civil War. Agnes Smedley wrote a bibliography of him, *The Great Road: The Life and Times of Zhu De*.

⁵ Mao Dun (1896-1981) was the pen name of Shen Yanbing. He was one of the best novelists in Modern China. He was also a cultural critic, and the Minister of Culture of China from 1949 to 1965. The first time Mao Dun and Smedley met was in the autumn of 1930 in Shanghai.

⁶ <http://dangjian.ccnt.com.cn/jcdj.php?col=147&file=29880>(accessed 04/27/2013)

⁷ The Chinese Civil War (1927-1949) was between the Kuomintang (KMT), the governing party of the Republic of China, and the Communist Party of China (CPC), the governing party of the People's Republic of China.

⁸ Song Qingling (1893-1981), known as Mme. Sun Yatsen, was one of the China's most significant political figures of the early 20th century. She was the Vice Chairman of the People's Republic of China, who was the first non-royal women to officially

become head of state of China, acting as Co-Chairman of the Republic from 1968 until 1972. She again became head of state in 1981, briefly before her death, as the Honorary President of the People's Republic of China.

⁹ Sun Zhongshan (also spelt as Sun Yatsen, 1866-1925) was a Chinese doctor, revolutionary and political leader. As the foremost pioneer of Republic of China, Sun is referred as the "Father of the Nation." He was also the first provisional president of the Republic of China in 1912.

¹⁰ Lu Xun was the pen name of Zhou Shuren (1881-1936), one of the major Chinese writers of the 20th century. Considered by many to be founder of the modern Chinese literature, he wrote in baihua (the vernacular) as well as classical Chinese. He was a short story writer, editor, translator, critic, essayist and poet. In 1930s, he became the titular head of the Chinese League of the Left-Wing Writers in Shanghai.

¹¹ League of Left-Wing Writers are an organization of writers of writers formed in China in 1930 at the instigation of the Chinese Communist Party and the influence of the celebrate author Lu Xun. The League articulate the theories on the political role of literature that foreshadowed the influential "Yan'an Talks on Literature and Art" of Mao Zedong, and engaged in running debates with the "art for art's sake" Crescent Moon Society.

¹² Xi'an Incident happened on 12 December 1936 was an important turning point to lead a truce between the Nationalists and the Communists so as to form a united front against Japan. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was arrested by Marshal Zhang Xueliang.

¹³ MacKinnon and Mackinnon, *Agnes Smedley*, 212.

¹⁴ Agnes Smedley, *Battle Hymn of China* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 2003), 465.

¹⁵ See http://oversea.cnki.net/kns55/support/en/about_cnki.aspx (accessed 05/01/2013)

¹⁶ Charles K. Armstrong, "the Cultural Cold War in Korea, 1945-1950," *the Journal of Asian Study* 62, 2003, 71-99.

¹⁷ Tina Mai Chen, "Internationalism and Cultural Experience: Soviet Films and Popular Chinese Understanding of the Future in the 1950s," *Cultural Critique* 58, 2004, 82-114.

¹⁸ Fang Kecheng, "Who are the 'Old Friends of China'" (Shui Shi Zhongguo Renmin De Laopengyou in Pinyin), *Wanqing* 7, 2012, 35-38.

¹⁹ Chinese Economic Reform is program set in 1978 in China. The main theme is to do reform domestically and facilitate the open-policy abroad.

²⁰ Fang Kecheng, "Who are the 'Old Friends of China'" (Shui Shi Zhongguo Renmin De Laopengyou in Pinyin), *Wanqing* 7, 2012, 35-38.

²¹ Anna Louise Strong (1885-1970) was an American journalist and activist, best known for her reporting on and supporting for the Communist movements in Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

²² Edgar Snow (1905-1972) was an American journalist known for his books and articles on Communism in China. He is believed to be the first Western journalist to interview Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong, and is best known for *Red Star Over China* (1937), an account of the Chinese Communist movement from its foundation until the late 1930s.

²³ http://colnect.com/en/stamps/stamp/197711-Agnes_Smedley_1892-1950-Personalities-China_Peoples_Republic (accessed 05/03/2013)

²⁴ China Radio International (CRI), established in 1941, is a state-owned radio station to broadcast to the world.

²⁵ Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC), established in 1954, is one of the foreign affair organization to promote the understanding between China and foreign countries.

²⁶ Wen Sonhui, "The Ordinary People Moved Me Most" (Pingfan De Ren Gei Wo Zuiduo Gandong in Pinyin), *People's Daily*, May 9, 2007, P. 11.

²⁷ Price, *The Life of Agnes Smedley*, 423.

*Local Images in National and Global Contexts:
The Shifting Significances of Hakka Folk Songs*

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Introduction

Modernism brings with it many changes in people's lives and is often a reason for disenchantment with the traditional ways. In Taiwan, many traditions have been maintained, however, and one of these is the singing of mountain songs by the Hakka minority group who live in north-central areas of the island. The Hsinchu area in Taiwan has its distinctive characteristics for its location, cultural diversity, and technology-based science park. In other words the modern technology has brought connections of the area with the rest of the world through the trade of computer chips and other advancements. Generally, the face the area gives the global markets for computer technology has very little to do with its local traditions; it is however the global which gives a rationale to support the local traditions so that important signs of the distinct heritage and identity can be preserved. Since the language of the songs is in dialect, there is also little danger of them just becoming a commodity of exchange on the global market, as with many of the things of material culture.

The National Context

The national context for Hakka images makes them representative of the Hakka minority in Taiwan. In an effort to preserve the local heritages, leisure farms, cultural centers of the Hakka and of the indigenous tribes located in the mountain areas and forestry resources have been gradually developed as travel sites for Taiwan, countering the high-tech image of the region. Recently, the local government held the 2013 Lantern Festival of Taiwan and people from all around the island congregated during the period of the Lantern Festival, which was prolonged to accommodate the crowds of people. While most visitors were nationals from Taiwan, visitors from Mainland China and foreign tourists, who happened to be there during that time, also added this festival to their itineraries. Hakka food vendors, artists, and lantern designers all contributed to the festival. Traditional images were found in the cultural displays provided by participating organizations. The festival symbolized the successful union of people from different Taiwanese cultural backgrounds with the Hakka people in Taiwan.

Underlying this new national emphasis on local culture are policies that come from changes in the official attitude toward the minority. More people are studying variations of the Hakka language for the movement of teaching and learning languages in elementary schools. Most parents of school children are happy to comply with the new educational policy of languages. Thus, the involvement in local cultural activities is especially meaningful for school children.

It is within this double focus of the global and the local that Hakka mountain song performances are as important as a sign of the culture. Singing the songs, people entertain themselves with their singing group members. The songs are embodied with diverse subjects, such as ethics, working, family relationships, love, folk culture, and even politics. Thus, singing songs, people express their feelings of life and values of the world. They reflect the life styles of their ancestors and the changes of the modern generation. The written form of the language is utilized the Chinese writing system. The representations of the songs are the value of life of the Hakka people as the celebration of three mountain gods' birthday, drum festival, local food festivals, Tung flower festival and herbal tea festival.

According to history, the Hakka ancestors originally came from the central areas of Mainland China, and then moved to the coastal areas, and finally migrated to Taiwan because of wars or other factors. Most of the Hakka people have inhabited the mountainous areas for the influences of the majority group. Being one of the minorities, they have been able to acculturate themselves by speaking different languages, such as Mandarin Chinese, the Ming language, and Hakka language. In the past, they were farmers and had to earn a living by working hard on their farms. They had confronted hardships and learned patience and endurance. The cultural icons of the Hakka people include mountain songs, tung flowers, and Hakka delicacy dishes. People join in Hakka festivals by listening to mountain songs, eating Hakka food, and appreciating tung flowers.

Hakka women have become significant bearers of Hakka culture and their role is symbolic of the family. In spite of their importance to the family, the right of education among the old generations ranging from 65 to 80 or more had been deprived. During the Japanese occupation, most of these generations had gone through hardship owing to the colonization. Their families suffered from poverty, so their parents couldn't afford for them to study in public or private schools and priority was given to male sons. The illiteracy rate of these generations is quite high. In modern Taiwan, their role would be minimal in the civil order because of this inequality.

In order to counteract the deprivation of this generation of women, in recent years, under Republican governments, literacy programs are encouraged and sometimes subsidized by the government. New communities have been born in Hakka areas: these are signs of new creativity and change. Because people are rather migratory while the younger generation searches for jobs, the older generation who must settle down in new areas have played significant roles in enriching the local ethnicity. Many of the groups organized in the communities include reading and writing activities. Elementary and junior high school reading materials such as short reading texts and Tang and Sung Dynasty poetry are used for practicing the concepts of strokes and meanings of Chinese. Preparing the food sacrifices for family worship is an important part of their yearly round of activities. They have practiced Hakka culture together by worshipping their ancestors, earth gods, and Three Mountain Gods, the latter being a particular focus of the Hakka people. They have not only worked together for cultivating the Hakka spirit in their local communities but also joined in these literacy groups to develop their word banks by reading and writing Chinese characters. Community activities of singing Hakka mountain songs and literacy programs are offered.

Many centuries ago, the Hakka songs and Hakka religions had been brought from Mainland China by waves of ancestors. Performing Hakka mountain songs in public, Hakka women of the old generation have collectively become a signifier of Hakka culture. However, the concept of revivalism which is being practiced in the hope that the culture may continue is also to some extent a deception: even though such groups strive to maintain the arts and patterns of Hakka culture, continuity is still at risk because of the ongoing conflict with traditional ideas caused by economic shifts and concepts prevalent in the popular mainstream culture. Worshipping Three Mountain Kings (三山國王) and Yi-Ming Venerable Saint (義民爺), Hakka people have valued

themselves highly for being loyal and courageous. From an ideological point of view and an aesthetic view, such women as Yang-Chen represents a crossroads between the tradition and the revival of tradition, two different experiences of Hakka culture. The new purpose of singing Hakka songs arouses the hope of Hakka cultural revivalism and is ideological. It is not a realistic part of everyday life as in the past, but has become a pleasurable entertainment for a specific generation and indeed can preserve the arts of the mountain songs in an aesthetic framework. That is, in the aesthetic view, Hakka songs are now ostensibly categorized as an art which needs to be valued and preserved.

Hakka Mountain Songs are rich in reflecting the enduring spirit and the lifestyle of the Hakka groups. The numerous activities include expressing love between men and women, picking tea leaves, making a living, and describing the motifs of migration and settings of their living places. Singing the songs, Hakka women keep reminding their descendents of their ancestors' legends, stories, and life experiences. Through practicing the eight tunes, they constantly transform the Hakka spirit into new meanings which may be significant for their descendents to keep safe and strong in the modern world. Thus, they have played an important role in the studies of Hakkaology. Nowadays, more and more Hakka scholars are working with the Hakka studies on different aspects of the Hakka spirit and the cultural activities, such as Hakka Mountain Songs and festivals for celebrating gods' birthdays and Moon Festivals. By supporting such groups, the nationalist leaders find that they can enhance multiculturalist values and are able to gain their own benefits in doing so.

The Global Context

One of the highlights of the Hsin Chu festival this year was the opening of the Pavilion that represented Taiwan at the World's Fair in Shanghai in 2012. This representation of the nationality of Taiwan According to Manfred B. Steger, globalization is what puts local cultures into intensified and accelerated contact with one another. He claims that globalization processes are not just about material things, but also take place upon a "subjective plane." Steger further claims that

The compression of the world into a single place increasingly makes global the frame of reference for human thought and action. Hence, globalization involves both the macro-structures of community and the micro-structures of personhood. It extends deep into the core of the self and its dispositions, facilitating the creation of new individual and collective identities nurtured by the intensifying relations between the individual and the globe. (15)

The claim for ethnic preservation and solidarity in the global context changes the whole "frame of reference" for the signs of traditional Hakka identity.

By analyzing the cultural images of the Hakka songs in various contexts, the problem of stereotypes of the ethnic group can be investigated. From the theory of diaspora, Hakka people migrated from the Mainland China, and literally they are guests of the Taiwan island. Their own self-images have great influences on their younger generations. They hope to maintain their own cultural identities by singing the mountain songs and work together as a community to promote the well being of the younger generations. Many believe it is worthy to communicate with other ethnic

groups of Taiwan to let them know more about the Hakka people in their midst.

How Modernism Influences the Meanings of Mountain Songs

The Hakka people are not as isolated from the mainstream society as the indigenous tribal peoples are and have found their road to success in the national society and the global reach. But as they leave the traditional world, the ethnicity remains something to be held on to. It is such a traditional world that is represented in the Hakka Mountain Songs. It is within the different contexts of the national and the global that the song performances become important as a sign of the culture. Singing the songs, people entertain themselves with their singing group members. The songs are embodied with diverse subjects, such as ethics, working, family relationships, love, folk culture, and even politics. These images reflect the life styles of the ancestors and the changes of the modern generation. Although in the written form of the language the Chinese writing system is utilized, the meanings of the songs speak of the value of life of the Hakka people.

The struggle for cultural survival today includes the usage of Hakka in the family, more Hakka channels on TV, Hakka education at both the elementary and junior high school settings, Hakka mountain songs, and Hakka literature. Shan (1994) indicated the intercultural transformation of identity caused by bicultural influences and proposed the recycling processes of the psyche: construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction. In 1993, the government licensed more applicants. Most Hakka people have learned Min dialect by watching TV programs.

In Taiwan, the revivalism of Hakka mountain songs has activated the spirit of old Hakka women, too. They work together to fulfill their social responsibilities, such as supporting local activities, joining in some public festival celebrations or election campaigns by singing their favorite mountain songs. The personal experiences of these women make them enthusiastic about the cultural activities of the community such as travelling with the group for worship at temples around Taiwan. All of these activities would not have been possible for women before the contemporary period because of their activities in the household.

Conclusion

As the foregoing has shown, work and gender relationships are a recurring theme in the mountain songs even though the real-life references for these relationships are now new ones. Contemporary concepts of the family and other ideas are at odds with the cultural signs in the songs. In the national context, where multiculturalism is encouraged, the Hakka may use the songs to represent and support their ethnic differences from other Taiwanese while at the same time keeping the community spirit alive. In the global context, the songs speak for the past in the present and provide a counter voice in the global reach of the local area's computer industry. Therefore it is suggested in this paper that, when the contextual references for the images become rather remote, the evocation of nostalgic feelings is increased and solidarity of the community is supported by a revised cultural imagination. The new aesthetic appreciation for the songs and community feeling, the paper suggests, paradoxically arises from the community's shared reflection on the distant, but shared history.

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Appendix I Translation Examples of the Hakka Mountain Songs

Example A

客家山歌	<p>兩儕樂意唔怕窮，唔怕討食背竹筒； 總愛兩人落力做，南蛇脫殼會變龍。 三月裡來係清明，公婆相好好名聲； 公婆相惜名聲好，無錢比人有較贏。 新作田塍雙面光，阿哥蒔田妹挑秧； 朝晨出門到暗轉，肩頸不痛腳毋軟。</p>
英文翻譯	<p>A happy couple is not afraid of being poor, and they're not afraid to carry loads of bamboo. Everything will be fine if the couple works hard, and snakes turns into dragons after shedding their skins. The tomb sweeping day falls in March, and <u>Grandpa and Grandma's (a couple)</u> harmonious relationship deserves a good reputation. They love each other to enjoy a good fame, and thereby win more than others. The new rice field is shiny after <u>A-go (husband)</u> plows the field, and <u>Mei (wife)</u> plants rice sprouts. They leave for work in the morning and return home until it gets dark, but they do not complain aching necks and weak feet.</p>

Example B

客家山歌	一下天晴一下陰，阿哥實在無良心； 真情真義你唔信，反把黃銅當真金。 一早來到雷公崁，青青山色挂天間； 西邊月光唔曾落，東片日頭又出山。 三步行來兩步企，一心一意來等你； 等到你來無話講，燈草織布枉心機。 七老八老唔知羞，歲數佬多花唔收； 白蟻上到背囊項，閻王來信壽難留。 七早八早就犁床，一夜無睡到天光； 傳宗接代正當事，愛對父母有商量。
英文翻譯	Just like the changes of the weather, my <u>A-go (lover)</u> has no conscience. Not believing my sincere feelings, you mistake <u>bronze (false love)</u> for <u>gold (true love)</u> . I go to Thunder Hill in the morning, and see the reflection of the green mountain in the sky. The moon is still up in the western sky as the sun rises from the mountain in the eastern sky. Walking in a hurry, I wait for you with all my heart. Welcoming you, I can hardly say any word; it is not worthwhile to weave with straw. You feel no shame for old age, and I cannot accept flowers for the sake of my age. The white ants climb up my back; Yánwáng (God of Death) sends notice, so there is no excuse to stay. You plow the field in the early morning, and I don't sleep well lying awake all night. Having the next generation is a serious issue, and I must discuss with my parents over this.

Example C

客家山歌	一項豬肉煮清湯，二項鴨肉煮嫩薑； 三項鯉魚半煎煮，四項和妹久久長。 二月裡來榴花開，榴樹抽心葉下來； 榴樹抽心葉下出，爬床蹶蓆望哥來。 四想度子苦難當，屎尿拉到滿背囊； 拿到河邊來去洗，冷風河水雪加霜。 六姊床上睡沉沉，雙手打開妳門庭； 雙腳跪在妹身上，兩人來結千年情。 七勸後生笑容容，勸你討妻骨頭重； 生有子女傳後代，免致來變游應公。
英文翻譯	The first concern is pork soup; the second one is duck cooked with ginger sprouts. The third one is fish half well done; the fourth one is to live as long as possible with <u>Mei (lover)</u> . In February, flowers are blooming, and willow tree leaves are falling down. The sprouts of trees are budding, spreading to my bed, and I wait for your coming. I think of the hardship of taking care of a child; my back is wet with the child's poo and pee. I walk to the riverside to wash myself and feel the coldness of the wind and water with snow and frost. <u>A Mei (lover)</u> is falling asleep in the bed, and I open your door with my hands. I kneel down by you, and wish to tie up our thousand-year-long relationship. Seven, I delightfully advice the young to marry with a strong woman whose bones weigh more. You must have children to carry your family name, and don't become a Mr. Yu-in (an old bachelor).

Factors Associated with the Perceived English Competency of Chinese International Students in ESL/EAP Classrooms: The Influence of Motivation, Social Networks and Beliefs on Authority

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Abstract

The present study tested several contributing factors that influence ESL and EAP students' their English skill confidence. With a sample size of 121 Chinese international students attending ESL and EAP classes at a Midwestern university, student's completed a brief questionnaire that addressed items such as English proficiency, social networks, motivational orientations, beliefs about authority figures as well as other demographic factors. Through hierarchal regression, it was revealed that intrinsic motivation, beliefs about the role of authority, and diversity in social networks had statistically significant impacts on the model predicting students' perceptions about their English proficiency. In conclusion, a good mix of American and international friends from other countries, rather than socializing with only co-nationals, provided students with more opportunities to speak English, and chances to be understood clearly by others, which increased their confidence in English language proficiency.

In recent decades, the United States has served as a temporary home to a vast majority of students choosing to pursue higher education abroad. Lin and Yi (1997) defined international students as individuals who temporarily reside in places other than their own country of citizenship for the primary purpose of pursuing secondary education in their host countries. The annual Open Doors reports filed by the Institute of International Education announced that the number of international students at U.S. colleges and universities has seen a five percent increase since the previous year. This number reached a total of 723, 227 in 2011, making this the fifth year in a row to see an increase in the number of international students who were enrolled in the U.S. (Open Doors, 2011). According to the U.S. Department of Commerce (2012), international students' expenditures on tuition and living expenses alone contributed more than \$21 billion to the U.S. economy in 2011.

More recently, records have indicated that a large portion of the total increase (45%) in the number of international students as a population seen in the last fifty years has relied on enrollment rates from the top three sending countries which are China, India, and South Korea (McMurtrie, 2011; Sam, 2007; Fischer, 2011). The Institute of International Education announced that a total of 157,558 international students listed China as their country of origin in 2010-2011, a number which increased another 23 percent as a whole in the following academic year while undergraduate enrollment rates grew 43 percent (Open Doors, 2011). In general, Chinese international students represent the largest population of individuals studying abroad in the United States. According to the literature discussing the process of acculturation, international students traveling from these parts of the world seem to experience the greatest difficulty adjusting to both the academic system and social interactions in America (Hsieh, 2006; Stanley, 2009; Lin & Yi, 2009; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

It has been found within the current literature that higher degrees of acculturative stress may be associated with a larger gap or greater cultural divide between international students' native background and the mainstream society (Lin, 2009; Hsieh, 2006; Zhang, 2003; Lin & Yi, 1997). These studies suggest that international students who travel from non-European regions of the world, such as Asia or Africa, may struggle more in their attempts to adapt to American culture, especially when it comes to learning the English language. For these reasons, the English for Academic Purposes program (EAP) at Midwest University (pseudonym) was developed in 1966 to help international students prepare for undergraduate and graduate courses in their academic majors. This program has focused on both introducing students to American culture along with improving English reading, writing and speaking skills.

The English as a Second Language (ESL) portion of the program is also offered to students who score low on the placement test. At the middle and end of every semester, a paper-based institutional TOEFL exam is administered to assess language proficiency improvement. According to the university's enrollment records, nearly all of the international students enrolled EAP and ESL list China as their national origin while a much smaller proportion is from other Asian countries, including India and Korea. This supports the previous finding that these populations of international students tend to experience more difficulty adjusting due to the fact that they originate from a cultural background which differs from American society in countless ways, making this group more susceptible for experiencing several unique symptoms of psychosocial distress than other sojourners (Lin, 2009; Hsieh, 2006; Zhang, 2011; Lin

& Yi, 1997).

According to previous literature academic adjustment requires adopting “new methods of teachings, different behaviors of instructors, different expectations of students by instructors, different methods of research, and different content of programs of study” (Yang & Clum, 1994, p.31). Empirically speaking, there is strong evidence supporting the conclusion that a number of differences exist between values taught by collectivist and individualist societies, which may account for variations in the adjustment period. In brief, the bulk of these findings suggest implications that students from collectivist backgrounds, such as China and India, tend to experience greater difficulty adapting to American classrooms than other groups of sojourners, academic especially adjustments related to English argumentative writing, classroom discussions, along with social interactions and relationships with classmates (Hsieh, 2006; Bochner, 1982; Masgoret & Ward, 2006; Argyle 2006; Scallan et al, 2006; Kaplan, 1966, 1972). For the most part, Chinese international students typically recover from changes in the academic setting within the course of a semester, whereby they begin adopting and even appreciating more of the host nation’s standards of achievement on learning goals, study techniques, and interactive classroom experience (Ward et al, 2001).

On the other hand, adjusting to a novel social environment has been found to be a more troublesome process. Aside from the anxiety and loneliness that accompany moving a great distance away from one’s home and family, the arrival of international students in their host nations is often met by a myriad of cultural mismatches which they must immediately overcome and find fit with their current identities in order to relate to the local cultural milieu (Surdam & Collins, 1984; Yang & Clum, 1994). Nigar Khawaja and Helen Stallman (2011) conducted an in-depth focus group with 23 international students (7 men and 15 women) living in Australia for the first time. By employing a qualitative methodology, the objective was to examine a multitude of challenges faced by participants on a daily basis along with their coping strategies for dealing with and adjusting to a new cultural milieu. Analyses of participants’ narratives revealed that a number of social adjustment stressors were shared amongst a sample of international students mostly originating from collectivist cultures, including South Korea (7), China (4), India (2), and Taiwan (2) as well as Vietnam, East-Timor, Iran, Indonesia, Mauritius, Singapore, and Nigeria (1 from each country). For example, a common challenge involved living independently in an individualistic society for the first time without enough knowledge regarding day-to-day procedures and local food outlets.

Perceived English Competency: Of all the numerous possible barriers to cross-cultural adjustment to a new culture, language barriers have generally been named as the most troublesome (Lin & Yi, 1997). Previous research has demonstrated that English language proficiency is associated with both socio-cultural and academic adjustment among international students of all ethnic backgrounds (Xia, 1991). Focusing on adjustment patterns of Chinese international students, Chataway and Berry (1989) found evidence for higher degrees of anxiety and perceived prejudice whereas reported levels of social support and confidence in their ability to communicate fluently in English were significantly lower in this sample. These results have been replicated by a number of studies concluding that language confidence, rather than actual ability, is key to successful social interactions for individuals in multicultural settings. Moreover, a great sum of the current literature

agrees that English language skills are likely to both improve and become enhanced during the process of acculturation, which is postulated to be a predictor of mental health outcomes (Mouw & Xie, 1999; Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996).

The Cultural-learning framework: Previous literature has discussed the important role of cultural knowledge in terms of keeping solidarity among members of any given community through providing affective and social cues on behavior, thought and values to individuals engaged in multi-cultural interactions (Sumer, 2009; Sun & Chen, 1999; Hannigan, 1990). Because international students arrive in the host country lacking this normative information, the majority learn right away that their the task to successful adaptation is relearning basic day-to-day life commands as well as appropriate expressions of attitude and behavior in the new socio-cultural milieu (Thomas & Althen, 1989). Past studies have found that international students living abroad in unfamiliar social and cultural settings may experience multiple negative, uncomfortable and unique stressors associated with symptoms of psychological distress as they attempt to quickly adopt the norms, values and communicative styles exhibited by members of their host country (Wang, 2006; Berry, 1987 1997; Sandhu et al, 1994; Johnson & Sandhu, 2007; Sumer, 2009). From the perspective of the cultural learning model, it can be said that individuals are motivated to find additional cultural information, or normative social cues, that will better guide their thoughts and actions in the host country. The empirical study of social support networks has suggested that while friendship ties with co-nationals typically serve as primary systems, international students' connections (and interactions) with native and other international students are important secondary resources for acquiring new knowledge about the host country. More importantly, they also provide increased chances to communicate in the second language which enhances English speaking confidence. One advantage of forming close relationships and interpersonal contact with American students may be greater academic adjustment such as by offering more familiarity with local beliefs on the role of authority figures.

Social self-efficacy expectations theory: Social self-efficacy, which refers to an individual's confidence in his or her ability to initiate and sustain social interactions is believed to be a crucial factor in the discussion of perceived English competency and socio-cultural adjustment alike (Sherer & Adams, 1983; Smith & Betz, 2000). According to Bandura's (1997) theory of self-efficacy expectations, three main behavioral outcomes; 'approach' versus 'avoidance' behavior, performance, and persistence, are likely to occur as consequences of individuals' self-perceptions of competence. As such, much of this research has centered on the premise that social self-efficacy may be related to the probability of approaching versus avoiding social interactions with host nationals in the face of discouragement, which is postulated to be an indicator of both acculturation and eventual adjustment (Lin & Betz, 2009; Betz & Rottinghaus, 2006; Fouad, Smith, & Zao, 2002; Lent, 2005).

Social Support Networks: Albrecht and Adelman (1987) coined the term social support to mean "verbal and nonverbal communication between recipients and providers that helps manage uncertainty about the situation, the self, and the other or the relationship and functions to enhance a perception of personal control in one's life experience" (p.19). Previous research findings have revealed the effect of positive social relations emphasizing their 'stress-buffering property', which guides individuals and provides them a sense of control especially in stressful situations

(Yang & Clum, 1994; Cohen & Willis, 1985). Numerous findings have suggested that one of the greatest stresses faced by international students after relocating is the lack of social support networks (Pedersen, 1991; Hayes & Lin, 1994; Mallinckrodt & Leong, 1992). These studies typically conclude that losing one's support networks has a negative impact on mental wellbeing. The ability to form social networks in the host country is linked to more positive study abroad experiences, chiefly with respect to greater perceived language proficiency and overall satisfaction along with enhanced social capital and future career opportunities (Magro et al, 2009; Valenzuela et al, 2009; Ward et al, 2001). In light of this finding, past discussions have recognized that, in order to cope with these socio-cultural environmental changes, international students must search for new social networks but often feel discontent with the support they receive in their temporary homes which can lead to social isolation (Kim, Mallinckrodt & Leong, 1992; Wang, 2012).

Beliefs on Authority Figures: There are studies that support the finding that Chinese international students may experience more struggles such as, openly discussing their opinions in classrooms, initiating questions in a small groups and negotiating their social identities and stance on certain topics, which are judged by individualistic standards to be indicators of successful interpersonal conversations (Wan, 2001; Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006; Hsieh, 2006). This line of work demonstrates that the ability to accommodate cultural differences, particularly in relation to language adaption, may play a critical part in ensuring positive learning experiences in the academic field and social realm alike, which is believed to promote healthier adjustment as well as encourage intercultural relations despite having initial setbacks. For instance, Hofstede and Bond (1984) defined the term power distance as “the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations accept the power is distributed unequally” (p.419) and concluded that cultural differences determined student's perceptions of faculty-student relationships as approachable. Other studies with ESL students have replicated the finding of significant differences among international students' expectations of their teacher's role which has also been found with Asian samples (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). Furthermore, additional findings support that these perceptions are particularly important in examining classroom participation as a common teaching strategy in American classrooms and often viewed to be a determinant of grades and competency in which students from collective cultures have been found to be less active in discussions and answering questions because they value avoiding confrontation (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham, 2001; Wang, 2012).

Motivational Orientations: The study of second language learning long identified motivational orientations and goal congruency research as an important cornerstone piece of the existing literature in this field (Gardner, 1985; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995; Noels, 2001). For example, language-learning motivation (Gardner, 1985) has been recognized as a driving force behind goals for learning a foreign language. Individual's desires, efforts and attitudes have been found to be a heavy influence on actual achievement in second language acquisition just as scores on aptitude measures. Studies investigating motivational concepts and constructs have identified the importance of contextual features or other socio-cultural influences that are relevant to learning a second language for individuals and Chinese international students (Warden & Lin, 2000; Chen et al., 2005). This line of thought has applied the concept of required motivation to refer to the study of a foreign or second

language for the purpose of fulfilling of a certain requirement. In large, researchers have attempted to examine cultural variation between intrinsic and extrinsic sources of motivation for learning a second language, in which the former is postulated to be rooted in affective and emotional responses while the latter refers to a system of actions triggered by a desire to receive rewards or avoid punishments (Slavin, 2003; Dörnyei, 2001; Chen et al., 2005). The term Chinese imperative was coined to describe the case of Chinese and Taiwanese international students, who were found to be more extrinsically motivated by strong adherence to traditional values or standards based on social expectations, like obtaining good grades to gain social respect (Warden & Lin, 2000). This theory supports the possibility of cultural expressions of intrinsic and extrinsic motivational orientations.

Self-determination theory: The empirical study of motivational orientations in second or foreign language learning is largely grounded in Deci and Ryan's self-determination theory (1985). These researchers typically focused on variation in the extent to which one's motivation for studying English as a second language was autonomous and self-controlled as opposed to driven by external pressures to perform the activity. For example, one study found that goal congruency was an important measure of assimilation into the mainstream society in which levels of acculturation were greatest for extrinsically-motivated students when they were driven by personal gain such as university admissions (Rubenfeld et al., 2007). In addition, acculturation for students in the intrinsic rewards category was highest for individuals who were self-motivated to learn English without any specific means to an ends. Finally, the authors concluded that intrinsic motivation produced more positive outcomes, suggesting that individuals who chose to learn English for their own interests were more adjusted to mainstream culture, had greater academic success and had better mental well-being.

The present research study was designed to test relationships between several factors assumed to influence the experience of a mostly Chinese sample of international students' studying English as a second language in America. Our main objective was to analyze and search for correlations among our main variables of interest, which included students' perceived English ability, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, social networks in the United States, and attitudes regarding the role of authority. Moreover, students' perceived English ability was the dependent variable which was hypothesized to vary as a factor of motivation, social networks, and beliefs about authority figures. To better determine the impact of these factors, the study also controlled for demographic characteristics that could also account for significant findings including TOEFL score, age, gender, length of residency, and years of prior English learning. This study was guided by 5 research questions:

1. Is perceived English competency associated with Chinese international students' social networks, motivational orientations, or beliefs about the role of authority?
2. Does having more diverse social support networks, especially with American friends, influence perceived English speaking ability?
3. Does having less traditional views about the role of authority figures such as teachers influence confidence in English skills?

4. Do intrinsic or extrinsic motivation orientations explain a greater proportion of the variation observed in the overall model predicting language confidence?
5. Can variation in students' scores on the primary variables be explained by demographic characteristics such as age, latest TOEFL score, gender, length of residency in the US, or previous English learning in China?

Methods

The current research was a cross-sectional study which utilized a convenience sample of 101 participants recruited from roughly ten ESL and EAP classes at a small Midwestern private university located in on an urban campus. A quantitative approach was applied to analyze data from the survey using computer software program SPSS. The instrument used in this study was a self-report questionnaire that was purposely kept short (8 pages) for the purpose of being distributed in class. Along with a brief demographic section, there were also questions measuring perceived English competence, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, attitudes about authority, and social networks with roughly 5-10 items each. At the bottom, students were able to write their thoughts about studying in the US if they chose.

Participants: During the three semesters (spring 2012, fall, 2013, spring 2013) that the study's data collection took place, 125 international students (N=125) were recruited from ESL and EAP classes at a Midwestern Jesuit university. Overall, there were 78 males (62%) and 47 females (38%). Although the distribution ranged from 18 to 25 years, the average age reported by participants was 20 years (M=20.11) and only 3 percent of the sample (N=4) were over 22 years old. On average, length of residency in the host country was between 6 months to at least 1 year (M=2.43) whereby 41 students (31%) reported living in the U.S. for more than one year. Prior to living in the U.S., students had learned English for an average of 4.74 years, in which one student (.8%) claimed they had never studied the language before taking ESL/EAP classes while 5 students (4%) reported having more than 10 years of previous in China. On average, students' last score on the paper-based TOEFL exam was 513 (M=513.08). The highest TOEFL score was 575 and the lowest was 440; although, the majority of scores (67%) fell between 500 and 550. Finally, 121 students (97%) listed China as their country of the origin and the majority of the participants (67 %) declared business management, finance, or accounting as their academic majors (appendix A lists most of the descriptive information).

Procedure and Measures: After receiving permission from the director of ESL and EAP

program at Midwest University, a convenience sample was collected by first contacting instructors to coordinate schedules for administering the survey during class. Before proceeding with data collection, we waited for ESL/EAP teachers to respond with their permission to enter classrooms for the purpose of administering a brief (15 minute) survey questionnaire as well as information regarding the number of students and best time preferences. During recruitment, the PI explained the purpose of the study, which included the main objective to test important relationships between perceived English ability and other variables of interest such as social support networks, motivational orientation, beliefs on authority figures, along with demographics for control purposes. Students were also informed of their rights as participants. Moreover, the cover letter also explained participation requirements

which included filling a brief 8 page questionnaire about their experiences studying English in America. Moreover, we noted that although they were not obligated to participate, the entire survey should only take 20 minutes at most to complete. The participants completed a demographics questionnaire and the survey by hand which took 20 minutes to complete. Data was entered and analyzed using SPSS.

Perceived English Fluency (PEF): Adapted from Barratt & Huba (1994), perceived language competency was assessed by a total of 8-items, which calculated to have a high 0.653 Cronbach's alpha. Students rated on a 5point likert scale the level of agreement with statements such as "I can speak English fluently" and "I am as comfortable speaking in English as I am in my native tongue".

Motivational Orientation: To determine student's perceptions motivation for studying English as a second language, we adapted the original 24 item scale from Noels et al. (2000), but altered it for our purposes to include 10 of the statements. The scale included 6 questions measuring the extrinsic dimension ("I believe that knowing English will get me better, higher-paying job in the future"), 4-items in the intrinsic subscale ("I feel truly satisfied when I complete a difficult task in ESL classes") and 2 statements related to amotivatioal orientation ("I'm not sure why I am studying English as a second language and I don't really care"). This scale was previously determined to have high inter-item reliability as a 24-item measure and in the subscales. For our research, the 10-item scale had a high reported unstandardized alpha of 0.75 as did the subscales.

Social Support Network (SSN): To determine the degree of cultural diversity in participants' friend circles and social networks in America, a total of 5-items in ascending order were created. The scale began with the statement "I only interact with other international students who are from the same country and who speak my native language", continued with "I interact with Americans and international students from other countries in class, but I only socialize with people who are the same nationality as me", and ended with "I have many friends from all over the world who teach me about American culture and language." According to our analysis, the 5-items had a Cronbachs alpha of .667 and were a reliable measure.

Beliefs on Authority: To assess students' attitudes toward authority figures, a 7-item scale was created by the PI and included statements in ascending order. Students selected their agreement on a 5-point likert with for instance, "Teachers are human too and sometimes make mistakes so students should make a point when teachers are wrong" or "It is never acceptable to disagree with authority, so students who question the teacher are disrespectful. To assess student's attitudes towards authority figures, the students rated their perception on a (1=strongly agree; 2=agree; 3=neutral; 4=disagree; 5=strongly disagree). The reported unstandardized alpha 0.616, indicating high inter-item reliability.

Demographic data sheet: A very brief demographics section was included asking questions regarding age, gender, TOEFLE score, years of residency and previous English learning prior to United State residency, mother and father's level of education, as well as academic major, GPA, and grade level.

Open-ended question: At the end of the survey there was a section where students were asked: please write in your thoughts about studying English at an American university. One-hundred percent of students did not fill out this portion of the survey.

Results

The means and standard deviations for the scales are shown in Table 1. A hierarchical multiple regression test was performed to examine the unique additive contribution of social support networks (SSN), extrinsic motivation, and beliefs about authority figures in the explanation of Chinese international students' perceptions of their English competency skills.

Model 1: As assumed, the results of the hierarchical regression analysis demonstrated that the three demographic variables (gender, US residency, TOEFL score) in the first block did not significantly predict variation in the sample's reported English proficiency (adjusted $R^2 = .035$, $p = .598$). According to this finding, gender, years of residency in the US, and TOEFL scores did not seem to influence students' views about their English competency to a statistically significant degree alone.

Model 2: The summary of the second model's overall fit demonstrated that after inserting the influence of social support networks, assumed to be correlated with perceived language skills according to existing literature, the overall model fit improved significantly ($F(1,95) = 9.351$, $p < .01$). Other statistics indicate that the second block of predictors accounted for an additional nearly 13 per cent of the variation that was left unexplained by demographic variables alone ($R^2 = .125$). In this formula, social support networks arose as the only significant contributor, suggesting that SSN is positively correlated with the outcome variable PEF which was consistent with the assumptions made by Cultural Learning framework as well as the theory of Social Self-Efficacy Expectations. ($\beta = .295$, $t = 3.058$, $p < .01$). Finally, the ANOVA table illustrates that, the model including the independent variables, US residency length, gender, TOEFL scores, and diversity in social support networks made in America, significantly predicted students' level of comfort using the English language ($F = 3.402$, $p < .05$).

Model 3: Likewise, the last model summary demonstrates that inserting the additive influence of two additional exploratory variables, whereby little empirical support was found, also increased the predictive effect of the entire formula ($F(2,93) = 5.734$, $p < .01$), such that adding extrinsic motivation and authority beliefs significantly contributed in explaining 22% ($R^2 = .221$) of the unexplained variance. According to the ANOVA table, Model 3 had the largest overall predictive effect on the outcome variable ($F = 4.405$, $p < .01$). This finding suggests implications that all three independent variables of interest along with demographic factors should be taken into consideration to predict English confidence. Moreover, in this last set, ethnic diversity in SSN's ($\beta = .258$, $t = 2.773$, $p < .01$) and extrinsic motivational orientation ($\beta = 2.773$, $t = 3.058$, $p < .01$) were the only statistically significant predictors, as consistent with the simple multiple regression results.

Discussions

In conclusion, this study was largely grounded in the main tenants of the *Cultural Learning framework* (Thomas & Althen, 1989). From the perspective, individuals exposed to unfamiliar cultural milieu to which they must quickly adjust for a number of reasons, such as case of sojourners studying abroad, are in danger of experiencing acculturative stress immediately after arriving due to the lack cultural knowledge (beliefs, values, customs, etc) as well as normative social cues to guide their action

and thought in a novel environment. In light of the discomfort, depression, or anxiety brought upon by these changes, international students quickly begin to search for ways to become more familiar with the host country's culture. Past literature has supported language adaptation as the greatest barrier for acculturation, whereby perceived English fluency (as opposed to measured by comprehensive exams) is an indicator of international students' level of adjustment. As such, the current research study postulated that international students would be inclined to utilize social support networks (SSN's) with host nationals as resources to learn about American culture and English language. The results of the hierarchical regression analysis confirmed this hypothesis in our sample such that the use of SSN's with non-Chinese students persisted to be a significant predictor of language skill confidence in the last two models. In this sense, the students from this sample who reported having more ethnically diverse friendship networks, namely with Americans, were more likely to feel more comfortable communicating and understanding in English.

This study assumed that students who see the relationship as equal more than a dictatorship are more likely to not feel intimidated to speak during discussions and will do so not just for participation points but because they enjoy speaking up even if it interrupts class. Also, the more often they speak the language, the more practice and confidence they acquire as reassurance that native born Americans will understand what they are saying. Furthermore, other studies have found that these perceptions are particularly important in predicting classroom participation as a common teaching strategy in American classrooms and often viewed to be a determinant of grades and competency in which students from collective cultures have been found to be less active in discussions and answering questions because they value of avoiding confrontation (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham, 2001; Wang, 2012). With this in mind, we also assumed that students who were more aware of the American style of teaching and view of authority figures as equals would also view their English skills as more fluent and be comfortable raising their hands to discuss as well as answer and ask questions.

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Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations

	Mean	Std. Dev.	N
English fluency	21.01	3.726	98
Gender	1.418	0.496	98
US residency	2.5	1.254	98
TOEFL	512.276	28.684	98
Social Networks	15.245	3.07	98
Authority beliefs	7.143	1.4	98
Extrinsic motiv.	14.337	2.925	98
Intrinsic motiv.	14.153	2.912	98

Table 2. Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Model	R	R-Square	Adj. R-Square	R-Square Change	F-Change	df 1	df 2	Sig. F Change
1	.198	.039	.009	.039	1.306	3	96	0.227
2	.354	.125	.088	.086	9.351	1	95	0.003*
3	.470	.221	.171	.096	5.734	2	93	0.004*

	B	Beta	t	Sig.
US resid.	.382	.128	1.269	.207
TOEFL	.017	.127	1.262	.210
Gender	-.345	-.045	-.452	.652
US resid.	.476	.160	1.640	.104
TOEFL	.016	.125	1.294	.199
Gender	-.267	-.035	-.363	.717
SSN	.361	.295	3.058	.003
US resid.	.489	.164	1.722	.088
TOEFL	.013	.100	1.078	.284
Gender	-.162	-.021	-.231	.818
SSN	.315	.258	2.773	.007
Authority	.190	.129	1.346	.182
Extrinsic	.334	.262	2.773	.007

Quality of Contact between Community Members and Bangkok Metropolitan Police

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Abstract

This research was conducted in August 2012, using a survey questionnaire from a data sample of 15,000 civilians residing in Bangkok, Thailand. It aims to compare the level of quality of contact between community members and the police, which is considered an important factor that supports a constructive community policing concept. The results are based on community members' perception towards the police as they interact with the latter in five different roles of responsibility, particularly on: 1) Crime Prevention and Suppression 2) Traffic 3) Investigation 4) Interrogation, and 5) Administrative Affairs. As expected, the results using a one-way ANOVA found that the quality of contact between the public and Administrative Police was at the highest level. However, it was not significantly different to that of Investigation and Interrogation functions of the Police. Interestingly, the results show that the level of quality of contact between the public and Traffic Police and Crime Prevention and Suppression Police was significantly less than the other three. The discussion of the results is included in the study as well as the recommendations for the Thai Police.

Keywords: community policing, quality of contact, Thai police

Introduction

The quality of contact is one of the characteristics of intercommunication, arising from contact between groups. It can be used to describe the changing attitudes towards outsiders of the group (Chotchakornpant, 2009). It helps reducing anxiety that occurs between groups (Islam & Hewstone, 1993), creating positive attitudes among those outside the group (Anja, Tendayi, Dionne & Hewstone, 1993; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003) and reducing bias between groups (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Wright, Aron, McLaughli-Volpe & Ropp, 2006). In the context of this study, the term 'quality of contact' can be defined as "perception that occurred among the public at the time of contact with police". In the case that the perception is positive, it creates a learning situation about the outgroup, changing behaviors, affecting ties and emotions between one another and allowing ingroup reappraisal (Pettigrew, 1998). According to the Community Policing Consortium (2010), quality of contact is necessary for crime prevention, so both parties can jointly tackle crime and enhance the safety and quality of life of people in the community.

The community policing approach is a concept of crime prevention and control practices that builds upon the basis of police community partnership (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990) which focuses on creating a better understanding and cooperation between the public and the police (Chayapan, 2009: 22). If society shares the same beliefs and goals, they will act towards the benefits of their society (Sower, 1957), and look into the causes of public actions to solve problems in society (Fay, 1984). Creating positive perceptions and attitudes towards police among the public is a part of the policing duty and it must be done regularly (Nicholl, 2000). In order to create public movement to assist police with crime solving or other matters within the community is different from the traditional police approach, which leaves the problem solving for police and often uses law enforcement approach to terrorize criminals.

Traditional policing approach is a closed system where police do not seek cooperation from outsiders where the police and public do not have positive attitudes towards one another and the relationship is divisive (Harrington, 1981). There was another crime prevention approach called "a community relation approach," which aimed to generate interpersonal relationships and encourage community members to participate in crime prevention (Piamsomboon, 1988; 2002). Thailand had adopted the community relation approach in 1988. Each police station was required to set up community relations police division to seek support and work in collaboration with the community under the main goal of building positive relationships between the police and community (Chayapan, 2012). The approach had been implemented and continued, however, the crime rate did not reduce and the public still maintained a negative attitude towards police. Generally, the police believed the obligation to promote and collaborate with the community was not their responsibility; instead they believed it was only the duty of the community relations police division (Nicholl, 2000). Police, therefore, continued to enforce the laws and did not use the community relations approach. This resulted in a negative attitude towards the Royal Thai Police (RTP) as a whole, even though the RTP had a strategy on public participation and networking to be used as part of crime control. Part of this strategy relied on the paradigm shift of police officers working at all levels to focus on the participation of the community and using the community relations approach (Royal Thai Police, 2011: 15; Chayapan, 2012). One of the problems that prevented successful collaboration between the police and public in crime prevention was the community negative attitude towards the police. In particular, negative attitudes occurred when members of the community witness or experience discrimination, being exploited, threaten for money or simply being intimidated by police. (Assumption University, 2010)

According to the functions of responsibility divided within the Thai police station (Royal Thai Police, 2012), there are 5 functions of duty with regular contacts with the public (National Institute of Justice, 2004). Those groups are comprised of 1) Crime Prevention and Suppression police responsible for preventing crime and enforcing criminal laws as well as community relations 2) Traffic police responsible for all traffic related laws 3) Investigation police responsible for seeking evidence and witnesses to uphold justice for public in the case of criminal cases 4) Interrogation police responsible for collecting evidence and filing reports with comments to prosecutors and 5) Administration police who provide administrative support such as logistics, welfare, finance and procurement. Considering that Crime Prevention and Suppression police and Traffic police are directly responsible for law enforcement through activities such as patrolling, setting up check points to arrest offenders of the law. While Investigation police are responsible for seeking witnesses and evidence, and work closely with interrogation police in all criminal cases, the administrative police provide support to each division. As a result, the investigation, interrogation and administration police do not directly focus on crime prevention and control in the same ways as the other two. Piemsomboon (1988) argued that communication between the public and Crime Prevention and Suppression and Traffic police is one-way direction. Thus, they do not seek support from the public using the community policing approach (Nicholl, 2000) which led to the following hypothesis.

Research Hypothesis

H: The quality of contact between public and Crime Prevention and Suppression police and Traffic police is lower than other groups of police, namely investigation, interrogation and administration police.

The purpose of this study is to find out the differences in quality of contact between the public and police officers who work differently within police stations. The results of the study will be beneficial for the Royal Thai Police to improve the quality of contact between the public and police in order to create a better understanding and enhance collaboration to prevent and control crimes within the community.

Methodology

This study used a survey research method to study the level of quality of contact between the public and police officers in Bangkok where 5,710,883 people reside within 50 districts (Office of Registration, Department of Provincial Administration, Ministry of Interior, 2012). Three hundred samples were collected from each district using a convenient sampling method, altogether a data sample of 15,000 people were surveyed. Data were collected using a self-administered questionnaire.

Researchers use questionnaire as a tool to collect data that was sorted into 2 groups 1) demographic data and 2) seven questions on the quality of contact with police, using the semantic differential scale, which is determined by 7 levels characterized by positive and negative opinions. The questionnaire was adapted from a study by Chotchakornpant (2009), which was developed from Chotchakornpant (2003), Islam and Hewstone (1993) and Pettigrew (1997), providing options for respondents to answer opposite to their opinions when they are in contact with police.

The testing for content validity, researchers contacted the experts to test out the construct validity and reliability. Researchers used the Factor Analysis testing and Cronbach's Alpha

Coefficient, which confirms the questionnaire has validity and reliability at an acceptable level. The Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient shows more than 0.70 (Nunnally & Berstein, 1994; Peterson, 1994) and the factor loading of all 7 questions is no less than 0.40 (Nunnally & Berstein, 1994) as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Factor loading and the reliability of the tool.

Variable	Factor loading	Reliability (α)
Quality of contact (7 questions)	0.692 - 0.798	0.876

The statistics used in data analysis, includes descriptive statistics, consists of means and standard deviations, inferential statistics to test the hypotheses, and an analysis of variance (ANOVA), which is used to test whether the means between groups that are more than two are different. Following the ANOVA test, the post-hoc analysis is used to test whether there are any differences between means of each two-group.

Results

The data were divided into two steps as follows:

1) Analysis of demographic data. From 15,000 data sample sets of questionnaires, the majority of respondents were female at 55.3 percent. Age mean is 33.58 years old and 24.8 percent of the samples were students, followed by 20.6 and 19.9 percent of employee/work independently and traders/business owners respectively.

2) Hypothesis testing. 54.6 percent of the sample had contact with crime suppression police. The group that was found to have the highest quality of contact is the administrative police (mean = 4.379, SD = 1.285) as shown in Table 2. When conducting analysis of variance to test the differences in the mean between quality of contact of each group ($F = 14.587$), the results show a significant level of differences at .01, as shown in Table 3.

Table 2: The mean and standard deviation of the quality of contact divided by their line of responsibility, within a police station.

Police Functions	Number of respondents (persons)	Mean (\bar{X})	Standard deviation (SD)
Crime Suppression	8,192	4.072	1.268
Traffic	4,252	4.061	1.190
Investigation	1,561	4.224	1.166
Interrogation	618	4.292	1.212
Administration	377	4.379	1.285
Total	15,000		

Table 3: Results of the testing for the difference of the mean on the quality of contact divided by their line of responsibility, within a police station.

Sources of variation	Sum of Squares	df	Means Square	F
Between groups	89.910	4	22.228	14.587 *
Within groups	22849.363	14995	1.524	
Total	22938.274	14999		

* P-value < .01.

The researchers tested for the quality of contact each group of police to find out which groups are different, using posts - hoc tests. In this study, researchers use Scheffe's test to find out the differences between the groups that received high popularity and accepted null hypothesis and conservative figures (Hair et al., 2010: 473), which are suitable for an uneven number of samples in each group in accordance with the Games-Howell method. This method is similar to the Scheffe's test which is suitable for an uneven number of samples in each group and likely to accept a null hypothesis, in addition it is also suitable for samples with heterogeneous variances and does not take into account the nature of the data that have normality in distribution. (Hilton and Armstrong, 2006: 36; Abacus Concepts, 1993; Armstrong et al, 2000)

The test results from both methods show that the quality of contact between the public and crime suppression and traffic police are different from that of the investigation, interrogation and administration divisions at .01 level, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: The difference in quality of contact determined by the functions in a police station, using the post-hoc test.

Crime suppression	Traffic	Investigation	Interrogation	Administration
4.072	4.061	4.224	4.292	4.379

Note: Means connected by a straight line are not significantly different at the .01 level.

Discussion

The study result is in line with the hypothesis of the research that crime suppression and traffic police have different quality of contact with the public compared to police officers working in other responsibilities. Traffic police has the lowest quality of contact with the public (mean = 4.0617), followed by the crime suppression and investigation police (means = 4.0720, 4.2922 respectively). The administration police have the highest quality of contact with the public (mean = 4.3788).

These results give support to Piemsoomboon's (1988) claim that crime suppression police and traffic police are working to control crimes and focus primarily on law enforcement. They often appear in uniform, set up check points and arrest those who break the laws such as traffic laws, theft, etc. The crime suppression police, who are on patrol duty in the community, have highest frequency of contact with the public, as shown in the research (n = 8,192). The traditional policing approach focuses on law enforcement as the main tool to control crimes, thus, often times this police division must show and use force. Thus, crime prevention and suppression police and traffic police focus on enforcing the laws which have direct impacts on the public.

The traditional approach to control crimes is for police to inform the community, using a one way communication method (Piemsoomboon, 1988) resulting in a low quality of contact with the public. The traffic police hold responsibility in enforcing many legislative acts such as the Automobile Act, Land Traffic Act, and issue fines to those who are found breaking those laws. The strict use of the laws aiming to cause fear among public that create public's dissatisfaction with police performance (Pitak Santirat Radio Station, 2010). This is consistent with findings that the quality of contact of traffic police was the lowest (mean = 4.0617) that affects the image of the Royal Thai Police as a whole.

Pettigrew (1998) proposed that the quality of contact can improve the attitudes between one another as well as generate better cooperation between the public and law enforcement officers. If the Royal Thai Police wants to build trust and establish positive relationships for better cooperation in solving crimes and other problems according to community policing approach, it is important to enhance the quality of contact between the public and police. Police divisions need to engage in community relations and adapt it as part of their responsibilities (Chayapan, 2012). The crime suppression and traffic police have the highest frequency of contact with public and they are a key link between the police and the public. It is important that they have positive relationships with the community in order to work together towards a safe community for all.

Future Research Direction

This research uses a questionnaire to find out the quality of contact between the public and police using the 5 groups of function divided at the police station, but it did not consider other variables that may affect the quality of contact such as gender, education level, or hometown. To extend the research and find out more about the quality of contact, future research should include these variables. This research did not look into variables that influence the increase or decrease of the levels of quality of contact, therefore future research should conduct a literature review and expand the study to determine the relationship of the variables, and research which variables affect the quality of the contact. This will help determine the policy that is practical and beneficial for improving community relations between the public and police.

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*ASEAN and the EU: Arts and Culture Festivals as Tools to Promote Regional
Identity?*

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Identity: A Typically European Affair?

Immediately after the Italian unification, the story goes that in the first session of the Parliament, one of Garibaldi's companions said: "Abbiamo fatto l'Italia, si tratta adesso di fare gli italiani"¹. In 2004 the Chinese artist Zhao Xudong wrote: "Many scholars begin to reflect on the shortcomings of typical Western conceptions such as nationality, ethnicity and identity"².

'Identity' could thus be considered a characteristically Western issue³, and specifically a European concern⁴. Nevertheless, in European Communities the insistence on a 'European identity' appears only relatively late, in the 1970s. The influential *Tindemans Report* was the first to establish a direct connection between European identity and progress in political integration, stating that "Europe cannot proceed to a greater degree of political integration without the underlying structure of a unifying European identity"⁵. Also from the 1970s is the official declaration on 'European Identity' adopted at the Conference of Heads of Government at Copenhagen in December 1973. Here, identity is linked to democratic values, and in fact, the document establishes that "The principles of representative democracy, of the rule of law, of social justice (...) and of respect for human rights" are characterised as "fundamental elements of the European Identity"⁶.

When culture is mentioned in official European Union (EU) documents, the aspirations are much more modest. In what constitutes now article 167 of *The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, identity is not mentioned and only a secondary goal, a "common cultural heritage" that has to be brought "to the fore"⁷. The main goal, however, is to contribute "to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States". In the treaties, identity is only used when considering the European presence in International affairs, and as such it appears in the *Preamble of the European Union Treaty*: "RESOLVED to implement a common foreign and security policy including the progressive framing of a common defence policy, which might lead to a common defence in accordance with the provisions of Article 42, thereby reinforcing the European identity and its independence in order to promote peace, security and progress in Europe and in the world." Identity is therefore an element

¹ "We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians", Massimo D'Azeglio (Massimo Tapparelli marchese D'Azeglio – 1798-1866), fist session of the Italian Parliament, 18.2.1861.

² Catalogue of the exhibition *All under Heaven* (2004).

³ See also: "the nation-state is an invention of the modern West, and certainly the word *nation* (*minzu*, designating 'a people' rather than a country or state) was imported into the Chinese language only at the end of the nineteenth century.", Holcombe, Charles. *A History of East Asia: From the Origins of Civilization to the Twenty-First Century*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2011, p.6.

⁴ "Outside of Europe, only those societies that possessed a singular identity and managed early to acquire rudiments of stateness, e.g., Japan, Thailand and China, were able to escape being subordinated to or colonized by European sovereign national states.", Schmitter, Philippe C. and Kim, Sunhyuk, 'Comparing Processes of Regional Integration: European Lessons and Northeast Asian Reflections, in Verdun, Amy (ed.). *Current Politics and Economics of Asia. Special Issue on the European Union and Asia*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, 2008.

⁵ The Report is from 29.12.1975, published in the Bull. CE, suppl. 1/76.

⁶ See "Annex to the Summit Conference Final Communiqué", in *Bulletin of the European Communities*, No 12, December 1973, pp. 11-12. The document was prepared by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the then nine European member states.

⁷ CONCLUSIONS OF THE COUNCIL of 10 November 1994 on the Commission communication concerning European Community action in support of culture (94/C 348/01).

that gains a visibility in the European Community life only after the first decades, and more clearly when entering into dialogue with other parts of the world rather than within the European Union itself.

Also, culture is an area that appears relatively late in the official documents. It took a long time for the European Community to act in the field of culture – at least directly and on a clear legal fundament: it was only in 1993 when a Title related to culture was included in the quoted *Treaty on the European Union* (TEU), better known as “Maastricht Treaty”⁸. This is a relatively late birth, probably due to “divergences quant à l’opportunité d’une véritable action culturel européenne”⁹, as it was said in the Commission’s “Rapport général” after the first informal meeting of the Ministries of Culture in September 1982¹⁰.

Culture and ASEAN: From *per se* to why not?

On the other side, it is not very common to link the Southeast Asia region with sophisticated and advanced models for cultural cooperation. However by 1969, barely two years after its creation, the *Association of South East Asian Nations* (ASEAN), had already developed an *Agreement for the promotion of mass media and cultural activities* in the region. The agreement was signed in the Cameron Highlands, Malaysia, by representatives from the governments of the five ASEAN member countries at the time: Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. The agreement urged the ASEAN members to promote cultural cooperation; it soon took form in a concrete body, the *Permanent Committee on Socio-Cultural Activities*, created in 1971 “to promote cooperation in the social, educational and humanitarian fields as well as in the visual and performing arts, literature and related cultural activities in order to achieve the fullest development of the ASEAN people”¹¹.

That means that 22 years before the European Community introduced a Title related to culture for the first time, culture was part of the official governmental agenda in Southeast Asia’s regional main institution. And with concrete operational results: the first *Summer Field School of Archaeology*, in May 1973; the meetings of museum experts in 1975 and 1976, that resulted in the creation of the *ASEAN Association of Museums* in December 1976; a training in traditional dance and music in 1975, followed by a meeting of experts in design and handicrafts; an *ASEAN Literary Award Programme*, established as a way acknowledge and stimulate literary production in the region and for the understanding among the ASEAN cultures; art and photography exhibitions since 1974. The activity was reinforced in October 1978,

⁸ The Treaty was signed in February 1992 by the then twelve member states of the European Communities, and is in force since November 1993. The article related to culture has been maintained with only an amendment (underlying the role of diversity) by the Treaty of Amsterdam and is also included in the Lisbon Treaty as article 167 (it was first called article 128, later 151, and now 167) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

⁹ “differences regarding the advisability of a genuine European Cultural Action”.

¹⁰ P. 41.

¹¹ *ASEAN Plan of Action on Culture and Information*, ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, Indonesia, October 1994, p. 43.

when - as a result of support from a substantial cultural grant by Japan¹² - ASEAN created the *Committee on Culture and Information* (COCI).

Those first few years of promotion of cultural and artistic activities in the region did not look to respond to any other intention or strategy than the promotion of culture as an item that deserved support and encouragement in itself.

However, what could be considered a culture *per se* policy that reigned in the first few years of ASEAN, with time, included the reflection on regional identity. There was, however, one main difference in relation to the European Communities: culture in ASEAN was then *expressis verbis*¹³ brought into direct relation with identity. In fact, it drastically evolved towards being utilised for the creation of a regional identity. As such, in 1976's *Declaration of ASEAN Concord* signed in Bali, Indonesia, it is mentioned that "Support of ASEAN scholars, writers, artistes and mass media representatives" should be promoted "to enable them to play an active role in fostering a sense of regional identity and fellowship."¹⁴ The projected *ASEAN Community*, due to enter into force in 2015, will be built upon three pillars or communities: defence, economic and socio-cultural, three communities "closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing for the purpose of ensuring durable peace, stability, and shared prosperity in the region"¹⁵. For the socio-cultural community, the role of contributor towards achieving identity and awareness of ASEAN is again reinforced, since it "shall nurture talent and promote interaction among ASEAN scholars, writers, artists and media practitioners to help preserve and promote ASEAN's diverse cultural heritage while fostering regional identity as well as cultivating people's awareness of ASEAN"¹⁶.

Here, unity and diversity are combined, but in a more audacious way than in the EU: to foster regional identity is much more than to bring to the fore a common cultural heritage¹⁷. This, in fact, is ironically clearer than the European Union's official documents go!

¹² The *ASEAN Cultural Fund* was set up in December 1978 to finance cultural cooperation within ASEAN. Japan was the initial contributor to the fund with five billion yen disbursed between 1978 and 1979.

¹³ "explicit"

¹⁴ *Declaration of ASEAN Concord*, Bali, Indonesia, 24 February 1976, <<http://www.mfa.go.th/asean/contents/files/other-20121203-171104-892621.pdf>>. This message, progressively reinforced, was also gathered in the *Singapore Declaration of 1992*, <<http://www.asean.org/news/item/singapore-declaration-of-1992-singapore-28-january-1992>>. Later on, the *Declaration of ASEAN Concord II* or *Bali Concord II*, signed in Bali, Indonesia, in October de 2003, aimed to impulse regional cooperation and integration focusing on achieving a developed shared community: "the Bali document presents an impressive and comprehensive attempt at reforming regional cooperation that could bring ASEAN on to the path of regional integration and towards a stronger standing in East Asian regionalisation", Freistein, Katja. *ASEAN after the Bali Summit 2003: From Paralysis to New Life?*, European Journal of East Asian Studies 4(2), 2005, p. 202.

¹⁵ Declaration of ASEAN Concord II (Bali Concord II), Bali, Indonesia, 7 October 2003, <<http://www.aseansec.org/15159.htm>>

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ "ASEAN countries have firmly supported the exchange of ASEAN scholars, writers, artists and teachers to enable them to play an active role in fostering a sense of regional identity and fellowship". Sucharitkul, Sompong. *ASEAN Partnership and Cooperation with Non-ASEAN Partners*, Singapore Journal of Legal Studies, 1991, p. 579

Top-down approach: festivals as tools to “promote” regional identity in ASEAN

As early as in ASEAN’s 1969 *Agreement for the promotion of mass media and cultural activities*, the organisation of “cultural festivals” was foreseen; in fact, they were mentioned as one of its four key areas¹⁸. In the background of the different approaches to the link between culture and identity, the question is posed: what has been the role of festivals, on one hand, in ASEAN and, on the other in the European Union’s cultural policy.

Starting with ASEAN, it should be underlined that as early as 1971, festivals were organised. From 1971 until 1985, fifteen editions of the *ASEAN Film Festival* were held. Other types of festivals also followed. For instance, *Theatre Festivals* (1988-1995, three editions), *Dance Festivals* (1990-1996, four editions), *Festivals of Songs* (1981-1997, thirteen editions) and *Performing Arts Festivals* (1981-1987, six editions), were prominent components of the regular ASEAN agenda of events during its first 30 years of existence (1967-1997). In total, ASEAN organised more than 40 festivals of performing arts, film and music during those three first decades. That constituted almost 30% of the totality of over 130 cultural activities organised in this period¹⁹.

By mid-1990s, when the first *ASEAN Plan of Action on Culture and Information* (1994-1997) came into force, festivals seemed to still be a priority in the agenda. “Festivals shall revert to the most pervasive form of presentations in the region which is a combination of dance and drama. Such a form allows more room for creativity [...] Performances, however, shall not be confined only to limited audiences but should also be covered by television for wider exposure”,²⁰ is expressly said in the *Plan of Action*. But despite this official declaration of support, only two festivals were organised in this period²¹.

In fact, as ASEAN grew in complexity with the years, the number of COCI meetings and the myriad of sub-committees, working groups, preparatory meetings and declarations multiplied. Instrumental in the first few decades of existence of the association, in parallel with the growth and density of the strategic processes, the number of festivals however decreased. The key seems to be: the same or even less budget, more meetings, less activities. 10 festivals were organised in the 1970’s, 19 in

¹⁸ “The Contracting Parties shall promote cultural cooperation by: (a) Exchanging artistes in the field of -visual and performing arts; (b) Undertaking Joint research n the arts and in literature; (c) Organizing seminars in the arts, literature, and related matters, and (d) Organizing cultural festivals”, *Agreement for the promotion of mass media and cultural activities*, Article 2, Cameron Highlands, Malaysia, 17 December 1969.

¹⁹ It is difficult to have a definitive count of the number of cultural events organised in the first three decades of existence of ASEAN. COCI supplies in its website a list of all the projects organised since its creation in 1978 until August 2011. This list, however, contains events of all sorts, from technical and preparatory meetings to actual cultural and artistic events as festivals. The list mixes as well both cultural and information events and sometimes events overlap areas. Film, for instance has been since the creation of COCI associated to the information section, not to culture. *Bridging a century. An information brochure on the ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information (ASEAN-COCI)*, affirms that exclusively in the artistic and cultural area “close to 80 projects from 1978 until 2000 have been or are being implemented”, of which 25 of them would be festivals, about 30% of the total.

²⁰ *ASEAN Plan of Action on Culture and Information*, ASEAN Secretariat, Jakarta, Indonesia, October 1994, p. 14.

²¹ An *ASEAN Theatre Festival* in 1995 and an *ASEAN Dance Festival* in 1996.

the 1980's and 11 in the 1990's. None was organised in the first decade of the 21st century, substituted instead by events such as *Best of ASEAN Performing Arts* (2008-2013, ten editions), a personal project of the ASEAN Secretary General, Surin Pitsuwan. Unlike the format of regular festivals taking place in different ASEAN member countries, this event was organised in a non-rotational format, and only for Jakarta audiences.

At present, the only "festival" type events organised by ASEAN (the "ASEAN Festival of Arts") are the showcase of performances forming part of the cultural programme of ASEAN's summits and major meetings. This pattern certainly limits the reach of these artistic outputs to wider audiences other than government officials, and puts into question its capacity to comply with the ambitious aims being set by several declarations²².

As ASEAN's agenda for regional integration, promotion of common identity and awareness developed, the role of government-led festivals, once instrumental to achieve those aims, diminished, its presence reduced to its minimum expression. Banished from the "identity" agenda, festivals were also exiled from the straightforward support of culture *per se* of the first years of ASEAN.

Bottom-Up Grant Programme: Festivals As Tools To "Suggest" Regional Identity In The EU

The European Communities or the European Union, on the contrary, have never organised a festival. In spite of this, festivals certainly play a relevant role in the Union's cultural action and retain an outstanding place in the Communities' life.

The Communities' cultural policy has seen three distinctive periods: A first phase that started in the 1980s, before culture was even mentioned in the Treaties, included diverse actions supporting heritage protection, translation, the formation of artistic disciplines and many others. In the second period (1996-2000), the interventions were organised in the three programs ARIANE, RAPHAEL, and KALEIDOSCOPE. Since 2000, the cultural action is concentrated on the "Culture" programmes (2000-2006, 2007-2013 and probably 2014-2020). Its budget is not substantial: in the Commission's budget for 2010, only 1.37% is devoted to Education and Culture – the disaggregated data for the different areas cannot be found; but it is clear that Education, with such programs like ERASMUS, takes the lion's share²³.

The European Culture programme is a "classical" grant programme as exists in many countries: applications are submitted and evaluated, and the available money is distributed according to a list established by the evaluators. It includes different types of activities to be funded: Multiannual cooperation projects receive more substantial

²² Other festivals that are promoted under the name "ASEAN" are either private or nationally-initiated festivals that just borrow the name for marketing or promotional reasons.

²³ The Commission's website indicates that "for 2007-13, the EU has allocated almost €13 billion to lifelong learning and worldwide exchanges" (<http://europa.eu/pol/educ/index_en.htm>). For the Culture programme is said: "The current programme runs from 2007 to 2013 with a total budget for the period of around €400 million" (<http://europa.eu/pol/cult/index_en.htm>), this would mean around 57 million per annum and 0.04% of the budget. This is very close to the figures released for previous years, for example, in 1992, it was 0.019%; in 1996, 0.03% per cent, in 2000, 0.04%.

amounts and can – therefore and for the longer duration of the project – have a greater visibility and impact. But also smaller Cooperation Measures and annual operating grants for so-called European Cultural Bodies are foreseen. Here, two types of entities can be included: the “European Ambassadors” and the networks. In 2012, four Ambassadors received an amount between 100.000 and 200.000 € and twelve networks were granted amounts between 14.000 and 120.000 €. They were selected from 55 applicants, and a total amount of 1.353.075 € was disclosed.

Knowing the organizations awarded with the title “European Ambassadors” can give accurate more accurate idea of what is considered “European”. They are:

ENSEMBLE INTERCONTEMPORAIN
Union des Théâtres de l'Europe
Concerto Köln GbR
SPIRA MIRABILIS

“Spira mirabilis” is a group devoted to the study of symphonic and chamber repertoires; its description does not include any reference to Europe.

“Ensemble InterContemporaine” was established in 1976 by the initiative of the French composer and conductor Pierre Boulez, among others; it received a grant of 200.000 €. It underlines several times both the European and the international dimension of its work²⁴ speaking about “la professionnalisation du secteur musical européen”²⁵ translation as one of its three main aims. Its merits in diffusing the European music from the 20th century are recognized. However, how relevant can the quoted amount be for an ambitious musical formation that in May 2012 gave five concerts in Paris, in June had a tour to Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Bogota, in August intervened at the Festival of Lucerne, etc.

Similarly, “Concerto Köln”, with concerts in Germany, France, Poland and The Netherlands from May to August 2012, and then a tour in Latin America (Colombia, Brazil, and Chile), receives 100.000 € by the European Union. This does not seem much for a music ensemble that – like InterContemporaine – works “mit einer europäischen und internationalen Ausrichtung”²⁶, with two added values: the members are Europeans, and this means diversity of temperaments, musical formation and cultural background; and also the repertoire is European, which means border crossing²⁷.

The “Union des Théâtres de l'Europe” is more specific when saying that “this ‘multinational house’ intensively discusses European identity, the dissolution and determination of borders”. Here at least there is a concrete reference to European

²⁴ “L'Ensemble interContemporaine (EIC) est une formation à vocation européenne et internationale, composée de 31 musiciens européens qui se consacre à l'interprétation et à la diffusion de la musique du 20^{ème} siècle à aujourd'hui, en Europe et dans le monde entier.”

²⁵ “the professionalisation of the European music industry”

²⁶ “with a European and International orientation”

²⁷ “Dabei ergibt die europäische Zusammensetzung der Mitglieder eine gute Mischung an verschiedenen

Temperamenten, Ausbildungen und kulturellen Hintergründen. Concerto Koln versteht sich als Ensemble, das explizit den Blick über den deutschen Tellerrand wagt. Das manifestiert sich in der Programmwahl und der Neugier für ein unbekanntes grenzüberschreitendes europäisches Repertoire.”

topics: identity and borders are key elements for a reflection about the common European denominator.

In all these cases, the Commission's support is more relevant due to its symbolism than to its amount: these formations are considered as "Ambassadors of Europe" and therefore supported by the European institutions. Here, in a way, the link between financial support and identity is established.

But the Culture programme also includes a budget for European Festivals and here, the situation is different. In 2012, out of the 275 European festivals that submitted an application, only 14 were selected for a grant of between 65.000 and 100.000 €, amounts that do not seem entirely relevant to so complex a project as a festival²⁸. The selected projects are:

Festival junger Künstler Bayreuth	Germany
Vilenica International Literary Festival	Slovenia
Festival Maribor	Slovenia
Festival Europavox	France
Festival Lent 2012	Slovenia
Punkt	Norway
ImPulsTanz - Vienna International Dance Festival	Austria
Street Musicians Festival	Serbia ²⁹
Festival Mysteries of Europe. XXI Storytelling Marathon	Spain
transmediale - festival for art and digital culture	Germany
12. internationales literaturfestival berlin 2012/Sparte Internationale Kinder- und Jugendliteratur	Germany
London Jazz Festival	United Kingdom
iDANS International Contemporary Dance and Performance Festival	Turkey
Gaudeamus Muziekweek	The Netherlands

It is not easy to find out what the specific European elements of these festivals are. Only in two of them do the titles mention a European element: the "Mysteries of Europe" as "Storytelling Marathon" and Festival "Europavox". In the Marathon, "professionals of oral narrative from the 30 countries in the European Union and the European Economic Area"³⁰ came together to narrate "the mysteries from Europe"³¹. It is the addition and the exchange of different perspectives that guarantee the European perspective. No other approaches are visible in the announcement of this activity. "Europavox" insists on the bias unity and diversity³² with the declared

²⁸ See <http://eacea.eu/culture/funding/2011/selection/selection_strand_136_2011_en.php>

²⁹ Serbian and Turkish entities are also eligible to the Culture programme.

³⁰ <<http://maratondeloscuentos.org/spip/spip.php?article402>>

³¹ <<http://maratondeloscuentos.org/spip/IMG/pdf/Programa-Maraton-Ingles.pdf>>

³² "L'ambition du projet est de parler de l'Europe en dépassant son image bureaucratique et impersonnelle. Le slogan 'l'unité dans la diversité' peut s'incarner pour les jeunes européens à travers

objective: “promouvoir la diversité musicale européenne”³³ With this mention it is positioning itself inside the paradigm that seems to define “Europeaness”.

In the other cases, questions may be raised, such as whether the *London Jazz Festival* includes more European elements than the many other Jazz festivals held in Europe. The festival programme does not provide support for this. It is true that three of the four highlights of the Festival are Europeans (Sarah Jane Morris, Shabaka Hutchings, Paco de Lucía)³⁴. But does this provide enough dosage of “Europeaness” in a festival that characterises itself by “the mix of international and British artists”?³⁵

This is only one example for the issues related to this programme, a “classical” granting programme with an added element (the “European dimension”) that has to be combined with the reinforcement of the cultures of the Member states.

Conclusion: A Paradox Exists

The European Union is a project that pursues deep integration. In the past, integration was done by European states at the time of their creation. They were concerned with the affirmation of their nationhood and connected to it, with the creation or development of their identities. It was not enough to put countries in a map; citizens needed to be made. Nevertheless, as we have seen, the European Institutions have placed rather weak emphasis on to “European” identity in the advancement of regionalism.

European states have often used culture as a tool to affirm their national identities. In the European Union’s treaties however, the role of culture has been much less ambitious: the presentation of a “common cultural heritage” has been sufficient. The lack of a real European cultural policy, replaced instead by a grant system with open application, makes its potential impact limited. The degree of European dimension in the projects is essentially left to the applicants, and the European Commission only influences the process through its evaluation, with a rather loose criterion: any kind of cross-border reference satisfies the requirements. The addition of elements from different parts of Europe, the exchange or the mobility – all these are acceptable. The main objective of article 167 (the promotion of the cultures of the member states) provides such a broad framework that almost every project can be accepted as long as it works beyond the borders of a country. This kind of cultural intervention, politely “suggested” as it is, cannot be considered a priority instrument to ambitiously advance European integration.

The development of nationhood and with it, of national identity, has been a common capital concern for most of Southeast Asian countries since they gained independence in the 1940’s and 1950’s. With such pressing issues at home, regional integration became secondary and the countries opted for looser regionalism patterns and institutions.

une pratique culturelle fédératrice comme la musique.” See: <<http://www.europavox.com/fr/pages/le-festival/le-projet-europavox.php?rubrique=16&page=34>>

³³ “to promote European musical diversity”

³⁴ <<http://www.londonjazzfestival.org.uk/>>

³⁵ <<http://www.londonjazzfestival.org.uk/about/our-history>>

However ASEAN, while having weak integration in mind, discovered culture as early as the 1970's as a significant field from where to stimulate regional identity. It was ASEAN itself who organised cultural events, traditionally following a top-down and not people-centred approach in its interaction with civil societies. Only in the last few years some initiatives have challenged that perspective: the *ASEAN Foundation*, created in 1997 with the goal of helping to bring about shared prosperity and a sustainable future to all ASEAN countries; included some cultural projects like an *Asian Children Cultural Festival* (2003), a Training and Workshop for *Managing the Integration of Culture into Development Programmes* (2002-2005) and some financial contribution towards the *Best of ASEAN Performing Arts* project. These projects however remain still isolated initiatives without much sustainability and get little relevance in the myriad of economic, security and more social-oriented initiatives.

ASEAN's COCI, today with shrinking and limited budgets, does not organise as many festivals and high-visibility cultural activities as it did in the past. Over the decades, it has equally failed in establishing consolidated funding and stimulating the creation of civil society-oriented mechanisms and structures, such as networks and associations. Without these platforms, the independent discussion and reflection on cultural issues has been limited and the growth and impact of cultural events such as festivals slow. In a more globalised world where regional alliances are becoming more important, and with the ambitious projected *ASEAN Communities* due to enter into force in 2015, culture and festivals seem to be more necessary than ever in order to affirm and "promote" the now much desired regional identity.

As this paper has outlined, both the EU and ASEAN have for decades incorporated policies related to culture and the arts, sometimes as well -more in the case of ASEAN than the EU- aiming to stimulate regional identity. Festivals, as essential components of culture, have in both been at different stages important tools for the two entities to invigorate regionalism. However, over the years, while the strategic importance of festivals has progressively decreased in ASEAN, in the European Union it has gradually augmented. It is very difficult to measure the effective outcomes of the EU's bottom-up approach to culture, based on a *laissez faire* policy and the conviction that weak intervention will provoke positive results. ASEAN's top-down approach – paradoxically, a more direct intervention by the less formalised organisation - seems to have caused fatigue to the regional institutions and scepticism towards the effectiveness of organised culture.

Are We There Yet? Understandings of Home Among Compulsive Migrants

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Abstract

This dissertation addresses a gap in the field of cultural studies by analysing compulsive migrants — individuals who voluntarily migrate out of *desire* rather than *need*. Employing in-depth interviews, I create a theoretical framework for compulsive migrants' understandings of home based on their lived experiences. Research on migration focuses on home from a literal and figurative standpoint, emphasising the theoretical consequences of leaving the original home behind. Home emerges as closely linked to belonging, which is traditionally associated with place. Compulsive migrants, by contrast, do not locate a sense of belonging in geographical place. They are voluntary, non-economically driven migrants whose mobility is determined by a search for self-fulfilment. Exhibiting cosmopolitan mindsets, compulsive migrants thrive in experiencing the unknown — people, places and cultures — while retaining their own values, beliefs and lifestyles. They experience a heightened sense of boredom, which they employ as a coping strategy for dealing with their disillusionment with the world. In this sense, boredom can be a means of escaping a life that is deemed unfulfilling. Compulsive migration surfaces as a response to coping with the world's uncertainties. For compulsive migrants, home is an interplay between three things: a cosmopolitan cultural identity; the principal motivation for continuing to migrate, boredom; and a sense of belonging based on a familiarity with a culture and its people. In these ways, compulsive migrants form part of a transnational elite seeking fulfilment beyond familiar borders. This politics of self-actualisation opens important legal, political and ethical questions for future cultural research.

Keywords: Transnational Elite, Global Migration, Home, Identity, Cosmopolitanism, Boredom

What is home to you? Geena, one of my research participants, states: “That’s a really good question. I philosophise a lot about that. I hope you don’t expect me to give you a straight answer.”

Articulations of migration’s impact on migrants often emphasise the idea of home: the migrant experience, after all, is one of mobility away from one’s place of origin. It is associated with the post-modern condition, a metaphor for the rootlessness and homelessness of contemporary identity, and is as such heavily contested (Chambers 27; Morley 2-3, 9; Massey 151). Migration relies “on the designation of home as that which must be overcome” by either rejecting the existence of home or accepting its existence and attempting to escape it (Ahmed 339). The migrant is inherently intertwined with the notion of home. “Migration is a one-way trip. There is no ‘home’ to go back to. There never was” (Hall, “Minimal” 115). Migrancy is an irreversible experience: the act of moving over national borders is the gateway to the life of an international migrant.

Migration is generally divided into forced and voluntary migration, with the former including refugees, asylum seekers and trafficked individuals, and the latter consisting primarily of labour migrants and family reunification migrants (Martin n.pag.). The experience of migration varies greatly between forced and voluntary migrants; this paper focuses on voluntary migration only. Academic research on voluntary migration has focused on understandings of home among migrants from a literal and figurative standpoint, emphasising the theoretical consequences of leaving the original home behind. Greg Madison’s work (“Conceptualising”; *Existential*) is an exception in both the method and the conclusion, which emphasises the rather poorly understood motivations behind voluntary migration (Amit 8; Al-Ali and Koser 14) and its impact on home. Madison investigated migrants’ reflexive performance of home. What makes his approach unique is his focus on non-economically driven voluntary migrants, meaning those who move internationally for reasons other than monetary benefit. Furthermore, Madison uses in-depth interviews as his primary research method, developing the idea of home-as-interaction, thereby synthesising the method and concept that I base my own research on. This presentation uses Madison’s study as a starting point to expand on the understandings of voluntary migrants’ complex relationship with home.

I have chosen to study an unlikely candidate to elucidate home — the one who continuously migrates. In particular, my study focuses on the sub-segment of voluntary migrants who have moved internationally out of *desire* rather than *need*. This group has been absent from academic research. My analysis investigates the type of individuals that willingly uproot themselves continuously to experience life in different parts of the world. I call these individuals ‘compulsive migrants’. Compulsive migrants’ frequent international moves make it more difficult to locate a sense of belonging in place and are therefore the perfect research subject for a study on home, as home cannot be based on place alone.

During the research process, the question of home evolved in unanticipated directions. Compulsive migrants hold complex notions of home. As well, compulsive migrants’ cultural identity impacts the motivations for repetitive migration. Thus, I argue that for compulsive migrants, home is an inter-play between three things: a cosmopolitan cultural identity; boredom; and a sense of belonging based on a familiarity with a culture and its people.

Method

Because interviews enable detailed exploration of “people’s subjective experiences, meaning-making, accounting processes, and unspoken assumptions about life and the social world in general” (Healey-Etten and Sharp 157), I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with compulsive migrants to gain insight into their understandings of home. With a small sample size of eight people there is no representative value. Instead, the value lies in the individual interviewees’ “voices add[ing] an important dimension to understanding the full spectrum of the issues involved” (Caluya et al. 89). The interviews with compulsive migrants centred on five questions:

1. Describe your life in terms of the countries you have lived in.
2. Relate which countries you moved to because you *wanted* to move. What attracted you to those countries?
3. What were your motivations for moving away from where you were living?
4. What is home to you?
5. How do you relate to home?

These purposefully vague questions enabled conversations as opposed to question and answer sessions. Interviewees were aware of the study’s focus on migration; however, they were unaware of the focus on home. By giving the participants the chance to narrate their life stories around topics of their choosing (albeit based on the questions above), I gained insight into their understanding of self, home, and their motivations for migration. The first two questions emphasising migration and countries of residence were intended to help the participants overcome any concerns about the interview. The remaining questions addressed motivations for migration and then focussed on the participants’ initial reaction to home, revealing whether they had thought about home before. To probe further, I asked about the participants’ relationship to home, which resulted in discussions about identity and belonging.

I cannot discount my partiality to this topic: I am a compulsive migrant and therefore can relate to the interviewees’ narratives. This is suited to cultural studies, which locates the self firmly in the practice of research, using reflexivity as a tool for critical (self-) awareness (Johnson et al. 44, 60). The researcher’s own process of representation forms the basis for ethnographic research (Skeggs 199). My personal history provides a unique perspective into my interviewees’ stories. Furthermore, I used my own compulsive migrancy to encourage participants to share experiences, buoyed by identifying with someone who has made similar lifestyle choices (Madison, “Conceptualising” 243). These in-depth interviews with compulsive migrants create a theoretical framework of their understanding of home based on the specificity of individual lived experiences.

Defining the compulsive migrant

For my purposes, I define a compulsive migrant as someone who has migrated from his or her country of origin voluntarily at least twice *and* has the intention of migrating again in the future. This excludes economic migrants (who move for education or improved employment), those moving to be with a partner, and forced migrants such as refugees. Compulsive migrants seek opportunities abroad because they truly *desire* to live in different countries. They uproot themselves for reasons that they usually do not understand. They differ from travellers by staying in their chosen locations for at least a year and ‘settling’ — with a (semi) permanent address, work or study, and a social life including friend groups.

Because visas to live, work or study in foreign countries can be difficult to obtain, most compulsive migrants are educated, skilled workers with some disposable income. Compulsive migrants are part of a transnational elite formed by corporate expatriates and NGO workers, humanitarian service workers, and diplomats, amongst others (Sassen 169). They benefit from their mobility as they can monetise the international networks they build from their transnational lifestyle (175). Furthermore, they are likely to belong to the “creative class”, defined by its professional status of working in a creative capacity that drives economic profits (Florida 69). My interviewees — three researchers, an engineer, an advertising strategist, a freelance journalist, a project manager, and a kitchen chef — are all in professions that depend on creative abilities to produce new ways of thinking that can broaden concepts, set agendas and influence others.

Compulsive migrants are a highly mobile group of educated professionals that seek experiences beyond what their immediate surroundings can offer. They tend to have an insatiable thirst for exploring unconventional thinking and the unknown, both in their private and professional lives. Often misunderstood, they have to constantly explain their decision to migrate, particularly to friends and family who perceive them as abandoning their homes. They have to justify their decision to move to those they leave behind as well as to their new social groups. These characteristics are a universal migrancy phenomenon (Hall, “Minimal” 115), which may be exacerbated by the compulsive nature of this type of migration.

What differentiates the compulsive migrant from other types of migrants is the *desire* to migrate for the *sake of experiences*. Following Jacques Lacan, David Oswell demonstrates that desire is a means of compensating for a perceived lack in an attempt at self-improvement (109). In the case of compulsive migrants, this leads to repeated migration.

Life Stories

My interviewees’ life stories introduce compulsive migrancy. Life stories are a way of gaining context and making new discoveries (Atkinson 7; Hall, “Cultural” 224). Each of these stories depicts a compulsive migrant, revealing commonalities. Except those who moved internationally during childhood, interviewees started migrating in their early to mid 20s as a means of exploring life beyond known boundaries. The first voluntary migration is triggered by exposure to people from other countries, friends’ success abroad, dissatisfaction with their life in their country of origin, or curiosity about the world. The first international experience leads to another, and the desire to move again and again; going back to one’s country of origin seems, at least in the short term, not to be an option. This behaviour is the reason for calling these migrants ‘compulsive’: it is not meant in a psychoanalytic sense but indicates repetitive migration. While some interviewees would like to settle in the future, none have specific plans or a time frame for settling, and they are concerned about their ability to do so. A few acknowledge migration as a means for finding the perfect location to settle, while simultaneously admitting that they do not expect to find it. The following life stories highlight the interviewees’ diversity.

Table 1
 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF PARTICIPANTS

Name	Age	Gender	Relationship Status, # of children	Profession	Nationality	Country of Birth	Countries Lived in for a Minimum of 1 Year*
Heather	28	Female	Single	Consumer Researcher	Slovenia	Slovenia	Slovenia, UK
Hillary	29	Female	Domestic partnership	Freelance Journalist	Finland	Finland	Finland, Brazil, Belgium, USA
Florence	32	Female	Married	Advertising Strategist	New Zealand	New Zealand	New Zealand, USA
Geena	62	Female	Divorced, 2 children	PhD Candidate	UK	UK	UK, Germany, Egypt, Somalia, Cyprus, Holland, Turkey, Israel, Oman
George	29	Male	Domestic partnership	Kitchen Chef	Germany	Seychelles	Seychelles, Germany, New Zealand
Anthony	28	Male	Single	Political & Social Researcher	UK	UK	UK, France, Belgium
Luis	39	Male	Married	Engineer	Costa Rica	Costa Rica	Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, New Zealand, Sweden
Robert	46	Male	Single	Project Manager	UK	UK	UK, USA, Germany

* All interviewees were living in Sydney, Australia, for a minimum of 1 year before the interview.

Anthony

Anthony is from a small British town and has been in Australia for six months. He started moving internationally after realising that many of his friends were from abroad and had life experiences beyond his imagination. Leaving the UK for the first time at 24, Anthony moved to Paris with his Parisian girlfriend. This marked the beginning of short stays in France and Belgium, lasting from several months to two years, before he came to Australia. He hopes to move to South America next and has been studying Spanish in anticipation. Eventually he would like to move back to Europe to be closer to his family. He is planning to retire in the town where he grew up. Although he expects to eventually build a life in one location, he questions whether he will be able to do so.

Florence

Florence is from Auckland, New Zealand. She first migrated for further education. Back in New Zealand, she married a local who, like her, aspired to live abroad. Both found jobs in New York and spent several years there before the global financial crisis stripped the city of its glamour. Moving to Australia to be closer to family, Florence and her partner expect to move again in the future; however, distance to New Zealand matters to them. Florence is committed to her partner, family and friends, but feels no commitment to a place.

Geena

The daughter of a British military contractor, Geena grew up moving around the world, imitating her parents in calling Britain 'home', although she had only spent holidays there. Completing high school and university in Perth, Australia, she moved to London, UK, after graduation. Marriage and children temporarily ended her compulsive migration. After she divorced and her adult children moved out, she picked up where she had left off: moving around the world, particularly the Middle East. Currently settled in a PhD program in Sydney, the 62-year-old hopes to explore more of the world after graduation.

Hillary

Hillary's first international experience was as a 16-year-old exchange student in Brazil. The blond Finnish teenager attracted a lot of attention and the experience left her slightly traumatised. Nevertheless, after graduating from university in Helsinki, she realised Finland was not the place where she wanted to spend the rest of her life. Internships in Belgium and the USA entertained her for a while but the only full-time employment she could find was in Finland. A new career in freelance journalism gave her the opportunity to leave Finland again. She now lives in Sydney with her Canadian partner and freelances for Finnish newspapers. She does not see herself settling in Australia and is already plotting her next destination.

Heather

Heather grew up in a town bordering Slovenia and Italy. Living on the border shaped her identity; she has never fully identified with either nationality. At 18, she took the opportunity to flee that dilemma and went to study in the UK. She has travelled extensively, and after Australia, her next destination will likely be South America. Although she would like to settle somewhere in the future, she has a hard time imagining a fulfilling life without moving.

George

George was born in the Seychelles to a Finnish mother and German father. At 10, his family moved to Germany. Feeling that he never fit in, he left 18 years later to work first in New Zealand and then Australia. George would like to settle in a place that "feels right" but is unable to articulate his expectations further. In the meantime, he is happy moving around the world; however, he is in a relationship with someone who does not want to migrate frequently. George acknowledges that he will have to change his ways but questions his ability to do so.

Luis

Luis, in contrast, has found the perfect partner. He is married to an artist who thrives in unknown environments and on Luis's migrant lifestyle. Born in the capital of Costa Rica, Luis moved to the Dominican Republic with his family during high school. Back in Costa Rica, he became frustrated with the country's bureaucracy and decided to search for a better system. His quest has taken him to New Zealand, Sweden and Australia, and he is now considering the USA. He believes he will live in Costa Rica again in the future to be close to his family; however, he doubts he will be happy there. Consequently, he keeps pushing off the inevitable return.

Robert

Robert started moving later in life than the other interviewees: at 35, he decided to leave his native England for the USA. He has since lived in Germany and Australia and is looking to settle where he feels comfortable and can create meaningful relationships with people. He acknowledges that he migrates because he is searching for something without being able to define what that is. He fears that one day he will look back and realise that he had everything he was looking for without knowing it.

Understandings of Home

The research participants discussed belonging as way of defining home. Most commonly they established a sense of belonging through relationships with other people. Robert envisions home as “a place with a nice quality of life, where you have people around you, friends, possibly family ... because that is what makes home. The people you're with”. His comments confirm theories that social interactions and encounters form a support network that makes one feel at home (Ahmed 340; Rapport and Dawson 27). Robert further describes familiarity of place and people:

Once you have lived in a country for a bit, you have friends and you understand how the place works. It doesn't seem alien to you so you can feel at home there . . . [A] big part of it is when you become used to a place, when it doesn't seem strange anymore.

Familiarity involves knowledge of the location as well as an understanding of the alien culture. “How” one belongs is thus more important than “where” one belongs (Allon 286). The *unfamiliar* is what causes excitement and the thrill of discovering a new location and people; the *familiar* is what creates a sense of belonging.

A sense of belonging based on familiarity with the culture and having social relations, including local friendships, can be encompassed in the concept of home-as-interaction. Interactions with environment and people are necessary to become familiar with a culture and develop a sense of belonging. Home-as-interaction may explain the basic needs that have to be met for a compulsive migrant to feel at home, but it does not explain why the same does not apply for the compulsive migrant's place of origin. It also does not suffice as an explanation for why compulsive migrants continue moving. To better understand the compulsive migrants' notion of home requires further consideration of their motivations.

Motivations for Compulsive Migration: Cosmopolitanism

Luis is the only research participant who describes himself as a “citizen of the world”; however, other interviewees demonstrate this cosmopolitan cultural disposition that includes a heightened desire to engage in cultural experiences, alien mannerisms and customs (Appiah 91; Hannerz 239-40; Tomlinson 185). Florence, a New Zealander, exhibits cosmopolitanism by actively choosing places that provide her with new and foreign experiences.

Moving is about meeting new people and starting a new experience. It forces you to grow, and that's attractive . . . One of the things that turned us off of London was that a lot of New Zealanders go to London and we really wanted to experience something different.

Florence is drawn towards cultures that differ from her own. She discusses her friends in New York being from all over world and how she is able to learn about different

behaviours and ideas through her interactions with them. Florence calls it “eye-opening”.

Many interviewees speak of the benefits of engaging with foreign cultures and people. Robert, for example, decided to learn how to play the cello and join a semi-professional orchestra in Germany. He could have joined an orchestra in his native England; however, it was Munich’s ubiquitous orchestras that inspired the idea. Joining an orchestra helped him integrate into the city’s culture instantly: “I hit the ground running . . . and after a month I realised it was a really nice place. I liked the culture, as a foreigner”. This qualifier — “as a foreigner” — acknowledges that if he were a local, he may have felt differently about Munich, because it would have mandated a different level of involvement. As a foreigner, choosing his level of engagement is easier. Through limited involvement in politics, for example, but full submersion in Munich’s orchestra culture, Robert selectively experiences life in Munich. While this could be perceived as problematic in the framework of a cosmopolitan cultural identity, Robert’s selectivity highlights his sensitivity towards the world as a world citizen, a *global* as opposed to *local* engagement.

Hillary believes that changing her environment gives her the ability to reinvent herself in a never-ending process of self-improvement.

Somehow every time you move abroad you are free to . . . invent yourself anew. Because you are doing something different, you are living somewhere else, you have a completely different circle of people around you.

Leaving behind the life she knows gives Hillary the confidence to explore aspects of herself that she otherwise may have left undiscovered. A freedom emerges from the challenges caused by placing herself in new environments and situations. She compares the experience of migration with drug-induced euphoria, claiming that she “gets hooked on the high of learning new things”. She describes challenges as a means of providing new ideas and feeding her imagination, leading to creativity and inspiration. The overseas experience enhances her cultural capital, which she values highly. Hillary’s comments reflect Karen O’Reilly and Michaela Benson’s analysis of migrants perceiving mobility as enabling their self-realisation (4), a process Anthony Giddens sees as emblematic of modernity (*Modernity and Self-Identity*).

Motivations for Compulsive Migration: Boredom

Compulsive migrants like Hillary seek out challenges as a learning experience as well as a distraction, a break from the routine and monotonous life they consider boring. Boredom is mentioned by every research participant as one of the reasons for geographical mobility. Interviewees talk about boredom leading to escapes from their communities, hometowns, and cities or countries of residence. Luis says, “I just get bored when I do the same thing for 18 months or 2 years because there’s nothing else to learn. And it would be the same thing with the country”. Heather feels the same: “It’s kind of exciting when you live in different places, you learn so much about different people and yourself . . . I think I get bored easily if I stay somewhere too long”. Luis and Heather expect excitement and challenges from their physical surroundings and the people they interact with. Boredom is fostered by a lack of engaging stimulation. Heather explains:

Some of my friends ask: “Why do you move again? You have to start all over again”. And I’m like, “that’s actually quite exciting”. For me it was very exciting to come and start exploring a new place and meet new people. There

are still places in Sydney that I haven't been to. It's great; you can go and explore a new street, a new thing. For me, that's exciting. Sometimes familiarity is good. But it's boring after a while.

Migration, thus, is a way of escaping the repetitive lifestyle and is perceived as a means of providing change. As Heather puts it: "It's a two-year cycle where I think I need a change. And I could easily see myself in two years thinking, 'okay, what next?'" Heather reflects the sentiments Elizabeth S. Goodstein identifies as "the disaffection with the old that drives the search for change", which in turn creates a dissatisfaction produced by the constant drive for change (1; see also Leslie 35 and Salzani 131). Boredom generates a cycle that becomes impossible to break. Heather and her fellow compulsive migrants exhibit a practical application of the intellectual debates on boredom being a driver of change, an engine of creation, and a means of self-improvement (Benjamin 105; Moran 180; Hayes 4).

If boredom is the reason why compulsive migrants keep leaving the places where they have established a sense of belonging, boredom is also the reason why they have several homes throughout their lives. It is the underlying cause for leaving their *original* home as well as every *subsequent* home. Further research is necessary to understand the causes of compulsive migrants' heightened sense of boredom.

Conclusion

Employing in-depth interviews, I created a theoretical framework for compulsive migrants' understandings of home based on their lived experiences. Compulsive migrants have a cosmopolitan drive to explore the world by taking up residence in different countries. These perpetual migrants uproot themselves constantly because they like to engage with the foreign. Exhibiting cosmopolitan mindsets, compulsive migrants thrive in experiencing the unknown — people, places and cultures — while retaining their own values, beliefs and lifestyles. They are excited by the negotiation between foreign cultures and their own. Cosmopolitanism, then, is one reason for compulsive migrants' mobility, but this is not the only factor explaining compulsive migrants' motivations.

Boredom may offer an explanation for the repetitive migration. Compulsive migrants crave challenges. Moving within a city or country, however, does not seem to provide them with the challenges that they require. Their cosmopolitan disposition demands encounters with culturally different environments and people, making international migration their primary solution to bored states of mind. When these new locations inevitably become familiar, however, compulsive migrants experience a renewed lack of challenges, renewing the desire to migrate. For these individuals, boredom creates a never-ending cycle of compulsive migration.

Compulsive migrants use boredom as a coping strategy for dealing with their disillusionment with the world. In this sense, boredom can be a means of escaping a life and lifestyle that is deemed to be unfulfilling. The experience of migration is supposed to fill the void and keep them entertained and challenged. That compulsive migrants continue migrating, however, shows that migration is not the solution to the problem. The boredom that leads to migration ultimately perpetuates the feeling of boredom. Meaning *cannot* be found in migration. It is a temporary escape, a 'quick fix' to a larger existential problem that Martin Heidegger addresses in the "question of Being" (in Giddens 224). Furthermore, while compulsive migrants choose the

lifestyle of migration, they claim that it is not a choice, but a reaction to their desire for self-actualisation.

Compulsive migrants use migration to increase their cultural capital by learning about and integrating with foreign cultures. Giddens calls this the “reflexive project of the self”, a post-traditional form of coping with the challenges of modernity (32). This politics of self-actualisation opens important legal, political, and ethical questions for future cultural research. A better understanding of the underlying reasons for compulsive migration and compulsive migrants’ identity can result in recognition of this group. Furthermore, theories on compulsive migrants may find application to other migrant groups. Many fields could benefit from further exploration, including cultural studies, sociology, psychology, and (immigration and citizenship) law.

This study has taken me through migrant homes and varying degrees of belongings based on cultural identity, friendships, family and familiarity. I have found that the inverse relationship of belonging and excitement places compulsive migrants in an impossible situation: when one belongs, the familiarity leads to boredom; when one is a stranger in a foreign land, the unfamiliar causes excitement. To experience excitement, the compulsive migrant must be in unfamiliar realms, thus leading a long-distance relationship with belonging. A compulsive migrant cannot simultaneously belong *and* experience the thrill of the unknown. Home becomes the point in the middle of the inverse relationship of belonging and excitement.

Home is the short-lived moment when compulsive migrants interact with a culture that provides a sense of belonging based on relationships *before* the culture becomes boring so that their cosmopolitan interest in the wider world is still being met. A new culture offers challenges and excitement but no familiarity and sense of belonging: it is a home in the making. For compulsive migrants to actually *be* at home, a balance between familiarity, the unfamiliar, and belonging must be struck. Which may explain why Geena, Hillary, Luis, and all the other compulsive migrants I interviewed did not know how to define home.

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The multicultural celebrities or Asia in Warsaw

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Abstract

The goal of the paper is a multidisciplinary and multicultural analysis and interpretation of the particular aspects of celebrity culture – relations of social actors “known for its well-knownness”. Speaking of celebrities in post-communist countries means speaking of hedonism, narcissism and entertainment as well as cultural and economic power, gender and identity management. Eventually, it is a discourse about consumption and media oriented culture. Employing two additional levels: the ethnic and comparative one broadens the methodological field. The first level teaches a researcher that there is nothing global in the celebrity system. As far as the latter is concerned, a question concerning the equality of the means of expression arises: does one overwhelming celebrity system exist?

In that sense I am going to enlarge the methodological approach. While taking into consideration the paradigm created by Vilem Flusser and Paul Virilio (what seems to be typical for the media studies), what we also need is the Foucauldian paradigm, Zygmunt Bauman’s and David Morley’s sociology of “liquid reality” and mobile territory as well as the idea of comparison of ethnic popular cultures.

I am going to analyze an image of Asian celebrities in Poland having into consideration the press (two opinion daily and weekly, two tabloids), television (two popular entertainment shows) and two Internet celebrity sites: Pudelek and Plotek. The questions about cultural differences, social power (political, economic and symbolic) as well as condition of being strange will be posed.

“*Fame Attack* is not just about ‘them’, it is about ‘us’”
Rojek (2012: ix).

“Representation is control. The power to represent the world is the power to represent us in it or it in us, for the final stage of representing merges representator and the represented into one” (Fiske 2003: 285).

My research began with something rather naïve. Enthralled by the Orient (while staying in China, India, and several post-Soviet republics), I thought that this fascination, which my fellow countrymen appeared to share, would sooner or later materialize; that the popular icons of the East would mark their presence in Polish culture. Murakami’s literary success, the ever-closer economic ties with China and South Korea, or the strong presence of Japanese popular culture (especially anime) in the Polish market are among many examples of the relations between the Polish culture and Asian cultures. There are certain similarities in the political dates, too, though the meaning of these is different. June 4, 1989 – when Poland held the first (partially free) parliamentary elections, Beijing witnessed demonstrations followed by the students’ massacre.

But the choice of celebrities as the main subject of this research came from my understanding of their social role. I am more and more convinced that there exists a common view of the phenomenon (as proposed by David Marshall, Zygmunt Bauman or myself), which revolves around the following questions and possible answers:

- Are celebrities simply reproducing and copying the system in which they function, or do they have revolutionary goals: they want to fundamentally change this system so that it is more favorable to them?
- Do they not, in fact, build a new public sphere, generated by the ecological system of media? Quite often, they play the two roles simultaneously: on the one hand, they legitimize the system through their spectacular existence, on the other – they undermine its foundations, as this... lies in their nature. The latter, they may as well only pretend to be doing.

With all this in mind, I was hoping my research would provide at least partial answers to the following questions: Is the Polish scene interested in Asia in terms of culture, and, in particular, different kinds of celebrities? If so, how is it manifested? At first glance, it seems that this interest should be naturally fostered by the economy and the many geopolitical features (neighborhood with Russia). To what extent are Asian popular cultures present in the Polish media in a given period of time? What methods do they use in order to appeal to the broadcasting media? Do celebrities have a nationality or are they by definition global?

The focus of my research was press (leading daily newspapers, opinion-making weeklies, and major tabloids), television (selected breakfast television programs and a popular talk show) and web portals dedicated to celebrities. The research was conducted between 21 and 27 March 2013, that is precisely during the week before Easter, a very important holiday in Poland. For the purpose of this talk, I also decided

to provide some background information, i.e., the results of my analysis of how news programs functioned during one and the same day in several countries.

1. Glocal, mobile, fluid world of culture (including that of celebrities)

First, I decided to outline the theoretical horizon of the problem of ethnic alienation and celebrityism. I considered it crucial to establish these characteristics because news broadcasting is a powerful tool legitimized in the area of cultural and ethnic identity.

A. Every consumer can be a local

A couple of years ago, the Daewoo Group released an advertisement promoting their cars. The idea was based on the strongly positive valorization of cultural affinity between the two nations: that of Poland and of South Korea (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nv1wYQ_nmA). The image was intentionally blurred, as if to imply the dynamics of the events presented. The first slogan was archery and sport: the advert showed a Polish and a Korean sportswoman. The second slogan was dance: Korean dancers and a flash showing a couple dressed in Polish folk costumes. Next, hospitality: pouring tea and smiling faces of the representatives of the other culture as the main focus. Then the sound of symphonic music, the semantic globality of which was signaled (with a slightly audible dissonance) by the soundtrack: the advert portrayed a symphonic orchestra as a unity of various musical instruments. The advert ended with a phrase: “Poland – Korea. 40 million people. We have so much in common. Daewoo. So good to be with you.”

The essential idea behind this advert was to tone down contrasts, and thus create a feeling of affinity and unity of cultures. The Korean experts in branding the image of Daewoo settled on a rather simple approach to the issue (if not a too simplistic one). The problem of comparing cultures is always much more complicated than it first seems. What is more, I am not convinced whether it is effective to adopt the strategy of domestication by showing the product’s similarity to the consumer’s culture.

B. Can a local be a bit more or a bit less local?

The categories “local – regional – global” are separable yet hierarchical spheres. They are interdependent, but rarely in cooperation. Besides, one can introduce some intermediate states between them. Stuart Hall, one of the leading representatives of the Birmingham School, called for the need to develop a new ethnicity concept, including the ethnicity of margins and peripheries: “That is to say, a recognition that we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular experience, a particular culture, without being contained by that position as ‘ethnic artists’ or film-makers. We are all, in that sense, *ethnically* located and our ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are” (Hall 1996: 447). Hall’s reflection provokes further questions: Can this “local guy” become gradually more familiar? Even if a positive answer seems logical, the contemporary post-communist examples prove something quite different. Artificial ties that bound the Slavic countries together in the camp dominated by Russia broke down after 1989, and from then onwards the ethnically close countries could communicate directly with the “headquarters” in Brussels.

C. Can the terms “transnational” and “glocalism” help describe our situation?

Researchers who deal with the celebrity phenomenon have observed the problem of transnationality and acknowledged it as one of the most momentous ones (*Celebrity Studies*, March 2011 Vol. 2, No. 1). The concept is important also because of the fact that stars come from many places, but they are mobile: they often travel for various purposes (Brangelina’s trip to Namibia to give birth to their child is just one of the extravagant examples). The semantic difficulties posed by “glocalism” (as one of the intermediate states) is that the concept of globalism is not standardized. I mean not only the process of perception of such a celebrity, but also the production of meanings. What seems fascinating about that latter case are the strategies which result in the British producing their celebrities who are to be familiar, while their American counterparts remain far more detached. And if celebrities travel, they indeed can mould our sense of national or transnational existence.

D. Global, dissolved and ethereal – here we meet the media!

Years ago McLuhan joked about the media being not the message, but the massage; that coexisting with them means you and all around you getting a full body massage; that the media have disappeared because they are everywhere – they are the background noise and air at the same time. Here is how another American researcher formulates his uncompromising attitude: “The newness of the contemporary human condition can perhaps best be understood in an abstract sense as a socio-technical experience of reality – a reality that seems to submit itself (potentially) to the affordances (or, as Deleuze and Guattari have suggested, ‘agencements’) of media: a reality that could be cut, pasted, edited, remixed and forwarded. This argument builds on my earlier suggestion that media should not be seen as somehow located outside of lived experience, but rather should be seen as intrinsically part of it. Our life is lived *in*, rather than *with*, media – we are living a *media life*” (Deuze 2011: 242). Let us see to what extent the media life is restricted by the rules of ethnic culture.

II. When our small world pretends to be global – according to TV news magazines

A question arises: where does the “local” end and the “global” begin? In 1992, Graham Chapman, Professor of Geography at the University of London, conducted an intriguing comparative study of news programs, which he entitled: “TV: the World Next Door?” (Chapman 1992). It was based on the analysis of data collected from various broadcasters, and described news programs from several countries across the world but broadcast during a single day – November 19, 1991. In order to arrange the material in homogeneous groups of subjects, 23 descriptors were created according to Western European standards. The methodology of this study proved a great success as it introduced combined descriptors, which combined geographic regions with much less stable descriptors concerning widely understood values and abstract concepts.

The study was very impressive, indeed, if we take into account its territorial impact. Still, it had significant limitations if we look at it from a media expert’s perspective. The subject of Chapman’s study was over a thousand cases that he analyzed in terms of their content while ignoring the form of presentation. Another issue is that it is hard even to imagine that the material could have been analyzed using both parameters, if we consider the amount of the data. The main asset of Chapman’s study, however, is that he paid significant attention to the impact of cultural

parameters. The British scholar outlined the areas of interest according to local and global issues. His analysis showed that particular regions were interested in themselves only. But those choices did not seem consistent. It is an illusion to think that big stories of global broadcasters are widely present; we will usually find them only in the stations of the so-called West (i.e., Western Europe and the USA). It seems that the world is just “behind the door” (we all know the power of TV when it reports on the famine in Africa), as Chapman concludes. He also points out that a significant part of the world is nevertheless ignored.

What the British author states in the conclusion to his report does not sound new to the experts who deal with the media. They have long known that the general interest in local programs is high – the same is true in the case of global programs. But a totally new challenge is only to be faced due to the changes that are happening, and will be happening, in this structure of broadcasting. Eighteen years after Chapman’s experiment, on May 21, 2009, I recorded 12 evening news programs and subjected them to analysis: “Wiadomości”(TVP1, Polish public TV), “Wydarzenia” (Polsat, Polish commercial TV), “Fakty” (TVN, Polish commercial TV), “BBC World News”, EuroNews, “Your World Today” (CNN), “Tagesschau 1” (ARD, German), “ZDF Heute” (ZDF, German), “TG1” (RAI1, Italian), “CCTV9 News” (CCTV9, Chinese), “Vesti” (Russia 24), “Al Jazeera Live” (Al Jazeera English).

I modified the methodology of Chapman’s study as it was focused on combined descriptors. I added an important element absent in the study, namely, the rhetoric of the visual presentation: I introduced the analysis of scenography, dress, and presenters’ (or hosts’) behavior. I also paid attention to the importance of the duration and the amount of journalistic material. The analysis resulted in a general statement: May 21, 2009 – on that day no celebrity tripped up in the shopping mall, there was no assassination attempt on a head of state, no disaster that would claim hundreds or thousands of victims happened in any of the distant countries.

I also reached a number of interesting conclusions concerning proportions. For example, the decision to select these parameters proved particularly important for the analysis of the material coming from non-native ethnic context. It would be hard to disregard the fact that Polish magazines presented only two selections from abroad on that day, just like the Italians who showed only two foreign events; the Russians were focused solely on themselves. It is striking that Germany had four to five events from outside the country. In the case of global news channels, the proportions were obviously different, presenting a chaotic, kaleidoscopic jigsaw puzzle. But in this case, “they” and “theirness” are not the opposite of “us”: rather, “they” are “not us”, or “not us” yet. The news is another aspect of this “we”. The former understanding was emotional in nature and it consisted in incorporation (if not in the interpreter’s conquistador-like ambitions). The latter is more collective: “we” (watching the news live here and now) can become a depository of group/universal values. The “door to the global world” is open, but some regions pass unnoticed in the global perspective. Growing out of that is the conclusion – to add what Chapman did not say – that the world is a federation of regions governed by their own rules rather than a uniform structure. This is not, however, a good reason to rejoice, as it may also mean the collapse of global communication, which is particularly evident in my 2009 study. Does the metaphor of the choir of authors with a conductor in the background aptly describe the situation of the anchorman

and the reporters in a news program? It sounds interesting, even if it does not apply to all television broadcasts of this kind.

3. Our Asian – local or foreign

Unfortunately, the results of my main research came into a serious conflict with the expectations. Within the said period of one week, none of the two dailies, “Gazeta Wyborcza” and “Rzeczpospolita”, mentioned any Asian star. The same was the case with the three leading weeklies: “Polityka”, “Sieć” and “Newsweek”, and also (rather surprisingly) with the two major tabloids: “Fakt” and “Superexpress”. Still, I was hoping that the popular breakfast television programs, “Dzień dobry TVN” (TVN is a commercial station) or “Pytanie na śniadanie” (TVP 2 is a public station), would notice the phenomenon that I was interested in. But among the topics such as diet, education, children, football matches, breast enlargement, actors’ love life, ecology, style, dress code in the workplace and fashion in general, they did not touch upon the topic that could be connected with an “Asian celebrity”. The private station (TVN, March 21, 2013) nearly did it when it broadcast the material about Lana Nguen’s dresses. These colorful outfits designed by the young Vietnamese-Polish artist (who speaks fluent Polish) can be regarded as examples of postmodern art. As part of my research I also examined two web portals: www.plejada.pl and www.pudelek.pl. While the former has the ambition to critically assess the celebrity scene, the latter, as the name “Pudelek” (a poodle) suggests, is full of tabloid news from the world of famous people. In none of them did I find the key words that interested me: Asia + celebrities. “Plejada”, however, did mention Alexia (on March 19, 2013), a Polish beauty who has made a sensation in Japan (<http://www.plejada.pl/2,fotogalerie.html>).

My research would have been a complete failure and I would probably not venture to present the results, were it not for the example of Bilguun Ariunbaatar. Born in Mongolia in 1987, he migrated to Poland a couple of years later. In 2010, he joined the popular TV show titled “Szymon Majewski Show”. The part he was responsible for evolved into a kind of separate show, renamed in the next edition as “Szymon na żywo” (“Szymon Live”). One event in particular contributed to Ariunbaatar’s popularity: he competed in Season 13 of the Polish “Dancing with the Stars” (“Taniec z gwiazdami”, TVN, 2011), finishing in the 2nd place. I decided to broaden the scope of my research when I learned that on April 1, 2013 the “VIVA Polska” station started broadcasting a weekly show called “Spanie z gwiazdami” (“Sleeping with the Stars”) in which Bilguun sleeps with the stars. This seems an important step in Bilguun’s career, especially that he first appeared on Polish television only three years earlier. I am much interested in a very important aspect of the show – let me call it a stereotype of mass (meaning: popular) “Asianness” of the show’s leader.

But before all that happened, the Polish audience had got to know Bilguun Ariunbaatar as a somewhat unclever reporter of the Mongolian station, U1 Bator, in the “Szymon Majewski” show. The station’s name contains a funny acronym which sounds like the name of the capital of Mongolia (in Polish: Ułan Bator), only it is written in a way that suggests the name of a television station. While on the show, Bilguun would, for instance, easily describe the skirmishes between Poles and both Russians and Ukrainians, by pointing out that the first of these Eastern neighbors are heavy drinkers with an unhealthy sense of superiority, while the others lack good manners and are even primitive. Half-Mongolian and half-Polish, Bilguun would

now and then use the pronoun “we” (meaning: Poles), which would make the term function as a stigma and a symbol. But the amusingly awkward reporter of a non-existent station would most often suggest that he had problems with the Polish language. He did not understand what the idiomatic expression “to take up the baton” meant and so he caused much confusion when he heard that Adam Małysz, a Polish world champion in ski jumping, ended his career and someone else could “take up the baton” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zO8o2x0ZRfA>). Earlier in the episode, he collected mustaches for Małysz and held rather surreal conversations with athletes, local politicians, journalists and football fans. He visited the set of “Top Model” where he had business conversations with fashion designers, offering them yak fur (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zZrqvHypHrE>). Our hero is also looking for a wife, so he asks a quick, casual question “Will you be my wife?” and goes on to propose living together... in a yurt. Bilguun is like a character in silent films: he gets a cake in the face which he then smears happily all over his torso. He keeps making his audience believe that he does not comprehend the subtleties of the Polish language.

As a journalist, Bilguun exposes all the major drawbacks of the profession: lack of preparation, nonchalance and blind persistence (after the premiere screening of a film he asks the director: “What is the movie about?” and he insists on using the word “bumpires” instead of “vampires” because this is how someone has put it down in his notes). He confuses people, does not recognize celebrities, spreads false information about his birthday in order to receive gifts. Celebrities often treat him with superiority, but also manifest a range of other behaviors: they run away from him, they are irritated and get really cross with him. No wonder: our hero is often mischievous and straightforward. He uncovers celebrities’ weak points or inquires into their family life (for example, when he addresses a celebrity using his or her ex-partner’s new partner’s name). Bilguun’s natural inclination to laugh is also striking. First of all, it is very easy for a Polish person to interpret his face expression as laughing-all-the-time (especially because of the raised corners of his mouth and how his eyes are set). Second, Bilguun makes the Polish audience consider him a person who does not-understand-much: he repeats the questions that he is addressed with, suspends the answer, and often declares that he cannot comprehend his interlocutor).

The “Sleeping with the Stars” program (launched on April 1, 2013) is based on following the adventures that Bilguun had with Polish stars. The celebrities allowed Bilguun to spend the night at their houses. They included a younger generation actor, the drummer of the Afromental band, a comedian, a well-known singer. It is a typical post-Big Brother program in which the simulation of peeping through a key hole aims to bring the viewer (often an indiscriminate one) a voyeuristic satisfaction and much fun.

The successive episodes show the clumsy reporter of the fictional TV channel acting out as an intellectually slow man from another planet: but in this case, we are not quite sure which of the two worlds is more bizarre: the one that he has come from or the one that he has arrived in. We can hear a number of comments on the visual features of his “Asianness”. For instance, one of the stars advises him to have a plastic surgery to remake his eyelids; a friend of the younger generation actor states “on the side”: “You mentioned a friend, but you didn’t mention he was yellow.” I do not consider this statement racist. Or, in other words, I do not see any other signs of racism in it. The statement, however unfortunate, is neutral in the Polish language.

The third TV show that featured Ariunbataar within the period of time that interested me was titled “Ale maḍrale” (“Smart Alecs”, TVP1, 27.04.2013). It is a typical example of a program for adults in which children take part as well. One can observe that communication in this genre is double-leveled. On the first level, the meaning of all the jokes, allusions and contexts can be understood by both adults and children; on the second level, children can understand only those messages that are addressed to them. The characteristic feature of this program is a rather frivolous language game that the adults play with the children – the game which is all the more strange because Ariunbataar participates in it as one of the invited guests. First, the children are asked to guess who the guest is. The reply comes right away: “He is from Korea” (a typical presumption that “who we are is where we are from”; that geography determines our personality). “North Korea”, Bilguun adds, and the adults laugh while the children are silent. The fact that they chose Korea as the first possible answer was surely influenced by the rush of news about the military aggression in North Korea at that time – and children do not see these countries as separate. The second guess is connected with entertainment: “This is the man who dances Gangnam Style!” Only the third guess is right: “This is the man who does anything to be funny on television”. What seems striking is the fact that the children are not really stirred by his facial features nor by his strange behavioral or linguistic expressions. The anchorwoman’s remark about Bilguun’s motherland, where it is appropriate to belch after the meal, is followed by the guest’s loud retort and laughter, but does not seem to surprise the children.

IV. We accept a foreign culture, provided that it is “ours”

Due to his name, appearance and affiliation, Bilguun Ariunbataar is the stereotype of “Asianness” for the Polish television audience. So who is he? It seems that the primary feature of his personality is being foreign rather than being funny – or at least it is a combination of the two. Being foreign is subject to gradation: one can not only be “less” or “more” foreign, but in addition to those general categories, one can both play the role of a buddy and remain deaf to the buddy’s messages. This is precisely the case in question: the communication between the show’s host and the Polish celebrities is very good when they talk about sex, alcohol, drugs, parties, or about keeping the house in order. No problem, we work on the same wavelength: we are metrosexual men (or liberated celebrities), and no ethnic culture whatsoever can disturb our communication. Not only does our behavioral communication include the language but it also dominates it. The problem is that language can be metaphorical and we often deal with communication fraud, when one of the parties takes this metaphorical meaning for a literal one. Bilguun’s eyes are wide with amazement: because in “our” country it means something completely different. Let us make an attempt at creating a catalog of traits that summarize our adventure with both the Polish-Mongolian quasi-journalist and the “lack” of any other examples of cross-cultural relationships in this area:

1. Asian culture is foreign to Polish popular media consumers. In any case, it is very rarely present in the media, which seems all the more peculiar if we consider the declaration of strengthening economic ties between the two cultures.
2. Half of this otherness is dimmed and reduced, as it is gradated. However, it seems that Asia has been deprived of mystery and ambiguity. Since there is no requirement to learn the language (for our Asian speaks Polish), then this throng of

cultures to the East of Poland does not have to be seen as a throng, but as a quasi-diversity. We all dance Gangnam Style, we are hospitable, we are archers and we speak Polish. We are tempted to say: so what is this globalism about? Otherness is not so much noticed, if a “foreigner” speaks some Polish and knows the global context of popular culture. Verbal language is possibly the most powerful means of “taming” other people.

4. It seems that this kind of communication has its limit which consists in creating a tangle of misunderstandings and in communication beyond contexts. This happens when the semantic content and the behavioral content of a visual message are recognized by both sides, but one of the aspects is not recognized or is recognized incorrectly. Is this what awaits ethnic cultures? Are Chinese people only to be known as the characters in films about James Bond and Charlie Chan?

If it is true that “What is certain is that societies touched by contemporary Western culture in any or all of its forms cannot remain as they are” (Craig 2002: 7), then the argument should be confronted with numerous opinions saying that the concept of globalization is outdated and does not describe the dynamics of contemporary cultural flow. Rather, it is suggested that we keep asking where the center of culture / cultural needs is. To discuss the issues of Americanization, Japanization or the expansion of Bollywood is now considered old style and reduced to mere labeling (Nakano, 2002).

In his introduction to an important study of the celebrityism phenomenon, Bonnie Fuller proposes the following global vision: “I could enter almost any dinner in the world and someone will ask me what’s going on with Lindsay Lohan, Kim Kardashian, Britney Spears, Mel Gibson, or whichever celebrity is currently squirming under the spotlight. Why? Because celebrities are a shared experience. They’re the universal water cooler topic. No one is entirely immune to their charms, and if anyone says they are, they’re hiding a People magazine in their briefcase” (Piazza, 2011). It is worth contrasting this statement with Fuller’s rather cool analysis, which also appears to be the most humanistic assessment of the celebrityism phenomenon: “Asian idols may not be the most talented singers and actors in the world, but as long as they continue to reflect the concerns and dreams of their audience, and to offer models of attractive new lifestyles and cross-cultural friendship, theirs will be a strong, and profitable, presence in the pop culture world” (Aoyagi, 2000: 324-325). The purpose of this paper was only to highlight some cultural factors that still contribute to our understanding of the present.

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Exploring the Empty space

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Abstract

Keywords: empty space, Ikebana, fashion design theory, position of fashion in social space

The purpose of my report is to develop theory to support a concept of an Empty space in Fashion design. The idea of the Empty space to serve for creative minds is not new and has been explored in the Far East culture since ancient times. The development and practical applications of the Empty space can be found in Zen philosophy and as result in various crafts of Japan. Firstly my report is focusing on analysing the approach of use of the Empty space in Ikebana. Ikebana is an ancient flower arrangement craft of Japan, which was applying philosophy of the Empty space into its three dimensional form. The second part is discussing possibilities of use the Empty space in Fashion practice through both theoretical and practical approaches. The research is shown that application of the Empty space for fashion has huge impact on design and even more importantly shifting social position of the fashion too.

Introduction

My investigation of the “Unseen” started as a result of personal unseen journey through cultural and emotional shock. I went to Japan where the cultural and language barrier made me unseen as an intellectual human, but made possible to develop as a creative human. As a result, I learnt Ikebana art, where the unseen is a medium, intuitively. I went through emotional shock, when my kids were born. As a woman I experienced unseen physical transformations within my own body, changing forever my relationship with my body. I went through the emotional shock second time when my father had gone. He became a part of the unseen world, nevertheless existing in my heart, leaving forever his unseen mark on my perception of the world and style of my conduct. Then the idea started to form, to write about my experience, to unfold something of the complexity of the “unseen”. I feel a sense of mission in my attempt to communicate the cultural importance of the “Unseen” topic. As a fashion designer and a human, I feel privileged to be able to unfold this topic through the beauty and philosophy of Ikebana.

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 smaller, light red arc is visible on the left side of the page, partially overlapping the blue arc.

1 Chapter 1 Ikebana

“A holy place is never empty”

Russian proverb

1.1 What is Ikebana?

Ikebana is an art form which has developed throughout its 1200 years history. The thousands of Ikebana schools exist in the present. Each of them holds its own view on what Ikebana is and how the beauty or essence of the art needs to be expressed. Same time the philosophical approach is embedded in the practice of Ikebana.

Visually, Ikebana is an asymmetrical composition made with flowers. However, Ikebana is not a frame to show visible beauty of nature, but rather a living stage, where veiled meanings and spiritual engagement attain between a master and viewers (guests) imagination.

The plant materials used in Ikebana art form are both a material and a philosophical tool. The physical state of the flower, as it transform through time, is an endless possibility for comprehension of our world. Stem, bud, full bloom, broken stem, old flower and countless shades of those stages will be appreciated and accepted in composition with gratitude. If the flower is imperfect - so be it and as a result it will never be discarded by the modern Ikebana practitioners. From this perspective, every flower is a chance to understand the essence of nature.

1.2 The ‘Unseen’ in Ikebana

One of the primary goals of the Ikebana artist is exchange of creative ideas, not a monopoly of the teacher in educating, but rather a dialectic process. As result the Ikebana arrangement is a starting point to unfold artist idea, in similar way as we do it in poetry. The Ikebana artist leaves the unseen part of the composition for the interpretation of the audience (the guest). The concealed appearance of the composition, a de-centring of the practitioner in this tradition in favour to the guest, gives the artist the possibility both to show ideas that gave rise to the composition and also leave space for the guest’s imagination.

Additionally, the empty space in Ikebana arrangement is not really empty – it is the unseen space, sustaining spiritual fullness.

The earliest artefacts show the use of flower arrangements refer to the decoration of Buddhist temples (Sato,1972), (Steere,2000). According to the nature of Shinto, I believe, Shinto shrines may have certain connections to Ikebana too; yet, no recorded evidence of a prior use of flowers for the Shinto shrines during earlier times has been found.

However, in my opinion, major characteristic of Ikebana knowledge on the unseen space come from practice alongside of expanded universe of Buddhism (Rikka arrangement (Steere,2000:112), where the composition was made with many branches), as well as of concentrated universe of Zen (Nagaire arrangement (Steere,2000:55), where composition may consist of single flower). Figure 1 shows one of the oldest images of the arrangement with the lotus flower. This arrangement consists of a small bud, a blooming flower, and a leaf, which may reflect a triad of

Buddhism (Sato, 1972:18). Equally we can see two flowers used to present the whole complex of Yang-Yin (Yoh-In in Japanese) philosophy (Figure 2).

1.3 *Symmetry in Ikebana comes together with the unseen space.*



Figure 1 A gilt bronze vase.
(The Kanshin-ji Temple, 1192-1333). (Steere, 2000)

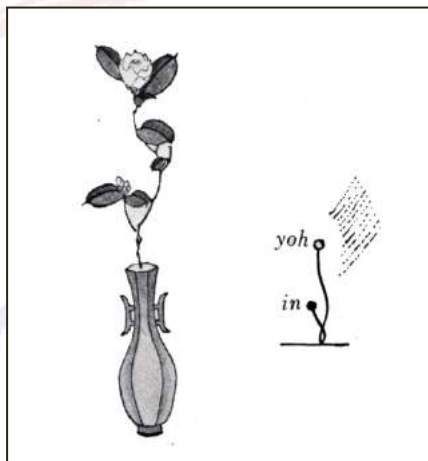


Figure 2 Yoh and In balance. (Steere, 2000)

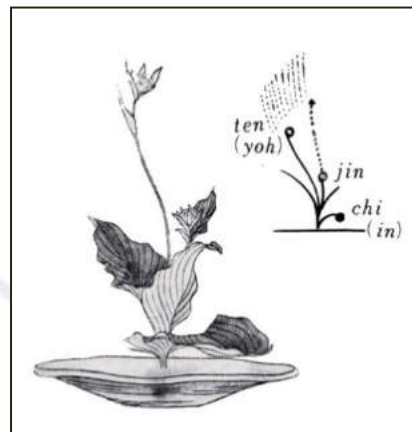


Figure 3 Seika balance. (Steere, 2000)

Visually Ikebana composition has an absence of symmetry; however it shows a strong sense of balance and dynamic.

As already mentioned, the statue of Buddha was framed by flower arrangements on both sides (Sato, 1972:18). The significance of this record is in forming of the exterior Buddhist triad by Buddha statue together with two flower arrangements on each side, additionally to the interior triad seen in the compositional form of bud, flower and leaf mentioned above. This exterior triad consisted of image of Buddha framed by two flower arrangements are the most important basis for my theory of the 'empty space' in Ikebana.

“If the central arrangement is considered to take the place of the Buddha (see Figure 4, and Figure 8), then the arrangement on the viewer’s left is on the Buddha’s right, thus creating the somewhat confusing tradition of calling an arrangement whose main branch curves to the left a right-hand arrangement, and one whose main emphasis seems to be on the right a left-hand arrangement” (Sato,1972:23).

As we can see from Figure 5, suddenly metaphysical ‘empty space’ appears, holding religious meaning. Moreover this ‘empty space’ is active, as it represents Buddha looking at us, as suggest the tradition to call right-hand and left-hand arrangements by opposite names, making sense when the view point to the arrangement is from inside. As result, when the Seika Arrangement become a one-vase arrangement, the ‘empty space’ was split between right-handed (Figure 6) and left- handed (Figure 7) parts of the former three-vase composition.

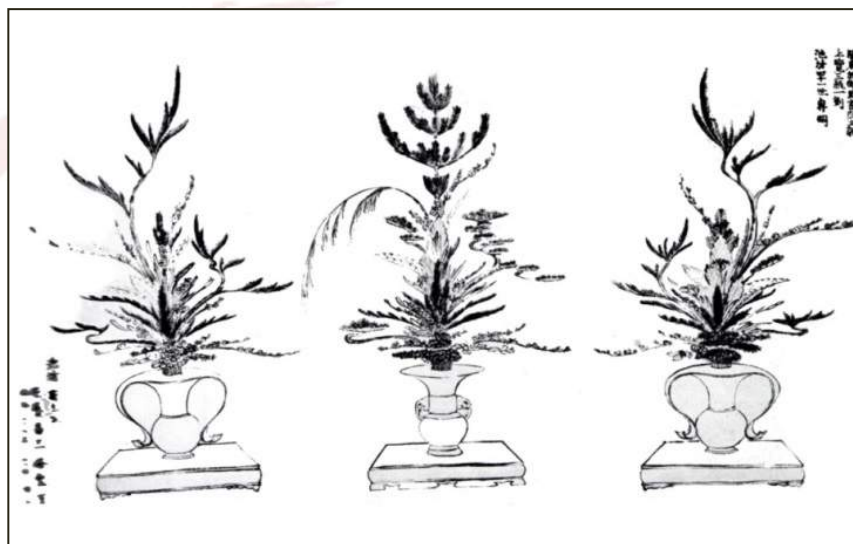


Figure 4. A classic three-vase Rikka arrangement attributed to Ikenobo Senmyo XLI, early nineteenth century. (Sato, 1972)

The act of making this kind of arrangement becomes an act of communication between Buddha and artist, or as we call it presently, an act of creative meditation. The communication between Buddha looking on the artist from the ‘empty space’ is a reasoning point of the Ikebana arrangement. Consequently the Ikebana itself become a crosspoint or a “flesh”, as Merleau-Ponty called analogous phenomenon in invisible ater (Merleau-Ponty,1968); forming a communicational triad between Buddha and the artist, between an Artist (or Teacher) and a viewer (a Guest), between a Viewer (or Guest) and Buddha.

When we start analyse a right hand arrangement of Seika Ikebana composition of the Kyoto Koryu Ikebana School (Figure 8), we see absence of symmetry. Nevertheless the composition shows a strong sense of balance and dynamics. As we have seen from the development of the ‘empty space’ after Buddha statues were no longer routinely part of such arrangements, and as witnessed in the terminology in naming the sides of the arrangement, symmetry in Ikebana comes together with the unseen space. This space is outside of the ‘visual box’ of what is seen.



Figure 6. Right –hand arrangement. Seika Ikebana. Author own picture, 2003.



Figure 7. Left –hand arrangement. Seika Ikebana. Author own picture, 2003.



Figure 8. Seika Ikebana composition of the Kyoto Koryu Ikebana School, author own arrangement, 2004.

1.4 One of the greatest skills of the master is actually catch a glimpse of the third force in the point of time when it starts to form.

In my opinion, Third force concept is a fundamental aspect of: the Unseen concept in Ikebana, proportions, asymmetrical appearance and a whole dynamic of the arrangement.

When in nineteenth century Ikebana was simplified the Seika style emerged (Figure 3), the Yang part was divided into two, such created “the heaven” (Ten in Japanese) and “the human” (Jin in Japanese). In different Ikebana school three fundamental parts of Seika may have different name, however one important feature will stay same: “human” part is holding special role: it part of the “heaven” but it stay between the heaven and the earth. Additionally, “human” part may be supported by the “heaven” part, and always made with same material. Consequently, the space occupied by “the heaven” and “the human” is the biggest in the compositional form and is having a nature of Yang. The “earth” is representing Yin nature.

When the balance between Yang and Yin is broken, then a third force emerges to balance them. The third force is “almost” invisible part of the composition. One of the greatest skills is to be able to catch a glimpse of the third force in the some point of time when it starts to form. Additionally to “almost” invisible characteristic, the third force have characteristic of ever-changing settings, it is represent development. In Ikebana arrangement “the third force” always represented by branch or flower which is almost hidden by other branches. It almost invisible, but we still can see a blink of it. It adds dynamic to the composition, supporting ever-changing concept. Thus third force is representing two concepts in one outline: the Unseen concept in Ikebana as partial concealment and ever-changing concept.

In my opinion, the balance of Yang and Yin was broken in Ikebana intentionally, with a purpose to “show” the appearance of the Third force. This artificially created situation, where the harmony is developing from imbalance. The imbalance phases have huge range from just starting to the extreme point, as a result of a time when development of third force is caught. As already discussed, symmetry in Ikebana is come together with unity of the visible part of the arrangement and the empty space. The third force in my opinion is represented by the empty space, on external level of Ikebana triad and as hidden branches on internal level of Ikebana parts.

As Senei Ikenobo, wrote in his introduction to proportions (Steere,2000:51), the differences in form arise, when “according to the point in time when the third force is caught in point of its development”. Consequently proportions of all three parts will depend on the state of the Third force.

1.5 Pregnancy of the subject

**The Pregnancy of the subject, “This may be said of the characteristic feature of Japanese traditional arts in general, not of Ikebana alone”
Senei Ikenobo (Steere, 2000:51).**

In the philosophical viewpoint of Ikebana the third force will begin to emerge when a relationship between Yang/Yin parts is out of balance, as stated above, and this has great importance in the philosophy of Ikebana (Steere, 2000:51). This emerging third force will always be partly hidden, somewhat concealed, and suggests an uncompleted appearance of the Ikebana arrangement. As the third force is representing “future” of the unity, it could not be seen directly, only suggested and awaited. This is a pregnancy of the subject.

One of the most famous examples of this art phenomenon is The Stone Garden of Ryoanji Temple in Kyoto, which consist of fifteen rocks and the fifteenth rock is always hidden; however when the viewer moves along the edge of the garden, one of the fifteen rocks will appear, another - disappear. Similar to poetry, where we can catch only a glimpse of a truth and to Ikebana, where we can catch only a glimpse of a third force, balancing Yang and Yin; in this garden we can catch only a glimpse of the fading fifteen rock.

1.6 Ikebana conclusion

As we have seen throughout Ikebana history so far, this art has developed utilisation of the “empty space” on a visual and philosophical level. Each century helped to evolve the conceptual material to the next level expressed through natural material of flowers. Constant research into relationships within flower forms and proportions, flower and vase relationship, flower arrangement and space, contributed into development of the concept of the “empty space”. Intentional imbalance between parts and third force conceived philosophical meaning and emotional power of empty space.



Figure 9. Free style arrangement, Kyoto Koryu School. Author own picture, 2013.

2 Chapter 2 Communication

2.1 *Negative space in communication*

In the field of western art and design the space surrounding a subject is called *negative space*. In my opinion, this concept is also dividing our universe in terms of three forces:

- Force one is the unseen space all around us;
- Force two is positive space of the subject;
- Force three is negative space and same time is a “third force”.

If all surrounding space is considered as unseen space, then subjects in this space could be located only by a special force the “third force”, which pushes the subjects

out of being unseen to existence. In other words, this third force is carving a subject (as positive space) out of unseen space.

This “third force” may be visible or invisible. Together with location of the subjects (we may see many at same time) we are getting focus on the subject (something really interesting us). The “third force” in this case is invisible. Artists may use contrasting negative spaces, and then negative space becomes visible and very often primarily visible. As result, another conceptual problem arises – which is to be considered as negative space and which as positive space if both are equally visible? Our “focus” will determinate a subject.



Figure 10. Two ladies in Ryoanji Temple in Kyoto . Author own picture, 2004.

Example: in communication (Figure 10) we need to determinate what the subject is. This picture was taken in The Stone Garden of Ryoanji Temple in Kyoto. Two beautiful young ladies were discussing something, and I ask them for permission to take a picture. In this picture the two bodies form an outline for the Stone Garden in some sort of vessel shape, inside of which we see the garden.

My question is what to consider be a subject: the Ladies or the garden? When starting analyse this question in positive-negative system:

- if focus is the people (they become subject), then negative space is the Stone Garden and simplified system will look like in Figure 11.
- if the focus is the Stone Garden, a discussion about it, an impression it gives, the topics it provoke (it becomes the subject), then the people form a negative space with their body in Figure 12.

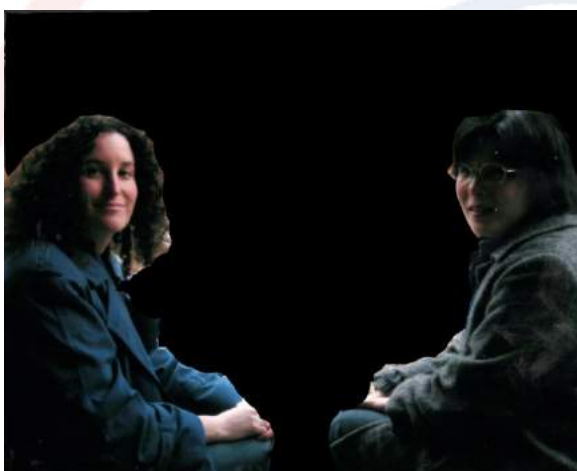


Figure 11. Stone garden in Ryoanji Temple in Kyoto, as negative space. Author own picture, adapted 2013.



Figure 12. Two ladies as negative space . Author own picture, adapted 2013.

This conceptual framework can be extended to a communication space – if the humans are forming it, they act as negative space (third force). If the communication space is a subject, then it was already in existence. In figure 18, two people cut out a certain time and space from out of the unseen communicational space. The Stone garden was there before they arrived, however at the point of time they been sitting there, the garden (as space) had initiated their talk. Are only these two people able to locate this communication space, or could anyone locate same communicational space?

The communication space is constantly in existence and **any number** of people can pin it in some point of time and location. When new people will come to see the garden, they will start to perceive the given information. They see a garden and as result the communicational space is located or pinned. Any number of people can do that and information they perceive is more or less similar. The differences will occur only for reasons as primarily knowledge on the subject, personal likes-dislikes or personal sensitivity. However, when people are perceiving information in a group, the balance in communication space, in my opinion may look same as in composition of Ikebana. The balance of talk-listen-information is same as flower arrangement, when result is communal knowledge.

As example, figure 21 is a representation of the situation when the person sitting on the left (in the original image, figure 18) is dominant speaker – this corresponds with the right-hand arrangement in Ikebana, when the Stone Garden acts as communicational space and as well as unseen space. Figure 22 represents when the other person is dominant speaker – and we see a left-hand arrangement when the Stone Garden again acts as communication and unseen space.

In Figure 13a and Figure 13b, the humans act as a subject. They perceive the garden, they communicate with each other and they collaborate in creation of communal perception of the garden. This turns the garden into the subject, because the garden becomes a pinned communication space. When Merleau-Ponty asks, “How can there be a compound of the visible with the invisible” (Merleau-Ponty, 1968) this can be answered using such a framework: the compound is possible within communication space and in the understanding of humans, when the focus on the positive and negative space constantly exchange position.



Figure 13a. Graphic Ikebana, Two ladies, right hand side arrangement. Author own picture, adapted 2013.



Figure 13b. Graphic Ikebana, Two ladies, left hand side arrangement. Author own picture, adapted 2013.

Initially, the perceiving information is different for both individuals due for the reasons I discussed before. The reason why I call the Stone Garden the Unseen space here is that after intersecting the Unseen space this two ladies knowledge became combined. The combined knowledge about the garden will emerge during communication as result of the intersection of individual knowledge, creating communal knowledge about the garden.

2.2 *Human body and unseen*

A human body is left to be “unseen” by the owner of the body as well as by society.

As I began to bring the concept of ‘unseen space’ alongside my studies in fashion, I asked questions about where this ‘unseen space’ could be found in fashion. One avenue for exploration emerged when I found myself ‘unseen’ by my own eyes in one sense, as I began to live without using a mirror at home. I began to wonder: what would happen if the mirror didn’t exist?

When we look into the mirror we see a reflection of ourselves. What we see is deeply affected by our existing feelings. With a positive mind we see ourselves as attractive and satisfied (Figure 14a). What happens when we look with a negative attitude? The same body could become an object of ridicule, or we might revisit a grudge against it or we start to reproach ourselves (Figure 14b).

Accidentally I didn't have a wall to put my mirror on, so it was placed behind a wardrobe. As result I can go for weeks without seeing my reflection. People I know



Figure 14b. Adopted from <http://uk.photos.com/stock-illustrations/> (2012)



Figure 14a. Adopted from <http://uk.photos.com/stock-illustrations/> (2012)

don't seem to have changed their attitude towards me; people whom I don't know see me as I am. I have become more relaxed and simply can't see "unsuitable" combinations in my clothing any more. I can imagine myself as I like to – and behave accordingly. I can say it is not a mirror that is telling me how I look today, but my own feeling. If I want to meet the world, I feel good – I look good, and the opposite applies as well - if I don't feel good, I don't want to see the world, I can hide myself in clothing.

As I have explored this way of living without the mirror, I have observed a resonance in the styles I see on the street: it seems that comfort is another everyday aesthetic which is becoming increasingly popular in the modern world.

What would happen if mirror would not exist for anyone? Could we all step into an 'unseen space' where we could pay sensitive attention to our feelings, as a guest? Would this slow down progress in fashion? What would change? How would elegance appear, without a mirror? How do "street style" and comfort will relate to the elegance of fashion?

2.3 Dress and body and 'empty space'

Each human represent itself as a communication complex consisting of human body and a dress. Despite the complex being quite visible, the "real" communication complex is unseen.

Clothing hides a human body, as a mask is hides a human face. Dress and mask are creating a space for the communication, the poetical interpretation of onlookers. The effect of how the body is perceived by onlookers depends dramatically on the clothing.

"At first sight, [the veil] seems to have little more than a simple concealing function; in fact it usually succeeds in increasing attention to the face" (Liggett, 1974:112).

Bigger dress - bigger negative space – as result the body taking overall space become bigger and the attention it holds from onlookers also increases. This is why, in my opinion, dresses for royalty, balls, and weddings are increasingly bigger, especially in social contexts. A study of dress forms within a context of theatrical study at the Bauhaus showed that both costumes and masks depersonalize a body. As a result this creates a universal human, who becomes centre of an acting space (Rowland, 1990).

Nevertheless, the dress is carving a particular body out of the communal social space. Negative space is a universal tool in determination of a communication complex. What we can consider to be a negative space: is it the human body or a dress capturing all the attention from onlookers? In Figure 15, the dress has completely hidden the body, creating a picturesque landscape, rather than a human body – the negative space here is a body, and in fact dress created a bigger unseen space for the body. In Figure 16, the negative space is empty space, the dress doesn't need a human body at all, and again, in fact it creates a huge unseen space for the "potential" body. Yet again, in Figure 17a and 17b the dress becomes a positive space for a body, the body is negative space there - the dress becomes alive.



Figure 15. Dominant negative space
Source © Etienne Tordoir, Manon Kündig(2012).



Figure 16. Empty dress. (2011)



Figure 17a. The enigma of creativity. Capucci (1984).

Chapter 3 Exploring “empty space”

In this section I explore possible meanings for “empty space” in fashion which I juxtapose with ideas drawn from Ikebana. Empty space is not the same as unseen; nor is it merely the opposite of full, as there is another aspect which emerges if we consider the conceptual opposition of full and empty.

3.1 Unseen space and “empty space”

Unseen space can be completely filled with objects that we just cannot see yet. Darkness is a perfect example – the world is not disappearing when we close our eyes; however, the world has definitely become unseen for us. In *‘Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland’* by Lewis Carroll, the Cheshire Cat seems to appear from nowhere. It doesn’t mean that it was not there a minute ago. It was there already, but Alice just did not see it yet.

Similarly the service cables and pipes that provide utilities to buildings are usually unseen, but would be missed if they were not present. The Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris is famous example of what happens when those unseen services are exposed. What else can be somewhere, but we may never see? The fact that these services, and similarly many construction features in fashion, are unseen doesn’t mean they do not exist; it is merely unseen for us to some point in time; wink of underwear in special slashes of a dress, exposed seams, uncovered corsets, are some of the examples.

3.2 “Empty space” not opposite of “full”

Space can be just as ‘unseen’ when it is visually crammed. Someone might say “I cannot see any space!” when looking into a bulging wardrobe, because it is not possible to see any unused space there. What is interesting when full and empty are compared is that an “empty space” may seem at first to mean ‘nothing’. However, when there is a lack of space or the space feels crowded, then we may feel a sense of discomfort.

This discomfort points towards the design consideration of “empty space”. This thesis relates the research topic of the designed object to the surrounding space. An example is the way in which exhibition space may be occupied by art objects. Recently, I experienced a lack of “empty space” for my dress during an exhibition. The dress occupied about 3 m³ but when standing close to it I couldn’t really “see” it. I felt claustrophobic. I started to feel comfortable when the radius between me and the object was closer to 5 m.

When we look at “empty space” in medieval Chinese paintings, there is often an “empty space” on the white paper not being filled with images. The drawn images need “breathing” space.

“Empty space” is not the direct opposite to full, swarming space. As far as space is concerned, the space has existence, which invites a desire to fill it.

“Emptiness always means empty of something. A cup is empty of water. A bowl is empty of soup. We are empty of separate, dependent self. We cannot be by ourselves alone” (Hahn, 1998:136).

Therefore, the visually “empty space” has a great potential for being filled in. If the space is already full, it doesn’t leave space for expressing the guest’s creativity. Somebody has already filled it. What does a lack of inviting space say to a fashion customer? Is the cultivation of “empty space” a foundation for a shift in perception of fashion customers as co-creators with designers? Perhaps designers can explore a role with similarities to that of the Teacher in Ikebana – a person who arranges frames, spaces and an invitation for the guest’s creativity to emerge.

“Empty space” is performed in bridal culture. The couple can be formed if they have “empty space” in between them. Similar to Kawabuke arrangement in Ikebana, a creative distance, a space which connects and which appears between two people, can be filled with their emotion, communication, and acceptance. This “empty space” is vital for creativity. Thus empty space of a couple is co filled by two individuals, is space of intersection of individuality of both humans. The healing and creative power of the intersectional space between two parts of one arrangement has been richly developed in the philosophy and construction of Ikebana (Coe, 1988).

Conclusion

I strongly believe that only usage of the unseen communication space and a new philosophical attitude to the customers, as in the Ikebana practice, can move Fashion to the next level of social phenomenon. This will open up new possibilities in development of Fashion not only within material revolution but within socio-psychological values as well.

Unseen in fashion could bring forward idea of united composition of clothes and body. Introduction of the third force into fashion design could lead to diversity and unity, in forms and human/cloth relationship. When deep philosophical ideas are extracted from the art form, art becomes a manual work. Similar to art, modern Fashion deserve to be transcended, because it hold our body, create unique relationship with our body and greatly influence how our body does behave and perceived. Creation of the philosophy of the unseen relation between body, mind and fashion should be modern alternative to current fashion design.

While researching “Unseen” topic, I learnt that this topic have important cultural heritage: philosophy, art, architecture, poetry, fashion, theatre etc. No any single area of human creative activity was left untouched by the subject. Moreover, this topic could be found as well in a research subject in science, communication etc. Thus “Unseen” may be called a universal medium, a complex which brings together different disciplines.

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