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Local Content: Teaching Visual Narrative in the Gulf

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Abstract

Visual communication is a global activity and often demands using visual language that will be understood across cultures. Lack of place specificity is often considered desirable in design. But the trend toward visual globalization can have the disadvantage of taking students in many regions away from the visual language they are familiar with, leaving them, visually, speechless. For my students in the Gulf region, this often results in appropriation of only partly understood signs, symbols and images, resulting in problematic visual communication.

In effect, not only do I ask students to use a verbal language, English, that may be their second or third one, but I also ask them to use a visual language that my derive little from their own visual experience. If we apprehend the world primarily visually as Arnheim argues, the ability to use one's personal visual vocabulary is necessary for effective visual communication.

The paper will discuss the development of locally based narratives in animation, film, and graphic novels in the context of the UAE. Students make use of locally sourced textual and visual information. Once subject matter is grounded in a familiar locale, appropriation from other cultures becomes less problematic.

Some student produced narratives are illustrated texts, while others begin with visual information around which a narrative is formed. The paper will propose that emphasis on local narratives and imagery can play a small part in transforming the region from content consumer into a net content creator.

Keywords: Education, visual narrative, illustration, Arabian Gulf, teaching. creativity

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1. Introduction

In his book *Visual Thinking* Rudolph Arnheim argued that any distinction between perception and thinking is false; that in fact perception is a precondition to thinking and cognition:

I shall suggest that only because perception gathers types of things, that is, concepts, can perceptual material be used for thought: and inversely, that unless the stuff of the senses remains present the mind has nothing to think with. (Arnheim, 1997)

In its purest form visual communication is just that; communication effected partly or entirely visually. For educators working in the Gulf region it is worth asking what sort of visual information our students have at their disposal and where it comes from. How are our students culturally accustomed to think about visual information and image making in particular?

The class Visual Narrative has grown out of my interest in teaching illustration and narrative in the unique context of the UAE. In this class students develop a story with image and text, or sometimes exclusively with images. In subject matter and materials used, the topic is by nature cross-disciplinary. This paper will outline cultural factors relevant to the class, and the pedagogy of teaching observational drawing in a region where the practice has been considered to be somewhat or absolutely prohibited.

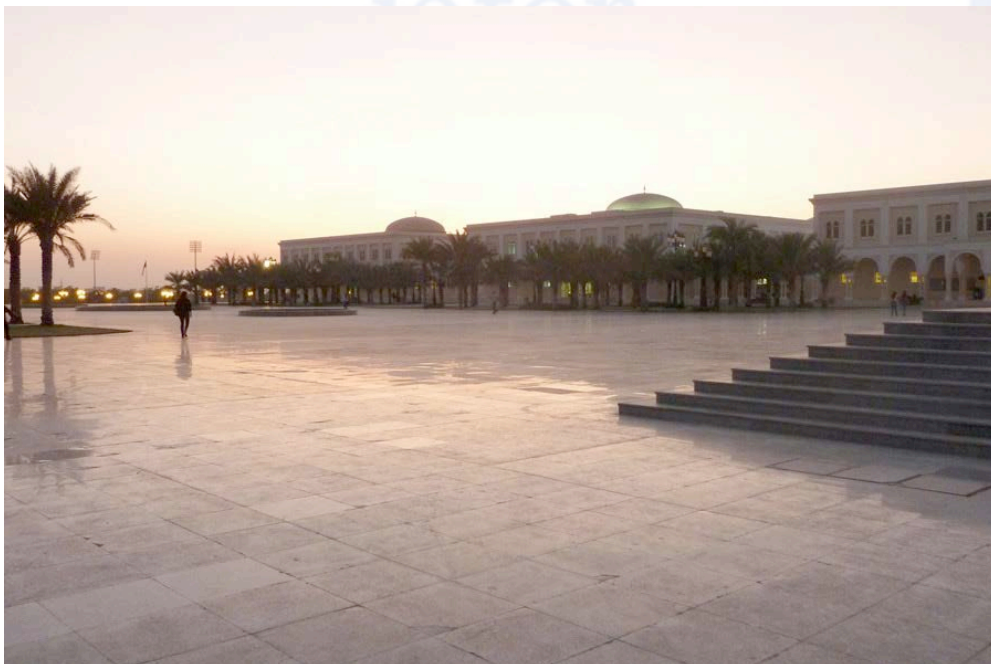


Figure 1: American University of Sharjah

2. Figurative art in an Islamic context

Throughout the nearly 1500 year history of Islam, figurative art, or the visual depiction of living things and especially of people, has been a topic of debate, concern, and often of prohibition. Religious injunctions against the making of idols

are common; the Book of Exodus contains a clear prohibition against image-making for purposes of idolatry:

Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven images or any likenesses of anything that is in heaven or that is in the earth beneath or that is in the water under the earth. (Exodus 20.4)

But the Koran contains no similar injunction (Criswell, 1946, p. 159). In the Arabian peninsula where Islam developed there is little history of figuration; what images do exist from pre-Islamic times consist mainly of somewhat stylized images that appear in textiles, metal objects and pottery. It is reported that the Prophet was familiar with figurative painting in the region. In one story, when Muhammad first entered the Kaaba in Mecca (629–630 A.D) he ordered paintings on the walls to be destroyed, except for one; a painting of Mary and Jesus. (Criswell, p. 160) Otherwise it is unclear whether existing visual likenesses were particularly important to the Prophet during his lifetime. (Grabar, 1987)

In the two centuries following the death of Mohammad, the formative religion was further codified by the Hadith, or body of Traditions derived from the Prophet's close followers and from local stories assembled from conquered regions west and east of Arabia. It is in the Hadith that the first clear pronouncements regarding figuration appear. This quote from the Hadith dates from the second half of the eighth century A.D.:

Those who will be most severely punished on the Day of Judgement are the murderer of a Prophet, one who has been put to death by a Prophet, one who leads men astray without knowledge, and a maker of images or pictures. (Grabar, 1987, p. 82)

Grabar and others proposed several possible concerns that inform these prohibitions. First, Islam developed in a region where paganism and idol worship were common. In the first generations after the birth of the Prophet, Moslems were in a minority in Arabia and had a history of paganism to contend with. The rejection of idols, usually figurative, was a way of ridding Arabia of the outward signs of the competing local paganism. Secondly, Moslems in other areas, especially in the Levant, were surrounded by the highly developed, emotionally powerful art of the Byzantine church. In such an environment, to quote Grabar (1987, p. 86), followers of the new faith "[saw] images as one of the most dangerous weapons the Christians possessed" Grabar continued:

It is indeed very likely that the sophisticated Christian milieu of Jerusalem had tried to win to its faith the rather uncouth invaders. And it is a well-known fact that eastern Christianity had always liked to use the emotional impact of music and the visual arts to convert "barbarians." That such attempts may have been effective with the Arabs is shown in the very interesting, although little studied, group of accounts dealing with the more or less legendary trips of Arabs to the Byzantine court in early Islamic times, or sometimes even before Islam. In most cases the "highlight" of the "guided tours" to which they submitted was a visit either to a church where a definite impact

was made by the religious representations or to a court reception with similar results. In the pious accounts of later times the Muslim always leaves impressed but unpersuaded by the pageantry displayed. One may wonder, however, whether such was always the case and whether the later stories should be considered, at least in part, as moral stories intended to ward off defection. That the danger of defections existed is clearly implied. (1987, p. 61)

Whatever the reason, in the first two centuries of the new religion a complex set of rules and prohibitions developed around figuration. Figurative art continued to decorate the private homes of the aristocracy but disappeared from public places, replaced by decorative pattern-making based on floral or geometric themes. There developed a complex regulatory structure for the use of images. According to Grabar, although images were "permissible in hallways, floors, or baths, they were forbidden elsewhere; in some legal texts headless figures were allowed." (Grabar, 1987, p. 83)



Figure 2: Student drawing of figures with no facial features



Figure 3: Drawing from a photo by the Saudi artist Jowhara Al Saud, 2008 (Issa & Krifa, 2011)

This rigorous expurgation of images continued across the Islamic world and a consistent style in design and architecture featuring repetitive decorative elements

became nearly universal in Islamic regions. These formal qualities define Islamic style in art and architecture.

Figurative art was revived in Egypt during the Fatimid era in the later eleventh century. (Baer, 2004, pp. 250–73) Fatimid art exhibits a move away from art for the aristocracy and toward one that depicted the common man and everyday life. Fatimid paintings and ceramics exhibit a trend toward individuation and even in some instances caricature. Later, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Persian painters created portraits of individuals painted from observation. Figurative painting was popular in the Moghul courts. Style and subject matter in Moghul painting has been linked to developments in the east and especially China (Baer, pp. 25-50), rather than to any known antecedent in Arabia or the Levant.

In the Ottoman empire human images gradually disappeared by the end of the thirteenth century. But beginning in the fifteenth century, portrait painting became popular, at least partly due to interaction with the West. (Baer, p. 51) As in Egypt and Persia, a local style of figuration from observation developed although to Western eyes the images from all regions appear strongly stylized and not particularly realistic.

In these later years it was not uncommon for Muslim rulers to commission art which contained images of the Prophet for their private collections and for public display. (Leaman, 2014, p. 191) Where such images do exist, it is no longer common for them to be put on public display, for fear of offending sensibilities.

Reluctance to draw living things, especially the human figure, continues to be an obstacle in teaching the arts in Arabia. Although most students say they are comfortable with the process of drawing people from life, it often appears that my students are flirting with the boundaries of their cultural norms. In student work, faceless figures, or figures without any heads at all, are common.

In contrast to the drawn image, photography has been accepted, even embraced, in the region. Photos of the rulers hang in every public building and in many private ones such as my college. Like students everywhere, my students post images of themselves, their friends and families on social media. Even so, there are cultural and legal restrictions regarding who and what may be photographed. Taking photos of strangers without consent is not allowed. Our photojournalism students complain that their options are limited; most photography students confine their work to the controlled environment of the photo studio. The art director for the Times of Oman reports that his photographers need to be circumspect when taking photos for publication; content is reviewed by censors for approval before it is published. (Durado, 2012)

3. Art and Design in the Gulf

Universities following the western model are a relatively new phenomenon in the Gulf region. It was not until after the Gulf states were established in the 1960s that the first western universities were started up in the region. Although the western arts of oil painting, sculpture, and photography had been practiced in the Arabia for decades, western style universities have been instrumental in introducing these arts to a wider

cross section of the population and have served as centers of artistic activity and training.

In my college of architecture, art and design, the curriculum begins with two semesters of observational drawing in foundation year. For most of our students, this is their first introduction to individual image making outside of taking photos. Since the Arabian peninsula has little history of image making, our students necessarily fall back on what visual resources they can find; images, techniques and styles copied from photos or appropriated from other cultures. But in teaching, our objective is not to produce graduates who mimic work done elsewhere, but rather to develop an indigenous visual culture connected to and emanating from the region.

A flood of foreign content, both verbal and visual, pervades the arts practiced in the Gulf today. In architecture, the urge to preserve traditional culture exists side by side with the rapid globalization that is transforming the region. The result can appear to be somewhat schizophrenic: while the old neighbourhood of Bastikiya in Bur Dubai has undergone an extensive restoration, other older neighbourhoods have been bulldozed to make way for mammoth construction projects such as the current world's tallest building, the Burj Khalifa, set within "New Dubai," a city within a city. The mini-city of New Dubai exhibits architectural cues from a wide range of cultures; Moghul domes and archways, imitation Masharabieh (carved wood balconies), Andalusia-style fountained courtyards, and narrow, twisting passageways reminiscent of the souks of Cairo or Damascus. The overall result is that of a vaguely orientalist architectural fantasy-land located within an entirely man-made topography including a lake in what once was desert. The trend toward "self-orientalization", often results in what Butheina Kazim refers to as "the hybrid orient: a comfortable Arab experience" for expatriates and tourists. (Kazim, 2012)



Figure 4: New Dubai

Other creative fields exhibit similar tension between tradition and modernity. In cinema, international films depict Dubai and the UAE in general as emblematic of the Gulf region's newness. The film *Syriana*, partly filmed in the UAE, takes place in a modernizing Gulf country that is the locus of international forces and intrigues beyond local control. The film *Mission Impossible 4: Ghost Protocol* starring Tom

Cruise uses the Burj Khalifa and Dubai as a super-modern backdrop for its action story line. As Alia Yunis says,

The idea of rich, shiny Dubai, highlighting its 21st century skyline, is the positive stuff of Western portrayal of the UAE. Indeed the main character in Dubai is the Burj Khalifa, not a human being. We do not meet any locals or even expats living in the city. Given how Gulf Arabs usually fare in Hollywood films, perhaps this is for the best. (Younis, 2012)

Depiction of the culture by local filmmakers is more nuanced and less clear, partly because the UAE, a nation for only 41 years, has not yet established a clear national identity or narrative. Locally made films tend to involve few characters and concentrate on family relations and traditional rural life. (Younis)

Book publishing and purchasing are growing in the UAE. According to a 2013 survey, on a per capita basis the value of book purchasing in the UAE is among the highest in the middle east, and several times higher than book purchases per capita in Brazil for example. English language books account for more than 60% of books sold in the UAE. (Wischenbart & Jarrous, 2013) As with other fields of content creation, the Arabic language faces an uphill struggle to gain market share in the region.

Given the state of the arts in the UAE and the fluid nature of what is considered to be "the local" it is not surprising that teaching illustration, and visual narrative in particular, has been challenging. Although the majority of my visual narrative student have grown up in the UAE, particularly Dubai, others come from a wide range of nationalities across the Middle East, Africa and Asia. Rather than starting from a clear local style, as I encountered in my previous schools in Singapore and the US, it soon became clear to me that my students come from a variety of visual cultures and bring with them a range of visual languages, most of them imported.

Fortunately there is a growing body of work generated in the region that I can point to as examples of visual narrative that can capture a global audience. All my students are familiar with the *Persepolis* series of graphic novels by Iranian author Marjane Satrapi, either having seen the animated film based on the book or, more rarely, having read the originals. Students are also familiar with the UAE-produced animated television series *Freej* by Mohammed Harib, and with other locally-produced animations. The existence of a small but growing regional industry in visual narrative encourages students to consider themselves potential content creators rather than perpetual consumers of content created overseas.

Unfortunately the majority of graphic novels, films, and animations set in the region continue to be imported. In part this is due to local restrictions; for example, the animated version of *Persepolis* was produced in France since the book is banned in Iran. Similarly, graphic novels such as Egyptian Magdy al-Shafee's graphic novel *Metro*, critical of Mubarak-era Cairo, was banned in Egypt and the Gulf until recently. Besides the dampening effect of local sensitivities, the genres of graphic novels, comic books and animation have only a brief history in the Middle East. New initiatives in the book publishing and animation industries that encourage local content creation are only beginning to have an effect.

Given the variety of the population in the UAE and the wide range of cultures that AUS students come from, the task of developing a pedagogy in visual narrative is still in its early stages. There is no clearly definable Emirati design or illustration history or style that one can point to. There is a nearly complete absence of the practice of figurative drawing in the region.

3. The Text

Visual narrative students are asked to bring to the first class a story idea for development through the semester. Choice of story is critical for successful outcomes from the class. Clearly, fictional works by another author present several problems, including copyright. A related problem, not immediately apparent at first, is that the English language includes many dialects that may not be well understood. One student chose to illustrate the short story "The Telltale Heart" by Edgar Allen Poe, but struggled to make sense of passages in pre-Victorian English such as this:

Presently I heard a slight groan, and I knew it was the groan of mortal terror. It was not a groan of pain or of grief—oh, no!—it was the low stifled sound that arises from the bottom of the soul when overcharged with awe. (Poe, 1843)

After several weeks of struggle, the student re-wrote the story in her own words. The result was an understandable story in comprehensible modern English and the resulting illustrated short story turned out well.



Figure 5: Edgar Allen Poe's "The Telltale Heart," re-written in modern English by the student.

This and similar struggles with language have led me to institute a class rule that working texts should be written by the student. This helps to ensure that meaning and

narrative structure will be clear to that student. Stories that take place in past or, sometimes, in the future, are allowed, but students are encouraged to base the visuals on reference that is readily available to them. Narratives that have worked well in visual narrative class span a wide range but often are based on local traditional tales and fables. Local legends involving Jinn (genies or djinn) have been a popular choice and often lead to good outcomes. Jinn stories are especially well suited because they are most often not written, but are passed down orally, so students are free to record them in their own words. The innate linguistic flexibility of traditional oral tales is useful in a class where command of the English language varies widely among individuals.

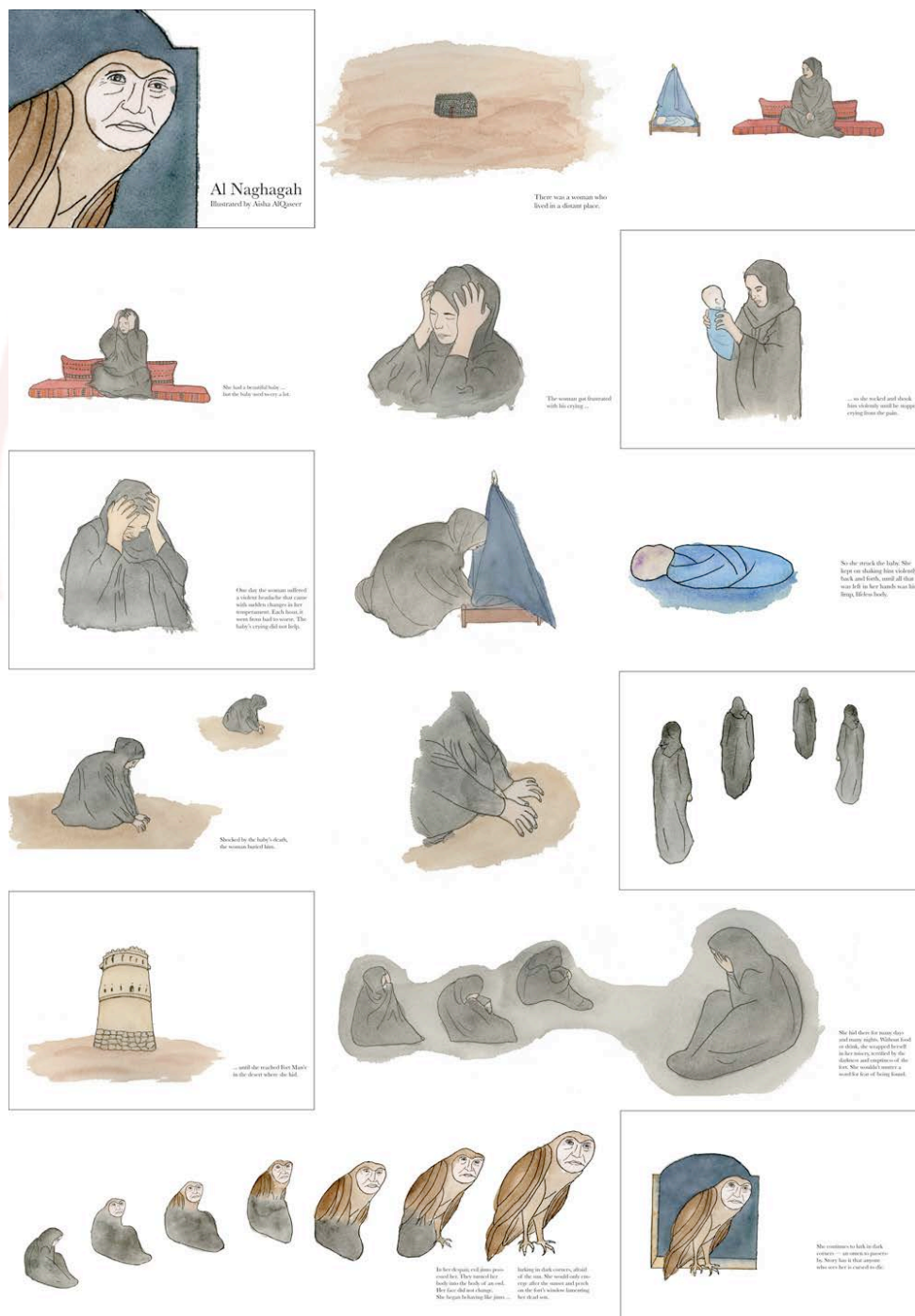


Figure6: Al Nagah, a traditional Emirati tale of a young woman who kills her newborn and becomes a Jinn. In the story she takes the form of an owl with a human face; those who look at her face will die.

Some student writing involves research and narration of more complex stories. In one example, a student chose to re-tell the story of Raya and Sakina, a pair of mass murdering sisters who are well known in Egypt. After a series of robbery-murders, the sisters were eventually caught and hanged, at the time an unprecedented instance of death by hanging of women in modern Egypt.

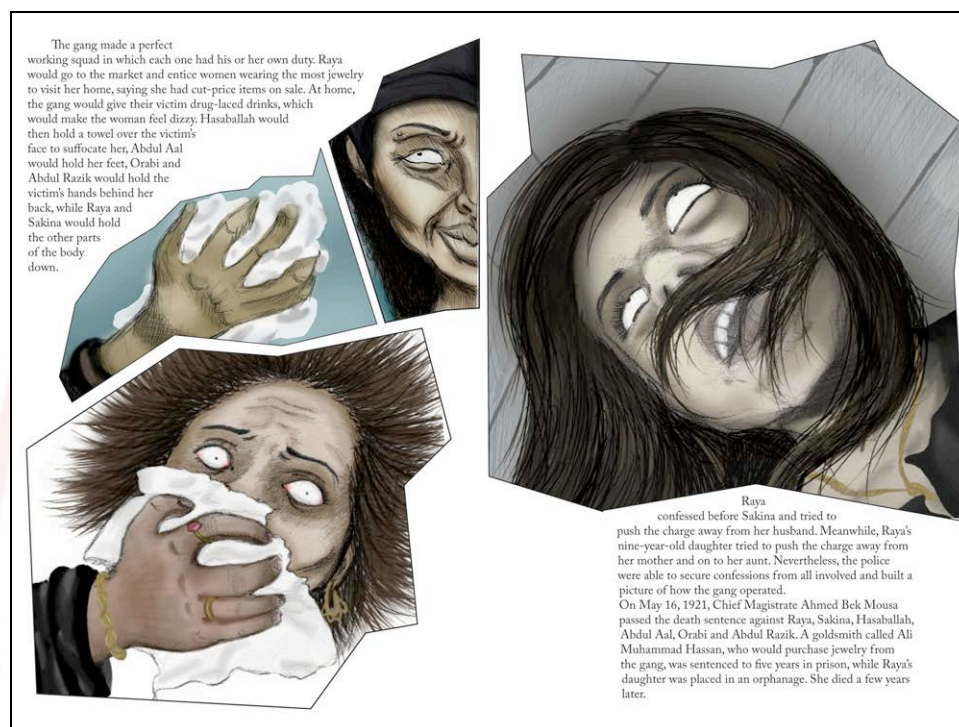


Figure 7: Two page spread from "The Murdering Sisters of Cairo."

4. The Visual

Students who have lived entirely in one geographic area can find it difficult to visually re-create an unfamiliar environment. For a student who has spent a life surrounded by the flat desert landscape of the UAE it can be challenging to try to illustrate a village in Europe or Iran, or a cityscape older than modern Dubai. All illustration classes at my college introduce the process of researching and drawing from visual reference. But there is a limit to the value of photographic reference in illustration. As Arnheim writes, "a difference between passive reception and active perceiving is contained even in elementary visual experience". (Arnheim, p. 14) Experienced reality contains much sensory information that is stripped from the photograph, leaving only a two-dimensional replica in place of a reality that is seen, smelled, felt, and heard.

In describing what he calls "the intelligence of perception," Arnheim points out that culture plays an active role in determining what is perceived even at the most basic visual level:

There is considerable evidence to indicate that the graspability of shapes and colors varies, depending on the species, the cultural group, the amount of training of the observer. What is rational for one group, will be irrational for another, i.e. it cannot be grasped, understood, compared, or remembered... Some cultures do not put green and blue under separate perceptual headings. (p. 31)

Besides the problem of coming to a visual understanding of the perceived world through photographs, there remains the lack of a visual cultural heritage to draw on. Attempts to mimic imported visual languages will always be part of undergraduate illustration classes. The popular visual vocabulary of Japanese manga and anime is reflected in the work of my students as elsewhere. In fact, many students are attracted to the topic of visual narrative precisely because manga visual narratives resonate with them in a way that individual, free-standing images or text-only narratives do not. As Neil Cohn argued, visual narratives depend on a grammar made up of mutual interaction between the visual and the verbal:

Like sequential units of sound in speech or bodily motions in sign languages, sequential drawings ordered by a rule system— a grammar— literally comprise a visual language (VL). Culturally, this visual language combines with written language in comics, manga, bande dessinée, etc., uniting their readers and authors in a common (visual) linguistic community. Following this, unique cultural styles of drawing simply become different visual languages, the same way that verbal (and signed) languages differ throughout the world. (Cohn, 2010)

Just as the growing use of English is troubling to many in the region, it is worth asking whether a visual language imported from Japan is adequate to describe and express modern Gulf life. The visual syntax of manga grows out of its unique cultural context, specifically post-war Japan. In my experience this syntax is only partly understood or translated by my students. A comparison of American and Japanese visual narratives reveals differences in meanings, sequencing, and visual grammar, as Scott McCloud has demonstrated (McCloud, 2006). It is safe to assume that existing visual languages will need to be modified in order to develop a workable regional dialect. In a region still defining itself in terms of tradition versus modernity, local versus imported, the challenge is to develop a pedagogy that assists students in developing a visual and verbal language relevant to themselves and their experience.

In the Western model of studio art education it is typical to introduce drawing from observation early in the curriculum. In addition to learning to record what is seen, the practice of observational drawing is an elementary step in the process of developing a visual language, to think using visual information. By third and fourth year many students have developed a workable visual vocabulary and are able to flesh out the minimal information contained in a reference photo. Still, limitations of experience and culture make it difficult for many students to fully realize, in visual terms, an environment that is unfamiliar to them.

One student's version of a castle from a Grimm Brothers fable looked remarkably like the posh new Emirati villas located around our campus. In place of a wooden door hinged over a moat, his castle door was made of frosted glass and decorative cast aluminium in the style of entrance gates seen in the suburbs of Sharjah and Dubai. The end result remained, visually, far from its original place and time.

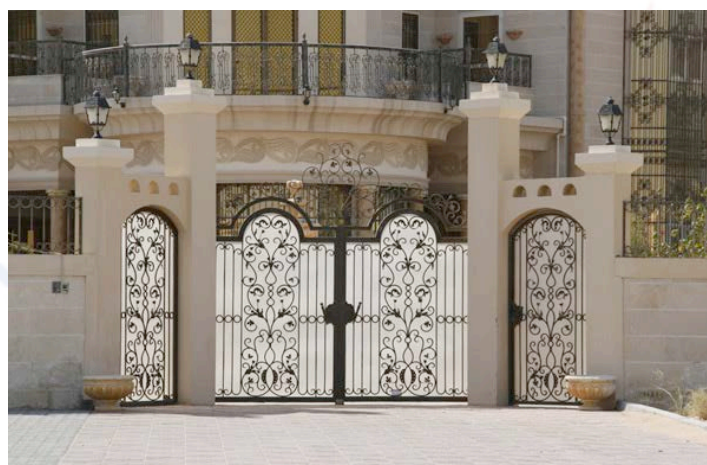
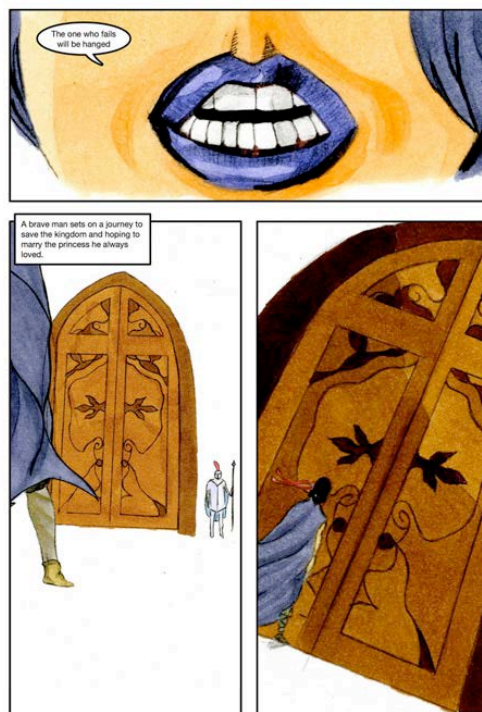


Figure 8: Top, student interpretation of the door of a medieval castle and below, a typical villa door in Sharjah. Even after gathering visual research, the student's illustrated door exhibits a modern Emirati sensibility.

It took some time for me to determine the common threads that make up visual vocabulary for students in the Gulf. Many students excelled at fine detailing and decoration over the surface of their drawings, but the underpinnings that my Western eye looked for— perspective structure, sense of visual hierarchy, and an understanding of human anatomy— seemed to be absent in much work.

Narratives are most often about people; in order to tell a story it is usually necessary to draw the human figure in a recognizable way. But in the Arabian peninsula depictions of the human figure, and especially the human face, have historically been avoided. Often, students who are successful at developing characters take a highly decorative approach, concentrating on clothing, colour, and props and minimizing reliance on human anatomy.

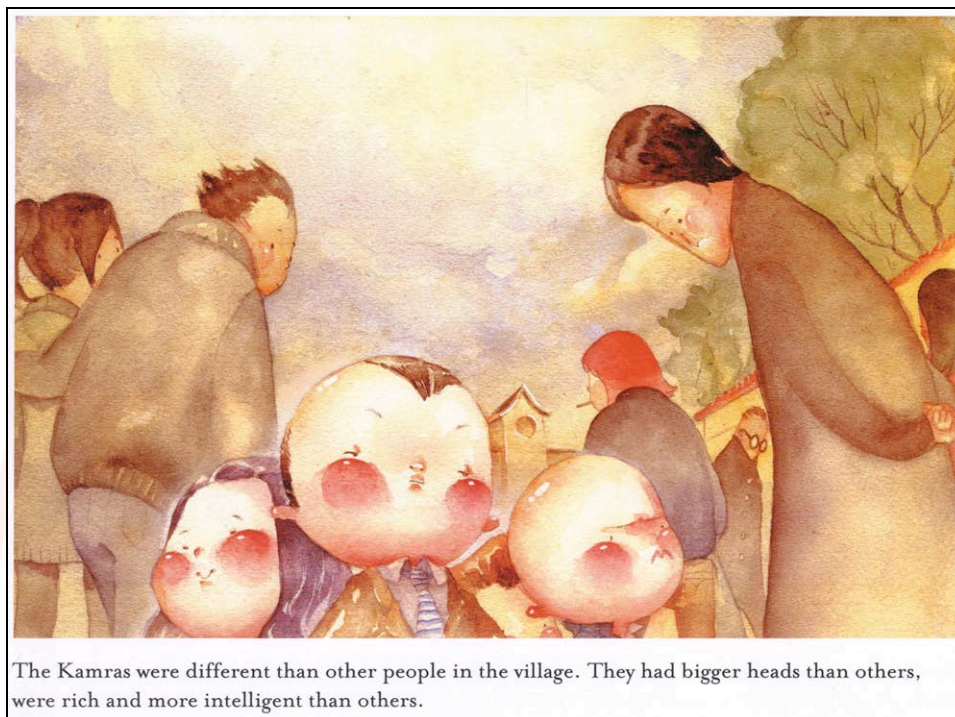


Figure 9: Highly stylized characters are common in student work.
Illustration by a visual narrative student.

Illustration class assignments often de-emphasize figuration and emphasize setting and externals, such as visual exploration of a trade or craft or a local area. One student explored a local slaughterhouse and produced a series of remarkable paintings showing stainless tables, tools of the trade, and sides of beef in various stages of processing. The human figures were clearly secondary in most images and were treated with much less care than the sides of meat. In another class, a student created a series of illustrations based on the local bird market. The finished illustrations were well done; the only evidence of the human figure is in an arm of a butcher preparing a chicken for market.



Figure 10: Illustration of the local bird market.

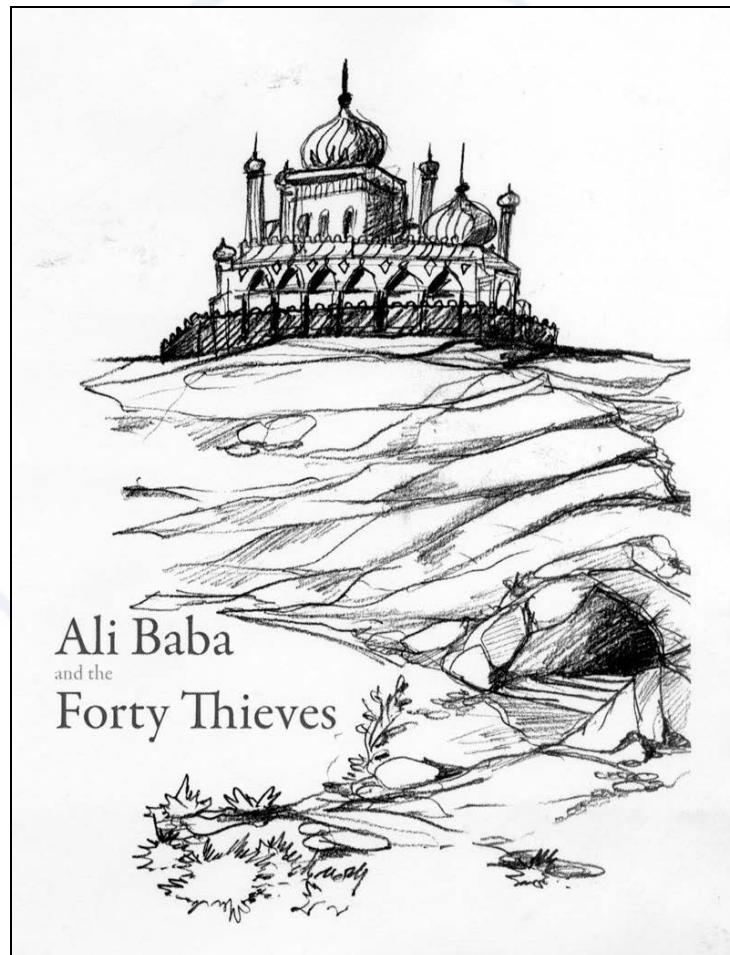


Figure 11: Illustration based on local architecture.

The decisions to localize both text and image in this class is intended to help each student find an authentic individual voice, both in use of language and creation of image. Issues of derivation and appropriation of work by others are not completely

resolved, but become less important when each student is required to draw from his or her own verbal and visual experiences.



Figure 12: "Fresh Man," the story of a freshman design student set in the school's studios. The student used a classmate and the school buildings for reference.

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***Solving Problems and Pleasing Patrons: The Case Study of the
Egyptian Artists who decorated the XVIIIth Dynasty Private Theban Tombs***

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Abstract

This study is focused on the artists involved in the decoration of the private Theban tombs of the nobles of the Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty, officials who were part of the court and usually had a close relationship with the king or were linked to the temple administration. These private tombs, full of vivacious and original decorations, have been a focus of attention for Egyptologists, but few studies have tried to explore the role of the artists who painted these scenes and their background, which may be linked to palace or temple workshops.

Despite the absence of significant written sources regarding Egyptian artists' organization, we will try to explore their 'methodology' and the training process, their problems when performing the decoration, and their sources of inspiration when defining the tomb repertoire. Innovation and new pictorial resources will be also analyzed, as they must have played an important role in the tomb scenes, which should be attractive to visitors. The tomb was not only a resting place but also a memorial chapel visited by relatives and friends during religious festivals, and its decoration turned to be a way of showing social achievements and a way of perpetuating their memory.



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Introduction

The so-called ‘Valley of the Nobles’ located in Thebes (Upper Egypt), the capital during the XVIIIth Dynasty, consists on a significant group of private tombs excavated into the mountain, which served both as burial place and as funerary chapel. These tomb chapels were built imitating the royal tombs in the ‘Valley of the Kings’, which was the New Kingdom royal necropolis from Thutmosis I onwards. The present study is focused on the artists involved in the decoration of these private tombs of the Theban nobles of the Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty, and will try to explore the role of the artists, their background, methods and also their sources of inspiration.

The XVIIIth Dynasty is without doubt the most interesting period in the private Theban necropolis, as there was a significant increase in the number of private tombs. Today we have approximately 210 funerary chapels in the Theban necropolis dated to the XVIIIth Dynasty and we can assume that there were almost double in antiquity, which means a high number of tombs constructed and decorated in a short period of time (Kampp, 1996, 144-146). The XVIIIth Dynasty was a time of wealth and prosperity in Egypt linked to the expansion of Egyptian frontiers carried by kings like Thutmosis I or Thutmosis III, which made possible the incomes needed for such a ‘boom’ in tomb construction¹. These tombs were built for high officials who were part of the court and usually had a close relationship with the king, or built for officials linked to the temples, so we could also label them as elite tombs. It is striking that most of these private Theban tombs are unfinished, with a varied degree of completion.

But more than the number of private tombs, we must stress the high quality of their decoration, which could be made in painting or painted relief, usually depending on the quality of the rock and also on the availability of artists. This type of private tomb was built as a hypogeum, with a limited outer space consisting on an open courtyard. It is necessary to remark the appearance of a new specific type of tomb in the early XVIIIth Dynasty, following the hypogeum model: the inverted T-shaped tomb. An ideal inverted T-shaped tomb should comprise the following elements: a forecourt or courtyard which leads to the upper-rock cut chambers, including a transverse hall, an elongated passage and an inner room with a niche for statues, and finally a shaft and subterranean burial chamber (Manniche, 1987, 30). The tomb of User (TT 21)² is one of the first tombs built according to this typology, constructed during the reign of Thutmosis I until the reigns of Hatshepsut/Thutmosis III (Kampp, 1996, 203-205). We can even mention the curious case of a high official, called Useramun, who early in his career had a traditional tomb built in the form of a long and narrow passage decorated mainly with funerary scenes (TT 61). But Useramun, who became vizier, ordered years after the construction of a second T-shaped tomb (TT 131). In this new type there is a new important element: the transverse hall. The T-shaped tomb became very popular during the XVIII Dynasty, and this change in the plan of the private tomb chapels may suggest the possibility that these monuments started to be used in a

¹ The XVIIIth comprises the period from *circa* 1550 to 1307 B.C.. Dates based on the conventional Egyptian chronology (Baines, Malek, 2000).

² The short TT stands for Theban Tomb, followed by the number assigned to the tomb, according to the accepted the Egyptological terminology.

different way before or during the funeral ceremonies, or in the years after (Kozloff, 2005, 304-305). According to written and visual sources, we know that private tombs were visited by relative and friends as part of the funerary cult and during important religious festivals. For instance, we have graffiti written in hieratic on the walls of these private Theban chapels which could be specifically dated to the XVIIIth Dynasty, being a proof of these visits made due to religious cult or maybe due to curiosity (Hartwig, 2004, 12-14). These funerary chapels were a symbol of social status, with a double function as they served as the space where the funerary and memorial cult was performed, and also as burial place

In these T-shaped tombs the transverse hall played an important role within the decorative program, including scenes specifically related to the life and career of the tomb owner which would immortalize his life. It seems that ancient Egyptian nobles wanted visitors to come to their tombs (Bryan, 2009, 22), and in the court or front rooms families gathered together during the local festivals. We know that during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley Festival, the most important religious Theban festival, after visiting the local temples the family and friends visited the tombs of their ancestors, made offerings and enjoyed banquets in the tombs. Even the wall paintings of many tombs represent the family and friends taking part in banquets during the Valley Festival, showing the deceased expected these visitors. We find this type of scene in the tomb of Nakht (TT 52), where the Valley Festival is represented in the transverse hall (Davies, 1917, plates XV-XVII). This is an important matter, as we should consider these tomb scenes as artworks that were admired and appreciated by the ancient Egyptians. Although it has been assumed that the concept of art did not exist in ancient Egypt and the artists themselves were mainly anonymous, we may consider the scenes of these private Theban tombs were produced by the artists for a specific ‘audience’, and although examples of funerary art the scenes were intended to be viewed.

The Background of the Theban Artists

The XVIIIth Dynasty private Theban tombs have been a focus of attention but few studies have tried to explore the role of the artists who painted these scenes and their background. Painters and sculptors in ancient Egypt followed a fixed hierarchy, as it was the rule for craftsmen, and it was a male profession usually inherited from father to son (Laboury, 2013, 28-35).

First of all, it is necessary to explore the background of the artists. In Thebes during the XVIIIth Dynasty we do not have written evidence that suggests that artisans could work freelance. On one hand, there must have been several workshops of artists, probably linked to the royal service and to the temples, according to several sources, such as the titles of artists and supervisors. For instance, in the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky (TT 181) we attest the representation of a “Painter of Amun”, who worked in the tomb (Davies, 1924, pl. XI, XII. XIV). We have written evidence of artists with titles connected to the royal service, such as ‘Chief of outline-draughtsmen of the Lord of the two lands’ (Steinmann, 1982, 155). Archaeological remains found in the North Palace of Malqata and in the palace precinct of Birket Habu in Malqata indicate a significant number of resident artists. Apart from the artists linked to the temple and to the palace, we know that from the reign of Thutmosis I a group of artists was settled in Deir el Medina, commissioned to build and decorate the royal tombs. These

Deir el Medina artists could have occasionally decorated the private Theban tombs, a question that remains today problematic, but considering the high number of private tombs, this seems to have been more the exception rather than the rule (Hartwig, 2004, 23-24).

On the other hand, artists could sometimes have a diverse geographic origin coming from areas outside Thebes. For example the ostraca found in the tomb of Senenmut and near Deir el Bahari temple show that artists working there came from different cities in Upper Egypt and even one in Middle Egypt (Hayes, 1942, 23). This might also be the case of some artists who took part in the decoration of the private Theban tombs, but it is difficult to imagine how the tomb owners had the resources and possibilities to employ artists leaving aside the Egyptian institutions. We know that the king usually granted officials plots of land to build their tombs, and there is even textual evidence from XVIIth Dynasty Thebes which mentions officials “interred in the land given by the king, into the tomb of the West” (Kanawati, 2001, 6-8). So we might also think that the institutions, temple or royal administration, had some role in the supply of skilled craftsmen to build and decorate the private Theban tombs, although probably the tomb owners should pay for their work.

Having in mind the diverse evidence, it is difficult to reach a conclusion about the origin of the artists. The tombs paintings themselves could throw light to the question of their background. According to the existence of two clear different styles of paintings in private tombs dated in the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenophis III, Melinda Hartwig has proposed the existence of two Theban painters’ workshops. One workshop may have been linked to the royal palace and seems to have decorated the tombs of officials who held important positions in the court. The other workshop was linked to the temples, and probably in charge of the decoration of the tombs belonging to officials working in temple administration. The correlation between the style of the tomb paintings and the profession of the tomb owner suggests that they could have acquired artists from the institutions they were linked to. Hartwig has also argued convincingly that the so-called ‘Palace Style’ and the ‘Temple Style’ seen in private Theban tombs show connections with motifs attested in palace and temple artworks, which may indicate a common origin of the artists (Hartwig, 2004, 32-35). Probably, these artists were employed in the private tombs and then returned to their workshops. We believe that the high number of unfinished tombs in the private Theban necropolis may be related to the fact that artists were lent or hired for a certain period of time, and they had to return to their institutions usually leaving the tomb scenes incomplete.

As Betsy Bryan has pointed out, the increase of private Theban tombs dated to the XVIIIth Dynasty would imply an important demand for high-skilled artists (Bryan, 2001, 70). If there were not enough artists to cover the demand, the origin of the artists may have been diverse and with different levels of skill. In most tombs we can identify the hands of different artists, or maybe the hands of several master artists, as we can see in the tomb of Userhat (TT 56), where at least three artist’ hands have been attested (Beinlich-Seeber, Shedid, 1987, 141). The close analyses of the scenes of a tomb could even reveal the presence of several artists working with different techniques under the supervision of one or more master artists, as we will see.

Solving Problems and Pleasing Patrons: ‘Methodology’ of the Artists and Sources of Inspiration

Despite the absence of significant written sources regarding Egyptian artists’ process of decorating a tomb, we consider necessary to research the way these artists worked. Once the walls of the tomb chapel had been prepared to be embellished, the master artist had to select the number of scenes to be included according to the size of the tomb. But it was probably much more important to adapt the funerary decorative program to the likes of the tomb owner and to his profession, as many scenes in the tomb, and more specifically in the transverse hall, had to show the best actions of his life. Then the master artist had to organize the distribution of scenes and supervise the process of execution. The ‘methodology’ of these Theban artists is not so different from modern artist methodology, as they seem to have worked following a workshop method. The tomb of Suemniwet (TT 92), which has been exhaustively analyzed, shows the process which started with grids painted in the walls and the sketching of the scenes, and then continued with the decoration of a wall with varied colors and pigments. The tomb chapel of Suemniwet is largely unfinished, which helps us to examine different ways of work organization in the same tomb. For example, in the West part of the transverse hall we can identify one group of painters working under a single chief artisan, but in the East part a second and smaller group of painters worked under a different master artist. Besides, the decoration of the Front room in TT 92 shows great complexity and great detail, and suggests the presence of several master artists working together in the scenes of the Front room, and it seems that they completed each section before moving to the next one. These painters working in the Front room first laid colours, then applied layers and finally did the finishing lines, obtaining a complex scene with a high skilled technique and varied pigments (Bryan, 2001, 65-67). After studying the paintings in the tomb of Suemniwet, Bryan suggested that probably around 25 artists worked on the tomb, simultaneously or at different times and using different techniques and varied type of pigments. This tomb was planned and decorated by workshop-crews using a variety of organizational and painting methods, and probably each master artist had freedom to organize his crew as he wished (Bryan, 2001, 71). The conclusion then may be that several crews of artisans with a varied background and sometimes with different styles and techniques might have been employed in these private Theban tombs.

We have already mentioned the varied degree of skill of the artists working in a tomb. One of the problems that master artists should face was the supervision of the work done by regular artists or by apprentices, who will follow the decorative program established in the tomb by the master artists. In many of these private Theban tombs of the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty we can observe the extensive use of square grids as a training method for unskilled artists. But grids were also used by regular and master artists to produce human figures with acceptable proportions. For example the use of the grid could be also very useful for master artists working in reduced spaces, such as the narrow corridors of small tombs, where a painter could not move backwards to have a wide perspective of the wall painting (Robins, 2001, 60). Therefore the grid in the XVIIIth Dynasty was not only used as a training method but also as a technical aid.

As Gay Robins has remarked, beginning with the reign of Amenhotep II and continuing for the rest of the XVIIIth Dynasty there is an increasing tendency to

reserve the grid for major figures, while the rest were added freehand, which meant less time spent on the preparation of grids. This change took place together with a stylistic change, as we see a freer and more fluid way of rendering the human body, especially in secondary figures. It is possible that the stylistic change and the reduced use of grids are related, perhaps because those artists who were developing the freer style were becoming impatient with the process of drawing the grids before painting the wall. This tendency to reduce the use of grids continued during and after the Amarna period, and the employ of grids during the XIXth and XXth Dynasties in both private and royal tombs is very rare (Robins, 2001, 61). We may conclude the methodology followed by these artists was closely related to the style of the decoration, and it is therefore important to explore their working methods.

Besides the technical problems that these Theban artists should face, there were others related to the tomb scenes themselves. As we mentioned before, the tomb chapel decoration had to be planned according to the likes of the tomb owner and also had to show his achievements, as some kind of biographical narrative (Manniche, 1987, 32-33). The role of the patrons in Ancient Egypt and their interaction of patron and artist in the production of art is a complicated question, considering that we only have the result of such interaction in the form of finished works (Bács, 2001, 94).

The high number of tombs built and decorated in the XVIIth Dynasty, and especially during the time of Thutmose III / Hatshepsut, may have forced artists to look for new themes and new poses. During the XVIIIth Dynasty we see a wide range of themes within the tomb repertoire, so it may be convenient to explore the sources of inspiration of the artists when decorating a tomb chapel. We think Theban artists were aware that they should create a tomb following the established programme but also with original and appealing scenes, avoiding repetition. In this 'creative process' artists may have followed two practices: visiting and copying scenes from previous tombs, and using the so-called 'model books' or 'pattern books'. Both practices are complementary and they were probably part of the artists' work.

On one hand, we have written evidence of the visits to Theban tombs, which could be roughly contemporary or much older, such as the case of the tomb of Senet, who was probably the mother of the vizier Antefoker (TT 60), dated to the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty. This Middle Kingdom private tomb seems to have become a source of curiosity and pilgrimage at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, as the graffiti found on its walls prove. Davies documented 36 graffiti, many of them made by scribes who visited what they considered to be a source of inspiration for replication in later tombs. One of the most interesting graffiti in this tomb was made by scribe Amenemhat (graffiti no 33), who lived under Thutmose III, stating that he visited TT 60 and he was impressed by its decoration. The wall scenes in Amenemhat's tomb (TT 82), as many others XVIIIth Dynasty Theban chapels, are inspired by the scenes in Antefoker's tomb. We may suggest that Amenemhat could have visited TT 60 with the artists commissioned to build his tomb chapel (Davies, 1920, 29, no 33). Another graffiti made by a scribe called Sennefer was found on the desert hunt scene, which was admired and served as inspiration for many XVIIIth Dynasty hunt scenes (Davies, 1920, no 25).

We can assume that Theban artists visited tombs looking for inspiration and sometimes sketched details, maybe on ostraca. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a

collection of ostraca found in an archaeological context near the tomb of Senmut and the Deir el Bahari temple and dated to Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III, which may be useful to show the process of copying and practising details or making sketches. For instance, we can mention an ostrakon depicting two portraits of Senmut, Hatshepsut vizier, which could show the process of copying a previous scene, or could even be a copy of a pupil corrected by the master artist (Roerig, 2005, 63). We even have evidence of grids made on a wall scene to be copied, such as the grid on the tomb of Kenamun (TT 63) drawn on the dog and ibex in the hunt scene (Wilkinson, Hill, 1983, 28, fig- 23).

On the other hand, we believe that ancient Egyptian artists worked with pattern books or model books, a compilation of drawings, sketches or single details, maybe made on papyrus or some kind of wooden surface. When they had to arrange and design the decoration of the new funerary chapel they would visit old tombs, but also relied on the pattern books with common scenes or details. The existence of model books has been suggested by several scholars such as Schäffer (1974, 62) or as Mekhitarian, who even proposed that the so-called ‘shapes scribes’ who planned the tomb decoration were trained through pattern books in the form of papyrus rolls, in which every page may give details of a certain type of scene (Mekhitarian, 1978, 20, 58). We think that ancient Egyptian artists used model books, where the repertoire of tomb scenes and details of the scenes were recorded. Having in mind that painters and sculptors inherited their profession, these model books may have passed from father to son.

Unfortunately no example of an ancient Egyptian model book has survived, but we can mention two New Kingdom wooden boards which may reflect the process of copying a scene or practising a detail, and may recall the existence of model books. The first is a well-known wooden board in the British Museum collection (EA 5601), whose provenance is unknown, but said to have been found in a Theban tomb. The recto shows on the left area the seated figure of a king laid out on a grid, Thutmose III, and several hieroglyph symbols on the right area (Iversen 1960, 71-79, plate XVI).

The second is a fragmentary wooden board, most probably dated to Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III period, recently found in the courtyards of the tombs of Djehuty (TT 11) and Hery (TT 12)³. This board found in the private Theban necropolis was used on both sides for drawing and for writing, and the surface of each side was divided into two halves by a vertical imaginary line. On the recto the left half was used to draw two figures of pharaoh on a grid resembling a standing statue of a king, and the right part of the board was used for the text (Galán, 2007, 95, 100). When comparing the two drawings we can notice the image on the right has been done with greater skill than the one on the left (**Figure 1**). Therefore, it is possible that the images correspond to the work of a master artist copied by his apprentice, reflecting the practice of learning by copying a model on a single object, master and apprentice side by side. The striking frontal view of the image may also suggest that it is a

³ I thank Dr. J.M. Galán for generously providing me the images of the Apprentice’s board found in Dra Abu el-Naga (© Proyecto Djehuty).

preparatory study of a statue, or perhaps it is just an exercise in draughtsman's skills and knowledge (Galán, 2007, 105).

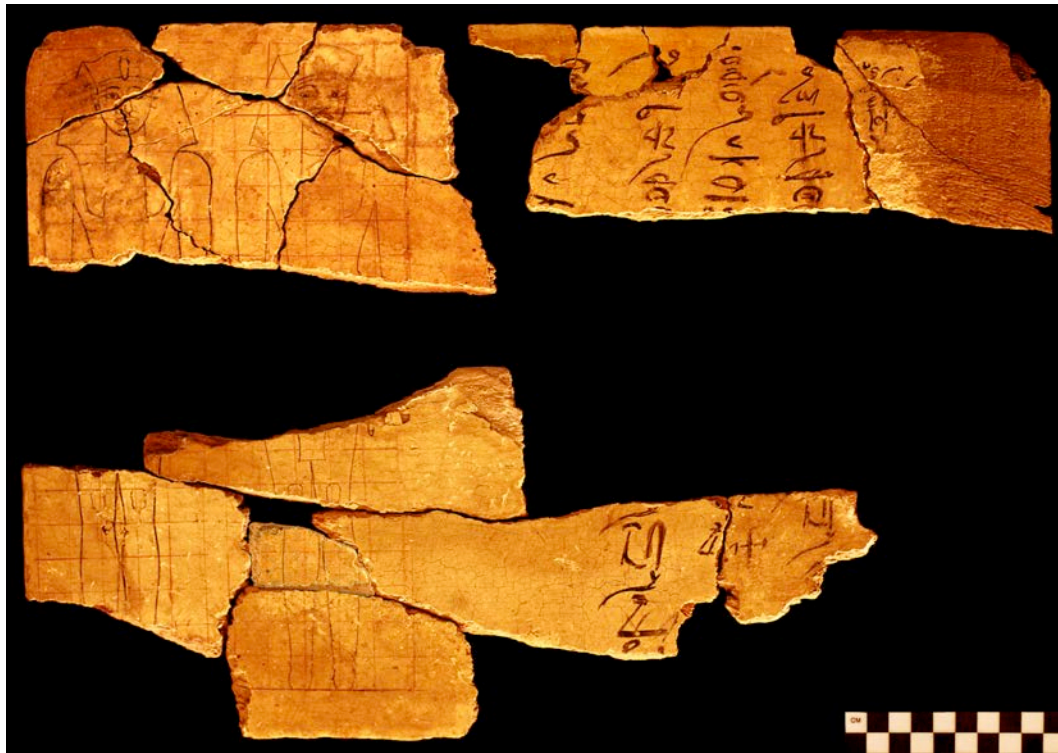


Figure 1. Recto of the apprentice's board

The verso of the wooden board shows the motif of a king shown in the posture of fowling, with his right arm raised and holding a duck in his left hand (**Figure 2**). The drawing is part of a fowling in the marshes scene, but there is no representation of the papyrus thickets or the wild ducks, so it seems it is not a preparatory sketch for painting or carving this type of scene, but rather a draughtsman's exercise to practise his skills and knowledge of the proportions of the human body (Galán, 2007, 107-108). Considering this drawing shows only a part of the typical fowling scene, we might think that the artist was copying a detail of a previous scene who called his attention, or maybe he was adapting the usual image of Egyptian officials fowling in the marshes, so common in New Kingdom Theban tombs, to the iconography of a pharaoh. This apprentice board is an interesting and useful find because it was found in an archaeological context linked to the tomb of Djehuty, who may be the owner of this object which could have been placed in his tomb as part of the funerary equipment. He was a high official who held the title of overseer of the craftsmen under Hatshepsut, so we might assume his professional interest in that kind of pictorial compositions (Galán, 2007, 115). But for our study this find is particularly useful because we can see the process of training, copying and practising details, which was part of the daily lives of the Egyptian artists.



Figure 2. Verso of the apprentice's board

Innovation and Pictorial Resources in the Private Theban Tomb Chapels

Finally, we will analyze briefly the question of innovation and new pictorial resources in the XVIIIth Dynasty private Theban tombs. The royal tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty usually show a decoration more or less restricted to funerary and religious contents. But the private tombs were probably a more convenient context for artist's innovations, where they explored new possibilities. The decorative program in private tomb chapels is really varied: scenes related to the career of the owner, funerary scenes or the so-called daily life scenes (Manniche, 2003, 42-45). But probably due to the high number of tombs built and decorated during the XVIIth Dynasty, and especially during the time of Thutmosis III / Hatshepsut, artists had to look for new themes and new artistic resources. Although we can trace motifs copied from one tomb to another, there are no two identical tombs. The innovations attested in the New Kingdom private Theban tombs could be related to new themes, to unusual details of an icon, or to the new treatment of a traditional theme (El-Shahawy, 2010, 3-5). From our point of view, one of the most striking innovations is the transgression of some Egyptian representation rules, which have been followed over centuries by artists. It has been usually assumed that in the New Kingdom wall decoration the concept of depth was generally avoided (Hodel-Hoernes, 2000, 22), but in some Theban tombs we see attempts to create depth and perspective. For instance in the agriculture scene in the transverse hall of the tomb of Nakht (TT 52) the artist has converted the register line into an undulating line, giving some perspective to the fields depicted (Davies, 1917, 60-62, plates 18-21). In the hunt scene in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) the register lines are completely absent and the artist creates perspective and a sensation of movement and chaos (Davies, 1943, 41-43, plate XLIII).

Another interesting example of the emancipation from Egyptian representation rules is the frontality of human figures and animals. We could mention the musicians in a frontal view from some Theban tombs, such as the tomb of Nebamun (TT 90) or the tomb of Horemheb (TT 78), creating a sense of movement and reflecting the artistic freedom of these Theban painters (Volkhine, 2000, 36-37). In our research of the innovations we have paid special attention to the frontal poses of the dogs shown in desert hunt scenes, which reflect a break of the movement of animals and have been attested in several private Theban tombs, such as TT 21, the tomb of User (Davies, Gardiner, 1913, plate XXII), or in TT 100, the tomb of Rekhmire (Davies, 1943, plate XLIII). We believe this type of animal frontal poses could have worked as a 'visual hooks', calling the attention of the viewer to particular details. It is difficult to say if these frontal pose is a self-developed artistic innovation within the Theban workshops, or if it is the result of artistic foreign influence. Frontal poses are attested in Near Eastern and Aegean art, and we must bear in mind this was a period of intense contact with the world abroad, when foreign objects displaying new motifs and posed arrived to Egypt, and were appreciated by the elite. We think the skilled artists working in the court or linked to Egyptian temples had access to that kind of foreign iconography, which may have also inspired the poses in private tombs scenes.

Conclusions

Although most ancient Egyptian artists will remain anonymous forever, we would like to remark the need and importance of analysing their process of training and working. The artists working in the private tombs in Thebes during the XVIIIth Dynasty are an interesting and suitable case study, as they worked in a limited area and in a certain period of time, and their artistic production is remarkable in quality and number. We believe Theban painters were organised in workshops with a fixed hierarchy and linked to the temples or to the royal palace, and we think they were lent or hired to build and decorate the private Theban tombs. The high number of tomb chapels dated to the XVIIIth Dynasty implies that artists should create a tomb with original and attractive scenes, for instance looking for a sense of perspective or using new poses such as frontal images.

As we have seen, there are multiple and disperse pieces of information regarding the Egyptian artist work, such as finished or unfinished tomb scenes, graffiti, ostraca or drawings on wooden boards. It is not an easy task to join all this evidence, but it could provide valuable insights of the way artists worked in the tomb and their sources of inspiration.

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***Ambivalence of Monstrosity and Sense of Reality:
Discourse of Humanity and Pacifism in the North Korean Film Bulgasari***

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Abstract

As in the Western world, Korea has a variety of mythical monsters. Among them is Bulgasari, an iron-eating monster and bizarre hybrid of animals, which will be the main topic of this paper. The monster's name 'Bulgasari' has a paradoxical meaning in Korean which is "cannot be killed but can be killed by fire," which represents the wide gamut of ambivalent identity ranging from physical and metaphorical aspects of the monster, and provides a uniquely Korean reception and interpretation of being monstrous as distinctive from the Western archetypal imagery and understanding of monstrosity as Enduring Evil. For instance, while in the Western myth and tradition monstrosity is commonly recognized as enduring evil, Bulgasari's destructive power is portrayed in the myth as a heroic trait to protect social justice by condemning and punishing the evils of society. Such an ambivalent identity as both monster and hero explains only a part of the features that explain the ambivalent identity of Bulgasari. This research especially focuses on the North Korean film *Bulgasari* (1985), and explores the way in which the ambivalent identity of Bulgasari develops into the various layers of discourses such as humanity and pacifism in the film, that is, a mixture of imagination and reality or a life-like imaginary space. In all, this research delves into unique ways in which the meaning of monstrosity is accommodated in the Korean environment and sentiment, as mirroring the Korean sense of reality situated in this era of South-North Division and Nuclear Holocaust.

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Introduction

As in the Western world, Korea has a variety of mythical monsters. Among them is Bulgasari, an iron-eating monster, which will be the main topic of this paper. The monster's name 'Bulgasari' has a paradoxical meaning in Korean which is "cannot be killed but can be killed by fire," which explains the ambivalent identity of the monster and provides a uniquely Korean reception of being monstrous as distinctive from the general understanding of monstrosity as Enduring Evil.

In the Western tradition, mythological monsters are usually thought to be a "symbol of disorder and resistance" and "powerful threat to the building of state" (Linebaugh and Rediker 2). This formula is justified in the Hercules-Hydra myth. Hydra, an evil monster, has nine heads and also a special ability to grow back its heads whenever they are cut off by Hercules. As a result, Hydra escapes every crisis of potential death and extends its own monstrosity for another day (Gilmore 39-40). The monstrosity of Hydra reflects the fears of Western society about the enduring nature of evil. The Hercules-Hydra myth presents a hegemonic text of 'monster-making' in which riots, insurrections, and other antisocial actions are defined monstrous by the ruling powers, and collective violence to kill such 'monstrous' actions is justified as rational and 'humanistic' effort to maintain social normalization. Meanwhile, Bulgasari's destructive power is portrayed in the myth as heroic and protecting social justice by punishing the evils of society.

This research specially focuses on the North Korean film *Bulgasari* (1985), and examines that the monstrosity of Bulgasari develops into the discourse of humanity and pacifism. I also look into unique ways in which the meaning of monstrosity is accommodated in the Korean environment and sentiment, as mirroring the Korean sense of reality situated in this era of South-North Division and Nuclear Holocaust.

Bulgasari in Legend: Ambivalence of Monstrosity

The legend of Bulgasari appeared for the first time in the late 14th century, the time of replacement of Dynasties, from Goryeo (918-1392) to Chosun (1392-1910). Thereafter, various subtypes and similar folktales were circulated and handed down by word of mouth. Despite the variety, these stories have one thing in common to say: that this monster began to haunt the Korean peninsula during this period of political transition and power shift. Such scenario, reflecting history, implies "a discourse about the confusion in social situations" (Cho 168). At the same time, the Bulgasari legend conveys additional stories and sentiment that contemporary grassroots must have had, symbolized by being faced with the confusion caused by the emergence of the monster. Here, a series of questions arise. What did the first encounter with this monster mean to the grassroots who had to survive wars in a continuation of day-to-day anxiety? Was it a light of salvation or a shade of doom? What message did the monster herald to these poor people, hope or despair? What was their reception of the monster, as a blessing or a curse?

According to legend, Bulgasari has the ability to defeat nightmares and evil spirits, protect sleeping individuals from incubi, and prevent hurricanes and other natural disasters, and the outbreak of plagues and measles (Chung 1998). Because of this supernatural ability, the image of Bulgasari was sculpted on the outer walls of palaces

and private houses, chimneys, railings, and pillars, and served as a sentry to watch the evil spirits.

A typical example is the iconographies of Bulgasari carved in the four brick chimneys standing in the garden of the queen's quarters at the royal palace Gyeongbokgung of the Chosun Dynasty, located in central Seoul. Each side of the four hexagonal chimneys is decorated with auspicious patterns to pray for good luck and health. They include ten symbols of longevity such as the sun, rocks, turtles and herbs of eternal youth; four gracious plants symbolizing loyalty such as the plum, orchid, chrysanthemum and bamboo; grapes symbolizing the flourishing of posterity; bats symbolizing wealth. The patterns also include reliefs of imaginary and legendary animals such as a dragon-crane hybrid bird Bonghwang (equivalent to the Phoenix), and the fire-eating dog Haetae known as the guardian against fire and arson (Heo 183-87). Among those is Bulgasari. Korean ancestors believed that the images of Bulgasari of the chimneys would prevent the evil spirits from breaking into the queen's private chamber (Chung 1998, Yoon 2010: 163).

The positive perception of Bulgasari was also found in literature. In 1921 during the Japanese occupation of Korea, for instance, a novel entitled *The Tale of Bulgasari at the Last Years of Songdo*, written by Hyun Yeoung-sun, was released. Set in the declining years of the Goryeo Dynasty, this work depicts Bulgasari as a "righteous animal" that defeats the Red Turban Bandits of China devastating the Korean peninsula (Cho 170).¹ In the novel, the author brings out positive aspects of the monster by making it a patriotic hero saving the country from foreign invasion and threats. Given that this novel was published during the Japanese rule of the Korean peninsula, such image of Bulgasari even delivers the 'colonized' people's longing to break free from Imperialism.

Negative descriptions of Bilgasari are also found in literary space including legends, folktales. A typical example is the Korean proverbial expression "Bulgasari at the last years of Songdo," which was borrowed from the title of the novel mentioned earlier. Songdo, the capital of the Goryeo Dynasty, refers to the city of Gaeseong in North Korea today. In the proverb, Bulgasari figuratively refers to a person of rowdy behaviour and personality and an ominous sign of bad things. This proverb originates in a folktale featuring Bulgasari in the mid-19th century. According to the tale, Bulgasari appeared in Songdo and made trouble, eating all the metal things it can find, while expanding its size to the height of mountain and even developing a dreadful ability to breathe fire. The destructive power of Bulgasari in the story is the metaphoric reflection of the chaotic state of the country in declining years, and the sense of crisis felt by the contemporary people trapped in war and poverty. Also, the monster's unstoppable appetite is critical satire on the greed of the haves and politicians.

Bulgasari is associated with fire. It spits fire and shows off its formidable appearance. Irony is that the seemingly impregnable monster is destined to be killed by fire. This

¹ The Red Turban Bandit, a group of Chinese thieves, originated in the north of the Yellow River in China, between 1351 and 1368, and resisted the Mongol's Yuan Kingdom who ruled China at that time. They wore red turbans and carried red banners to distinguish themselves. Toward the end of the Yuan, they frequently invaded the territory of Goryeo.

paradoxical fate is predicted in the name of the monster. The Korean word ‘bulgasari’ is composed of three Chinese characters—‘bul’(不: not), ‘ga’(可: possible), ‘sal’(殺: kill)—and a noun suffix ‘i’(伊). The meaning of these morphemes combine to make a word, ‘bulgasari’(不可殺伊), meaning ‘something impossible to kill’. As the name implies, Bulgasari refers to a monster of immortality. There is another way to interpret the name. It is possible by replacing the first Chinese character ‘bul’(不: not) with a Korean character ‘bul’(불) with the same pronunciation but different meaning of ‘fire’, which is equivalent to the Chinese character ‘hwa’(火). In this case, the Korean word ‘bulgasari’ can be transcribed into Chinese characters to make the word ‘hawgasari’(火可殺伊), which means ‘something fire can kill’. Accordingly, Bulgasari becomes a mortal being, especially vulnerable to attack by fire. As a result, Bulgasari has ambivalence in its monstrosity: it is impossible to kill and, at the same time, it can be killed by fire. In other words, Bulgasari is a grotesque being with immortality and mortality residing in a single body of monstrosity.

Bulgasari in Silver Screen: A Cinematic Reproduction

The legendary monster Bulgasari has also been represented in films. The North Korean film *Bulgasari* (1985) deserves special attention not only because the film was produced in North Korea but also because of the truly dramatic behind-the-scenes story of the birth.

The film was planned by the North Korean leader Kim Jeong-il (1941-2011), and produced by the legendary South Korean movie director Shin Sang-ok (1926-2006) who was kidnapped to the North for this purpose. It was completed in December 1985. In 1986, right after the film’s completion, Shin successfully defected from North Korea, which caused the film to be banned. The film was not released until July of 1998 when the ban was lifted and the film was screened for the first time in Japan.² Two years later, in May 2000, South Korean government announced a plan to activate the South-North cultural exchange with the South-North Summit upcoming in June that year.³ Accordingly, the film *Bulgasari* was released in Seoul from August 2000, which is recorded as “the first North Korean film officially released in South Korea” (Na 2004; Noh 2000). Whatever the reason, the film was a total failure in the box office in the South despite the rising mood of reconciliation between the two Koreas.⁴

² The opening at the Kinema Omori in Tokyo was successful. It was run for eight weeks, and the audience amounted to 18,000. The film outpaced three times the Japanese monster movie *Godzilla*’s box office at Hollywood in the same year (Chung 2006; Lee 2000; Noh 2000).

³ The Kim Dae-Jung administration adopted the ‘Sunshine Policy’ as North Korea policy in 1998. The South Korean government encouraged private business ventures in North Korea and expanded the aid to the North at the humanitarian level. The historic 2010 Summit was the dramatic visualization of the Kim administration’s North Korean policy, signalling the move toward peaceful coexistence between the Koreas.

⁴ It is reportedly said that the rating process of the film by the Korea Media Rating Board was delayed, which made it difficult for the film to find places for screening in the mid-summer, the busiest season for movie theatres. Also, this film didn’t have enough time to get attention from the audience in the South.

The film *Bulgasari* is set in the last years of the 14th century Goryeo period. A mass of peasants are eking out a scanty livelihood under the tyranny of corrupt officials. Accordingly the have-not's anti-sentiment against aristocracy reaches the peak.

In the opening scene, a group of ironworkers are busy for work. Among those are a young lady Ami, her aged father and her lover. They are secretly making weapons and preparing for the peasants' uprising against the tyranny of aristocrats. One day a government official visits the place, dumping out the carts of farming tools confiscated from farmers. He orders the old blacksmith to melt them into weapons for use against rebels. The old man refuses the order and returns the tools to farmers. Instead, he visits the governor and makes a false report that the iron-eating monster Bulgasari appeared the night and has eaten up all the tools. The governor doesn't buy the old man's saying and imprisons him and other workers.

The old man, starved and tortured, is on the verge of death in the prison. He does not eat the food. Instead he moulds a small doll from the rice, pleading the heavens to bring the doll to life so that it will relieve the peasants from evil. He names the doll Bulgasari and dies. His daughter Ami discovers the rice doll and takes it home. That night, Ami is sewing and accidentally cuts her finger. The blood from her finger drips onto the rice doll in the sewing box. At this moment, the doll comes to life and begins to eat the sewing needles and scissors. The iron-eating monster Bulgasari devours the iron latch of the door and leaves the house. It walks around the town, chewing its way through all the metal things, meanwhile growing continuously until it towers over trees. As the old man wishes, Bulgasari leads the peasants' revolt against the wicked governor, defeating his army at every battle. The peasants draw strength from the powerful monster, and eventually win the battle.

Yet the peasants have to pay for the victory. Worst of all, Bulgasari has grown bigger and bigger and needs more iron to eat. The peasants have to load up a cart of iron things to satisfy the unstoppable appetite of the ever-growing monster. Ami realizes that something should be done to stop this vicious cycle of poverty and suffering. She attracts Bulgasari to a remote mountain by ringing a big bell. Arriving at the mountain, Bulgasari discovers the bell and devours it. In the process, the monster also swallows Ami who has been deliberately hiding herself inside the bell. At that moment, the monster turns into a stone and explodes into fragments. From the pile of broken stones a tiny baby Bulgasari comes and toddles around. It again turns into a ball of blue light and, immediately, flies and disappears into the heart of Ami lying dead.

Humanity and Pacifism as Mirrored by Monstrosity

The monster Bulgasari in the film is given birth by human beings and more specifically by the socially, politically, and economically deprived. Also, it lives among and meets its own destiny with human beings. Bulgasari in the film is crafted by a poor peasant who is 'deprived' of the means for living. The originally lifeless rice doll is given blood transfusion and life by another peasant who has 'lost' her father and become an orphan. Then the creature is nurtured by 'commoners' who suffer from poverty and insecurity. Finally, Bulgasari is killed by or dies with Ami, the mother figure who gives it a life. Thus, Bulgasari the monster shares with common people its life cycle which ranges from birth to growth and death. Bulgasari in the film is described as a revolutionary hero who fights for the socially weak and

innocent folk against privileged but wicked officials, and seeks to implement social justice by overthrowing corrupt social orders. *Bulgasari* is associated with the people's bottom-up resistance against the top-down politicization of the ruling class. The monstrosity and destructive power of *Bulgasari* hints a close connection to the collective sentiment of the non-class or 'proletarian' people.

Dealing with chasm of inequality between the oppressive ruling class and the powerless and innocent populace, championing the latter's resistance against the former, and suggesting a revolutionary hero character, the film *Bulgasari* is definitely a proletarian or revolutionary text. Meanwhile, another overarching theme is found in the film, which is the 'pacifism' message as one that goes beyond such hegemonic issues as class antagonism, state power, and proletarian revolution. This is confirmed by Shin Sang-ok, the director of the film. While many critics have interpreted the film as the socialist realism text aiming at inspiring class struggle and proletarian revolution, Shin himself makes it clear: what he really wanted to deliver in the film is "a warning message against the nuclear weapons race, something that could disrupt world peace" (Shin 2000; Shin 2007: 138). Since the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, humanity has been confronted with a new phase of global conflict called 'nuclear holocaust,' or a possible annihilation of human civilization by nuclear warfare. The text of *Bulgasari* is worth reading even in the new millennium because, the universal or transnational theme of pacifism in the film, enwrapped in the allegorical device of an imaginary monster, finally encounters a real nuclear threat that humanity is currently facing in reality (Chung 2006).

In relation to the monstrosity of *Bulgasari*, it should not be overlooked that we human beings are responsible for it. *Bulgasari* is itself a hideous monster. However, such monstrosity is not inborn. *Bulgasari* was not a monster from the beginning. The thing is that humankind is the life-giver to the monster and it is we human beings, whether the ruling class or the ruled, that provide the monster with life and nutrition in the form of farming tools and weapons. It is none other than human beings that mothered and fostered the monster and its monstrosity, therefore we humans have to help ourselves and take responsibility for the pains, suffering, death and other glooming human conditions caused by the monster.

Turning back to the afore-mentioned issue of nuclear weapons and pacifism, and relating it to the meaning of monstrosity dealt in the film *Bulgasari*, we come to a conclusion: it is we humans that created and nurtured the modern monster called the nuclear threat, giving it a boost to grow the monstrous power to the extent of threatening ourselves. We have none to blame but ourselves, for the blunder is of our own making. Humans are both offenders and victims of the monstrous nuclear threat, and we are not free from such ambivalent position in the monster-making. The monster may be inside of us. Or, the monster can be none other than our own identity. Like *Bulgasari*, we humans are the monsters with killing power but turn out to be vulnerable to the monstrosity of our own creation. Then, is there truly no way out for us to be free from the fate to be monsters or the anxiety about monsters? To answer this question, a Korean critic proposes as a potential solution the humanity to embrace the 'monster inside me'.

Every society has monsters. They become monsters because they are oppressed to be. [...] Only if we can be honest to each other about the

monster inside us, so that we can gain the strength to face up to the inner monstrosity of our own selves, we will be able to be more comfortable together (Lee 2006).



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George Lathrop's Short Story 'Left Out' and its Unknown Translations

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Abstract

The journalism boom in the nineteenth century facilitated not only development of a new literary genre, the short story, but also its exchange among various cultures. Magazine editors in different countries were searching for new interesting short stories to translate and publish. In most cases, these translations were carried out in a very short time. As a result, the renditions were not exact and the quality was not particularly high, but they still provided an opportunity for readers to become aware of the lifestyles and literary modes of other nations. This article examines one such American short story – George Parsons Lathrop's 'Left Out' – and the consecutive chain of its translations (French, Russian and Georgian), each of which was based on the previous rendition in the chain. We will provide a short survey of how we established the date of composition of the various versions, and describe how the original American text and its French translation were found. That translation served as the basis for the Russian intermediate text, which in turn served as the basis for the Georgian version. We will conclude with an analysis of the entire series of variants.

Keywords: short story, culture, translate, American, French, Russian, Georgian

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Introduction

Our interest in Lathrop's 'Left Out' started with the manuscript of its Georgian translation. The translation was done by a well-known nineteenth-century writer Ilia Chavchavadze, but the text was published under a different title from the original. The published Georgian version contained neither information about the author nor the name of the translator himself. Georgia has a significant tradition of translational practice. The first recorded translations into Georgian were made more than 1500 years ago, but the methods of translation differed significantly in various epochs. In the nineteenth century, the period when this American short story was translated, the strategies were diverse. On the one hand literary translations were done by professional translators (they were very few though) who knew the languages of the originals perfectly well and had been mastering their professional skills over time. They worked to create adequate versions of foreign texts in their own language. On the other hand writers and journalists also served as translators in the magazines. Their main aim was to comply with the interests of their readers. Many of the translators in the latter group did not know the languages of the originals and translated from intermediate sources. They generally used Russian translations for this purpose, as it served as the primary educational language at universities throughout the Russian Empire. As a result, Georgians knew Russian better than any other foreign language.

Ilia Chavchavadze was a major supporter of professional literary translation in Georgia. Together with Vano Machabeli, he translated Shakespeare's 'King Lear', which is still considered one of the best Georgian translations of the tragedy. On the other hand, being an editor of *The Iveria* ('Iveria' or 'Iberia' is the ancient name of the contemporary Georgia), he was in need of interesting materials for each issue of the magazine and encouraged rapid translations of literary works as well. Georgian periodicals did not have enough funding and staff to ensure professional translations of literature consistently. In addition, the month-long interval (between two issues of the magazine) was not long enough to complete such translations in any case. It took Chavchavadze and Machabeli more than half a year to translate only one tragedy by Shakespeare but, in general, journalists could not spend that much time on translation for each issue. Therefore, it became an accepted practice to translate loosely and with an orientation toward the target culture. But even those translators who used intermediate Russian sources and made several changes in the texts, tried to grasp the main idea, retain the style, and be faithful to the spirit of the source. They used to omit specific ethno-cultural details of the foreign texts, not familiar to their readers (or gave their explanations), generalize particular events, replace phrases and proverbs with their Georgian equivalents etc. but they did not change characters, ideas and plot resolution. Due to this fact, such secondary translations often preserved some charm and aesthetic value of the originals.

Translational practice was considered so important by Ilia Chavchavadze that his first article was dedicated to its principles and strategies (Chavchavadze 1861, 154-170). In his analysis of Revaz Eristavi's translation of Kozlov's poem *A Mad Girl*, he stated that a translator should first of all consider what to translate (e.g., is the literary piece worth of translating or not) and then he must decide how to translate, so that the text of the translation was coherent, natural and impressive.

Content

In 1987 textual critics at Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature in Tbilisi began to prepare a complete academic edition of Ilia Chavchavadze's works. As the writer used to publish anonymously, it was the important to compile a complete bibliography of his works at the outset. It was during this process that Georgian academicians discovered the interesting collection of manuscripts (National Centre of Manuscripts, Ilia Chavchavadze's private archive, U #215), including copies of translations and reviews from different newspapers and magazines. One part of this collection contained material clearly identified as Ilia Chavchavadze's writings (the author himself published them in the collection of his works), but the other portion was made up of anonymous texts. It was soon confirmed that the anonymous texts were composed by the great writer as well (Chrelashvili, 1881) and were prepared for the edition of his full works which was begun in 1892 when Chavchavadze was still participating in the editorial work. Though only four volumes of that edition were issued, the notebooks containing copies of his anonymous publications survived and helped us to establish a complete list of his writings.

Among the original and translated texts found in these manuscripts was a short story 'A homeless beggar in New York', copied from an anonymous Georgian translation published in *The Iveria* ('A Homeless Beggar in New York', *The Iveria* 1878, # 3,4,5). In the nineteenth century the Georgian literary language was in the process of transformation and unified grammatical and orthographical rules had not yet been established; as a result, there existed a great variety of alternative forms. Therefore, personal styles of various writers differed greatly, and this fact has assisted specialists in identifying authors of anonymous works. Analysis of the translated text 'A Homeless Beggar in New York' contains many of Ilia Chavchavadze's linguistic peculiarities. There are a lot of words, phrases, and grammatical forms characteristic of his style.

Therefore, the decision to attribute this translation to Chavchavadze was based on three points of fact: the linguistic features of the translated text; that the writer used to publish anonymously in his magazine; and the text was included in the manuscript collection containing known examples of Chavchavadze's writings. As a result, the editorial board of the academic edition included this anonymous text in the volume of Ilia Chavchavadze's translations (Chavchavadze 1988, 78-108). Thus the translator was identified, but the author of the story and its source remained unknown.

The story 'A Homeless Beggar in New York' is about a young man who meets a homeless beggar and tries to arrange a charity shelter to provide daily meals for him, but he encounters some obstacles along the way and gets disillusioned. The beggar notices this change, leaves and disappears forever. The man understands that has made an error and regrets his decision. He looks for the vagabond everywhere, but is not able to find him. The plot may seem a bit trivial, but the characters are well-developed. The style is rich with realistic dialogues, psychological observations and vivid descriptions of human emotions. The main issue of the story is not social misery (though its treatment is also very dramatic), but the lack of sympathy and compassion. Though at this stage of research studies we did not have the original text of the story, some of its merits were quite vivid even then.

Ilia Chavchavadze never made rash choices about the materials he chose to render into Georgian for his magazine. He translated: Walter Scott, Thomas Moore, Alfons Dode, Shiller, Byron, Pushkin, Lermontov and other classics of the world literature. His original fiction, journalistic articles, translational practice and civic activity were in close connection with each other e. g. He created several original epic works ‘Kako the Robber’, ‘The story of a beggar’ etc. about social injustice, disclosed negative consequences of unrestrained rights of the nobility in his magazine articles, translated Nekrasov’s untitled poem ‘Что ни год - уменьшаются силы...’ (the poet’s dream of the future without peasants’ woes, blood and tears) and took part in the preparation of the law abolishing serfdom and giving land plots to peasants. Ilia Chavchavadze wrote a story ‘Around the Gallows’ to show the cruelty of the death penalty, wrote several articles in his magazine about the subject, translated Jules CLaretie’s novel ‘Noël Rambert’ (in which an absolutely guiltless man is found guilty and is beheaded) and made a speech in the State Council of the Russian Empire against the death penalty.

Ilia Chavchavadze chose material for translation not only according to the problems that were relevant to his experience but according to their artistic value as well. This habit suggests that before deciding to translate the anonymous story he must have realized its value. It should be noted that the problem of an "amateur benefactor" (which is what the author of the anonymous short story calls his character) is rather similar to the one described in Ilia Chavchavadze’s story ‘Around the Gallows’, in which an old man attempts to take care of two unknown boys in trouble, but at the end of the story joins the crowd entertaining themselves by watching as one of the boys is hung on the gallows.

Because Ilia Chavchavadze was considered a great writer and was a renowned public figure in Georgia during his life, there is a myriad of research, books and articles dedicated to different aspects of his life and work. As a result, contemporary Georgian readers are eager to discover every detail connected with his life and work. Naturally, as soon as it was claimed that he had done the translation of this story, specialists began to search for the name of the unknown author to trace the history of the translation itself. In 1987 while preparing texts, comments and notes for the academic edition discussed above, theorists examined nineteenth-century Russian periodicals and uncovered nearly all the intermediate texts used by Ilia Chavchavadze as the sources for his translations. The Russian version of this anonymous story was found in the magazine *Otechestvennie Zapiski* [Native Notes] in 1877. The title of the text – ‘N’iu-iorskii brodiaga’ [‘New York Vagrant’] was actually the same as that of the Georgian translation, but it was also published anonymously. There were only cryptic initials of the Russian translator Alexey Pleshcheev, ‘A. П.’, at the end of the text. Thus, the Russian source did not give us any additional information about the author. Given that Pleshcheev had translated a number of short stories written by Bret Harte, it was proposed that this story might also be his (Chitauri 1985, 154-157). However, Ninidze argued that the style and the spirit of the story had more resemblance with Herman Melville’s works (Ninidze 2002, 273-283), but no one could find such a text among either author’s published works.

To discover the actual writer, it was necessary to search for the title among the literary works of American writers. We examined various bibliographies but could not find any American story with a similar title and plot. In one of the index books we found

the title of Dr. S. A. Raborg's text 'The Homeless Poor in New-York City' published in 'The New York Times' in 1870, but it was a lecture and not the story we were looking for.

In order to narrow our search we tried to determine the date when the story was written. For this purpose we established historical realities in the text associated with definite dates. For example, the story mentions the 'Cooper Institute Reading-Room', which was founded in 1859. In addition, the author mentions 'the war' and 'the rebels', which likely refer to the Civil War period of 1861-65. We also established another fact connected with a later event, namely the Thomas symphony concert held in Steinway Hall. 'Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians' states that the famous violinist and Director Theodore Tomas held regular symphony concerts in Steinway Hall beginning in 1872 (Jenks... 1952). As one of the concerts is mentioned in the story we assumed that, it could not be written before 1872 and as the Russian translation was published in December 1877, the latest possible date of composition should be 1877. Thus we confirmed that the story must have been between 1872 and 1877 (Ninidze 2003, 639).

Having established this fact, we excluded from the possible list of authors a number of American writers who died before 1872: Irving (died in 1859), Poe (died in 1849), Hawthorne (died in 1864), Crockett (died in 1836), Ward (died in 1867). We were also able to eliminate another group who had not begun their literary careers by 1877: Garland (born in 1860), Crane (born in 1871), O. Henry (born in 1862). However, the number of those writers who were active in the interval was still very large. It included: Twain (1835-1916), Harris (1848-1908), James (1843-1916), Beirce 1842-1914) and many others. Searches of the title in their bibliographies did not produce any results.

As the titles of the literary works are often translated loosely, we decided that the searches on the basis of the title might be in vain. Thus we determined that the only way to find the original text was to look through literary periodicals published between 1872-1877, searching not for the title but for a similar plot. Unfortunately, American magazines of the period were not available to us in Georgia. However, one member of the team (Nino Sozashvili) was able to gain access to the Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas in 2011. With the help of librarian Karen Severud Cook, she examined all American journals issued from the dates of 1872 until 1877 and discovered George Lathrop's short story 'Left Out' in The Atlantic Monthly. The text had exactly the same plot and characters (Lathrop 1877, 43-60). Lathrop was an associate editor of the magazine at that time and often published his works therein. There were only a few differences between the Lathrop's text and the translations - mainly omissions (such as geographical names, detailed description of the places unfamiliar to Russian and Georgian readers etc.), but none that challenged our conclusion that this story served as the original of both the Russian and the Georgian versions.

It is known that Aleksey Pleshcheev, the Russian translator, did not know English and translated American literature either from French or from German. Therefore, in order to obtain a full picture of the history of this text (from the original to the Georgian translation) we had to locate one more intermediate source. As both the American original and the Russian translation were published in 1877, the intermediate source

had to be printed in the same year. The problem was that we could not know whether the source was German or French. As a result, we (in particular, Nino Sozashvili) searched both German and French magazines issued during that year. In the University of Kentucky library she discovered a French translation of the story called 'Un Vagabond A New-York'. (Lathrop 1877, 149-177). The name of the American author and initials of the French translator, A. V., were cited at the bottom of the text.

Thus, it turned out that the title was first changed in the French translation, but as for the author's name, it had disappeared in the Russian publication. Armed with all the three consecutive translations and the original text by an identified author, we were able to compare and analyze them. The first step was to gather information about the story's author. George Parsons Lathrop's literary heritage is largely unknown, not only to the majority of foreign readers, but to many of his countrymen as well. He is definitely an interesting writer but American literature of the nineteenth century was so rich in talented authors that only few of them gained popularity. Still it should be noted that Lathrop's contribution to American culture is rather varied and voluminous. He is an author of the novels *Afterglow*, *An Echo of Passion*, *In The Distance*, and *Newport* as well as the books of poetry *Rose and Roof Tree*, *A Masque of Poets*, and *Dreams and Days*. He also wrote a number of stories, documentary prose and critical articles including 'A Study of Hawthorne', 'The Literary Movement In New York', 'Literary and Social Boston', 'The Progress of Art in New York', 'Talks with Edison', 'Coleridge as Poet and Man', and 'John Boyle O'Reilly as a Poet of Humanity'. While he may not have been the most popular author of his day, nevertheless, one of his short stories – 'Left Out' – was translated into three different languages soon after its publication and was enjoyed by the readers of diverse cultural backgrounds.

It is enough to examine the comparisons and metaphors referring to one of the characters of the story – Philip Erne – to understand what the writer meant by the title 'Left Out'. The man is variously described as: 'the beggar', 'the pauper', 'dingy wanderer', 'shabby loiterer', 'poor outcast', 'dirty beast', 'bloke', 'little dodge', 'the victim', 'loose human being', 'vagrant stranger', 'nameless fellow', 'the ragged veteran', 'luckless man', 'shelterless being', 'houseless Philip', 'mature street-waif', 'strange semihallucination', 'a man... utterly without a place, part, or lot in the world', a man with a 'gray past' and 'equally cheerless future', and 'the vagabond... left behind like a drowning man in the wake of a ship'. When a policeman in the library told Tetlow that the beggar's place was outside, in the street, he thought: 'The next move, then, is to put him outside of them outside of everything'. When Tetlow was told that charity institutions could not help Erne because he was neither a cripple nor a 'reforming drunkard', he despondently replied: 'I suppose he d better be out of the world'. Tetlow thought of Erne as a 'man who had lost his place in life, who had once shared the gentlest human ties, and then, when they were loosed, had drifted away into the circle of sorrowing semighosts'.

Clues to writers' creative methods are often disclosed in their theoretical articles. From this point of view it is interesting to discover what Lathrop (1874) writes about realistic fiction in his review 'The Novel and its Future': Realism sets itself at work to consider characters and events which are apparently the most ordinary and uninteresting, in order to extract from these their full value and true meaning. It would apprehend in all particulars the connection between the familiar and the extraordinary,

and the seen and unseen of human nature. Beneath the deceptive cloak of outwardly uneventful days, it detects and endeavors to trace the outlines of the spirits that are hidden there; to measure the changes in their growth, to watch the symptoms of moral decay or regeneration, to fathom their histories of passionate or intellectual problems. In short, realism reveals. Where we thought nothing worth of notice, it shows everything to be rife with significance.

The short story 'Left Out' is a practical realization of the creative approach he describes in this quotation. The author discloses unseen spirits of the characters in the smallest details and stylistic nuances, thus helping readers to understand better their own hidden inclinations as well as the enigma of the people surrounding them. The main problem of the story is the oppressive power of big cities and loss of human compassion - themes so familiar and important for Lathrop and briefly formulated in the rhetorical question of his poem *Night In New York*: 'Places of life and of death, / Numbered and named as streets, / What, through your channels of stone, / Is the tide that unweariedly beats?'

The language and the style of the story are particularly beautiful. The author uses various stylistic devices and interesting psychological models, which make it attractive to the reader. Lathrop is well aware of social psychology. Therefore, his characters are very realistic. He manages to show great personal dignity and nobility of a man dressed in 'grievously poor garments', neglected and excluded from society. Erne was reasonable enough to realize his position and evaluate the situation. He did not go to church because he had not had a bath for a long time and did not want to bother others with his shabby appearance or offensive smell. He knew that Tetlow might have his own problems and might be tired of taking care of him. He did not blame anybody, did not feel envy or hatred towards others. He was sensitive, delicate and kindhearted. When Tetlow gave him 50 cents, his emotions came out in hidden tears and the words: 'You have made an eepoe in my life...' His voice sounded as 'an echo of itself returning from some dim inner chamber of despair'. Rudeness of the policeman in the library which frightened even Tetlow, did not scare Erne. He was just insulted by his words because a worthy attitude was more important for him than a shelter. The kindness of the minister's wife made him so thankful that he could not hide his gratitude and expressed it several times. When Erne told Tetlow about the terrible starvation and unbearable conditions during his imprisonment, he added that the Rebs, who captured him, 'had not much of anything themselves', and thus tried to excuse them. Even when he spoke about his native town, which met its unfortunate soldier with utter neglect, he expressed only surprise: 'Why, right here in New York I've had to go through just the same thing again. People don't think nothing about it here'. With the words: 'And how can you expect 'em to? We ain't fighting for 'em now', he tried to excuse even these people. The calm with which he speaks about his misfortune and about the indifference of the society towards his tragedy make a greater impression on the reader than many more words of condemnation and blame could make.

The author discloses characteristic features of the other protagonist, advertising agent Philip Tetlow, even more skillfully. After the exciting symphony concert he reacted in a sensitive way and helped the begging pauper, but there were some hidden passions in his nature, which he had not realized and discovered only after his relationship with Erne began. To hear that the vagabond shared his first name made him feel uneasy:

‘To have his own name come from such a source was like suddenly seeing his face in a mirror that should reflect it pale, sick, and wretched. Somehow he revolted at telling the beggar that their first names were the same. He merely said, my name is Tetlow’. After having taken some responsibility for the beggar and attempting to help him, a queer sensation stole over Tetlow, ‘like that of someone who has plunged into a stream to save a drowning person, and finds the weight more than he can carry to shore’. After several days of absence he recalled the date of the beggar’s reappearance ‘with some disgust’ and had a feeling that Erne was clinging to him.

During their last meeting Tetlow noticed that he was speaking to Erne austere and was not sincere. He said that did not expect to see Erne so soon, though he had appointed the date himself and he remembered that fact quite well. As Erne felt uncomfortable after these words, Tetlow changed his tone. He said: ‘yes. I told you to; I remember, of course,’ but as soon as he pronounced this utterance, he wished that ‘he had used the word asked, in place of told’, but his ‘words and the manner had lost their cunning; their wouldbe cheer was simply freezing’. Tetlow realized his harshness but the comprehension was in vain as he persisted in the same behavior. It was an epoch when emotions gave way to a practical turn of mind and people began to make decisions that were advantageous and comfortable for them first and foremost, not for others. As an advertising agent Tetlow ‘resolved to announce his own marriage’ not when he found out that he and Miss Sporling loved each other and wished to get married but ‘in an interval when other forms of advertising were dull’. The passage about the announcement of Tetlow’s marriage in the beginning seems simply odd, but, if we go deeper, it reveals that in his personality the reason prevails on the emotion and feelings.

Though the two protagonists – Erne and Tetlow – actually have very little in common, the author tries to show a close connection between them. Perhaps he wants to indicate that it is their different fortunes that have made the characters different and that they might be more similar in equal situations. The intention is suggested not only by means of the fact that these characters share the same name – Philip – but with the help of a number of other hints as well, e.g., it seemed to Tetlow ‘as if that wan face floating there before him in the mingled light and darkness [author’s note: referring to Erne] was almost more familiar to him than any in the world, except his own’. In addition, he has the feeling ‘as if the beggar had been brought hither by some presiding power, to make record of his, Tetlow’s, unworthy motives.’ As for the opposition between the characters, its basis is clearly demonstrated in the phrase: ‘the houseless Philip came, in the morning, to the benevolent and sheltered one.’

Skilful use of the grotesque in the story strips bare some social problems and vices of our society. When asked if he could receive a pension, Erne answers that he had only a flesh-wound and then adds bitterly: ‘Of course if I had been killed there d have been a pension if any one could have drawn it.’ The grotesque is also used in reference to the vagabonds who come to the Cooper Institute Reading-Room and take newspapers. The author remarks that ‘...These vagrants have been led hither by a delirious hope of finding their own deaths announced in the papers, and the enigma of their starved lives solved by a line or two of print.’

Lathrop demonstrates the unreasonable and unflexible management of charity organizations, which are absolutely helpless for the scores of the homeless and poor.

They “swallow camels mostly, and strain at the hungry gnats.” The writer realizes that our sincere intentions are often discouraged by people ‘of average scientific morality’ who remind us of the ‘maxims of society,’ and says that if there were such people near Erne and his wife when they decided to give money to the beggar, ‘they could have been at once convicted of a gross offense against the maxims.’ When Erne disappeared and Tetlow said sadly that he would never see the man again, one of his friends answered: ‘Why in the name of reason should you want to?’ and another one ‘preached to him the heinousness of giving promiscuous relief to the poor and thereby encouraging intemperance and crime.’ Weariness related to his championing Erne crept over Tetlow because the apathy of society ‘became alluring to him, and tempted him to drop the whole troublesome business.’

Lathrop was a religious man. He believed that even though people often neglect each other The Lord never leaves alone any of them. In the poem *Famine and Harvest* he writes: ‘Fear not! Though thou starvest, / Provision is made: / God gathers His harvest / When our hopes fade!’ It was the odd and ‘almost comical’ for Tetlow to see that a member of a Christian Church should be found in such a ‘miserable, neglected plight upon the streets’ as Erne was. In outlining the nature of his characters, the author focusses on their spiritual sensations. Tetlow felt his greatest regret when he recollected a passage from The Holy Scripture: ‘could ye not watch with me one hour’ (Matthew 26:33). The words helped him to admit to his unworthy behavior. The most important part of the story, its end, where the author sums up his main ideas, tells us about Tetlow’s recollections and dreams about Erne: ‘always when his image comes it is like the form of some lost duty, some exiled power of loving - kindness, banished from the world when this same fellow - creature was cast out into misery.’ We consider that this message regarding Christian love and compassion, which was equally important for the nineteenth-century Americans and Europeans and which became the basis of the democratic values they held, might be the primary stimulus for the French, Russian and Georgian journalists to translate the story for their readers.

Conclusion

All the three translations are nevertheless oriented toward their target cultures. They address the interests of their particular readers. Therefore, the authors omitted some specific names of streets, squares, institutions and the like that might be unknown outside of the United States. Thus the names Union Square, Jefferson Market, the Hudson River, Chatham Street, Fifty-Ninth Street, Sixth Avenue, Canal and Center Streets. Andson-yule, Brooklyn Navy-Yard, Pearl Street, Battery, Bowery and detailed descriptions of some of these locales are all missing from the Georgian translation of the story, while the Cooper Institute Reading-Room is referred to simply as a ‘library’. The French translator, as we have already mentioned, even transformed the title of the story. However, in spite of such changes, all the translations are faithful to the spirit of the original, awaken the same human feelings and give similar aesthetic pleasure to the readers of different cultural backgrounds as George Lethrop’s original text did.

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Interdisciplinary Art Approach, Common Language and Equal Partnership

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Abstract

Artists no longer need to dwell in the “ivory towers”, which isolate them from the existing world in order to create artworks based on their personal interests and beliefs. Such mode of creative engagement has been overtaken by an interdisciplinary art approach that encourages artists to leave their “ivory towers” to collaborate with people from non arts disciplines so as to create artworks that reflect a common language and equal partnership. An example of such an interdisciplinary art approach takes reference from my experiences as an interdisciplinary visual artist who collaborated with Professor James Francis Warren, an ethnohistorian and professor from Murdoch University, Australia. My approach was to translate a book on the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San, Prostitution in Singapore, 1870 and 1940 by Professor James Francis Warren into a series of contemporary symbolic drawings into a journal. The journal was exhibited in the Sketchbook Project 2011 organised by Brooklyn Library in USA. The journal reflected the contemporary symbolic drawings and selected quotations from Professor James Francis Warren’s book to promote Singapore history and heritage worldwide through The Sketchbook Project 2011. My paper aims to share how I collaborated with an ethnohistorian to promote Singapore history and heritage worldwide through an interdisciplinary art approach to reflect a common language and equal partnership between Professor James Francis Warren and I.

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Introduction

Artistic language is a form of an artistic expression by an artist. The artists express their thoughts or ideas artistically by creating 2-dimensional artworks or 3-dimensional artworks. Examples of 2-dimensional artworks are paintings or drawings whereas 3-dimensional artworks are sculptures or installation arts. Most of the time, artists choose to create these artworks by themselves. Some people remark that artists tend to isolate themselves from their surrounding environment, thus artists live solely in their “ivory towers” to create artworks. However, such mode of individualistic artistic endeavour has been overtaken by an interdisciplinary art approach.

The interdisciplinary art approach is a way for artists who choose to leave their individual comfort zones or “ivory towers” and collaborate with people from non arts disciplines to create artworks together. Non arts disciplines people refer to people who are not engaged in art or design disciplines, for instances, historians, anthropologists, scientists and mathematicians. Consequently, these collaborative artworks reflect a common language in terms of their common understanding and equal partnership pertaining to their common intent so as to share their new output to people. The success of interdisciplinary art approach depends on the capability between both parties to negotiate their terms without compromising on each other’s vision and aspiration.

An example of such an interdisciplinary art approach was my collaboration with Professor James Francis Warren, a prominent ethnohistorian and professor from Murdoch University, Australia. I created a series of contemporary symbolic drawings by translating his book on the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San, Prostitution in Singapore, 1870 and 1940. These contemporary symbolic drawings were documented into a journal, which was exhibited in the Sketchbook Project 2011 organised by Brooklyn Library in USA. The journal also achieved its aim of promoting Singapore history and heritage worldwide.

In view of the above, my attempt is to discuss how I collaborated with an ethnohistorian to promote interdisciplinary art form for the purpose of promoting Singapore history and heritage through an interdisciplinary art approach. Discussion of this paper is as follows:

- a. Initial Interdisciplinary Approach
- b. Common Language
- c. Equal Partnership

Initial Interdisciplinary Approach

Integrative thinking consists of taking disconnected material or ideas and synthesizing them into something new, a task that is certainly a form of creativity, (Sill, 2001,p.293). According to Sill, integrative thinking is a process to connect different types of information or ideas to formulate a new idea or outcome. Drawing upon Sill’s explanation on integrative thinking, I connected someone’s ideas with my ideas to create artworks that reflect both the collaborator and my ideas. Our ideas represent our common language in terms of our common understanding and equal partnership in regards to our common intent. These ideas relate to a history of Singapore. It also

depicts an interdisciplinary art form. An example of such an interdisciplinary art form is related to a series of contemporary symbolic drawings that I created with the help of an ethnohistorian. These drawings were created based on an interdisciplinary art project that I collaborated with an ethnohistorian.

The interdisciplinary art project was to create a series of contemporary symbolic drawings, which were documented in a journal that was exhibited for “The Sketchbook Project 2011” throughout the main cities of United States of America. The event was organised by an independent Brooklyn-based company that organises global, collaborative art projects (information derived from “The Sketchbook Project” face book). My art project was to translate a book entitled, “Ah Ku and Karayuki-San, Prostitution in Singapore, 1870 and 1940” into a series of contemporary symbolic drawings with symbolic shapes to depict the history of prostitution in Singapore. The book was written by Professor James Francis Warren, an eminent ethnohistorian and professor of Murdoch University, Australia. The objective was to promote Singapore history through an interdisciplinary art form.

Like many artists, I have often been challenged and encouraged to collaborate with people from the non arts disciplines for the purpose of broadening my creative experiences in order to develop new creative breakthrough. To attain such breakthrough is to reach out or network with people from non arts disciplines. These were two essential steps that led to my collaboration with Professor James Francis Warren. As an artist, one of my creative themes is to create artworks on Singapore Heritage and History. In 2003, while I was expecting my daughter, I happened to read the book on History of Rickshaw Coolies that was written by Professor James Francis Warren. I was greatly inspired after reading his book and hence I was motivated to create a series of paintings for my solo exhibition that was subsequently held in April 2004 at Utterly Arts, Singapore. I retrieved his email address that was indicated at the back of the book on History of Rickshaw Coolies and I realised that Professor Warren was a visiting professor at National University of Singapore, Asia Research Institute then. I began to correspond with Professor Warren through email.

Sill (2001) said:

... a product of the interdisciplinary process itself: an appreciation of, even seeking out, perspectives other than one's own; the ability to evaluate the testimony of experts; tolerance of, even a preference for, ambiguity; more sensitivity to ethical issues; the ability to synthesize or integrate; enlarged perspectives or horizons; more creative, original, or unconventional thinking; more humility or listening skills; and sensitivity to disciplinary, political, or religious bias. (p. 18).

Sill's perspective inspired me to seek wisdom from Professor Warren by learning and listening from his perspective so as to empower me to develop effective art ideas to promote Singapore History and his works. I decided to reach out to Professor Warren. I sent an email to Professor Warren to share with him my interests to use his book on the history of Rickshaw Coolies as a resource to create a series of paintings for my solo exhibition at Utterly Arts, Singapore in 2004. My initial email to Professor Warren was a way to reach out and network with him because I believed that I would

be able to learn a great deal from his vast experiences. Professor Warren was keen to meet and share with me about his book on the history of Rickshaw Coolies. Professor Warren agreed to meet me at his office at National University of Singapore, Asia Research Institute.

Recalling my first meeting with Professor Warren, I found that Professor Warren was approachable and warm, thus paving a positive outlook to our collaboration. I showed him a few coloured-pencil sketches concerning my interpretation of his book on the history of Rickshaw Coolies. While he was looking at my sketches, I explained the concept and ideas along with each piece of the drawings. Professor Warren was amazed because I was the first artist to translate his book into visual images. I explained to him the development of my concepts, which subsequently formulated a series of paintings. Since then, Professor Warren became my friend and my mentor. Our friendship established because I took the courage to reach out and network with him to demonstrate my sincere interests to collaborate with him as well as to share with him my creative interests using Singapore History as my theme to develop my artworks. This also enabled me to broaden my creative experiences as an artist.

The initiative to seek, write, reach out and network with Professor Warren was my initial approaches. I consider these approaches as significant skills for an interdisciplinary visual artist. I believe that without reaching out and networking with Professor Warren, I might not have attained a positive collaborative relationship. These experiences led me to support and concur what Sill emphasised earlier on the interdisciplinary process, which highlights one's ability to seek, learn and equip with other positive skills to enable one to succeed in collaborative partnership when both parties acquire two different professional disciplines and interests.

In view of the above, the ability to reach out and network provides opportunities to establish a collaborative partnership. To reach out is to seek, learn and listen in order to equip oneself with positive attitudes to embark on a collaborative project. These skills contributed to my collaboration with Professor Warren in regards to a series of contemporary symbolic drawings on the history of prostitution in Singapore that shall be discussed in the following sections.

Common Language

My first collaboration with Professor James Francis Warren on the art project concerning the History of Rickshaw Coolies in Singapore was not the last as I continued to read his books. My second collaboration with Professor Warren was based on his book, "Ah Ku and Karayuki-San, Prostitution in Singapore, 1870 and 1940". This book is a sequel to the History of Rickshaw Coolies. I used the book on "Ah Ku and Karayuki-San," as my resource to create a series of contemporary symbolic drawings to depict an interdisciplinary art form.

The initial interdisciplinary approach to reach out and network with Professor Warren to carry out an interdisciplinary art project needed further attention. This was achieved by finding a balance or a common language to reflect both of our visions or understanding. To search for a common language required me to examine Professor Warren's works in details and as such I asked myself three questions. The three questions were: 1) What is the appropriate research method to examine Professor

Warren's work? 2) What are the key issues in Professor Warren's work? and 3) How to create visual images to relate to Professor Warren's work?

Research Methods

Most artists utilise research methods that akin to art and design to assist artists to develop concepts and ideas. However, I combined art and design research method with social science research method.

Ayres & Paa (2009):

Interdisciplinary research builds on theories and previous research from more than one discipline and uses methods for data collection and analysis from more than one research tradition. (p. 1).

In other words, Ayres and Paa encouraged the combination of more than one particular form of research methods to collect and examine data for interdisciplinary research. I concurred with Ayres and Paa because the combination of more than one research methods widened a researcher's research experiences. It allows a researcher to have more in-depth analysis to look into diversified aspects to give more insightful findings.

In order to connect Professor Warren's ideas in his book with my artistic ideas to create an interdisciplinary art form, it is appropriate and relevant to integrate more than one research methods. It is also not unusual for artists to read and gather information from materials, which are related to the artistic theme for the purpose of developing an artistic language to be expressed by creating 2-dimensional artworks or 3-dimensional artworks.

The two research methods that assisted me to formulate my artistic ideas were documentary analysis and art and design research. The objective of documentary analysis is to search for common ideas or common themes that frequently appear in documents through a process known as "content analysis" (Scott, 1990, p.30). Documents can be defined from books or published articles. In other words, the search for common ideas or common themes in the book, "Ah Ku and Karayuki-San," was an important process for me to frame the overall theme to formulate an artistic language for my artworks.

Gray and Malins (2004) said that art and design research is:

The process described here is essentially generic but should be framed and customized by your particular discipline and subject area. The process is usually shaped by three apparently simple questions: 'what?' – the identification of a 'hunch' or tentative research proposition, leading eventually to a defined and viable research question. 'why?' – the need for your research in relation to the wider context, in order to test out the value of your proposition, locate your research position, and explore a range of research strategies. how?' – the importance of developing an appropriate methodology and specific methods for gathering and

generating information relevant to your research question, and evaluating, analysing and interpreting research evidence. (p.12).

Suggestions from Gray and Malins on art and design research process is ideal for my research because it offered me the flexibility to plan out my research process without adhering to a set of stringent research methods. This allowed me to negotiate my research process to meet my needs to integrate Professor Warren's intent with my artistic intent to develop a series of contemporary symbolic drawings. The research questions on "what" proposed by Gray and Malins supported my idea to find a suitable research method to examine Professor Warren's book in order to understand "why" the chosen research method was relevant to examine Professor Warren's book and subsequently to find out "how" the proposed research method was able to assist me to find out the key contents of the book. These questions led me to incorporate social science research method on documentary analysis to find out the common themes or common ideas from Professor Warren's book in order for me to evaluate these themes and ideas on the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San. Consequently, the art and design research process helped me to explore concepts to interpret the common themes and contents in the book of Ah Ku and Karayuki-san, Prostitution in Singapore, 1870 to 1940.

Key issues in the book

Warren (2003) said:

An analysis of prostitution and the lives of the Ah ku and karayuki-san requires an interdisciplinary method and approach. With the emergence of contemporary feminism and women's history and the advent of the new social history, a compelling urge has developed to explain the past of woman...(p.18).

Warren's statement reinforced and supported my decision to adopt integrative research methods by combining art research and social science research on documentary analysis to examine the contents of the book. The first key issue showed the critical intent of Warren's book. In Warren's statement, the objective of his book was to reflect these unsung heroines' voices in terms of their hope, fear and sorrow in order to educate and reshape people's perception on these prostitutes who were often been marginalised as undeserving and lowly people. Warren also advised that these heroines' voices must be examined from an interdisciplinary method and approach.

Warren's advice to use interdisciplinary method and approach to study these unsung heroines voices corresponded to suggestions made by Gray and Malins on "how?" – the importance of developing an appropriate methodology and specific methods for gathering and generating information relevant to your research question, and evaluating, analysing and interpreting research evidence". (p.12). Both critical advice from Warren (2003), Gray and Malins (2004) reinforced the relevancy of combining art and design research process based on Gray and Malins (2004) with social science research method on documentary analysis by Scott (1990) to attain appropriate data for analysis and interpretation.

“The sketchbook project 2011” in the form of the travelling journal was to support Warren’s intention because the purpose of the travelling journal was to share with local and worldwide audiences. This was executed in the form of a travelling exhibition throughout the main cities of United States of America and in cyber form by uploading the artworks onto the “The Sketchbook Project 2011” website for worldwide audiences.

The second key issue concerns the rationale for Ah Ku and Karayuki-San in Singapore. Ah Ku refers to Chinese prostitutes from Mainland China and Karayuki-San is a term used to connote Japanese prostitutes. Warren (2003) explained:

Much remains unknown about the phenomenon of migration and brothel prostitution in Singapore. However, demography is the vital clue to the importance of prostitution in the history of Singapore. The development and expansion of the city was the direct result of a vast immigration of Chinese labourers that continued steadily from the 1880s. The population quadrupled in 40 years. This massive influx of migrants altered the character of Singapore, building roads, railroads, and government buildings, loading and unloading cargo and supplies, and working such an unprecedented increase created serious social problems as nearly all the immigrants were bachelors. These coolies crowded into more and more singkeh (newcomers) moved in, the need for prostitution climbed proportionately (p.9).

The necessity to operate brothels was primarily to meet the needs of these male migrants who played a crucial role in supporting the Singapore economy in the late 1900s and early 2000s then. This phenomena coincided with the depressing situation in China and Japan, which were suffering from acute poverty and hence many young girls were motivated and encouraged to work as prostitutes in Singapore for the purpose of remitting money to support their families back home. Girls were regarded as non significance in the traditional Chinese and Japanese societies during those days and they had to adhere to filial piety, which became an obligatory value to propel these women to become prostitutes to support their families. Since there was a demand for prostitutes in Singapore, this became a convenient rationale for these girls to become prostitutes.

Warren’s explanation on the rationale for these women to become prostitutes responded to the art and design research process by Gray and Malins (2004) to encourage me to search for ‘why?’ – the need for your research in relation to the wider context, in order to test out the value of your proposition, locate your research position, and explore a range of research strategies” (p.12). My question was to find out “Why” I needed to search for an appropriate research method to examine Warren’s book because Warren inferred that it was important to look into the historical demography in relation to the large influx of Chinese male migrants from Mainland China allowed by the British government during the 1880s. This also means that the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San must be analysed in detail and as such, it was necessary to use a rigorous research method to examine the contents.

Documentary analysis (Scott, 1990) enabled me to examine the contents in detail to search for insights that were pertinent for me to develop my artistic concepts to create

the drawings. The documentary analysis of the contents of the book shows the following common issues that depicted the rationale for prostitution of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San, their destroyed hopes, physical and emotional abuses and their sorrows in their dying beds.

Taking into consideration of Warren's statement that highlighted the appropriateness and relevancy of putting on the lens of contemporary feminism and woman's history and advent of social history to express the history of Singapore prostitutes, my concept was to use contemporary visual language through symbols and Chinese numerology as opposed to traditional figurative images. This was to akin to our "contemporary" intent to depict our voices into a common language between Professor Warren and I. Because these girls were regarded as economical physical assets to alleviate poverty in their families and to support the needs of the male migrants in Singapore, they were portrayed and valued as "digits". "Digits" also connotes an element of economics; and therefore, my proposed visual images were to incorporate symbols and Chinese numerology to personify "digits" as my visual language for my artworks. Number 3, 4, 8 and 9413 were used to articulate the feelings of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San. "3" represents hope and life, "4" represents sorrowful and death. "8" represents wealth and "9413" represents everlasting death. Most of the images were represented with female gender sign and the total numbers of each individual female gender sign would add together to make a total of 3, 4 or 8 that depicts the common issues of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San.

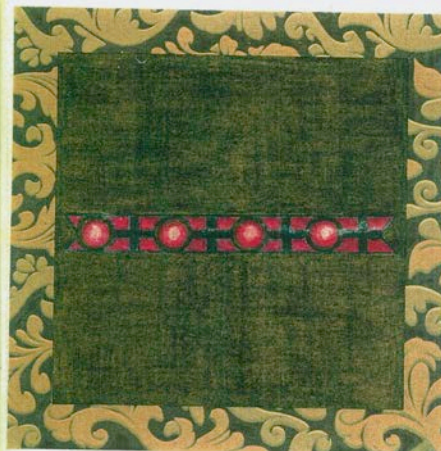
Equal Partnership

My definition of equal partnership in this interdisciplinary art form was to seek for Professor Warren's views to ensure that the description of the visual images did not deviate from his book. Upon confirmation that the ideas behind each of the visual images did not misinterpret his book, I extracted relevant quotations from Professor Warren's book and displayed along with the description of each artwork to highlight our equal partnership. Below shows three drawings in the sketchbook. The examples are to reflect that the final production of the journal consists of both of our voices. The synopsis of the artwork represents the artist's intent of each of the drawing, which is to support Warren's intent of his book. By putting both artist's synopsis and quotations extracted from Warren's book were to show to the audiences that the artworks were based on a common intent without compromising on each other's interests.

4 numbers of female gender signs form the ribbon. "4" represents death in Chinese numerology and as such the ribbon depicts death. The ribbon also relates to their physical and emotional abuses. The ribbon also represents sexual diseases they had to live with. The ribbon is not shown to be in a "tied" position that is similar to the "International Red Ribbon". The ribbon is straightened against the brown background to reiterate the Chinese and Japanese characters of "1". This is to correspond to the previous quotation in Warren (2003: 30) that the girls were left with one cent on the street. For that matter, the straightened ribbon is to reinforce that girls were worth only one cent and that scenario was no difference to their lives as Ah Ku and Karayuki-San because they were equally worth as little as "one cent" in their lives too.

Warren (2003: 313)

Because ah ku and karayuki-san lacked basic rights-in-persons they were also subjected to emotional and physical violence by mamas and okasan. Yamazaki notes that the karayuki-san were defined by the fact that they did not even have the freedom to love. They were 'weak beings' at the bottom of an already low heap, almost totally lacking in power and autonomy. Violence and harsh treatment by brothel-keepers against the prostitutes was most evident in lower-class brothels. Chinese and Japanese women found themselves pitted not only against the cruelty of clients, but also the beatings, punches, and kicks of keepers expected to earn a daily income. There was absolutely no let-up from work in Malay and Smith Street houses; eight or ten hours a day, seven days a week. If a girl fell ill, contracted VD, or failed to serve customers during her menstruation, she did not make as much.

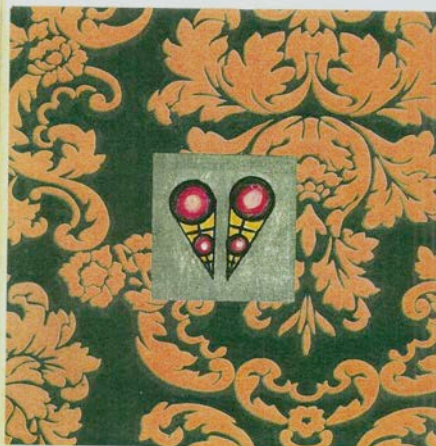


Title: Abuse

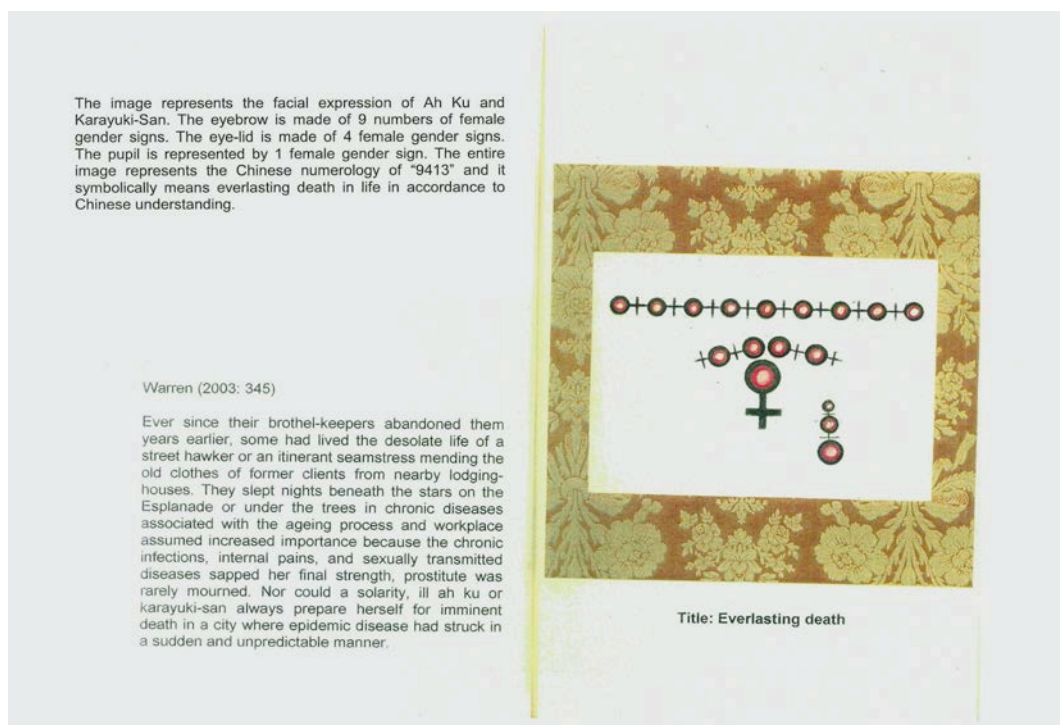
As the youth of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San withered, they suffered from broken-heartedness because of depression. The image represents a broken heart that is made up of 4 female gender signs. "4" reflects "death" in Chinese numerology and hence it represents the "death" of their physical youth. When you turn the image of the broken heart in an up-side down position, it depicts two tear drops. These tear drops represent their sorrowful tears. The grey background represents their greying years as Ah Ku and Karayuki-San.

Warren (2003: 341)

The relationship between the passage of time and age, personality traits, and life experience had a marked effect on the 'well-being'-satisfaction and self-fulfilment-and 'ill-being'-anxiety or depression-of a majority of the prostitutes. In terms of ebb and flow of human life, the closing days of prostitute's career could be compared to 'a revolving lantern painted with shifting scenes ... while their soul resembles a drop of water that appears reddish on a maple-leaf and greenish on a laurel-leaf.



Title: Broken-hearted



Conclusion

The challenge of interdisciplinary art form is to reflect that both parties' interests are met without compromising the objectives of both interests. To overcome such challenge is to search for a common language in terms of a common understanding from both collaborators. It was achieved by combining both social science research method on documentary analysis (Scott, 1990) and Art and Design Research Process (Gray and Malins, 2004) to derive a common understanding to embark on an interdisciplinary art form. It also demonstrates that the final production of the artwork shows that both parties share the same views to reflect an equal partnership in collaboration.

The search for a common language is to show that both collaborators share a common voice to talk about the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San. This was achieved by understanding the overall objectives of both artist and collaborator. In this case, Professor Warren's highlights on contemporary feminism, woman history and social history were being corresponded with contemporary art form as opposed to straightforward figurative images. This was to support Professor Warren's caution that the book was not written based on superficial framing of what people most commonly interpret prostitutes. Instead, the content of the book was formulated in relation to looking at the subtle cause of the existence of these prostitutes who were primarily generated due to political and social impact. In this way, it reshaped the perception of the definition of prostitutes to a more appreciative perspective against prejudicial and bias attitudes.

The contemporary symbolic drawings in terms of the symbols and Chinese numerology corresponded to the roles that were carried out by Ah Ku and Karayuki-San. These were largely influenced by political and social impact, which caused these prostitutes to be measured in favour of economical value to support the needs of the

male migrants in Singapore. The contemporary symbolic drawings are to suggest that the history of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San is not to be visually read in a straightforward manner such as figurative images, instead these drawings are catalysts to spur audiences to look closer and examine deeper to understand the subtlety of the lives of Ah Ku and Karayuki-San through symbols and Chinese numerology. This was intended to correspond with Professor Warren's highlight in terms of the importance to understand the history of these prostitutes not in a straight and narrow angle but through a wider lens.

The equal partnership was driven by the initiative of the artist to seek affirmation from Professor Warren that the description and the meaning of each symbol were interpreted coherently as to the book. Consequently, both the voices from author and the artist were concurrently displayed in the sketchbook so as to reflect that both collaborators' interests were displayed, thus concluding the positive collaboration in this interdisciplinary art form.

The logo for the International Association for Future-Oriented Research (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the word "iafor" in a light blue, lowercase, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular frame composed of two concentric, slightly irregular lines. The outer line is a light blue color, and the inner line is a light red color. The overall design is minimalist and modern.

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***"Dancing Boys to Dancing Men...Dancing Their Difference(s)":
Using Critical Events, Critical Reflection and (Auto) biography
to inform the Lives of a Community of Male Dancer/Choreographers.***

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Abstract:

Boys and men do not dance - it is not perceived as a masculine characteristic or trait in a culture that is deemed masculine. For the boys who grow to men and choose a career as dancers, life can be difficult, problematic and at times traumatic. This is further heightened by their having to negotiate their sexuality and sexual identity. What underlies their process of negotiating into their place of adulthood as male dancers is significant for understanding their sense of being, knowing and living. Seven male dancer/choreographers from Australia and New Zealand reflect critically on their life (hi) stories. This re-counting and re-telling of their stories (social narratives/autobiography) unlocks and unveils the critical incidents that played a significant role in shaping their lives. This paper seeks to identify and analyse (qualitatively) what these events were, why they were perceived as critical and how they shaped their lives as dancer/choreographers. Critical Incident Technique, Critical Reflection and (Auto) biography were modes of enquiry used in this study. The 7 men were interviewed over a period of two years to obtain the data. The transcribed data (verbatim) was then analysed to determine the categories. The outcome of this study was to determine the critical elements that assisted these men to negotiate and choreograph their lives of difference, and to help them contextualise their lives in their community of the performing arts - the world of dance.

Keywords: Dance, Choreography, Male Dancers, Gender, Critical Incident, Critical Reflection and Autobiography

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Introduction

Boys begin dancing for a variety of reasons. As they grow into adulthood, they discover their place in dance takes on a socio-cultural element, and ultimately a psycho-sexual dimension. Choosing to dance has always been fraught with many challenges (mental, physical, psychological and physiognomy related) and obstacles (parents, friends, peers, schools, institutions, and society as a whole), especially for men.

The ideal of the classical dancer being female developed historically and was prominent during the Nineteenth century. The idea of the dancer has become the embodiment of all things female, for one very simple reason, the viewer is none other than – “white, middle class”, and predominantly “heterosexual men” (Burt, 1995, pp. 12,17). If the ideal dancer is female, then all things to do with dance are therefore deemed inherently female.

For the men in dance, issues relating to maleness, masculinity, and therefore masculine behaviour, are all called into question. There are many taboos about men in dance, and there are an equally large number of social obstacles, barriers, and stereotypes that men have to overcome in order to choose dance training in the first place, and then subsequently, to choosing dance as a career. Yet, many men still choose to dance and still many more continue to choose dance as a career.

Context

Geert Hofstede and Associates (1998), identified the national cultures of Australia and New Zealand as being masculine (with a MAS score of 61 and 58 respectively), where men are supposed to be “assertive, tough and focussed on material success” (p. 6). Masculine societies have “sympathy for the strong”, boys do not cry, “boys study different subjects”, they live in order to work with a strong “stress on equity, mutual competition and performance” (Hofstede et al., 1998, pp.16-17). The countries norm for the meaning of masculinity are transferred to the young child in the family, further “developed and confirmed in school, in the work place, in political life and even in the prevailing religious, philosophical, and scientific ideas” (Hofstede et al., 1998, pp.17-18). Hofstede et al. (1998) identified cultures labelled as masculine “strive for maximal distinction between how men and women are expected to behave and to fulfil their lives” (p. 46), where some occupations are considered “typically male” (p. 48).

Lewes’s (1988) research showed the construction of an adult personality, including one’s sexual orientation and sense of identity is via conflict ridden processes of development in which the gender dynamics of families are central. Connell (2000) stated “masculinities are defined collectively in culture, and are sustained in institutions” (p.11), such as the “state, the workplace and the school” (p. 28). According to Connell’s (2000) judgement the “school is probably not the key influence” for the formation of masculinities, the childhood family, the adult workplace or sexual relationships (including marriage) are more potent influences (p. 146). Connell’s research is particularly relevant in this context as he undertook them in Australia.

Risner (2009, August) stated “boys dancing is both a form of cultural resistance...as society’s dominant ideas about gender and masculinity play large roles in shaping boys’ lives in dance”, and in addition, “the experiences of dancing males provide an important vehicle for challenging dominant notions about gender, privilege, masculinity, sexual orientation, and the male body” (p. 1). As there are many men who choose to dance, this study is important as it informs us about these men’s “meaning and motivation in dance, as well as the ways in which their dancing challenges gender stereotypes and enlarges ideas about what it means to be male” (Risner, 2009, August, p. 2) in an attempt to “educate a highly confused culture to its sexuality and discrimination” (Risner, 2002, p. 66).

Dance, Masculinity and Sexuality

Burt (1994, 1995, 2000) looked at dance in relation to sexual identity, specifically at issues surrounding the male dancer in terms of masculinity and sexuality. Burt’s works asserts strongly in favour of the concept that gender is socially constructed, which was one of his main emphases (1994, 1995). McAvoy (2002) also considered the socially constructed dimension of gender in relation to what she calls the taboo of the male ballet dancer. McAvoy echoes Burt’s ideas, but also looks at the issues of stereotyping and homophobia and its effects on people who dance (2002).

Other related studies addressed the reasons why people participate in dance (Alter, 1997; Bailey & Oberschneider, 1997; Nieminen, 1998). Alter (1997) looked at why dance students (dance majors) pursue dance in the American college context. Of her students (in the study) who pursued choreography, many loved doing it, but found it quite “difficult, frustrating and made them feel insecure and vulnerable” (Alter, 1997, p. 81).

Nieminen’s (1998) work is distinguished here because it is culturally specific in two ways, namely: it was conducted in Finland, and it focussed on folk dancers who were non-professionals. Despite these cultural differences, Nieminen (1998) stated although “dancers share experiences, meanings and motives which unite them as a group”, there are also differences among them in the different dance forms (p. 68). As a result of these issues, it is incumbent upon dance educators and researchers, stated Nieminen, to consider “dance form, age, gender, breadth of instructional background, persistence, intensity of dancing, and expectations of future involvement, as well as, the demands, expectations and values of social culture” (1998, p. 68).

Bailey and Oberschneider (1997) looked at sexual orientation in professional dance. This particular work encompassed the concept of sexual orientation in the professional dance world. Bailey and Oberschneider (1997) investigated the validity of the stereotype of the male dancer being a gay man, and also looked to find if there was any relationship “between sexual orientation and membership in particular occupations”, and if there was, what was the reason for its occurrence, and what impact it had on the other non-homosexual members of the occupation (p. 1). What was interesting, stated Bailey and Oberschneider, was the reasons why gays (homosexuals) participate in the performing arts can be explained as “psychological and sociological” (1997, p. 2). It is interesting to note that the sampling technique they utilised were from “personal contacts, a solicitation in a dance magazine and

snowball sampling” (Bailey & Oberschneider, 1997, p. 3), of which, the first and third methods were the ones I employed in my research.

What they found from their research is “only one male, out of the forty two sampled and interviewed”, believed that his experiences in dance had a major influence on his sexual orientation (Bailey & Oberschneider, 1997, p. 6). Furthermore, it was the psychological factors more so than the sociological factors had a greater influence on choice of occupation, and these factors were: that gay men dance in order to be feminine (they dance because women do, and this question I put to my respondents during their interviews), that male sexual orientation is most often determined early “by adolescence, and is not susceptible to influence by later experiences” and that the high percentage of gay male dancers did not have any detrimental effect on the other non-homosexual (heterosexual) men in dance (Bailey & Oberschneider, 1997, p. 9).

Burt states “it is not possible, in a patriarchal and homophobic society, to make disinterested aesthetic judgements about cultural products that challenge normative ideologies of gender and sexuality in order to propose a radically revised imagination of the body’s capacity for pleasure” (2001, p. 209). In fact, “available evidence suggests that the association between dance and homosexuality arose only in the early twentieth century with Diaghilev” (Burt, 2001, p. 213). I am in full agreement with Burt (2001, p. 211) that “it is not possible” to write about the male dancer “without dealing with the issue of dance and homosexuality”, because “the body is gendered, dancing continually redefines and contests the individual’s knowledge of the limits of gendered behaviour and of sexuality” (Burt, 2001, p. 220).

Men Researching Other Men Dancing

Gard’s (2006) research relied on interviewing male dancers as the ‘Men Who Dance’, and in that our research is similar. The focus of Gard’s study, as he puts it was “on ballet, an activity often associated with girls and women (2006, p. 2). He wished to encapsulate the “physical experience of dance” through the “stories male dancers tell” and the “act of dancing generates its own meaning and stories” (Gard, 2006, pp. 8-9). His work is therefore concerned with “the stories, words, ideas, and feelings...and the bodily experiences which are called upon to generate explanations about a male’s decision to be a dancer” (Gard, 2006, p. 12). Gard’s research is similar in that we are both hoping to learn more about the “process of becoming a male dancer” and in that process also getting an appreciation of the “process of ‘becoming a man’ and something about the experience of becoming a man and being a man who dances” (Gard, 2006, p. 5).

Douglas Risner’s research focuses on the plight and difficulties faced by gay male dancers in the USA, a subject which he holds quite near and dear to himself (as a gay male dancer himself), and which he critically reflects upon and narrates as the subject in his thesis. Risner (2001) identifies himself as being “privileged and oppressed” as he makes a life “on the cultural fringe, as a dancer and choreographer, and as a gay father” and he sees it as “having one foot clearly in the dominant centre (being a white male) but the other foot, two arms, and a head in the margin (being homosexual, a dancer/choreographer, and a gay father) makes for an awkward negotiation of fluctuating privilege and marginalisation” (p. 3). Risner states that his work is an attempt to respond to what he calls a “double bind situation, the sometimes

complacent and complicit nature of privilege and oppressor and at the same time, the resistance and frustration of social marginalisation and oppression” (2001, pp. 3-4). Risner employed a “narrative autobiographical approach” (2001, p. 6) and articulated succinctly that “autobiographical narrative, in conjunction with reflective practice, reveals my fingerprints and places my concerns squarely at the scene of this inquiry” (p. 7).

He cites dance as being the “bastard stepchild of the arts” and it is often “feigned as overly erotic, insignificant, at best frivolous”, and from the outside looking in, “the most marginal and stigmatised of the marginalised in dance is the gay male dancer” (Risner, 2001, p. 10). Males, he concedes “bring a seeming legitimacy to dance” and despite being a minority, they do “dominate directorial, managerial and choreographic positions” (Risner, 2001, p. 10), whereas “the gay male presence in dance is often suppressed and minimised by the dance community itself” despite the stereotype that “all male dancers are gay” (Risner, 2001, p. 11). Risner (2001) draws our attention to the fact that society proffers a “negative image of homosexuality, the experiences and sensibilities of gay men are rarely if ever presented in the work of professional dance companies and academic dance productions” and this act of concealment he believes, “results in further societal speculation and suspicion, undermining the dances and the lives of all dancers and their audiences, all the while breeding further homophobic attitudes and prejudice towards gays” (pp. 11-12).

Risner (2001), in using the narrative autobiographical approach, gets his respondents to tell their stories as a strategy to combat the silence of the past, and from the four autobiographical reflections in his research he is able to detect and establish the emergence of “several larger themes of human experience” and these “thematic strands” exist in “clusters” around “the notions of escape and denial, silence and secrecy, confusion and dissonance, dominant hetero-centric privilege and pervasive, homophobic cultural norms” (p. 33). This is similar to what I have undertaken in this research study.

Methodological Issues

This is a qualitative research study. The results from this research constitute the first part of a much larger research study undertaken by me. This research was undertaken by employing a constructivist paradigm.

Schwandt (2000) states the basic assumption underlying this paradigm is that knowledge is socially constructed, and that we (as researchers) should attempt to understand the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it. The intention is to seek an understanding of “the world of human experience” (Cohen & Manion, 1994, p. 36), suggesting that “reality is socially constructed” (Mertens, 2005, p. 12), and as such, the research relies on the “participant’s view of the situation being studied” (Creswell, 2003, p. 8).

Constructivists “generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meanings” (Creswell, 2003, p. 9) throughout the research process. Constructivists apply an ontological approach, but go a step further by taking the stance that the researcher’s goal is to gain an understanding of the multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge. This is achieved by allowing the concepts of importance to emerge as

they are constructed by the respondents. Lincoln & Guba (2000) state the social construction of reality can be conducted only through the interaction between and among researcher and respondent, and as a result I conducted personal interviews, made observations and undertook document reviews; all qualitative data collection methods consistent and predominant in this paradigm.

In this research study, I asked the respondents to reflect critically on their lives, from their childhood to their present lives (at the time of their interviews). I added another dimension which overlaid this, by asking them to identify the critical events in their lives. I asked all the respondents to write down a list of critical events in their lives and I also asked them to state why they considered these events as being critical for them.

The Trilogy of Methods

By eliciting these facts from the respondents, I was entering into the associated fields (methods) of critical event studies, critical reflection (on the part of the respondents) and also the issues associated with (auto)biography, as their accounting and retelling of their lives amount to an oral narrative of their life (hi)stories.

Critical reflection has been widely recognised as a key component in the learning process of individuals (Brookfield, 2009) which may also lead to changes in personal understandings and potentially behaviour (Mezirow, 1990). Reflection as defined by Boud, Keogh & Walker (1985, p. 3) refers to “those intellectual and affective activities in which individuals engage to explore their experiences in order to lead to new understandings and appreciation” and what makes it critical reflection is that we are concerned with the personal reasons for and the consequences of what we do (Mezirow, 1990).

Autobiography refers to the “telling and documenting of one’s own life” – a form of personal narrative or personal autobiographical narrative (Coffey, 2004, p. 46). Sikes (2006) states this process “starts from, and focuses on the personal and subjective perceptions and experiences of individual people” (p. 2) to how we make sense of the world (p. 1). It does this as narratives encompass elements that carry a strong personal meaning and articulate the present, past and future, instigated by remembrances, telling not a life as it really happened, but a life remembered by the ones who lived it (Abrahão, 2012, p. 37), resulting in a focus on “understandings regarding multiple realities and subjectivities” (Sikes, 2006, p. 6). Life histories also take a particular ontological position which “values the subjective and idiographic” (Sikes, 2006, p.11) which is consistent with the paradigm employed in this study.

Critical Incident Technique (CIT) is a qualitative interview procedure which “facilitates the investigation of significant occurrences (events, incidents, processes or issues) identified by the respondent...” (Chell, 2004, p. 219). The main focus of CIT is attempting to understand the incident “from the perspective of the individual, taking into account cognitive, affective, and behavioural elements” (Chell, 1998, p. 56). Woolsey (1986) identifies the two guiding principles of CIT as the “factual reports of behaviour” and “that only behaviours which make a significant contribution to the activity should be included” (p. 244). CIT as a research method began with Flanagan’s work in 1954, has seen subsequent development in its application to

evolve into “uncovering text” as well as “capturing meaning” whereby current researchers are asking respondents to “reflect upon and write down the meaning of critical incidents” (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005, p. 489), as I have done in this study.

What is significant to note is that these three methods of qualitative research emphasise the “human as instrument where humans are the major form of data collection device” (Tesch, 1990, p. 20). The similarities do not end there. These methods provide for the utilisation of small sample sizes, with interviews being the main source of data. The data collected are then transcribed verbatim and then subject to analysis for categories. The focus of the analyses is to capture the meaning assigned to the events and/or incidents, which may have cognitive, affective and behavioural implications so as to allow for the capture of the multiple realities in our lives. An open coding process as advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1998) was undertaken to identify the categories from the data.

The Sample

Listed below is a summary of the sample in my study:

No. of respondents:	Seven
Location of respondents:	Two in Wellington, New Zealand, and five in Melbourne, Australia.
Age of respondents:	23 to 72 years of age
Sexuality:	All seven self-identified as being <i>a sexual minority</i>
Career paths:	From <i>Principal Dancers</i> to <i>corps de ballet</i> , a teacher at a dance school and an Artistic Director
Professional careers:	Three were successful choreographers One was in the middle of his choreographic career One was just beginning his choreographic career
Notable points:	One was a founding member of the Australian Ballet One is a quadriplegic who dances as a differently abled dancer

In total, I interviewed seven male (non-heterosexual) dancer/choreographers from Australia and New Zealand. The interviews were conducted over a two year period, where five interviews (of about two hours each session) were undertaken for each of the respondents in Melbourne, and two sessions (of about three hours per session) were used for the interviews conducted in New Zealand. Of the seven males interviewed, five self-identified as being gay (homosexual), one was sexually ambivalent (due to his being a quadriplegic) and the last I classified as being asexual. All seven would qualify being classified as *sexual minorities*.

Results and Discussion

The results of the analysis undertaken is summarised in Appendix 1 and 2.

I begin the section by dealing with the reasons attributed by the Respondents or Interviewees (numbered: R1 to R7) why they considered the events they listed and discussed as being critical.

Why Were They Critical

These events were “life altering” and they were “things that changed your life, or changed your perspective on life” (R7). R6 chose the words “turning corners in your life” and “you suddenly change your direction” with a “very strong change of direction”. These events were turning points to a new path in the life and career (R5) and having “an impact on my life in some way” and also on the “development of my life and career” (R7).

R5 emphasised his enjoyment of music from an early age was critical in his pursuit of dance, whilst R4 stated these events allowed him to dance, and for him to dance meant a “release of your soul and your spirit”, which allowed him to feel accomplished with the “total satisfaction of my being” and helped him not to “feel as if it was a lonely existence”. Dancing, for him; was also instinctive and absorbing in that “I was just anxious to do it. I was like a blotting paper” (R4).

For Respondent 3, they represented times of emotional upheaval. The death of his father and the subsequent loss of his mother through her suicide (R3) represented moments of high emotion, because as individuals we are all dependant on our parents. He later showed a stronger sense of emotional independence when he felt that there was “no time to waste” and left the dance company to be with his partner overseas – in Europe (R3).

R2 on the other hand viewed these critical events in relation to the “geographical demarcations that they had in terms of the impact...on my life”. Some of the reasons for the relocation were “relatively random” or “have been prompted by factors external to my own control” (R2). R1 discussed similar reasons where “at certain points in your life...you have to choose one”, rather than through careful deliberation.

R1 broke away from dance altogether by choosing a career outside the performing arts by entering the field of real estate and then followed that up with something he felt passionate about – education. Shifts in the socio-political context and artistic challenges were the sources attributed by R2 for his deliberate choices to move from one country to another.

Finally, for one of them, it allowed the opportunity to escape from his family (R1), to leave behind the “provincialism and parochialism of Ireland” (R1), and “to be himself and escape all the bullying” (R1) he had experienced, thus, affording him physical, mental, and emotional freedom. R3 on the other hand, in a show of freedom, took some time off in the middle of his career to experience and explore new things and places.

Of the incidents deemed critical (Summary in Appendix 1), I focussed on those that related to their differentness, and that which located them as “other” – than heteronormative. These incidents were classified as personal

Acknowledging Sexuality and Coming Out

Respondent 1 stated he did not have a suitable gay role model at ballet school so coming out was an even more difficult proposition. Respondent 2 was aware of his

sexuality at a much earlier age, “between the ages of 10 to 12” while still at a local state school in London and “it became stronger”.

He came out first to his family and that he felt “was big” (R3). He felt that because a lot of his friends at school were gay and were good friends with Mum” he felt comfortable with coming out to his mum first (R3).

Respondent 4 felt that being gay was not a real issue, it was all part of a family, or what he chooses to call “the extension of the family concept”. His sexuality had no impact on his choice of career (R4). Respondent 6 learned from an early age of fourteen that he was (gay) homosexual. He was okay with getting into a dance career, as being gay there “wasn’t so unusual” (R6). Respondent 7 found the dance world was “very supportive” of his sexuality, and made it more acceptable and comfortable.

Having Same Sex partners

Respondent 7 admits to having partners outside the dance company as being a form of escapism and allowing him to be treated as a normal person but he also adds that he finds it “hard not to be attracted to anyone else but dancers” (R7).

Respondent 2 felt that being with his partner was so critical to his life that he chose to leave his home country to be in another, which was more tolerant politically, where he could be with his partner (R2).

Respondent 3 moved away to pursue a relationship with another dancer who lived in Europe. He felt he was young enough with a certain amount of experience to make it possible (R3). He subsequently met someone else from the company and they moved in together in 1994, acknowledging he was outing his personal life ahead of his professional life (R3).

Respondent 6’s moved to the ballet in Western Australia, but finding the situation there “fairly hopeless” he stayed there nonetheless, because of this new relationship. Many years later, he pursued another relationship with a man in Sydney despite his being in Melbourne. That relationship lasted only eight months as he was trying to run a relationship with someone who was, in addition, “terrified of settling down” (R6).

These incidents (below) deemed critical were classified as professional and they were the ones highlighted by the majority of the respondents (see Appendix 2)

Ballet training

Respondent 1 found his training at the Royal Ballet School (RBS) difficult to handle as he felt the “strictness at the RBS was petty” and that he was “older than anyone else” in his class. The reasons he attributed for his departure were, in addition to the petty discipline, was the loss of a really good and supportive male dance teacher (R1), and a change of three teachers in three months (R1).

Another found the Victorian College of the Arts Secondary School (VCASS) comprised a “very strict regime” of training, which included technical training with arms and legs having to be perfect, which was challenging for him (R7). Despite all

these factors “I really loved it...I really fitted in...I finally really felt like I fitted in ...amongst people with similar interests” (R7). He subsequently moved to the ABS, and says it “felt like a natural progression” (R7) and it was, he felt, the leading school for the training of dancers, with international recognition as he “wanted to go to the best” (R7).

Although he started learning classical technique later in life (at age sixteen), Respondent 4 felt that his training was very superior than most as he received “the full Russian training” and was taught good technique, theatricality, and good stage presence. Despite all this great training he felt a strong need to go overseas to go and “measure himself against the people in the mother country” (Great Britain) which “was the norm” at the time (R4).

Respondent 5 attended performances by the Sydney Dance Company (SDC) and was bitten by the bug. His feeling was that he did not have the classical background to “front up for an audition for a company like that” (R5), so he started classical dancing at a much later and by auditioning for a ballet school (R5). He auditioned for the ABS and was accepted (at age eighteen) into the Diploma of Dance programme (R5).

Respondent 6 started to dance early, gave it up in favour of University, but left University after completing only a year. He started attending the ABS but lasted for only a year, before heading to the UK. He met a mentor and got a job with a professional company within six days of his arrival in London (R6).

Joining a professional company

Respondent 2 talks of being right at the “bottom of the heap” when he joined a professional ballet company, which he found hierarchical to the point where cast listings on all programmes and media were listed alphabetically according to categories of dancers.

After graduating from the ABS, Respondent 3 who was already accepted into the Australian Ballet Company, wanted to spend some time overseas before commencing with the company. The Ballet Company organised for him and a friend to go overseas under the auspices of a scholarship programme which they had running for their staff (R3). His experience of joining a professional dance company was varied.

Respondent 4 was a founding member of the Australian Ballet (R4) and he describes it as a “non-commercial company, but, dancing internationally with great international stars”. His experience of joining a professional dance company was not just about technique, but it was more about “friendships and the bonds that you filled...the family, the concept of family, the bonds of friendship” (R4). He had joined the first company of the Australian Ballet, a permanent subsidised company, and it felt “motivating and exciting” for him to be involved with this “full time national company” (R4).

Respondent 5’s experience of joining a professional dance company was different to the others discussed. After graduating from the ABS, he was offered a contract at the Queensland Ballet (QB) and was hoping to get experience there and then head overseas (R5).

A similar scenario faced Respondent 7 upon his graduation from the ABS, he was offered a place at PAC Ballet in South Africa which he accepted (R7). His experience there was one of a “group of professional artists in a company environment...starting off in the ranks...with timetable schedules...numerous ballets....technique classes” and opportunities to choreograph as well (R7).

For respondent 6, his joining a professional dance company turned out, upon much reflection; to be “the most awful experience” of his life as he had not had enough training at that stage, and that was reflected in the way he was “treated by both management and by other dancers in the company”.

Not everyone’s experience, and experiences of each event; was as eventful as the other, but it is in their individual experiences that they learn about life and these helped shape their lives to become who they are.

Conclusion

What made this community of dancers distinctive, different and worthy of consideration were in the nature and quality of their experiences. The differentness in their experiences was how they negotiated and subsequently acknowledged their sexuality and sexual identity to come out as gay men, and to live as such with their same sex partners. This is how they occupied this space of difference to be contextualised as other.

As men who dance, they also had experiences which were in essence similar to all boys/men regardless of their sexuality. They had ballet training, attended ballet schools and later joined professional ballet/dance companies. In these experiences they were heteronormative.

Boys will be boys, but men who dance will always be treated with suspicion. Dance will always be deemed to be a feminine pursuit in a heteronormative world, unless we take active steps to change that world view.

APPENDIX ONE**CRITICAL INCIDENTS - PERSONAL**

RESPONDENTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
INCIDENTS							
The family religion	X			X			
The family relocating		X	X	X			
The family environment	X		X			X	X
Parental feelings	X		X			X	
Parental assistance				X	X	X	
A parent's death			X				
Beginning dance		X	X	X	X		X
Having to leave home	X	X			X		
Making personal choices	X			X		X	
Socio-political changes		X					
Acknowledging sexuality and coming out	X	X	X	X		X	X
Having partners and relationships		X	X			X	X
Disability to differently abled.							X

APPENDIX TWO**CRITICAL INCIDENTS -
PROFESSIONAL**

RESPONDENTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
INCIDENTS							
Beginning to dance			X	X		X	
Ballet training	X			X	X	X	X
Joining a professional dance company		X	X	X	X		X
New challenges	X	X			X		
Achievements and awards			X		X		X
Choreographing		X	X			X	
Artistic Directorship	X		X	X		X	
Dance related injury	X						
New opportunities		X				X	
Retiring from dance	X			X			
Choosing to dance again							X

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***Respecting Human Rights with Individuality
and Flexibility for Creating a Better Society***

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Abstract

There are various ideas of people. Considering individual characteristics and circumstances, they often have disagreements, and their disagreements sometimes deteriorate into conflicts. Some societies treat conflict as one of common consequences through disagreements and seek better solutions through their conflicts. By contrast, Bonta's work introduces peaceful societies where people try to avoid conflicts and maintain their harmonic atmosphere by their self-restraint. These two kinds of societies' distinctions do not mean good or bad. They have just different ideas for outcomes of conflicts under their social conditions. However, both ways raise questions through some elements of human nature: satisfied or antagonized feeling has almost no end without will of termination. If conflicts solving societies are directed to productive solutions and move up to higher steps, it is desirable. Nevertheless, human beings cannot always choose such manners since people normally seek their emotional feeling fulfillment. On the contrary, peaceful societies are dependent on social regulations with self-restraint. Yet, human beings are imperfect, and by their regulations they might not be able to appeal their conflicting situations and might not receive justice. When their self-restraint has breakdown, their situations might be worse. Notwithstanding, it is necessary to create better societies at peace in the world. The key of resolution is respecting human rights with individuality and flexibility.

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1. Introduction

Since there are a wide variety of nations, regions, cultures, religions and environments, people have various kinds of ideas. Although there are similarities, people have own ideas and tendency to act with own interpretations and judgments. Then it is normal that people among societies often have disagreements each other. Besides, regarding such personal distinctions including physical conditions and medical reasons, it is at times inevitable that disagreements deteriorate into conflicts. Consequently, the issue is how to deal with conflicts before they become violent ones. There are two kinds of societies, which contrastively deal with their conflicts. On the one hand a society treats conflicts as one of common outcomes from aggravated disagreements and seeks better solutions through the conflicts. On the other hand another society, which Bonta (1996, pp.405, 406) introduces as peaceful societies, treats conflicts as abhorrent and tries to avoid them by controlling themselves for maintaining harmonic atmosphere.

Because these societies have different ideas of conflicts with their circumstances, people cannot quickly decide whether they are good or bad. Nevertheless, ways of both societies rise questions through some elements of human nature: satisfied or antagonized feeling has almost no end without will of termination. In solving conflicts societies, it is desirable if conflicts are directed to productive solutions and move up to higher steps. Notwithstanding, human beings cannot always choose such manners since people occasionally seek their emotional feeling fulfillment. On the contrary, people in avoiding conflicts societies prefer to use self-restraint including their social regulations. However, not everyone can appeal their entire negative situation, and some might not receive social justice. Besides, when their controlled self-restraint has breakdown, their situation might be worse. Nonetheless, human beings need to seek better solutions while they deal with their diversity. Therefore for creating better societies, it should be better to think about individuality and flexibility through the UN's human rights. In addition, UNESCO has a program for peace creation, the Culture of Peace, which should be included for this theme.

2. Human Rights and Regulations

By forgetting human rights, the consequences became dreadfully destructive. People had to reflect upon how inhumane and disastrous during the World War II. In these years people had just focused on annihilation among the same human beings. Therefore, the United Nations was established in order to promote better international community with the rights of every individual everywhere. Continuously, on 10 December 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN General Assembly as a complement of the UN Charter (The UN: History of the Document, n.d.). For creating better societies, everyone needs to remember human dignity with fundamental human rights. Without this consideration, people tend to act atrocities. In fact, preamble of the Human Rights mentions as "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world" (The UN: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, n.d.).

Regarding "freedom, justice and peace", the Human rights Article 19. explains "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes

freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers”. If people are important and have dignity, their opinions with deliberating human rights also require to be respected. It means that everyone has different characteristics as individuality, and as flexibility people cannot force others to follow some particular ways. People are not placed under observation until proved their guilty according to law in a public trial (The UN: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, n.d.). Since the establishment of the UN is mainly reflection of the World War II and their atrocities, it is better to focus on peace for creating better societies.

Considering the UN Human Rights, it is normal to have different opinions among others and also disagreements. It is impossible that everyone always has the same opinions each other. Then disagreements sometimes produce conflicts, and it is essential to think how to deal with conflicts for better societies at peace. Before depicting those two kinds of different societies, it is better to explain the UN’s regulations for handling disagreements and preventing violence. The key of solution should be respecting human rights with individuality and flexibility and create how to make people obligate such matters. Actually, the UN has proclaimed clear regulations and observes how things develop through the Rule of Law that the UN describes how important to enforce the manner in consideration of the heart of the United Nations’ mission because by tangible regulations and enforcement, people can produce a durable peace including the effective protection of Human Rights and sustained economic progress (United Nations and the Rule of Law, n.d.). Moreover UN Deputy Secretary-General Eliasson stated such tangible regulations as “transparency and accountability are powerful tools for oversight of the use of public resources, including to prevent corruption. Corruption distorts markets and hinders sustainable development. Institutions must also be accessible” (Deputy Secretary-General keynote address, 2014).

Although there are stipulations, laws and constitutions if people do not know and cannot follow them, such social regulations are meaningless. However, tangibility of regulations leads people to consider own accountability as one of members of the world since people know their requirement. The Rule of Law is as a principle of governance, and it promotes people to be accountable through regulation tangibility. For instance, by public promulgation of regulations, people will learn how to adjust themselves under international human rights’ norms and standards. In other words, by establishing the ways of regulation enforcement, people will create peacefully better societies (The General Assembly, 1992).

For creating better societies at peace, an international order based on the Rule of Law and international law state that “it was essential for peaceful coexistence”, and “to help ensure overall coordination among the lead entities and other actors, at both the global and the country level” (Security Council, 2006, pp.1,2). For conducting the regulations, to create the Rule of Laws and to make people understand are inseparable because it makes people realize whether positive matters or negative matters especially in cultural and personal areas. Nevertheless, there are still violent conflicts in the world. People have enmity one another and are hard to deal with that although there are human rights, the Rule of Law and other regulations for creating better societies at peace. Therefore, under UNESCO there is an establishment of “the Culture of Peace” in order to create foundation of peace.

3. UNESCO: The Culture of Peace

People are to create better societies at peace however, it is difficult still now. Considering diversified human characteristics, it is frequent to have disagreements and non-violent conflicts. Then the question is how to deal with conflicts peacefully instead of violent ones. Now it is necessary to ponder the word, peace. Definitions depict it as the normal and non-warring conditions and a state of mutual harmony between people or groups. Moreover, it mentions having law and order within a state, which creates absence of violence or other disturbance. However, even though it says non-warring condition and mutual harmony, societies at peace seem to have disagreements or non-violent conflicts. In fact, peace also means to end hostilities and abstain further fighting or antagonism. It is neither to do nothing nor to be bystanders (Dictionary.com, n.d.) (Collins English Dictionary, n.d.). Instead, people should actively solve or avoid before conflicts become harmful hostilities and antagonism. As active attitudes for creating better societies at peace, there is a program “the Culture of Peace” under UNESCO to cogitate on how different societies develop to solve problems and how people deal life and environmental issues with others (de Rivera, 2004, p.532).

For promotion of better peaceful societies in the world, the Culture of Peace was prepared. The main actors are from UNESCO after the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) declared (2000) the International Year for the Culture of Peace and 2001-2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World (ter Haar, 2013, p.1). The Culture of Peace itself explains how to create societies at peace by a set of values, attitudes, modes of behavior and ways of life through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations, which will reject violence. Their prioritized peace establishment is conversation and mutual understanding instead of oppression by force. At the same time, it focuses on peaceful foundation such as sustainable economic and social development including food security through international cooperation (UNESCO Culture of Peace, n.d.).

While people promote dialogue and negotiation under the Culture of Peace, they also consider about the environmental issues because no matter how to set non-violent situations, if their basic necessities are lacking, it is difficult to terminate violence. When people are in need of basic necessities, but there is only shortage of that, in many cases people harshly deprive one another, which lead to have violent conflicts and wars. Therefore the Culture of Peace also encourages people to understand peace creation through education from childhood with cultural diversity. The number eight form Ten Bases For A Culture of Peace describes cultural identity without threatening to impose a universal culture (UNESCO CULTURE OF PEACE PROGRAM, 1998). As above-mentioned two kinds of societies, they have different ways to deal because their fundamental thoughts of conflicts are incompatible. However, such incompatible ideas mean also diversified cultural identity, and through human rights people need to respect that and not to impel only one way. Accordingly, it is crucial to observe these different societies, especially peaceful societies, for the purpose of cultivating a deepened understanding their positive and negative points and further considerations with human nature.

4. Two Kinds of Societies and Human Nature

As previously mentioned, violent conflicts occur if people are in need of basic necessities when there is only shortage of the quantity. On the contrary, in some other cases there are non-violent conflicts although they have a severe shortage of necessities. Accordingly, it should take into consideration why violence occurs. Steele defines conflicts as “involving at least two parties, who have a mutual problem of position or resource scarcity, in which there is a behavior (or threat) designed through the exercise of power to control or gain at the other's expense” (1976, p.222). It seems that people have conflicts because they try to control the situations and manipulate the other parties, and then the conflicts become violent because both parties prefer to lead the situations by their own ways. Of course, sufficiently provided basic necessities are also important with a view to preventing violent occurrences.

Moreover, there are definitions of conflict from Bonta as “the incompatible needs, differing demands, contradictory wishes, opposing beliefs, or diverging interests which produce interpersonal antagonism and, at times, hostile encounters” (1996, p.405). Regarding that, conflicts are generally involved in people and aggravate situations of disagreements. If so, there is definitely a possibility to solve or avoid conflicts by a will of end among human beings. Simultaneously, it is also possible to create better societies at peace by a will of creation among them, and furthermore the UN and UNESCO have regulations for bringing people in peace establishment. With these prospects, people also can observe two kinds of societies from Bonta's work: solving conflicts is normal and avoiding conflicts is normal. He illustrates the former ones with Western societies and the latter ones with small communities such as Semai, Ifaluk, Toraja and Tahitians, which he calls peaceful societies (1996, pp.405, 406). Their diversity is not good or bad, but these societies are taking different ways by their circumstances and also have positive and negative points for conflict solutions.

1) To Solve Conflicts

Fundamentally solving conflicts societies believe to have conflicts is normal, and the important matter is how to solve the further going conflicts. Naturally having conflicts parties divert from violence and mainly act on negotiation and intervention. When they cannot solve their cases, they will ask the third-party to come to them for solving their situations. Since their purpose is to determinate which party is guilty or innocent and right or wrong, they frequently bring their cases over formal court trials where they seek to fulfill justice (Bonta 1996, pp.404, 406. 407, 415). Even though they attempt to finish their conflicts productively, their situations at times do not work well because both parties occasionally include emotional satisfaction. They remember justice fulfillment but often unintentionally seek personal justification and act for their own protection. Therefore, their cases mostly take longer until their situations are clarified. Nevertheless, they have some positive points in this way. For instance, people in these societies prefer to explain own opinions, which make people understand their details and also follow one of human rights requirements.

2) To Avoid Conflicts

Since peaceful societies believe not to have conflicts is normal, they prefer to act how to finish swiftly when some of their communities start arguments. Through Bonta's work of peaceful societies, there are principally five strategies so as to maintain their harmony. Firstly, they try to take off emotional feeling from the having conflicts parties for evading thoughtless arguments because they know such negative emotions producing destructive consequences. In fact, as an example Semai community primarily perform this way to remove emotions from the parties and reaffirming correct and peaceful behavior (1996, p.404). To keep away from emotional feeling makes people to choose realistic and reasonable solutions. Emotions mostly claim feeling satisfaction, which often does not have productive consequences.

To avoid further conflicts is not easy even for people in peaceful societies. As the second strategy Bonta explains Toraja community about their self-restraint, which members of peaceful societies dear to choose. Since these people believe that tense emotions will bring further troubles and irrecoverable situations, and they use this attitude, self-restraint, and try to dissipate their emotions. Then thirdly most of peaceful societies prefer to settle their problems on an internal level for early resolutions with self-restraint. Actually, to give influence of conflicts on others in their societies promptly paralyzes the entire social function since the communities are relatively small. Since further negative emotions will bring destruction, through self-restraint they make efforts to finish in early stages (1996, p.406).

However, such their self-restraint does not always work well for solving their fundamental problems. Times like those, people perform separation as forth strategy, which means that they leave away from the having conflicts parties. Even family members of the parties leave away if the resolutions seem to be difficult. Since they normally have tight relationships and many social functions are connected to each other, it is hard to live if they are not included in their small communities. Therefore, for them, separation is one of effective attitudes for the purpose of making their emotions cool off. Moreover, they have the fifth strategy as intervention among peaceful people. Their intermediates should not be agitators because their roles are to take their emotions away and make them have settlements in order to bring peaceful solutions. Intermediates are also involved in and care about threatening atmosphere, which the having conflicts parties might produce (Bonta, 1996, p.407).

3) How to Build Up?

After all, peaceful societies exert themselves to avoid conflicts by any means. In addition to above-mentioned five strategies, as daily attitudes they make smiling and are pleasant to everyone because their priority is to avoid conflicts and maintain social harmony as the goal of conflict resolution (Bonta, 1996, pp.412, 414). Regarding their determination to avoid conflicts, there are certain similar situations among peaceful societies. It is a will of end for conflicts. Addressing the will of end clarifies how to build up better societies at peace in their ways. Considering many other social elements in small communities, compared with solving conflict societies people should not quickly decide which strategies are good or bad. However, people can focus on the core of their actions, the will of end. Although these communities are relatively small, it does not mean that only small communities can have peaceful

atmosphere. Instead, the focal point is how they prepare a will of end and endeavor to bring peace promptly because they need to think about the consequences if the conflicts get worse and longer: disharmonized social influence and paralyzed social functions.

People in a small community normally know each other well. Supposedly most of them are own relatives, colleagues, or somehow related people even their having conflicts parties. If they have violent conflicts, their devastated situations will impact on their entire society. Although one party gets a win, the loser party might be their related people, and the consequence of the winner's prize might be also a loss. Eventually everyone has negative conditions in the community. In other words, if opponents relate to own lives, it is difficult to pursue only own winner's prize because the fate of opponents is also own fate. Of course, people in bigger communities are hard to think about this connection between others' fate and own fate. Nevertheless, people are somehow connected on the earth. It is not only environmental pollution and global warming but also consequences of a negative feeling, which gives a further negative feeling on others. For example, a driver having a negative feeling affects his/her drive, and such negative driving affects other drivers or passengers and their lives are in danger. They might be killed by a driver with negative feeling. Consequently, such a negative feeling contaminates the entire society until people determine the end by their own wills.

Furthermore, Fabbro (1978, pp.67, 68, 80) uses Fried's (1967) schema of political evolution for the purpose of examining peaceful societies as egalitarian band society, which are summarized by three points. The first, Fabbro stresses on small and face to face communities as "a major contributory factor in their open and basically egalitarian decision-making and social control processes" (pp.67, 80). About these words "small" and "face to face", people can interpret not only literally but also figuratively that they know each other well, and it does not mean that only small communities can have peaceful atmosphere as above stated. If people know each other well, it also means to care among others and to live and work together as neighborhood, which leads to be troublesome if their grudges cannot have solution and stay forever. People in such societies normally have tight connection among others, and without membership they are hard to live. Therefore, they prioritize to maintain a peaceful society at all events. Actually such societies have different atmosphere compared with neighbor unknown societies. People knowing each other produce social norms among them and prevent to commit crimes because it makes them understand their meaning of existence in their society: everyone is important. Meaning of existence is one of motivations for life and also creates better societies at peace since they desire to exist and live as members of the society.

The second, it is lack of formalized patterns of ranking and stratification, which means almost no opportunity to exercise authority on citizens or to occupy positions of prestige (Fabbro, 1978, p.67). Since people in peaceful societies have some roles and work together, everyone is necessary and important in their communities. There is no place that authority restricts individuals for showing its power, but they need to help one another more directly and promote individuals, which build up real integration: everyone has some better points among others and is necessary beyond of social and cultural stratification. Even small children know some things, which adult can use for something as hints for own lives. Not everyone knows everything, and

everyone knows something more than others in the society. Indeed regarding each one's characteristics and environments, knowledgeable fields are various and useful for building up better societies. In fact especially in bigger societies, as social regulations to have ranking and stratification is considerable. However, for oppressing others they should not exist.

Thirdly, Fabbro (1978, p.67) explains these societies as lesser material inequality between individuals. Since they originally do not have much material, such limited material makes them be sober and keep negative emotions away from one another. People in peaceful societies seem to have freedom from materialistic atmospheres because they have lesser material and cannot hold it for their prestige. Notwithstanding, this point is not only "lesser material inequality" but also "lesser inequality" that stretches the interpretation as mental freedom from materialistic ideas. Additionally, these societies are also almost no authority exercise to oppress the population as stated above. If people live through own characteristic development with individuality and flexibility instead of focusing on what others think of prestige, it conducts people to feel less crucial how much other people have better materials. Simultaneously, for creating better societies at peace people need to regard equality as an essential point such as social access, education, and work. Real peace comes from real equality, which produces own individual characteristic development with flexible social manners under laws and moral consideration.

4) Acceptable Points from Both Societies with Human Nature

Apparent peace does not always mean people having no negative feeling. No emerged conflict does not mean the society having quiet atmosphere. Considering individual various characteristics and circumstances, to have disagreement is normal. The important issue is how to deal with conflicts. There are two kinds of societies: to solve conflicts and to avoid conflicts, and as described above, both societies have positive and negative points. In solving conflicts societies, people explain their opinions and try to make their situations better by fulfilling justice. However, some of them unconsciously seek emotional fulfillment and the situations might deteriorate. In avoiding conflicts societies they take self-restraint and restore their situations to harmonic atmosphere. However, they might not be able to explain enough their conditions and might not have social justice. After all, the important point is how to deal with conflicts and not to expand into violence. According to circumstances, people can use and develop strategies of both societies because above all peace is created by a will. Through a will of end for conflicts people can create better societies at peace. Peace is not just a feeling but a will to create. Regarding human nature's negative sides, which are especially seen during wars, a satisfied or antagonized feeling has almost no end without a will of termination. Many people may think that time heals all wound and all negative feeling, nevertheless, such memories suddenly come up to own minds by some triggers. They induce people to struggle again until making a decision to terminate by their own wills.

At any rate, both societies prioritize existence of human beings under their ideologies. Actually people care about their own existence, which is not just survival but needs to prepare security. As basic security people care food, residence and cloths, however, when people forget individuality and flexibility under human rights, many kinds of things become own securities, which they treat as essential matters for their lives.

Besides, people believe to go through difficulties if they do not have them. For instance, as occupational security people think about degree, licenses or practical training. As personal security there are friendships, marriages or investments. Moreover, if people include cultural or family matters, there are numerous complicated securities. Indeed they are important, however, people also need to think about own real necessities, such as what sorts of friendships or marriages. If not, when people cannot have their believing securities, their feelings are devastated, and their negative human nature comes up, which lead to do negative actions in extreme cases. It is not only during wartime but also every time such as suicides, murders, abductions, extortion, burglaries and atrocities.

After all, above-mentioned two kinds of societies basically have different ideas of their secured existence under their circumstances. Actually, de Rivera mentions about security issues for peace that “the security of all people rather than simply the security of those within a given nation-state, and it enlarges the scope of security to refer to far more than protection from enemy attack” (2004, p.533). For creating better societies at peace, the basic matter is secured existence physically and also mentally. Solving conflicts societies do not have tighter relationships among them, and their secured existence is less connected to their social members but fulfilled justification. Then they bring their disagreements to courts. On the contrary, avoiding conflicts societies have tighter relationships among them, and their secured existence is more connected to their entire societies. Accordingly, when people think about social connections one another and have a will to end their conflicts, they can create better societies at peace. Simultaneously they need to respect human rights with individuality and flexibility since peace also requires real equality and meaningful existence.

Although a nation is prosperous and has strong economic influence, there is no guarantee of a good life for the entire citizen because some kinds of people do not fit to the social conditions and in devastated situations, such as having heavy diseases and being jobless. If these people cannot find any help or support, they are physically or mentally ruined. During devastated situations, people need to receive necessities for secured existence. Nevertheless, people simultaneously need to think about real equality such as accessibility and opportunity for meaningful existence since real necessities connect to own characteristics and circumstances. It is not always real equality if everyone receives the same things at the same time since a quantity of matters might be too much for some but too little for others. It is necessary to consider individuality and flexibility.

Regarding real equality, for example, some societies have particular age limitation for being a regular employee. Yet, if people in such societies take off the age limitation but take only individual ability for job application and flexible conditions of employment, full-time job seekers will have hope. Besides, for the job application people make efforts, which they can avoid devastated situations since devastated situations are connected to hopeless, and hopeless often produces violence and crime by some elements of human nature. For this matter, personality development is also important. Factually UNESCO mentions education as an essential matter as previously noted (CULTURE OF PEACE PROGRAM, 1998). However, education means not just seeking higher degrees. Considering individual characteristics and situations there are various kinds of education: vocational training, occupational practicing, and mental developing including homeschooling. When people receive

meaningful education, they can open their eyes and heart so as to develop their potential and hope. Simultaneously, for having real equality people also need to prepare themselves for a certain point. These situations will create better societies at peace since their hearts have hope and are not devastated anymore.

5. Conclusion: Respecting Human Rights with Individuality and Flexibility

There are two kinds of societies: solving conflicts and avoiding conflicts. Both societies have the strong and weak points as described above. Indeed, Goldsworthy et.al. (2007, p.598) mention, “learning to avoid and resolve conflicts is an important part of becoming an active and productive member of society in general”. Considering characteristics and circumstances of human beings, it depends on situations which ideologies people should use and develop. Then some societies choose to solve conflicts, and other societies prefer to avoid conflicts since they have different thoughts about conflicts and their outcomes. Societies solving conflicts think that to have conflict is normal and through conflicts with self-expression they will have better results. By contrast societies avoiding conflicts believe that to have conflicts is abnormal and have to bring back to their harmonic atmosphere with self-restraint. However there are still violent conflicts in the world, and they go further and bring destructive consequences.

According to negative side of human nature, people need to have a will of end for violence and prepare each one's meaningful existence for preventing hope losing and devastated feeling, which will produce destructive outcomes. Considering human rights, people need to have equality on the earth, nevertheless, equality does not always mean to have the same matters at the same time. In addition, people mostly focus on visible equality but necessary elements are including invisible one. For example at workplace, if people are sick or physically weak, it is necessary to have extra support or work reduction compared with physically strong people. When workload of everyone is just the same, weak people are destroyed. Of course, the balance and wages between their workload are considered as real equality with individuality and flexibility, which are connected to meaningful existence for creating better society at peace.

There is no one clearly routinized answer considering of human beings' diversified characteristics and circumstances. However, a main point of solutions for conflicts relies on accountability to people who are required to respect human rights under the Rule of Law and regulations that are already intangible through proclamation of the UN and UNESCO. At the same time it is necessary to prepare real equality through individuality and flexibility for meaningful existence. And then people need to remember that there are negative possibilities to aggregate conflicts to violent ones if they do not determine the end. By human nature, satisfied or antagonized feeling has almost no end without a will of end for the situation. With a will people can end violent conflicts and also create better societies at peace.

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Contemporary Japanese Defence Strategy: Towards Conflict or Resolution?

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Abstract

Japanese defence policy under the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is accelerating its post-Cold War shift in direction. From a Cold War strategy of anti-Soviet 'Northern' defence, Japanese strategy is increasingly towards a 'southwest' approach, to potentially deter China, particularly following the increase in tensions over the disputed Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Concerns also remain over a potential missile threat from North Korea.

This change was encapsulated in the LDP's 2013 National Security Strategy. As well as an increase in defence spending, directed largely towards increasing maritime forces and amphibious strike capacity, a National Security Council has been established. Labelled 'Proactive Pacifism' by Abe, this policy shift has the general support of Japan's key ally, the United States, as it supports the US 'Pivot' – a rebalancing of its maritime forces towards the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan's recent defence policy also involves easing restrictions on defence equipment exports, and developing a higher level of security collaboration with the UK, Australia and India, as well as various countries in ASEAN, among others. Most controversially, the Abe LDP government plans to reinterpret the constitution, to allow Japan to participate in 'collective self-defence' with allied or friendly states. This could be the intermediary step towards eventually abolishing the pacifist Article 9 clause of the constitution. The LDP government claims this will allow Japan to make a greater contribution to international security; however, there are concerns this will only threaten to worsen geostrategic tensions in the region.

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Introduction

Japanese defence policy under the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is accelerating its post-Cold War shift in direction. From a Cold War strategy of anti-Soviet 'Northern' defence, Japanese strategy is increasingly towards a 'southwest' approach, to potentially deter China, particularly following the increase in tensions over the disputed Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Concerns also remain over a potential missile threat from North Korea.

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Japan's recent defence policy also involves easing restrictions on defence equipment exports, and developing a higher level of security collaboration with the UK, Australia and India, as well as various countries in ASEAN, among others. Overseas Development Aid (ODA) to ASEAN has increased, including 'security' training and equipment. This is particularly directed towards Coast Guard forces, with patrol vessels to be supplied to Vietnam, having already been delivered to the Philippines and Indonesia. Most controversially, the Abe LDP government has reinterpreted Article 9 of the constitution, to allow Japan to participate in 'collective self-defence' with allied or friendly states. This shift has been firmly supported by US, Australia, and the Philippines, but has angered neighbours China and South Korea.

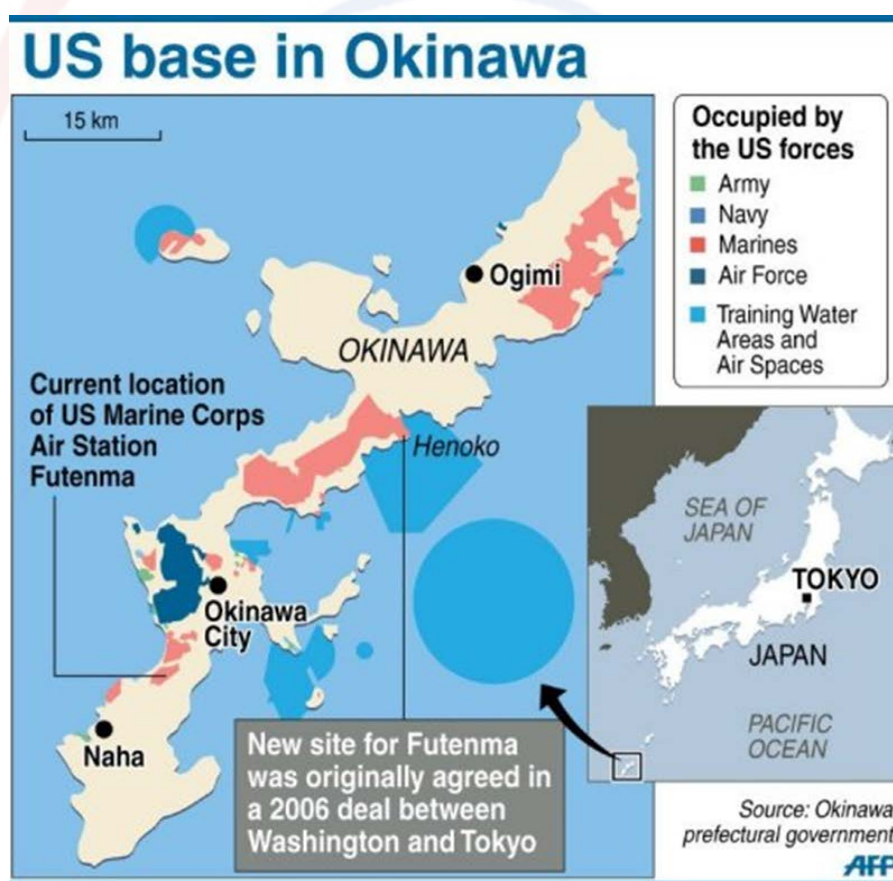
Historical Background – US Occupation and Development of the SDF

During the postwar US occupation of Japan, from 1945 to 1952, General Douglas MacArthur carried out the re-democratization of Japanese society, and its political system. The US-drafted 1947 Constitution included the pacifist clause Article 9, through which Japan renounced war forever, and forbade it from maintaining military forces (Hatakeyama, 2013a: 142-143). The Emperor was retained as a symbolic head of state, while other senior war criminals were tried, and some executed, including wartime Prime Minister Hideki Tojo. Controversially, these war criminals were later venerated at Yasukuni Shrine, which commemorates Japan's war dead, a source of both domestic and international diplomatic rancor to this day (Sugiyama, 2013:185).

As part of their occupation, the US established military bases throughout Japan, some of which became permanent installations. The role of US forces soon altered with the onset of the Cold War, from occupation duties, to deterring the Soviet Union, then Communist China, following the Chinese civil war and revolution. Japan served as a logistics base for the US-led UN forces during the Korean War, from 1950 to 1953, and later on, for the US in the Vietnam War. The US military presence in Okinawa has been particularly extensive, a burden which has provided the basis for ongoing resentment among the Okinawan population, which suffered heavily during the US invasion in 1945. Okinawa remained under direct US occupation until 1972, when it was returned to Japanese sovereignty (Odagiri, 2013: 167, 174).

Map 1: US Bases in Okinawa

(Source: Okinawa Prefectural Government/AFP)



Postwar Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru (1946-47, 1948-54) played a leading role in reshaping Japan's role in international society; his 'Yoshida Doctrine' sought to rebuild Japan economically, securing US economic aid, and US military guarantees for Japanese security. This cemented Japan's role as a core Cold War ally from the start, providing a strategic base for the projection of US power in the Pacific, a role

which continues into the present. The key diplomatic achievements of the Yoshida Doctrine was signing the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, and the US-Japan Security Treaty in 1952 (later updated in 1960 by LDP Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke – grandfather of current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe). With the onset of the Cold War, the US encouraged this reversal of the pacifist orientation of the Constitution it had originally designed for Japan, beginning a long pattern of effectively supporting a gradual ‘remilitarization’ of Japan (Hatakeyama, 2013b: 121-123).

In 1950, with the outbreak of the Korean War, a paramilitary Police Reserve was established in Japan, to support US occupation forces in maintaining internal security. These were transformed into the Self Defense Forces (SDF) in 1954. Interpreted by the Japanese government and the US as permissible under the Constitution, their mission was solely to defend Japanese territory, with solely defensive doctrine and equipment. As a core US ally in the Pacific, the effective purpose of the SDF during the Cold War was to deter any potential attack from the USSR. The SDF would be steadily upgraded, with US support, into the modern SDF. While ostensibly not a military, the SDF nevertheless acts as a *de facto* military force, having developed into one of the most powerful conventional armed forces in the Pacific (Odagiri, 2013:163-165).

The approximate strength of the SDF currently comprises: 247,150 active personnel; 151,050 in the Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF), in 9 divisions, including 777 main battle tanks; 45,500 in the Maritime Self Defense Force (MSDF), with 48 principal warships, including three helicopter carriers, 18 submarines, and 389 patrol vessels with the Coast Guard (at a strength of 12,650); and 47,100 in the Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF), with 552 combat aircraft (3,500 are in the Central Command Staff). The approximate strength of US Pacific Command’s forces based in Japan is 36,700 active personnel, including a carrier battle group; 3 fighter wings, and a Marine division (IISS, 2013: 306-309)

Post-Cold War Developments in Japanese Defence Policy

The end of the Cold War greatly improved Japan’s strategic position, effectively removing the Soviet Union as a potential threat. The post-Cold War era immediately presented security challenges to Japan, which necessitated shifts in its foreign policy. During the 1990-91 Gulf War, Japan contributed up to US\$13 billion to the costs of the UN-authorized and US- led Operation Desert Storm, liberating Kuwait from Iraq’s invasion. However, due to Article 9’s restrictions, no SDF forces were deployed. In

response to international and domestic criticism of this relative inaction, in 1992, the Diet passed the Peacekeeping Cooperation Law, which allowed the SDF to participate in UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) mandated under Chapter 6 of the UN Charter. Beginning with the UNTAC PKO in Cambodia in 1993, over 8,000 SDF personnel have since participated in 14 PKOs, including in East Timor, Haiti, the Golan Heights, and South Sudan (Hatakeyama, 2013b: 131).

To offset both domestic and international accusations that Japan was back on the path of militarization with these measures, in 1993, LDP Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono issued an apology for the abuse of women as sex slaves by Imperial Japanese forces in the Second World War, which came to be known as the Kono Statement. This was followed by an official apology delivered in 1995 by Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, for Japan's aggressive role in WWII. Known as the Murayama Statement, it apologized for Japan launching a war of aggression, and for the atrocities committed by Japan's Imperial forces, including maltreatment of Allied Prisoners of War (POWs) (Sugiyama, 2013:189, 191-192).

Having made these reassurances, new security guidelines were secured with US in 1997, upgrading the level of defense cooperation between the SDF and US forces. This cooperation was forcefully enacted upon under the LDP Koizumi government from 2001 to 2006, as Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi sought closer defense ties with the Bush Administration. Following the September 11 2001 terrorist attacks on the US by Al-Qaeda, maritime SDF units were employed to deliver logistics support to ISAF/NATO operations in Afghanistan. A more controversial deployment of the SDF by the Koizumi government was that of a 'non-combat' reconstruction team in southern Iraq, from 2004 to 2006, largely under the protection of Australian forces (MoD, 2006).

Another stark example of Japan's more forceful approach came in 2001, when the Japanese Coast Guard sunk a North Korean spy ship in an armed confrontation off the Amami Islands (Matthews, 2003). Japan's Ballistic Missile Defences (BMD) have been also been regularly mobilized by the SDF in response to North Korea's series of long-range ballistic missile tests, from 1998 to 2012 (Rinehart et al, 2013: 5, 9). In another sign of Japan's increasing willingness and capacity to contribute to international security, after passage of the Anti-Piracy Measures Law in 2009 by the last DPJ government, since 2011 the SDF has contributed to the UN-authorized multinational antipiracy operations in the Indian Ocean. To support this deployment, the SDF established its first operational overseas base since WWII, in Djibouti (Kato,

2011).

In response to the March 2011 *Tohoku* earthquake and tsunami, and the resulting Fukushima nuclear disaster, the SDF conducted its largest ever deployment, in the subsequent domestic disaster relief operations, a frequent mission for the SDF. US forces based in Japan were also mobilised in support, in *Operation Tomodachi*. This role raised both the public prominence and prestige of the SDF, which has been capitalised upon by subsequent governments (Odagiri, 2013:176). The already close US-SDF ties are set to deepen yet further, with an increased tempo of joint training and military exercises being held both in Japan and the US, further developing interoperability capabilities. Defence cooperation guidelines between the US and Japan are due to be further reviewed and upgraded by the end of 2014 (MoF, 2014a).

Japan's Current Territorial Disputes

This increased level of defense activity by the Japan, and the deepening cooperation with the US, is greatly driven by a sense of worsening regional security within Japan, particularly the ongoing tensions over the territorial disputes Japan has with its neighbours. The most serious of these, is of course that over the Senkaku Islands (claimed as the Diaoyus by China and Taiwan). Claimed as its sovereign territory after the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, the islands were controlled as part of the US occupation of Okinawa, until the US returned their administration as part of the prefecture of Okinawa to Japan in 1972 (Sugiyama, 2013:193-194).

The underlying dispute escalated in April 2012, when the Governor of Tokyo, ultranationalist politician Shintaro Ishihara (later co-leader of the Japan Restoration Party, now head of the neo-conservative Party for Future Generations) pledged to buy the islands outright from their private owners. Under this political pressure, the Senkakus were fully nationalized by the Noda DPJ government in September 2012, sparking anti-Japanese riots in China, and a deterioration in trade and diplomatic relations that have yet to recover (Ryall, 2012).

Since this escalation of tensions, there have been near-daily confrontations between Chinese paramilitary vessels and aircraft making incursions into Japanese-claimed territory around the islands, and SDF and Coast Guard vessels and aircraft, including ASDF fighters being increasingly 'scrambled' for interceptions, demonstrating the incredibly dangerous potential for these incidents to escalate into an armed clash (MoD, 2014a). Despite these dangers, neither Japan nor China have so far established a code of conduct to prevent escalation of such incidents (as is being proposed for

similar territorial disputes China has with its ASEAN neighbours in the South China Sea). Any prospect of a diplomatic resolution on the final status of the islands is even more distant, with Japan refusing to even countenance any discussion of their status. The Senkakus therefore remain one of the most dangerous potential flashpoints in the Asia-Pacific region, with the US stating that the US-Japan Security Treaty would be invoked to defend them, being Japanese-controlled territory (while not making a final statement on their sovereign status), should they come under attack (Singh, 2014).

Map 2: Japan's Territorial Disputes
(Source: *The Economist*)



While having less potential for serious military confrontation, the dispute over the Dokdo Islands, held by South Korea (claimed as the Takeshima Islands by Japan), continues to sour relations between the two neighbours. Along with other long-running issues stemming from the legacy of Japanese colonial occupation of Korea, most prominently that of sex slaves (often referred to as the so-called 'comfort women', by nationalistic Japanese politicians) in the Second World War, the Dokdo Islands remains a major diplomatic impediment, with both sides also unwilling to engage in any discussion over their status, much to the frustration of the US, their mutual military ally (Sugiyama, 2013:192-193).

The other territorial dispute is that over the Kurile Islands, called the 'Northern Territories' by Japan, occupied by Russia since 1945. As in the Senkakus, the ASDF also regularly scrambles its fighters to intercept Russian military aircraft approaching Japanese airspace. There have been indications that Russian President Vladimir Putin was considering to begin negotiations to resolve their status, with Russia possibly willing to return the two islands nearest to Japan back to Japanese sovereignty. However, with Japan joining the US and EU in sanctions against Russia, following the Ukraine crisis, such negotiations now seem unlikely for the time being (Tweed & Ummelas, 2014).

Japan's New National Security Strategy

The former DPJ government had already begun working towards new National Defence Program Guidelines in 2010, confirming the post-Cold War shift of Japan's military posture from the Cold War era Soviet-detering deployment of the SDF concentrated in northern Japan, particularly Hokkaido, to a more southern and western-oriented approach. The escalation of the dispute of the Senkakus reinforced this reorientation, which has accelerated under the LDP Abe government. As well as securing the Senkakus, this 'pivot' of the SDF, has the strategic goal of securing the vital shipping lanes approaching Japan in the East and South China seas (Takahashi, 2012).

In 2013, the Abe cabinet approved its National Security Strategy, which demonstrated the LDP's determination to strengthen a more assertive direction in Japanese defense policy. This included a 5% increase in military spending, to ¥24.7 trillion for FY2013/14, giving Japan the 7th largest defence budget in the world. This increase in spending includes the development of an amphibious brigade (the Western Army Infantry Regiment) with the specific mission of defending and recapturing islands; extra fighter aircraft, including the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (and potentially a domestically produced next-generation stealth fighter); submarines and other warships and coast guard vessels, and surveillance drones are also to be acquired (MoD, 2013). The National Security Strategy also led to the creation of a National Security Council, and passage of a controversial 'state secrets' law, aimed at securing intelligence sharing with allies, but criticised for targeting whistleblowers, reducing government accountability (McCurry, 2013).

Greater Japanese involvement in regional security under the Abe government is also being promoted, through increasing maritime security training with the Philippines and Vietnam, which have their own territorial disputes with China. SDF training has

also been delivered to East Timor, Cambodia, Mongolia, and Indonesia. Coast guard training, and the planned supply of coast guard vessels in particular, is being delivered under Japan's ODA program, circumventing restrictions on exports of military equipment (Nikkei, 2014). These restrictions have already been eased by the Abe government, overturning long-held limitations voluntarily imposed by postwar Japanese governments. While weapons systems still face prohibitions, Japan will now commence exports of other military-related systems, such as parts and materials for sensory equipment and communications. Defense equipment export and cooperation agreements have already been made with the UK, and Australia, which could potentially receive Japanese submarines in future. Building on a security agreement secured in 2006 in a previous LDP government, an upgraded defence cooperation pact is set to be secured with India in September 2014; this may result in India importing Japanese maritime patrol aircraft, and also increase the number of joint naval exercises held between India and Japan (Panda, 2014).

Collective Self-Defence

Following the launch of the 2013 National Security Strategy, Abe announced that Japan intended to pursue a policy of 'proactive pacifism', maintaining Article 9 of the constitution, but allowing Japan to make a greater contribution to global peace and stability. Abe also warned that Japan was not prepared to accept any challenge to the territorial status quo in the region by the use of forces, implicitly criticizing China's 'aggressive' activities in the East China Sea (IISS, 2014).

To confirm this direction, in July 2014, Abe's Cabinet announced a historic reinterpretation of the constitution, overturning a position held by Japanese governments since its introduction, that Japan *does* have the right to participate in collective self-defence with other allies or friendly states, as permitted by Article 51 of the UN Charter. This declaration, long claimed as part of the LDP's party platform, being necessary to secure Japan in a more unstable region, was finally achieved after extensive negotiations with the LDP's governing coalition partners, the New Komeito Party (NKP), who have traditionally strongly upheld the pacifism assumed to be inherent in Article 9 of the constitution (Asahi Shimbun, 2014).

Following these negotiations, various restrictions were imposed on the reinterpretation, as the insistence of the NKP; the right of collective self-defence will only be exercised if the country's existence is threatened, and there are clear dangers that the 'people's right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' would be overturned, due to an armed attack on Japan, or on countries with which Japan has

close ties. Also, collective self-defence will only be exercised if there is a 'lack of other appropriate means', and the use of the SDF will be limited to 'the minimum required', in order to guarantee Japan's security. It will also require the consent of the other country (or countries) involved in the collective self-defense operations, plus approval of the Cabinet and Diet for each instance (MoF, 2014b).

The range of scenarios proposed by the Abe government that could potentially be covered by the right to collective self-defense, as well as coming to the assistance of other states, include wider rules of engagement for the SDF in UN peacekeeping operations, potentially allowing participation in more robust Chapter 7 UN military interventions; and so-called 'grey zone' scenarios, short of open armed conflict. In particular, occupation of islands by covert 'non-military' forces has been referred to, an implicit reference to the potential occupation of the Senkakus by Chinese paramilitary forces. Taking action against hostile submarines infiltrating Japanese waters, and minesweeping operations, could be another scenarios (Japan Times, 2014a).

To confirm this Cabinet decision into law, up to 18 bills may be required to be passed in the Diet, in order to meet all the legal and constitutional requirements to allow the right of collective self-defence to be exercised. Abe is expected to complete his first Cabinet reshuffle in September 2014, which is likely to include the creation of a new ministerial position dedicated to securing the passage of this package of security-related bills through the Diet, ideally by April 2015, in the next spring session of the Diet. While the LDP is likely to be easily able to secure enough support for such bills in the Diet, with its comfortable majority in the lower house, backed up by support from the NKP, and the nationalistic Japan Restoration Party and the Party for Future Generations, public opinion remains strongly divided (Japan News, 2014).

Opinion polls have consistently shown that a majority of the public (ranging up to 58-67%) remain opposed to the constitutional reinterpretation, and that the Abe cabinet has not sufficiently explained or justified the changes, despite suspicions over the recent activities and potential future hegemonic aims of China (Haggard & Stahler, 2014). In the wake of the reinterpretation, the Abe cabinet's approval ratings have fallen to 43.5%, the lowest level since coming to office in 2012 (an economic slump following an increase in the consumption tax rate has also had an impact). However, the most recent opinion poll support rates for the LDP of 23.9%, and 3.8% for its ruling partner the NKP, continue to far outstrip those of the opposition minor parties: 5.3% for the DPJ, 1.5% for the Japanese Communist Party, 1.2% for the Japan Restoration Party, 0.4% for the Social Democratic Party, 0.4 for Your Party, 0.2% for

the People's Life Party, 0.2% for the Party for Future Generations, 0.1% for the Unity Party, and 0.1% for the New Renaissance Party; 61.6% of Japanese do not express support for *any* political party (Japan Times, 2014b).

Reflecting this lack of public support, critics claim the reinterpretation is unnecessary, given the well-equipped and highly trained SDF is highly capable of defending Japan's territorial integrity, further backed up by the US alliance, not least by the powerful US forces permanently based in Japan itself. The nationalistic revisionism occasionally displayed by LDP and other politicians also concerns critics of the changes, not least Abe's visit to the controversial Yasukuni shrine in December 2013, and revisionist statements by nationalistic politicians and commentators seeming to undermine the Kono and Murayama Statements. Such rhetoric accompanying the constitutional reinterpretation not only has caused public doubt and suspicion within Japan, but has inflamed regional tensions, principally with China and Korea, reinforcing aggressive nationalistic rhetoric stemming from opportunistic political figures in those countries (Cai, 2014).

Opponents of the reinterpretation also fear it could be the intermediary step towards eventually abolishing the pacifist Article 9 clause of the constitution altogether. Concerns have also arisen among lawyers and academics about the potential effect of re-interpreting the constitution on weakening Japanese democracy. The precedent of the Cabinet reinterpreting the constitution, against the majority will of the public, could potentially be applied to eroding the integrity of other areas of the constitution, including broader protections for civil and political rights, such as freedoms of speech and assembly. While the reinterpretation is expected to gain Diet approval, the question remains about whether the subsequent laws will be constitutionally valid, and may face challenges in the Supreme Court, although the traditionally conservative-leaning Court would probably uphold the new interpretation (Sieg, 2014).

With only limited diplomatic mechanisms in the region aimed at reducing such tensions between the neighbouring states of Northeast Asia, any shifts in defence policy need to be carefully managed, in order to reassure against rising tensions. So far, this has not successfully eventuated, although there are signs that low-level efforts to improve Sino-Japanese relations are gradually making limited progress, and the upcoming October APEC and East Asia Summit leaders' meetings (in China and Myanmar respectively), and the G20 leader's summit in November in Australia provides an opportunity for the potential diplomatic breakthrough of the first leaders'

meeting between Abe and Chinese President Xi Jinping (Mark, 2014).

Conclusions

The latest Japanese Defence White Paper recently released by the Cabinet focused on the 'increasingly severe' security environment, due to China's 'dangerous acts' in the East China Sea, fearing 'unintended consequences', of a potential clash. This situation thus justifies the next 2.2% increase in the defence budget, and the expansion in defence exports. Warnings also remain over North Korea, as a 'destabilizing factor', despite some recent moves towards improving diplomatic relations, including easing sanctions, in the hope of resolving the long-running issue of Japanese abducted by the DPRK in the past. The Dokdo and Kurile Islands were only given a perfunctory mention (MoD, 2014b).

The Abe LDP government thus claims exercising the right of collective self-defence will allow Japan to make a greater contribution to international security; however, there are concerns this will only threaten to worsen geostrategic tensions in the region. Some strategic analysts consider that Abe and the Japanese defence establishment ultimately have doubts about the US alliance, particularly whether the US would actually use military force to help Japan defend the Senkaku Islands, if they were to be seized by China. Such underlying doubts may be the ultimate motivation for the recent changes to Japanese defence policy. However, this hypothesis is countered by the enthusiasm with which the US has welcomed the changes (which should encourage Japan to take up a greater share of the defence burden), is also firmly backed by Australia (which has steadily been increasing defence cooperation with Japan, including joint military exercises, since the formation of the Trilateral Security Dialogue with the US in 2002), and also by the Philippines (White, 2014).

China has quite predictably responded negatively to Abe's defence policies, attempting a strategic alienation of Japan within the Asia-Pacific region. One of the long-term ideal geopolitical objectives of China is to weaken the US-Japan alliance, fearing that Japan's potential use of collective self-defence reinforces the US 'pivot' in the Pacific, as part of an encroaching containment of China. As China continues its pursuit of economic, and potentially military hegemony in the Asia-Pacific, this seems certain to drive the classic realist 'security dilemma', where Japan feels its relative strategic situation is deteriorating, necessitating a military build-up in response (Schreer, 2014). These unfolding developments are thus likely to continue to encourage Japan's more assertive defence policy, beyond the Abe government.

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Ethno Portrait of Tsovatush People

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Abstract

In case of the language being at the stage of shift, the ethno characteristics of the society speaking this language are always the subject of interest. The given paper deals with ethno portrait of minority language collective – Tsovatushs, mainly its one segment – nature/character perceived by Tsovatushs themselves. The research was implemented under the scientific project. The research is mainly based on the fieldwork materials undertaken by us in Zemo Alvani – the only village populated by Tsovatushs. The village is situated in East Georgia, in Kakheti (Akhmeta region), where the close contact between Georgian and Tsovatush languages has been existed since 20-30s of 19th century. The impacts of language contacts deal with a wider spectrum than is understood in reality. The component part of this spectrum is also the nature/character of the speakers of the subordinated language. The aim of our research was to find out the attitude of Tsovatushs towards their society, how they characterize their society and how they consider it different from other groups. While studying the issue, we used quantitative as well as qualitative research methods. The research has revealed that Tsovatushs regard their language as the essential feature of their society, which makes them different from other groups. Together with the language, they name the following factors of their nature/character: great love towards sheep-breeding, love of mountain, reticence, traditional clothes of women and men, the jewelry of the women, love of labor, great aspiration towards education, respect towards old people, talent, leading a nomad's life and so on.

Keywords: Tsovatushs, Spiritual Culture, Material Culture, Ethno Portrait, Nature/Character.

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Introduction

One question is how Tsovatushs are considered in historical sources and scientific literature (see Gigashvili, Gotsiridze 2014: 24-28; Gigashvili 2014: 5-10; Gigashvili 2014: 24-29.) and the other question is how they regard themselves. The given article names just their attitudes and opinions. We should mention that the part of the research given here was written with great love. It was based on the living sources and accordingly the research contains the valuable materials for wide society, various representatives of the different fields of science; close relationship with Tsovatushs under the scientific project showed us with greater prism the ethno profile of Tsovatushs, their nature/character, their troubles and happiness. The work depicts the thoughts, feelings, emotions and mainly, the level of the memory of the people living at present. It was interesting and important for us that they do not remember their past.

Submitting

Body part (Methods):

While carrying out social researches, one of the principal functions is polling. There is an information about the program of the investigation. This program contains two main parts. These are theoretical and methodical ones. The first part covers the target problem, its actuality; the object, goals and objectives of the research are depicted here. The methodical part contains the unity of the research participators, methods for gaining the information (Tsuladze 2008: 10).

Mass poll, including problem formulation and data analysis, consists of several steps (Newman 2003: 267-268)

There are two main types of mass poll: questionnaires and interview (Tsuladze 2008: 14). In its tend, filling the questionnaires is of two types: in one case the respondent independently fills the questionnaire given by the researcher (this type is conditionally called self-administered), in another case, the respondent receives the questionnaire by post, fills it independently and sends it back to the organization (it is called as the poll via post or the postal poll). It is mentioned, that the countries of USA and the West Europe use the internet for filling the questionnaires.

Interviewing as well is of two types. In one case the interviewer gives questions to the respondent (face-to-face interview), in another case the interviewer arranges interviewing with the help of the phone (interview via phone) (Tsuladze, the same: 14).

Unity of the humans, on which the research outcomes are generalized, is called the general unity. Selective Unity is the group of people selected from the general unity on which making a research is planned and generalization of the results should be held on general Unity.

In our case, the whole society of Tsovatush is the general unity. Group of people, who were collected by respondents, is considered as selective unity.

Two main types of selection are distinguished: probabilistic and non-probabilistic. In probabilistic selection each element of general unity has equal chance for appearing in selection unity, which is fortuitous and is not at zero-level for each element. In non-

probabilistic selection each element of general unity has not equal or sometimes zero-level chance for appearing in selection unity (the same: 42).

The simplest and the most spread form of probabilistic selection is simple fortuitous selection. Its several methods are known. These are the following: method of lottery, method of fortuitous numbers and systemic selection. Amongst them the most spread one is systemic selection. In this case the researcher selects peculiar fixed interval, which is called as interval of selection. By keeping this interval the researcher selects the elements of the frame of selection (the same: 45).

The initial stage of our research was built on the mass poll method. From its two main types – questionnaire and interview – we chose interview. We used face-to-face interview.

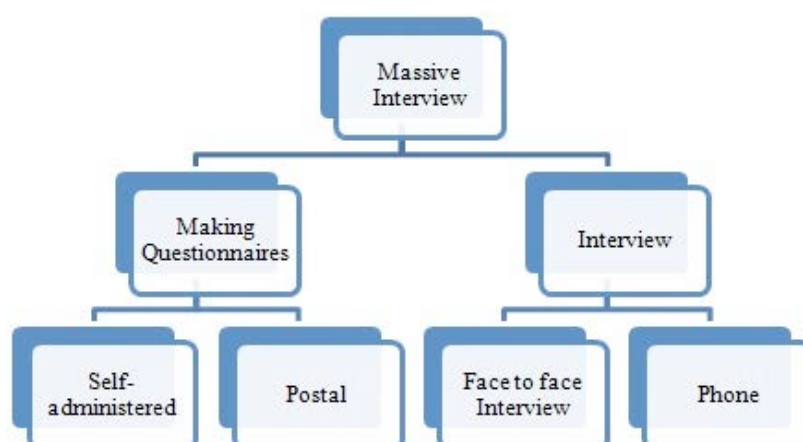


Figure 1.

We used selective method while selecting the participants. Selection belongs to the group of quantitative research methods. It “is the process of selection of different units (e.g. humans, organizations and etc.) from the target population in the way for the received outcomes to be generalized on the whole population (the same: 41).

From two main types of selection - probabilistic and non probabilistic – we privileged probabilistic, in order each element (people of different age, gender, education, level of knowledge) of general unity (Tsovatush) to have the equal chance to get in the selective unity. We used the simplest and the most spread method of probabilistic method – simple random sampling and among the methods of lottery method, random number methods and system selection, we used the latest one – system selection.

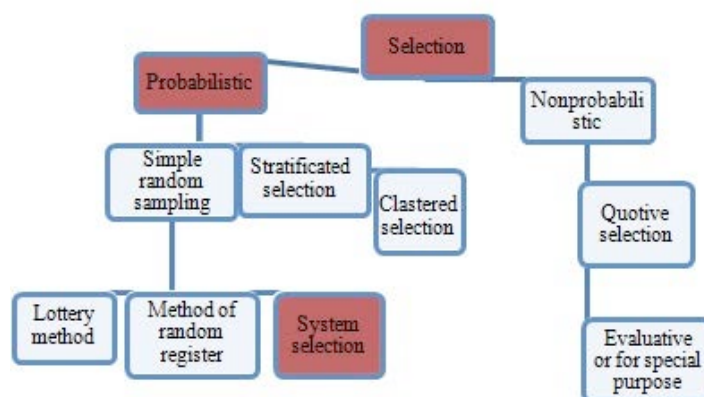


Figure 2.

We selected peculiar fixed interval (interval of selection) for identifying selective unity. From 9 streets of Zemo Alvani, interviewer had to sample one member¹ of every fourth family in the two lines of each street.

Discussion:

74 respondents were asked during fieldwork. Majority -54- are women, 20 – men. As the interviewer mentioned, some of the respondents refused to participate in polling (because of different reasons: illness, lack of information, scare not to be competent), some of them were gone from the village while carrying out the fieldwork.

One of main questins, the answer of which was the most interesting for us was the first: “What do you regard as the principal characteristic for Tsovatushs, which makes you special from others?”

While answering this question Tsovatushs name the elements of spiritual culture (ethical norms, aesthetic viewpoints, religious standpoints and so on) and material culture as well (clothes, jewelry, food and etc.).

We will try to summarize all these signs for the readers to develop clear imagination how Tsovatushs consider themselves and at last to get statistical analysis to make it obvious what do they prefer and what is less attractive for them.

Absolute majority of the respondents think that the major characteristic for Tsovatushs is the language. The language as “the mental form of the mankind” (according to Humboldt) is the component part of spiritual culture. Tsovatushs explane that their language is different from Georgian, it is very rich and belongs to Chechen-Ingush language family. Two respondents also remarked that their language is endangered – young people do not speak in this language except of small part of them.

¹ Interviewing was carried out by Mariam (Manana) Bukurauli with great sense of responsibility.

Tsovatushs regard that they are special with their past and traditions as well. Their past is mainly in connection with the mountain. Though they have settled in the valley long time ago, they still love the mountain and try not to stop connection with the mountain. Tsovas' eyes just sparkle when they talk about the mountain, Tbatana and Tsovata. Though nobody lives there at present, but in summer sheep-breeders go there, at the time of religious holidays the prayers go there for praying in front of the icons and to fondle their previous homes. At an earlier period they considered going to the mountain as obligatory and essential. In spite of the harmful road, they still travelled there.

Special attitude of Tsovatushs towards an accordion is one of their main features. Tushs were and even at present they are accompanied by the accordion on the way going to the mountain in summer period.

It's interesting, that part of the respondents considers leading a nomad's life as one of the main characteristic marks of Tushs as well as the part of their spirit, as the material (tangible) revealing. Leading a nomad's life means periodical movement from the mountain to the valley and on the contrary, which is established as the rule of Tsovatushs after developing sheep-breeding – one of the branches of agriculture. As leading a nomad's life became one of the marks of Tsovatushs' character, we also discuss it in their character and the nature.

Simple Tsovatushs think so. Tsovatush linguist Makvala Mikeladze has the same opinion about leading a nomad's life: "great part of Tushs leads a nomad's life even at present and this transferring in connection with time and season became inseparable part of their spirituality. A question is asked: what number of property and riches can we hang on the animal and take from the mountain to the valley or from the valley to the mountain? I have an immediate answer to it: - everything is moderate: thing, step, word and work. The things of luxury lose their function when they are far from the horizon but on the scales of morals only the person with the own human values, public merit and work is left. Tsovatushs take care of the impartial evaluations about their mother land more than their life. They know that life looks like a flower of the field: it comes to us for a short period and soon it leaves us, but we should preserve our fame as it will develop everything. Generations are changed in fighting for the dignity, but moral stays the same: the merited pride rejoices, but the ambition has no dignity. The ancestors had quiet life and also so quietly they passed away and joined the sky of Tusheti" (Mikeladze 2008: 34-35).

Tsovatushs consider love of sheep-breeding as one of their principal features. This work was connected to hard work and permanent danger. Respondents say that Tush sheep was known with its high productivity. Well-known Tush cheese was made from milk. The cheese was processed in the wineskin.

The sheep-breeder was far from his family for the whole year. He had to undergo natural cataclysms, struggle against the wild animals, fight against the enemy. They drove the sheep to the mountain in summer, but in winter – to Shiraki. Old Tushs prayed sheep and wool.

Hard conditions of life were depicted on Tushs' appearance and spiritual world. Old Tsovatushs were inexpressive and brave people. The war against Shamil carried fame

to lots of brave Tushs. They are mentioned in the struggle of Bakhtrioni as well, which is depicted in the poem “Bakhtrioni” by Vazha Pshavela. Respondents are proud of the fact that lots of Tush fighters fought together with the King Erekle. “And there are the brave, successful and strong horsemen always ready for fighting” (Vakhushti 1973: 172). “If there are some coward fighters, they are regarded as dogs and not brave men and they are placed together with dogs” (the same: 554). Zisserman writes: «Тушины легендарный народ. Им неизвестен страх; наверно потому, что они защищали свою собственную грузинскую землю; они из покон веков являются храбрецами. Они разумны, деловиты, бесстрашны и предупредительны» (Зиссерманн 1879: 27).

Respondents also named the principal characteristics of Tsovatushs such as the following:

- Diligence;
- Decency;
- Honesty;
- Inexpressiveness;
- Moderate temper;
- Politeness;
- Knowledge of processing some cheese;
- Self-control;
- Purposefulness;
- Great love of the woman towards her brother. Tush woman loves her brother the most. She prays for her brother in this way: “I pray for my brother’s knees” which means “I do not want to live without my brother after his death”.
- Vagueness. It tortures most of them as they want to be informed about their origin. Some of them say that they don’t know their nationality. According to one folk verse, they think they come from North Caucasia and settled in the mountains of Tusheti.
- Sense of responsibility towards their duty;
- Love of freedom. It was conditioned by that they haven’t undergone serfdom. We meet the same information in one folk rhyme: “Tushs do not know who the serf is and who the chief is as they are considered as the owners and judges themselves”.
- Physical appearance. This fact was indicated by Mikheil Machabeli as well (Machabeli 1900).
- Not interfering in other people’s cases. They don’t like when somebody interferes in their cases as well.
- Devotion towards the word;
- Strong physical opportunities. They know as the legend that one of their Tush ancestor men had made the bear suffocated. M. Machabeli paid the attention to the latest information as well (Machabeli 1900).

G. Gelovani describes Tsovatushs in #601 of “Sakhalkho Gazeti” (people’s newspaper) with the following words: “Tushs are quiet people; they hate talking much, abusing each other, bragging, gossiping and expressing coward nature. In addition, Tush people are obstinate, brave and devoted. They took the first place in their bravery. They had the following heroes: Zezva, Shete, Ganishi and others, which fought against Shamili and made Lezghins scared. Tush fighter was incomparable in

the struggles. They had a rule of cutting the right hand of the killed enemy after the war, which meant their victory and fame” (Gelovani 1913: #916).

➤ The skill of suffering the pain. Otherwise, they wouldn’t be able to be saved. They had the permanent wars against Kists and Lezghins. In spite they were of a little quantity, they were still saved and managed to preserve their language.

➤ Restraint. Tushs don’t bother other people with their problems; they suffer the difficulties in their hearts. Nobody will see their feelings and emotions even at the time of the hardest poorness. “We met proud nature of the people of the mountain in high strongholds. Modest people of Tsaro never expressed their feelings in front of other people: they loved restrained feast and sorrow (Mikeladze 2008: 41).

➤ Being thrifty. Tsovatushs do not like spending the property earned by them. It is caused by the hard social-economical conditions undergone in the mountain.

➤ The skill of not having the common opinions with others. Each of them prefers to stand on the own ideas, which prevents their strength.

➤ Difficult nature characteristic for the people of the mountain. According to Bela Shavkhelishvili, the reason for forming the independent nature of Tushs became the bravery and material success. They were never subordinated on others like the slaves, they weren’t ever divided into social parts (Shavkhelishvili: <http://www.spekali.tsu.ge/index.php/ge/article/viewArticle/4/35>).

➤ Tsovatushs think that they are special and talented people. In old periods only boys were taught, but afterwards also girls were given education. Richer and more educated family gave only 4-class education to the girls, then they took them out from school and made them dressed in “Chokha” (Georgian national suit). It meant that the girl was ready to be married in case of having the proper fiancé. Boys even at the age of 12-13 were sent for sheep-breeding.

Thus, we can sum up the results of polling. It was found out that Tsovatush respondents in most cases combined the answers of the second question – “which are main features of your character?” and the third one – “which are your ancient traditions?” for replying the first question – “which ones do you regard as major features of Tsovatushs?” They consider character as well as the elements of spiritual or material cultures as their characteristics. Though, we separated them from each other.

As for the character, respondents listed quite many signs, which are depicted by us in the enclosed table. Here the elements of spiritual and material cultures are shown as well, which were named by Tsovatushs as their specific signs. As we had presented the content analysis of the poll above, we named all these segments in the table below according to the frequency of naming. It will help the reader to have obvious information about statistical data of inquiring. We mention once more that 74 respondents were inquired, 54 of which were women and 20 of them were men:

#	Characteristic features	Frequency of naming
1.	Language	55
2.	Great love towards sheep-breeding	37
3.	Love of the mountain	28
4.	Inexpressiveness	26

5.	Traditional clothes of women and men, also jewelry of women in old periods	24
6.	Diligence	22
7.	Great aspiration towards education	22
8.	Respect towards elder people	21
9.	Talent	18
10.	Leading a nomad's life	18
11.	Strict attitude towards the children in old times	16
12.	Special attitude towards sheep and wool	16
13.	Culture for processing some cheese	15
14.	Not interfering in other people's cases	14
15.	Scanty rights of women in old times	12
16.	Courage	12
17.	Honesty	11
18.	Special politeness	11
19.	Traditional food (Datkhuri, Kaurma (Ragout), Tsu, rice in milk, Kumeli (oatflour), dry curds)	11
20.	Honest attitude towards the work	10
21.	Love of the horse	9
22.	Socks	9
23.	Culture for processing wool	8
24.	Reticence	8
25.	Negative attitude towards alcohol	8
26.	Skill for assisting other persons in difficulties	8
27.	The skill of suffering the pain	7
28.	Not expressing the emotions	7
29.	Endurance	6
30.	Respect towards each other	6
31.	Different activities	6
32.	Accordion	6
33.	Carpets	5
34.	Tush hat	5
35.	Thick felt	5
36.	Traditions	5
37.	Polite attitude of the woman towards her husband, mother-in-law and father-in-law in old	5

	periods	
38.	Modest thrift	5
39.	Love of the country	4
40.	Polite attitude of the woman towards men	4
41.	Taking care of the property	4
42.	Felt cloak	4
43.	Rug	3
44.	Wedding and funeral traditions	2
45.	Bravery	2
46.	Solid families	2
47.	The skill of appreciating the ancestors	2
48.	Decency	2
49.	Restraint	2
50.	Wearing long plaits in old times	2
51.	High culture of knitting	2
52.	Self-respect	1
53.	Discretion	1
54.	Special pride	1
55.	Sullenness	1
56.	Hospitability	1
57.	Modest temper	1
58.	Devotion of the word	1
59.	Difficult nature characteristic for the people of the mountain	1
60.	Purposefulness	1
61.	Love of freedom	1
62.	Respect of the past	1
63.	Staidness	1
64.	Inflexibility	1

Table #1. Main characteristics named by Tsovatushs

Conclusion

Thus, it was revealed that while inquiring Tsovatushs named several signs at the same time. We tried to pay attention to all the features or signs named by them. As we saw in the table above, great number of elements of spiritual and material culture of Tsovatushs was gathered. This information is interesting and important from the viewpoint that it shows Tsovatushs perceived by themselves or their auto portrait.

As the table shows, 55 respondents from 74 ones named the language as the main characteristic for Tsovatushs. Due to the frequency, the first ten signs have the following form: the language, great love towards sheep-breeding, love of the mountain, restraint, traditional clothes of the women and the men, also the jewelry of the women at an earlier period, love of labor, great aspiration towards education, respect towards elder people, talent, leading a nomad's life.

Majority of 74 is 38 (50%+1). Due to the table, greater part of Tosvatushs regards the language as the essential feature of their society, but half of them consider great love of sheep breeding.



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