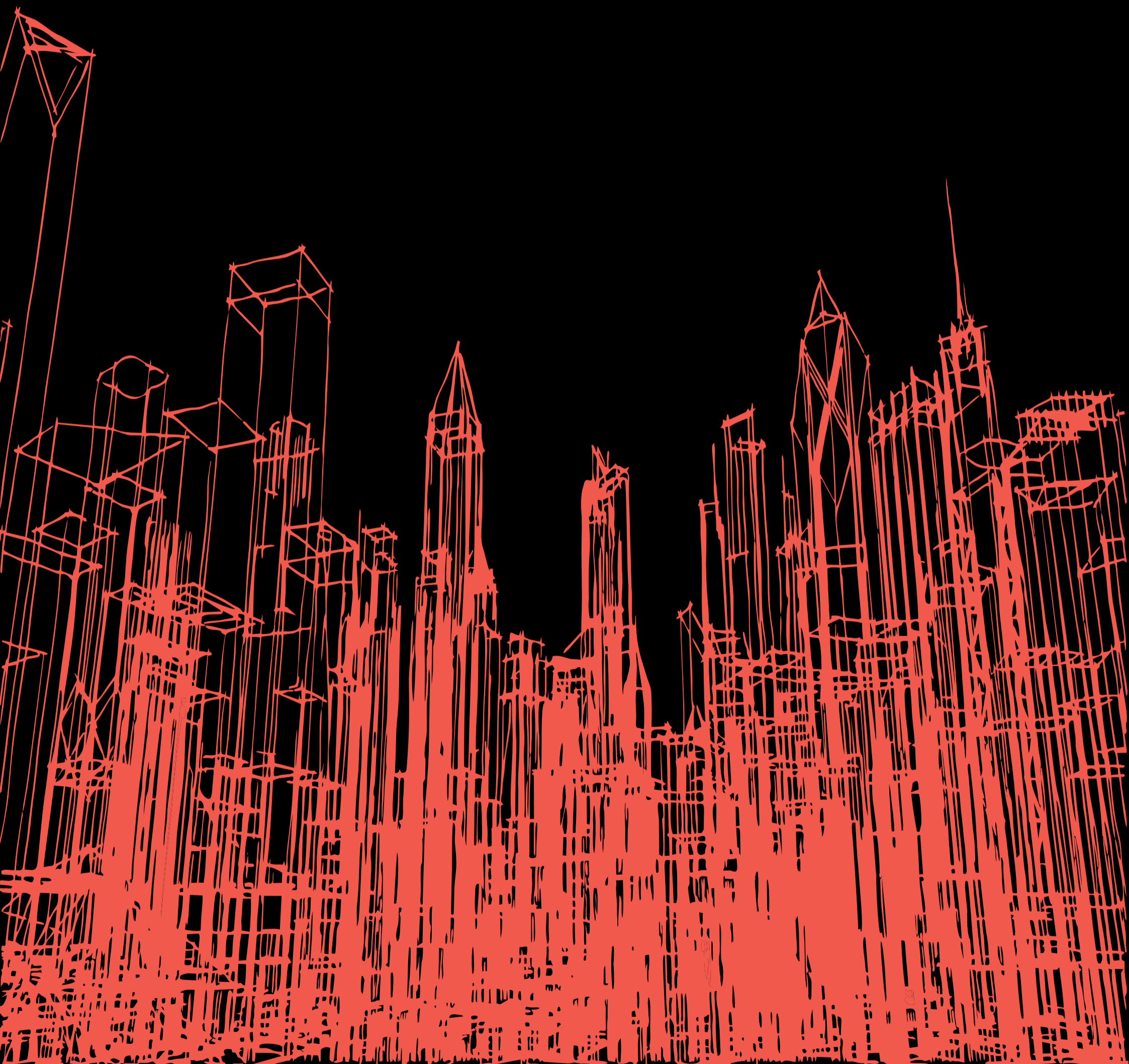


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Potential Threats of Consumer Textiles

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Abstract

Local is global and global is local. With the acquaintance of globalization to the world, the perception of things and happenings has been varied and modified radically. With multidimensional rising reservations and challenges to ourselves the threats that textile industry proposes and promises acquire quite an important status, especially considering potential threats in everyday use consumer textiles being a very specific and crucial element of it. The global concerns regarding various textile processes has been surged up to an almost alarming extent. The global trend for eco-friendly products has also been extended to textile and apparel products, particularly those products which directly come into contact with the skin for prolonged period. This has created a stout vacuum that demands a sustainable and eco-friendly approach to the solution of the issue. An effort is made to create awareness among consumers of textile products regarding their potential safety threats. It involves highlighting the threats and hazards which should be controlled so that this sector becomes a responsible partner in the creation of a nontoxic environment. A review of probable hazardous textile chemicals is presented here along with the discussion on expected venues of health risks. Such awareness might help in bringing in to limelight a list of damaging textile chemicals which should be restricted for the sake of environmental protection, controlling occupational illnesses among workers of textile sector and provision of nontoxic, safe textile products for consumers.

Keywords: consumer textiles, environment protection, globalization, hazardous chemicals

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Introduction

Nearly every single one on this planet is consumers of textile products. A vast range of every day product categories are prepared by the textile sector. The consumer range spans across all user segments, regardless of age, genders and nature of social or professional engagement or health status. This gigantic contribution places textile sector as a leading partner in global economic activity. The magnitude of textile activities, from production to marketing, usually involves international and intercontinental movement of products. As a result of such global movement of products whatsoever is contained by them also becomes a global concern (Das, 2000). Almost all textile oriented products are used in a way that every consumer is directly or indirectly exposed to the chemical content of these goods. The endless array of textile production dominantly utilizes large quantities of chemicals. This sector is known for its intense use of chemicals. It is an established fact that among these textile chemicals some are harm full for the environment and some are injurious to human health producing allergic reactions which can be persistent or bio accumulating (Hangzhou, 2013). It is very recent that attention is given to the hazardous aspect of chemicals contained in textile products. With the emerging technological advancement enormous expansion of textile activities has occurred.

Increasingly complex, longer and global nature of textile supply chain has made it difficult to exactly identify the presence and nature of hazardous textile chemicals in textile products and production (Nazia, 2010). However some unharmonised, voluntary efforts are seen in textile industry regarding labeling or listing of restricted chemical content (Nations, 2011). Additionally, the absence of unified legislation covering the prospects of permissible range of textile chemicals and the permissible level of hazardous textile chemical has exposed the consumers to prospective environmental and health intimidation of congenial textiles. This all reflects a severe need of an organized handling of the matter for the regulation of textile chemical usage locally level as well as globally. Failure to do so might result in disastrous human health and environmental impacts (Kevin, et al 2014).

Objectives

The objective of this concept paper is to create awareness among the arena of consumer textiles regarding its potential safety issues highlighting threats and hazards which should be controlled so that this sector becomes a responsible partner in the creation of a non toxic environment (Textiles, 2005). All this is driven by the increased knowledge about hazards associated with chemicals used in textile sector. Among numerous commodities of today's world textile products are identified as a group that might contain hazardous chemicals. A review of probable hazardous textile chemicals is presented here along with the discussion on expected venues of health risks. Such awareness might help in formulation of a list of damaging textile chemicals which should be restricted for the sake of environmental protection, controlling occupational illnesses among workers of textile sector and provision of non toxic, safe textile products for the consumers (Soytas, 2006).

This awareness will bring into limelight a dire need for the creation of a pool of specific rules, locally as well as globally, for chemicals to be used on different groups of textile products. Emphasis should be placed on the availability of complete

information about chemicals throughout the lifecycle of textile products. While seeking options for such legislative decision making consultants from textile industry, experts of environment protection and authorities of consumer rights protection should join hands for the larger benefit of humanity (Agency, 2013).

Nature of Consumer Textile Sector

Consumer textile industry involves all industrial segments contributing in designing, manufacturing and distribution of textile goods for utilization. Industry activities comprise of production of fiber from natural or synthetic sources, spinning activities for the formulation of variety of yarns, knitting or weaving units responsible for structuring of textiles, additional steps of dyeing , printing finishing , final make-up and packaging and distribution (Hangzhou, 2013) . Apart from this fiber oriented practices all steps involved in manufacturing of leather articles are also part of textiles (Kevin, et al 2014).

Textiles play an important role in global economy as well as it is an important component of world trade flows. For many developing countries the outcome of textile activities account for a major proportion of annual exports. According to World Trade Organization total world export of textiles value is estimated to be around US\$196 billion and that of clothing is US\$258 billion, representing 2.2% and 2.9% respectively of world merchandise trade. According to World Trade Organization statistics most of the world textile exports are done by developing countries including India, Pakistan, Turkey, Indonesia, Thailand and Mexico ranking among top 15 textile exporters. Overall Asia accounts for 46.1 % of world textile export. On the other hand biggest importers of textiles include EU and US (Agency, 2013).

Chemicals Used in Textile Sector

Textile industry is known for its intense use of chemicals from the production of raw material to the desired finished article. This excessive use of chemicals is in correspondence with the complex and wide range of requirements dictated by desires of a large variety of consumers. From textile fiber production till finished consumer article the processing involves utilization of numerous chemicals. Some of these chemicals are destined to remain with the product for its life time and some are designed to act as carry-over during the manufacturing steps of production (Soytas, 2006).

The definition of hazardous chemicals is a priory of this exploration, which will lead to the formulation of non exhaustive list of chemicals and will serve as an indicator of chemicals which might be restricted. Probability of utilization and presence of such elements can be during the textile industry processing stages or such elements can be found in the final product. More focus is required to spot all such chemicals in textile products or production which are endocrine disrupting chemicals (EDCs), chemicals that are persistent, bioaccumulating and toxic (PBT) or are group of chemicals which are very persistent and very bioaccumulating (vPvB) (Agency, 2013).

Table 1 contains an overview of the most commonly used chemicals as well as their function or required performance during processing chain of textile production. Table

also contains information about the release pathway of these commonly used textile chemicals during the use phase (Textiles, 2005).

Some recent studies have been conducted to measure concentration levels of such chemicals in the products on the rack. A Swedish study exploring presence of Nonyl Phenol Ethoxylates (NPE) in towels found the evidences of its presence in almost every item. A similar study on water repellent sports clothing also concluded the evidence of Per Florinated Compounds (PFCs) in all sampled pieces (Agency, 2013).

Chemical category	Chemical name	Release pathway
Detergents and auxiliaries	Nonyl Phenol Ethoxylates (NPEs)	Water
Wrinkle, water oil or stain resistant coatings	Per-Florinated Compounds (PFCs)	Water
	Formaldehyde	Air
Fire retardant finishes	Poly Brominated Diphenyl Ethers (PBDEs)	Water
	Hexa Bromo Cyclo Dodecone (HBCD)	Water
	Short Chain Chlorinated Paraffins (SCCPs)	Water
	Asbestos	Air
Plastic Coatings	Phthalates	Water
	Heavy Metals	Water
Anti-bacterial and anti-mould agents	Silver	Water
	Triclosan	Water
Dyes and Colorants	Heavy Metals	Water
	Azo-Dyes	Water
Leather Finishes	Chromium	Water
	Short Chain Chlorinated Paraffin (SCCPs)	Water
Others		

Table 1: Chemicals of concern in Textiles.

Threatening Textile Chemicals

Groups of chemicals listed in table 1 are identified as being of some concern. But textile processing contains many more chemicals utilized in multiple stages of processing like spinning, pre treatments, dyeing, printing or finishing. Most of the chemicals are used without an intention of their presence in the final article; these are designed to be released during processing after they impart their function in some stage of processing. But the promised absence of such chemicals is only possible if optimum conditions of fabrications are maintained throughout the manufacturing phase. Strict quality control standards should be in place to signal alerts of product impurities and abrupt abnormality during processing resulting in residual contents found in final products (Kevin, et al 2013).

Legislation Regarding Substantial Existence of Hazardous Chemicals in Consumer Textiles

The enormous textile productions involving significant applied chemistry and global utility of textile products make this sector to be in need of clear regulations. Following is an over view of some of the major legislation applicable to textiles concerning their chemical content (Das, 2000).

REACH is a European legislation for the level of chemicals contained in the textile products. It emphasizes the disclosure of information with respect to certain substances which meet a set criterion for substances of very high concern (SVHC). The list of SVHC keeps on increasing with the more available knowledge of probable hazards associated with certain chemicals. Most of the substances listed in SVHC are related to textiles as described in European Chemical Agency website. For such chemicals in products REACH requires information disclosure to protect the safety rights of consumers (Kevin, et al 2013).

Consumer Product Safety Improvement Act (CPSIA) is a US federal law that requires a third party testing for the levels of lead in goods for children (Agency, 2013).

California Proposition is an initiative against exposure of consumers to toxic chemicals found in products. According to this state is required to publish an updated list of harmful chemicals in products which might cause cancer, birth defects or other reproductive harms. It empowers user to be informed about significant amount of chemicals in products they purchase or which were released in environment during product manufacturing. This information is regarded as “clear and reasonable” warning before exposing anyone to listed chemicals. Allowed levels of chemicals are in accordance to human health standards. Random sampling for chemical content testing of different products is regularly conducted to ensure compliance with the set standards (Soytas, 2006).

Act on the Evaluation of Chemical Substances and Regulation of Their Manufacture is a Japanese law governing the control or prohibition of hazardous compounds to humans or environment (Hangzhou, 2013).

European Eco-label is an European Commission Decision. This legislation involves strict legislation and certification and primarily addresses textile consumer products. This involves a stringent set of condition not only on level of chemicals in final textile products but chemicals used during processing of textiles and chemical content of raw textile resource. According to this approach certain chemicals are restricted to maximum levels others are allowed within a safe range according to the hazard classification system. The hazard classes are continuously updated as new chemicals are associated to some hazards (Textiles, 2005).

Declaration Systems Of Textile Product Chemical Contents

It is interesting to investigate the mechanisms that exist for the transmission of information regarding chemical concerns of any textile product. This information takes on various forms, at time it directly addresses what is in the product and at times

it addresses “negative content information”. Although efforts are aimed to ensure that harm full chemicals should not remain in the final product for guaranteed product safety standards of targeted markets. Along with conventional labels, some companies also provide ecolabels, supplying a little more information about chemical contents of product. A restricted substance list (RSL) is often given by the buyers which must be observed by the manufacturer to pass quality checks. But this RSL varies across different companies. There is hardly any information passed on about full disclosure of all chemicals utilized in production line or information about full disclosure about chemicals contained in the final product.

Fiber content information Currently it is found that there exists no authentic information system for knowing what chemicals are contained in textile products except for the information of nature of its fiber content. There are established labeling requirements of certain import countries. For USA market the label should include fiber content, country name and name of manufacturer. For textile care labeling some symbols are evolved by International Association for Textile Care Labeling. Such labels are required to be a permanent part of product throughout its life (Das, 2000).

Restricted Substance List (RSL) is a company specific list. It comprises of chemicals that are strictly prohibited in the company’s products. This imposes effective ban on the use of chemicals and provides a clear direction to the company suppliers. Such RSL is usually put in place by the companies manufacturing for the market; with this list company requires all suppliers to conform to this standard. But for the efficient conformity and compliance strict testing standards must be imposed and administrative control needs to be very tight. Being company driven there is great variation in contents of the list (Nazia, 2010).

Ecolabels are mostly regional and specifically target aspects of sustainability and environmental impact of textile processing. Some target the harm full chemical content of the textile products. For textile sector over 70 labels are available (Textiles, 2005).

Environmental Product Declaration (EPD) is primarily a life cycle assessment tool. Its major concern is communication regarding the environmental performance of any product or system. The information is directed towards environmental impact associated with textile product including its raw material acquisition, chemical content, energy utilization in manufacturing, chemical emission to air or water or soil and waste generation. Textile sector still lacks behind in using EPDs (Soytas, 2006).

Selected Company Systems are small initiatives to make negative content list or positive content list of company’s products available to public. This is another advanced level of product information disclosure (Nations, 2011).

ChemicALL System is an extended database and chemical information system, designed to address needs of designers and textile users. This tool was evolved to help designers and end users to make informed decisions or to carry an informed dialogue with suppliers regarding chemicals present in final products (Agency, 2013).

Stake Holders Chain Concerning Consumer Textile Products

For the chemical content initiative understanding the concerning stake holder chain is very necessary. This helps to bring into limelight needs and uses of different chemicals in textile sectors at different phases. Different sectors of stakeholders possess different concerns regarding utilizations of certain chemicals in textile manufacturing. Priorities of each segment are interestingly diversified based on their capacities, roles, priorities, economic and social context. For this reason all parties who can contribute to the information system regarding chemical content of textile product are included here (Das, 2000).

Governments are not directly involved in the designing or manufacturing or distribution activities of textiles but possess a key role with regard to control of hazardous chemicals in the textile products. They play very vital part of policymakers and policy enforcers. Governments can exercise their control in varying degree on different segments of textile manufacturing activities being run in their territory. This unfolds the significant role of governments regarding such sensitive matter of consumer safety. Their contribution is many fold including control during manufacturing for occupational health and safety standards or during distribution for traceability standardization or during use for consumer rights protection or during export to ensure compliance to international standards for exchange of information regarding chemical content of textile products. Most of the government's role is needed in making rigorous efforts for identification and control of hazardous substance that might become part of consumer articles (Soytas, 2006).

Manufacturers are the major partners of stakeholder chain of textile product life cycle. They are directly concerned with all decision making regarding discouraging use of harm full chemicals in different stages of manufacturing. Generally they have much influence on their suppliers and can easily influence the different steps of multistage fabrication of consumer textiles. So their role in controlling hazardous chemical content in textiles is very vital. They are directly responding to the legislative authorities and the policies of the markets so influencing suppliers to abide by the ultimate consumer demand of product safety assurance. Activities of global textile manufacturing environment are very complex (Hangzhou, 2013).

Manufacturing stages require clear chemical content information of textile materials being used. Designers are held responsible for making right decisions about chemical content of selected materials to full fill the desired functional performance of product as well as promising personal and environmental safety standards. It is highly recognized that the information delivery system at this stage should be capable of providing efficient, complete and authentic information. Multi stage processing of textiles requires a continual information exchange with regard to its chemical content across different stages of entire manufacturing.

Distributers: Distributers are those companies who receive final manufactured goods and deliver these to a point of sale. Distributers can be the large brand name companies who may or may not operate retail chains. Apart from retailers all type of importers and people involved in logistics are categorized as distributers. This group of stakeholders directly relate to legislated requirements. They have to obey all legal

responsibilities and maintain a system of check and balance of appropriate chemical content information to meet these obligations.

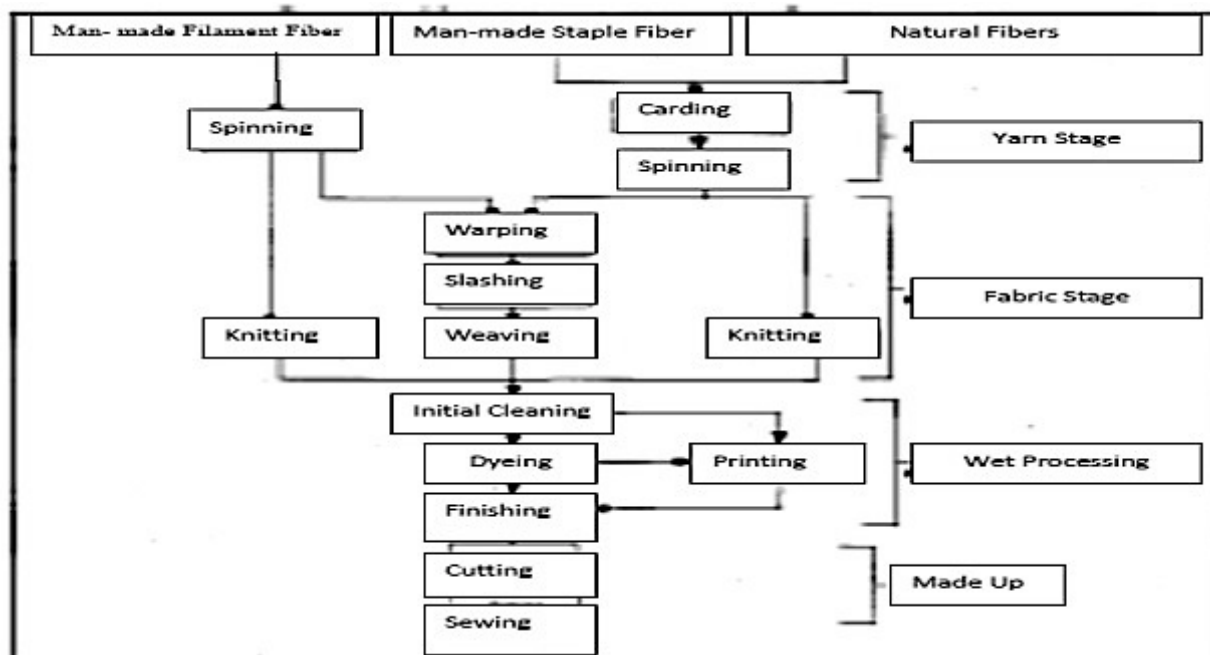


Figure 1 : Typical multiple stage complex flow of textile processing.

Large brands need to develop an appropriate corporate policy based on need of knowledge about product's chemical composition (Hangzhou, 2013). A common practice among the distributors is widespread ignorance of hazardous aspects of textile chemicals. On the contrary this sector is trying its level best to devise a system to comply with the current legislation and regularities (Nazia, 2010). Amidst the textile value chain sectors the distributors are specifically leading the efforts to establish an efficient control over the textile chemical content of the consumer products (Agency, 2013).

Consumers: It is strongly felt that development of a system to effectively communicate the chemical contents of wide range of consumer textile products to the consumers is needed. This will not only help in making right decisions of purchase but if consumers are kept informed they can take appropriate actions with the products at hand. Consumer safety assurance should be promised at all stages of manufacturing. Consumers, more than any other group of stakeholders, are directly affected by the absence of an effective information exchange system (Nations, 2011). Thus consumer demand is estimated as major force for increased exchange of information regarding chemical content of textile products. General public must be given awareness and education about the facts of environmental and health risks from textile chemicals in daily use products. Currently there is no sound system of efficient information exchange for consumers (Das, 2000). Presence of eco-labels bridges this gap to some extent but does not provide behind the scene information to its full spectrum (Textiles, 2005). There is dire need for media articles about hazardous aspects of textile chemicals found in the products to create public awareness, but this campaign might not be fruitful to the textile chain segments in developing countries.

Presence of chemicals of concern in textile products can only be reduced if it can be communicated systematically to all stakeholders so that processing procedures can be revisited to bring needed improvements. Consumer choices are predominantly affected by price, design, perceived quality, and awareness about damaging chemicals (Kevin, et al 2013).

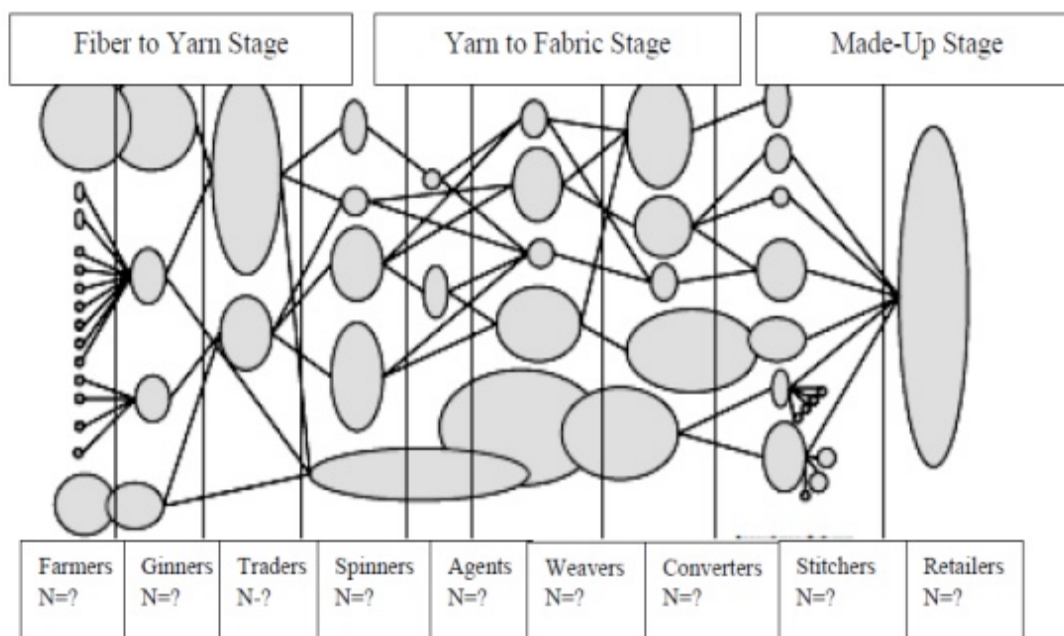


Figure 2: Textile Value Chain Illustrating Typical Business Relations

Obstacles in Information Exchange Across Stakeholder Chain

The theme found common among all stakeholders is efficient use of chemical information found or not found in products for evaluation and assurance of user safety. A common practice of provision of negative-content list does not address this situation. A revised strategy is needed to provide positive-content list which will directly address exchange of chemical in product information (Soytas, 2006). Historically legislations and regulations have been devised to monitor, control and ensure minimized chemicals of concern in the products (Agency, 2013). Desire of consumer safety depends on proper exchange of information but the nature of information needed and manner of its presentation varies widely. In short the throbbing query to be addressed is what information exchange mechanism is most effective? Diversity of textile activities renders this information exchange a complex and hard to handle issue. This remains a major obstacle in solving this issue through standardized practices (Kevin, et al 2014).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Current era assorted progress in the textile sector demands that it must become able to derive the validity of the claim of safer products by establishing a mutually agreed upon information exchange mechanism. Already established mechanisms of negative-content list or chemical oriented eco-labels are just assurances of absence of unwanted chemicals. The delicacy of the issue requires formulation of legislative base

to ensure user safety throughout the textile production to maintain product quality along with worker health. Current practices of chemical information exchange are diverse in terms of scope, method, design and criterion. Through the legislations all companies putting product in the market are held responsible for product safety. Hence different stakeholders of textile production chain should mobilize to compile, extract and pass on required information throughout the supply chain. All such practices will ensure enhanced product safety. In today's world the chemicals of concern are all such substances which yield negative effect on human health in some manner or damage the environment. A chemical content confirmation system will enable designers and active manufacturers to make wiser and informed decisions regarding textile products to control and reduce the hazards associated to the presence of chemicals of concern in everyday use consumer products. Such efforts require accurate set of measures majorly including supervised, oversight and trustworthy testing systems.

Such efforts will enable stakeholders to exercise improved management of the textile chemicals present in the products, these mutual measures are needed to ensure availability, appropriateness and accessibility of needed information.

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*Neoliberal Governance of Culture and Neo-Ottoman Management of Diversity in
New Turkey*

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Abstract

Neoliberalism and neoconservatism as two distinct political rationalities have formed a peculiar alliance and generated what Wendy Brown (2006; 2015) describes as “de-democratizing effects” in contemporary societies over the last two to three decades. In Turkey, under the Justice and Development Party’s (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*; AKP) rule, this alliance has a unique configuration combining the norms and values of the free market and Islam(ism) to govern every aspect of social life. While existing literature has generated lively debates on education and social security reforms, urban development, and gender politics, *culture* as a target of administrative reform and a part of the governing processes remains relatively under-discussed. This essay focuses on an array of cultural practices, ranging from history museums to television series featuring Turkey’s Ottoman-Islamic past, and examines the de-democratizing effects of the neoliberal-neoconservative alliance. Culture, when governed in line with neoliberalism has become an integral part of the free market where civil participation, as consumers and entrepreneurs, is considered as an indication of democratization. This emergent culture market also has operated as a regulatory mechanism in favor of the Islamist government’s conservative and nationalist agenda. The essay maintains that Turkey’s blend of neoliberalism and neoconservatism has significantly transformed the state’s approach to culture as a way of governing the social, produced a popularly accepted knowledge of Ottoman-Islamic pluralism, and a citizen-subject who is increasingly subjected to exclusion and discipline for expressing critical views of this knowledge.

Keywords: Culture, Neoconservatism, Neoliberalism, De-democratization, Turkey

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Introduction

What would a neoliberal-neoconservative alliance look like in the Turkish context? And what would be the socio-political implications when culture is governed in line with these two political rationalities? The essay seeks to address these questions by critically examining the recent popularization of Ottoman-themed cultural practices, ranging from history museums to television series featuring the Ottoman-Islamic legacy. The study reveals that the convergence of neoliberalism and neoconservatism in Turkey's cultural field has generated what Wendy Brown describes as "de-democratizing effects" undermining the principles of equality and constitutional democracy (Brown, 2006, 2015). Turkey, which has undergone major administrative reforms under the Justice and Development's (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi; AKP hereafter) rule since 2003, is a unique case for understanding a variant of the neoliberal-neoconservative alliance. Although existing literature on the subject has generated prominent debates on education, welfare and social security reforms, urban development, and gender policy, *culture* as a target of administrative reform and a part of the governing processes remains relatively under-discussed.

The essay is organized into three parts to illustrate the ways in which neoliberalism and neoconservatism converge and generate illiberal practices in the AKP-led cultural reform. First, it offers a brief overview of the context in which the two political rationalities are formulated and embroiled into administrative reform. The essay maintains that Turkey's neoliberal-neoconservative alliance, which arose as a critique of the early republic's west-oriented modernization and assertive secularism, seeks to mobilize a cultural renewal based on the ethos of free market and a pragmatic understanding of Ottoman-Islamic tolerance and pluralism. Second, through a discussion of the AKP's neoliberal approach to cultural reform, the essay contends that privatization of the cultural domain has produced new spheres of market where individual actions of entrepreneurship and consumption are considered as an indication of democratization. Finally, by examining the governmental practices that are deployed to regulate Ottoman dramas on Turkish television, the essay seeks to comprehend the processes in which a political truth of tolerance and diversity and a new citizen-subject are constituted.

Contextual background

Before discussing the de-democratizing effects of neoliberalism and neoconservatism in Turkey's cultural reform under the AKP's rule, a brief overview of the context in which these two rationalities were formulated and integrated into governing practices would be beneficial. Since the establishment of the Turkish republic, the state has played a major role in maintaining a homogeneous national identity by suppressing public claims of ethnic and religious differences through military interventions. The state's strict control of society's cultural life, in particular its assertive secularist approach to religion and ethnic conception of Turkish identity, has resulted in unsettling tensions among ethno-religious groups (i.e. the Alevi, Armenian, Greek, and Kurdish minorities) in the 1980s and 1990s. The escalating social tensions at the time indicated the limits of state-led modernization and secularization projects in

accommodating ethnic and pious segments of society (Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1997, p. 31). This was also a time when Turkey began to witness the declining authority of the founding ideology of Kemalism as an effect of economic and political liberalization. When the AKP came to power in 2003, one of the urgent political questions was thus the “the limits of what the state can—or ought for its own good—reasonably demand of citizens [...] to continue to make everyone internalize an ethnic conception of Turkishness” (Silverstein, 2010, p. 24). At this political juncture, it was clear that a more inclusive socio-political framework was necessary in order to resolve the growing tension resulted in identity claims.

The 1980s was a turning point when Turgut Özal’s pro-Islamic administration initiated neoliberal reform. a neoconservative middle class was on the rise as Turkey underwent economic and political liberalization (İnsel, 2003; Yılmaz, 2009). The burgeoning neoconservative middle class, who strove for both political existence and impact under the rule of the military regime, has influenced the consolidation and consecutive electoral success of the AKP to this day. Since the AKP’s political identity and cultural outlook are set against the “non-pluralist and illiberal form of secularism and state-society relationship,” it sought to restructure the established economic and political frameworks. By adopting neoliberal imperatives and relying on privatization, the AKP sought to dismantle the state’s stronghold over society (Atasoy, 2009).

Apart from domestic affairs, Turkey’s accelerated European Union (EU) membership negotiations between the late 1990s and mid 2000s provided a timely opportunity for the AKP government to legitimize its democratization reforms. Culture, as an administrative unit, was now restructured to comply with the EU integration plan. By complying with the EU’s agenda to enhance “freedom, democracy, solidarity and respect for diversity,”¹ the AKP-led national cultural policy would shift away from the state-centered, protectionist framework of the Kemalist establishment towards one that underscores principles of “mutual tolerance, cultural variety, equality and opposition to discrimination” (*Cultural Policy in Turkey—National Report*, 2013: 7). Nonetheless, this shift does not follow that Turkey’s renewed cultural policy adheres to the EU’s model of multicultural democracy. The EU agenda was rather tactically utilized in the AKP-led cultural policy to rationalize a neoconservative nationalist outlook, which frames Ottoman-Islam as the basis of modern multicultural democracy in Turkey. This outlook proclaims that Ottoman-Islam is the antidote to the decades-long Kurdish and other minority issues because it transcends ethno-religious differences. To promulgate this vision, the renewed cultural policy encourages the creative industry to transform the Ottoman-Islamic history into various forms of cultural products. For example, the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul in 1453 has been converted into such spectacles as the Panorama 1453 History Museum, a fun ride called The Conqueror’s Dream (Fatih’in Rüyası) at the Istanbul Vialand Theme Park, the highest profile blockbuster *The Conquest (Fetih 1453)*, and the primetime television series *The Conqueror (Fatih)*. Each of these sites and productions iterates a

¹ Council Resolution of 21 January 2002 on the role of culture in the development of the European Union. [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32002G0205\(02\)](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32002G0205(02))

monotone narrative of the conquest of Istanbul as the founding moment of a civilization of tolerance and diversity.

Given the contextual background, one could argue that the AKP's neoliberal and neoconservative governing rationalities arose as critiques of the secular state's excessive government in society's cultural life. The EU negotiation which required Turkey to comply with a liberal democratic paradigm therefore has given way to the formulation and convergence of these two governmentalities that would significantly challenge the state-centered approach to culture. It is also in this context that Turkey has witnessed emergent forms of cultural practices and sites featuring the Ottoman-Islamic legacy. Turkey's Ottoman-Islamic past, which was considered as a sign of backwardness and obstacle to the early republic's modernization project, is now reconsidered as a means to rationalize the AKP-led democratization reforms and mission to raise a pious generation.² Culture in this respect can be understood as what Tony Bennett (1998) calls "a reformer's science"—referring to an understanding of culture as a transformative force and an integral part of the governing processes seeking to reshape society and individual conduct within the domain of culture and by means of culture.

Creating ever new spheres of free market

It shall be noted that culture as an instrument of government is not an innovation of the AKP administration. Culture has always been a crucial area of administrative concern throughout the history of the Turkish republic. During the early republic, culture was conceptualized as part of the state-led public service aimed to inform and educate citizens (Katoğlu, 2009, p. 32). Arts and culture were essential means for the secularist elites to modernize the nation. Such cultural institutions as state ballet, theater, museum, and national broadcast "[indicated] the type of modern life style that the government was trying to advocate" (Katoğlu, 2009, p. 33). Nonetheless, Turkey's neoliberal reform has changed the role of the state, the role of culture, and the techniques of managing culture. What distinguishes the AKP's neoliberal style of government from that of the early republic is that the market mentality has become the administrative norm (Aksoy, 2009). Culture now is reconceptualized as an asset for advancing Turkey in global competition and a site for exercising individual freedom rather than a mechanism of social engineering. And Turkey's Ottoman-Islamic cultural heritage in particular is utilized as a nation branding technique, a national emblem, to promote Turkey in the global culture industry, rather than a corrupt past to be forgotten. To achieve the aim of efficient, hence *good*, governance, the AKP's cultural governance has heavily relied on privatization as a way to decentralize the state. Thus, privatization has not only transformed culture into an integral part of the free market, but also redefined the state's role as a facilitator of the culture market, rather than the main provider of cultural service to the public.

² Recep Tayyip Erdoğan once commented in response to the oppositional Republican People's Party's (CHP) criticism about the AKP government's interference in politics with religious views, "we [the AKP] will raise a generation that is conservative and democratic and embraces the values and historical principles of its nation" (*Hurriyet Daily News*, February 2, 2012).

The changing relationship between state and culture and the new role that culture has acquired in the process of neoliberal reform is evident in the emergent spheres of free market including city museums, the media sector, and the film industry. For example, the Istanbul Miniaturk Theme Park, Istanbul 1453 Panorama History Museum, and Bursa 1326 Panorama History Museum are exemplary of a new type of museums that have been established during the 2000s and 2010s. What differentiates this new type of history museums from the state-run museums and cultural heritage sites, such as the Anatolian Civilizations Museum, are their theme park-like, commercial-oriented, and civil society-based characteristics. The rationale behind the formation of these museums is that it would enhance the process of democratization by allowing the local authorities and civil society to engage in the production of culture. It is also claimed that by transforming Turkey's Ottoman-Islamic heritage into an urban spectacle, city museums would contribute to boosting tourism and generating capital into the cities.

In addition, the Turkish media sector is another area where the process of privatization is compellingly evident. The rationale of the media reform is that, by privatizing the media sector, it would reduce state expenditures on public services and achieve more efficient governance by transferring the responsibility of (media) production onto the private sector. It is also proclaimed that privatization would be an effective means to meet the preconditions of EU membership which include decentralizing state institutions to allow civic engagement.³ The restructured Turkish media sector has become what Nicholas Rose (1999) calls a "sphere of freedom" where private individuals are assumed responsible for enacting their civic rights to freedom through entrepreneurship and consumption.

Moreover, as is the case for city museums and the media sector, cinema is considered as a resource to be more sufficiently managed to advance Turkey in the global culture industry. As stated in *Cultural Policy in Turkey—National Report*, "[the] productions enabling the Turkish cinema to be a brand recognized worldwide will be popularized and the sector's contribution to exports will be expanded and enhanced" ("Cultural Policy in Turkey--National Report," 2013, p. 9). The General Directorate of Cinema under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism also declares that its mission is to "put the Turkish cinema industry in a position of worldwide acknowledgement and elevating [Turkey] to a degree as one of the major film production locations."⁴ These official statements hence entail that the fundamental aim of developing the Turkish film industry is branding—a process through which Turkey is to be promoted as a competent player in the global market and a desirable location for foreign investment. The recent construction of a large scale film studio, Midwood, by the Municipality of Büyükdere in Istanbul therefore is an indication of the local government's effort to encourage private investment and to elevate the city for global competition.

Although the AKP-led cultural policy proclaims a democratizing outcome through neoliberal reform, recent scholarships have suggested the opposite otherwise. As

³ *Cultural Policy in Turkey—National Report*, 2013.

⁴ See official website of the General Director of Cinema at <http://sinema.kulturuzm.gov.tr/EN,144066/our-mission-and-vision.html>

researchers of the Cultural Policy and Management Research Center at Istanbul Bilgi University suggest, rather than enhancing a participatory culture or allowing social dialogue on cultural rights and freedoms, especially for the ethno-religious minorities, the AKP-led reform has instead strengthened state power and control over cultural practices in society. This paradox is perhaps most evident in the media sector. As Murat Akser and Banu Baybars-Hawks (2012) bluntly remark, the Turkish media environment under the AKP administration “is a historically conservative, redistributive, panoptic, and discriminatory media autocracy”. Bilge Yeşil (2016) shares a similar view as she describes that the AKP-led neoliberal reform, which has enabled the government’s interference over the media sector, is a cause for Turkey’s democracy deficiency and descendent to authoritarianism. Increasing media censorship, closing of critical media outlets, and continuing imprisonment of academics, journalists, and media practitioners who express dissent in both traditional and new media platforms, especially after the attempted coup in July 2016, have been routine practices even though the government continues to promise greater democracy. In this respect, one may argue that neoliberal reform of the cultural field under the AKP rule has extended state power and control rather than limiting it. The emergent spheres of freedom/free market are sites where citizen’s active participation as entrepreneurs and consumers is narrowly understood as participatory democracy.

The truth game and a divided citizen-subject

In the AKP-led cultural reform, the free market is an indispensable condition for promulgating a moral-political truth and governing dissent. This final section focuses on the Ottoman historical costume dramas on Turkish television and discusses the illiberal practices that are deployed to exclude non-conforming views and to maintain the circuit of a moral-political truth. Two cases are worth attention for understanding how the emergent culture market serves as a regulatory mechanism for shaping individual conduct.

Between 2011 and 2014, the Turkish television series *Magnificent Century*, featuring the life of the 16th century Ottoman Sultan, Süleyman the Magnificent, attracted a wide viewership in Turkey and abroad, especially in the Balkans, Central Asia, and the Middle East where the show was exported. Despite its domestic and global popularity, *Magnificent Century* was harshly criticized by many conservative viewers, including the conservative government officials. The television production received more than 70,000 individual complaints and warning from the RTÜK (Radio and Television Supreme Board) during the first days of its broadcast. Based on the filed complaints, the show was accused for its historical inaccuracy and threat to traditional family values and social norms by representing the Sultan’s (fictionalized) private life inside the harem. In 2015 the series’ sequel *Magnificent Century: Kösem*, depicting the life of Kösem Sultan, a slave girl who became a powerful figure in the 17th century Ottoman Empire, also came under the radar of the conservative circles and RTÜK. The series was criticized for having “negative impacts on society’s moral values and the mental and physical developments of children and youths” (“Kösem’e şok ceza!,” 2016; “‘Muhteşem Yüzyıl Kösem’ cezası,” 2016). A petition calling to ban *Kösem* was submitted to RTÜK and other public administration offices, including

the Parliament, Prime Minister, and President.⁵ According to RTÜK's decision, the broadcaster Star TV would be assessed a fine as a symbolic gesture of punishment.

The controversy of *Muhteşem* and its sequel *Köseme* stands in stark contrast with the steadily increasing number of Ottoman historical dramas broadcasted on TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) during the same period (see Table 1 and 2 for comparison). Since 2010, Turkey's national public broadcaster TRT and its associated media companies have produced more than a dozen Ottoman television shows, including primetime series and children's programs on the channel TRT Kids. It shall be noted that TRT Kids is Turkey's first national broadcast channel dedicated to children. The timing of its launch in 2009 draws attention to the AKP's agenda to raise a conservative generation.

Table 1: Ottoman historical dramas and children's programs on TRT (2010-2018)

Year	Channel	Production	Episodes	Production company
2010	TRT Kids	<i>Küçük Hezarfen</i>	26	TRT Düsler Evi Çizgi Film Stüdyosu
2010	TRT Kids	<i>Barbaros</i>	26	Animax
2011	TRT 1	<i>Yamak Ahmet</i>	60	Okur Film
2011	TRT 1	<i>Evvel Zaman Hikayesi</i>	4	TRT
2012	TRT 1	<i>Bir Zamanlar Osmanlı Kıyam (Once Upon a Time in the Ottoman Empire: Rebellion)</i>	20	Herşey Film
2012	TRT 1	<i>Esir Sultan</i>	5	Okur Film
2013	TRT Kids	<i>Çınar</i>	26	Gafi2000 Productions
2013-2014	TRT 1	<i>Osmanlı Tokadı</i>	34	Duka Film
2014	TRT 1	<i>Çırağan Baskını</i>	4	Piar DNA
2014-ongoing	TRT 1	<i>Diriliş: Ertuğrul (Resurrection: Ertugrul)</i>	91+	Tekden Film
2014-2016	TRT 1	<i>Filinta (Filinta)</i>	56	ES Film
2015	TRT 1	<i>Zeyrek ile Çeyrek</i>	29	ES Film
2016	TRT 1	<i>Yunus Emre: Aşkın Yolculuğu</i>	44	Tekden Film

⁵ For the petition and campaign for taking *Köseme* off air see <https://www.change.org/p/rt%C3%BCK-muhte%C5%9Fem-y%C3%BCzy%C4%B1-k%C3%B6sem-dizisi-yay%C4%B1ndan-kald%C4%B1r%C4%B1lmal%C4%B1d%C4%B1r>

2017-ongoing	TRT 1	<i>Payitaht Abdülhamid (The Last Emperor)</i>	17+	ES Film
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Table 2: Ottoman historical dramas on other Turkish television channels (2010-2018)

Year	Channel	Production	Episodes	Production company
2011-2014	Kanal D, Star TV	<i>Muhteşem Yüzyıl (Magnificent Century)</i>	139	Tims Productions
2012-2013	Fox	<i>Harem</i>	32	Gani Müjde
2013	Kanal D	<i>Fatih (Fatih)</i>	5	MEDYAPIM
2015-2017	Fox, Star TV	<i>Muhteşem Yüzyıl: Kösem (Magnificent Century: Kösem)</i>	60	Tims Productions
March 2018	Kanal D	<i>Mehmed: Bir Cihan Fatih (Mehmed the Conqueror)</i>	6	O3 Medya

Note: Series with English titles are also viewed outside Turkey.

Among the series on national broadcast, *Resurrection*, featuring the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, became the highest rating and award winning series in 2016.⁶ The series reached nearly 200 million viewers in 173 countries (“Diriliş Ertuğrul Kaç Ülkede İzleniyor?,” 2016). It has received considerable amount of financial support from the government. In the aftermath of the attempted coup in July 2016, the series’ producer made a campaign video calling for the nation’s unity against “terrorism”—addressing those who are allegedly involved in the attempted coup. President Erdoğan stated that the *Resurrection*’s selection as the best television series is an indication that it “has won the nation’s heart” (“Diriliş Ertuğrul yorumu,” 2016). His statement is not only a praise for the series’ contribution in reviving Ottoman history, but also its solidarity with the government’s stance on “democracy”. It suggests that viewers’ choice of *Resurrection* signals their choice for “democracy”.

What the controversy of *Magnificent Century* and its sequel *Kösem* illustrates is the AKP government’s endeavor in monopolizing the production of truth. Central to Foucault’s notion of governmentality is “truth games”—referring to the activities of knowledge production through which certain thoughts are rendered truthful and practices of government are made reasonable (Rose, O’Malley, & Valverde, 2006, pp. 7–8 and 28–31). What Foucault calls the “regime of truth” is not concerned with facticity, but the whole range of activities that connect the different governing practices and make sense of the political rationalities marking the “division between true and false” (Foucault, 2010). In light of this view, the AKP’s political truth is not concerned with historical accuracy or objectivity, but a pragmatic understanding of Ottoman-Islam as the basis of modern multiculturalism in Turkey. It also sees

⁶ Resurrection was awarded the Golden Butterfly Award in November, 2016.

Ottoman-Islam as the remedy for the degenerated moral values in society resulted from west-oriented modernization and assertive secularism. Depictions of the Ottoman-Islamic past that do not conform to the government's version of truth are therefore deemed as a challenge to its authority.

Toby Miller in *Technologies of Truth: Cultural Citizenship and the Popular Media*, also argues that the popular media constitute routine practices through which truth is made perceptible. As he notes, “[radio], for example, has developed genres and themes for stations to organize their audiences, increased transmission and reproduction, and mobilized new spaces of reception” (Miller, 1998, p. 5). According to him, radio is one of such technologies of truth that by devoting different time slots for particular genres and themes of broadcast, it addresses different segments of the audience whom it sees as the public having a consensus of taste, lifestyle, history, etc. As Miller notes, “[when] these technologies [of truth] congeal to forge loyalty to the sovereign state through custom or art, they do so through the cultural citizen” (1998, p. 4). In this regard, the different subgenres of Ottoman historical costume series, such as action, romance, comedy, and children's programs, can be understood as a technology of truth aiming to amplify not only viewers' choice and taste, but also spaces of perception.

By disciplining those who do not conform to the government's vision of history, culture and morality, such judicial discipline as RTÜK's bans and fines entail what Foucault calls the “dividing practices” differentiating the populace into opposing categories: the good and the bad, the virtuous and the degenerate, and the conforming and the disobedient citizens. Each of these practices presupposes and constitutes a moral subject who is “either divided inside himself or divided from others” (Foucault, 1983, p. 208). In this context, such dividing practices can be located in the AKP government's renewal of national cultural policy, its restructuring of the media in line with market mentality, its campaign for an authentic national culture by reviving Turkey's Ottoman-Islamic past, and its restoration of so called “traditional moral values” which the conservative government claims have been lost. These practices presume a subject of citizenry, who has become morally corrupt and is deprived of the knowledge of their Ottoman-Islamic ancestry as a result of the early republican elites' nation-building and modernization projects. These practices therefore aim for a cultural renewal by guiding subjects to accept their responsibility to become economically liberal, culturally conservative, and morally just (in the view of Islamic justice). Such practices can be understood as what Foucault calls the “techniques of the self” through which individuals come to understand themselves as moral subjects who are capable of “self-reflection”, “self-caring”, and “self-control” (Rose, 1999, pp. 42–44).

Conclusion

On August 5, 2014, just days before the Turkish presidential election, Erdoğan (presidential candidate then) said in an interview, “[people] have said a lot of things about me. One [...] said I was Georgian. Then another [...] I beg your pardon, called me uglier things, saying I was Armenian.”⁷ He made this statement to declare his authentic Sunni Turkish identity by pointing to his opponents as “Alevi”, “Zaza-origin Kurd”, or “not even a native.”⁸ His statement drew public attention mainly because of the divisive and discriminatory language that was being used against ethno-religious groups. Nonetheless, what is more striking about this statement is its stark contrast with the objectives of the AKP-led cultural policy, developmental plans, and projects in promoting a culture of tolerance, diversity, and peaceful coexistence in Turkey. It also raises the question of the logic of evoking the Ottoman-Islamic tolerance and pluralism as the ideal model for a multicultural Turkey.

Since the conservative AKP administration came to power, it has vigorously sought to reform the cultural field based on neoliberal and neoconservative rationalities. By adopting neoliberal imperatives, the administration claims that Turkey’s cultural domain would be liberalized from excessive state and government interventions and would enhance participatory democracy. The AKP administration also sees that Turkey’s west-oriented vision of modernity has had negative effects on traditional values and morality. To restore what it deems a fragmenting Turkish cultural identity and degenerating social values, the AKP administration seeks to create ever new spheres of the market where a moral-religious truth can be mobilized. Nonetheless, the alliance of neoliberalism and neoconservatism as discussed in this essay has constituted yet another authoritarian type of government where individual citizens are increasingly subjected to exclusion and discipline for demanding cultural rights and freedoms and for expressing critical views of the established political truth. I shall note that since Turkey is still currently experiencing the aftermath of the July 15 attempted coup which took place in 2016, the impacts of the AKP-led cultural reform require still new methodologies and theorizations in order to sufficiently comprehend the ever changing relationship between culture, government, and society. This essay therefore is intended to invite further debates on the discursive ways in which neoliberal and neoconservative rationalities may intersect and simultaneously weave culture into the governing processes.

⁷ “PM Erdoğan complains of being called ‘even uglier things, Armenian,’” *Hurriyet Daily News*, August 6, 2014, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/pm-erdogan-complains-of-being-called-even-uglier-things-armenian.aspx?PageID=238&NID=70043&NewsCatID=338>

⁸ Ibid.

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*Amaro (Brazilian Returnees) and Cultural Diffusion in Lagos: A Study of
Lagos-Pacific Cultural Relations*

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Abstract

Amaro is the traditional word used to describe the Brazilian returnees whose advent in Lagos was an aftermath of the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. And since their return to Lagos they have succeeded in institutionalising a replica of the Rio carnival known in Lagos as Fanti carnival. This paper examines the advent of the Amaro (Brazilian Returnees) in Lagos from 1830's and their contributions to the Lagos cultural system with an appraisal of the place of Fanti carnival in the Lagos cultural system. As one of the cultures which diffused from the Pacific to the Lagos society few years prior to the British conquest of Lagos in 1850, the Fanti carnival has become a state-wide cultural system from being an exclusive Lagos Island affair. This paper using the historical narrative and analytical methods provides insights into how the Fanti carnival became a state wide affair. The paper concludes that the introduction and eventual integration of the Fanti carnival into Lagos cultural system was as a result of the atavistic ties of the Brazilian returnees (Amaro) to their pristine cultural heritage and the transplantation of their cultural identity to cosmopolitan Lagos

Keywords: The Pacific, Amaro, Fanti, Cultural system, Lagos

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Introduction

From the 19th century onwards Lagos entered a unique relationship and forged interactions with the Pacific. This was as a result of the large number of Yoruba (ex)slaves returning back home from Brazil and Cuba to find their roots after the abolition of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery in the Pacific. By the 1870s, Lagos witnessed a high influx of ex-slaves who only remembered Lagos as their point of departure. Most of these returnees settled in Lagos and formed a large part of the first group of African elites in Lagos largely due to their exposure to European Language and culture. They brought along with them a unique cultural heritage, a mixture of the Pacific's and African culture. This changed and impacted on the cultural configuration of Lagos, a budding colonial city. The advent of the Brazilian Returnees in Lagos no doubt came at a time when Lagos society was evolving its Victorian culture. The Lagos society as at this period (mid 19th century) was dominated by western educated (Saro) elite, who had been equipped with protestant ideology. The Brazilian and Cuban returnees encountered lots of challenges on their return to Lagos especially as a result of ideological differences and lack of western education.

Although not necessarily contemporaneous with the Saro settlement in Lagos, the advent of the Brazilian/Cuba returnees, commonly referred to as Amaro or Aguda by the indigenous population, did affect the settlement pattern of Lagos. Upon their arrival, they occupied a section of the town known today as Popo Aguda, a place that lies between the Oba's palace on the southeastern axis of the town and the race track on the northwest of the town. Having been denied of the opportunity of upward mobility in the Americas, the ex-slaves left Cuba and Brazil in search of economic and social space, Lagos offered them the most attractive economic incentives. Although at the initial stage, the political order in Lagos did not favour them as result of king Kosokos dislike for the ex-slaves. Kosoko was reputed to have plundered their property, and killed many of the ex-slaves. As a matter of fact the last line of king Kosokos cognomen is a clear testimony of what the Amaros suffered during his reign. The removal of Kosoko by the British coupled with the pressure by Consul Campbell for land allocation on their behalf paved the way for their entrance and encouraged the establishment a Brazilian settlement in Lagos. In accepting them into Lagos, the British colonial government was torn between granting them a place in Lagos because of the economic potential they offered and the risk of re-igniting the slave trade in the colony. The ex-slaves (Amaro) were, subjected to humiliating condition and made to renounce slave trading by the British Colonial government in Lagos. The fear of being deported back to the New World however left them with no other option than to face the humiliation thus killing their resistance instinct. The initial experience of the Amaro notwithstanding, their presence changed the socio-religious settings of Lagos. This paper examines the advent of the Amaro (Brazilian Returnees) in Lagos and discusses their impact on the cultural configuration of Lagos.

Body

The Amaro brought with them some aspects of the Portuguese culture from Brazil, including the "gareta" carnival which later came to assume the name "Fanti". These cultural practices introduced a basic dimension of re-contact that can be described as "recycled acculturation". The latter is relatively indicative of a two-way culture

contact or cultural diffusion among a people facing a new experience of being re-groomed at their return from the land of slavery into their original culture.

The African-Brazilians that arrived in Lagos had been greatly acculturated by their Brazilian slave captors-turned-mentors for instance, the main Christian denominational faith of Catholicism was profoundly impressed upon the lifestyle of the returnees, an attribute that gave rise to their being referred to as “Aguda,” the popular name by which the adherents of the Catholic denomination are called. Similarly, the taking on of Portuguese names was greatly reflected in the overall social presentation of the people. The phrases from the Portuguese language during normal conversation or discussions have come to prevail over time, and the impact of Portuguese influence is easily noticeable on the general lifestyle of the African-Brazilian in Lagos. Consequently, they began to practice the trades which they had learnt while in the land of their captivity. Such trade included building, tailoring, carpentry and welding amongst others. These were soon emulated by the people of Lagos who came to acquire some of the traits in African-Brazilian life patterns. Such acquired cultural traits of African-Brazilian origin cut across different aspects of the people’s lifestyle. These include religion, music, dances, festivals and carnivals, social performances, dress modes, food types and their preparations as well as architectural designs. Indeed, the impact of the architectural aesthetics in Lagos Island and beyond has proved a major point in establishing the presence of African-Brazilian influence in Lagos. A major aspect of the acquired cultural traits is the Fanti Carnival. The Fanti carnival has its roots in the cultural expression of the African-Brazilian returnees in Lagos Island and dates back to the advent of the returnees in the mid-nineteenth century. The introduction of the Fanti carnival in Lagos can be traced to a “fill-gap” incident among the early returnees borne out of the need to introduce one of the events that had “kept them going” during their sojourn in the New World. It was seen as a way of breaking the monotony of adjusting to the cultural life in their new environment. The strains involved in adjusting coupled with the desire to be associated with a distinct cultural life motivated the returnees to introduce the Garetá carnival. The Garetá was a socio-cultural activity that was practiced by the Amaro during their sojourn in the New World. Fanti has been mostly depicted as having emerged out of the carnival known as “Garetá,” which is widely accepted as the Portuguese expression for “mask.” Also, it has been associated with the name “Fancy” especially among the Olowogbowo residents, given its highly decorative pattern as commonly reflected on participants’ costumes. It started mainly, in an atmosphere of jollity as embodied in the festive terrain of dance, music, colourful costumes, typical African-Brazilian cuisine, display of competitive flute and diverse entertainment acts. The Garetá carnival is mostly celebrated to coincide with the Catholic celebration of the end of the Christian fasting period that culminated into the Easter season. Hence, it is indelibly identified in Lagos, in the early period, as a catholic faith carnival, because African-Brazilian descendants have been identified with the faith.

The Island of Lagos, which by far predates the state named after it, was originally given its name by the Portuguese who called it “Lago de kuramo”, having been attracted to the area by its suitability as a slave port. Originally, its earlier refuge-seeking settlers called Lagos “Eko”, and it is still very much known by this native name in contemporary times. Indeed, the central part of Lagos is commonly referred to as “Isale Eko”, a term that may be taken to infer “the Downtown Lagos”.

“Fanti” as the name for this contemporary carnival has been traced to two main sources. The first source suggests that the name was derived from the enthusiastic reaction of the people in Lagos, to the ingenious contribution to the carnival which held in the year 1936. The Togolese and Ghanaian settlers in the Lafiaji area of Lagos are given the credit of the coinage ‘Fanti’. During the carnival performance of the year 1936, this group of settlers who were mostly western, did not have the wherewithal for the elaborate costumes that were demanded by the conduct of the carnival and so came out in the relatively Cheaper “Ankara” cloth (a locally printed cotton material of Ghanaian origin). This generated remarkable appraisal from the people of Lagos and so their group came to be known by the name Fanti and this came later to be adopted as a reference title for the African-Brazilian carnival.

The second explanation sees Fanti as an adulteration of the word “fancy” by which the carnival was claimed to have been known at a point during its early stage in Lagos. “FANCY” was particularly associated with the Sierra-Leonean sub-group of the Lagos indigenes in the Olowogbowo area of the Brazilian quarters. This refers to those who claimed to have chosen to identify their own carnival group by the title “Fancy”. Some members of the Fanti Carnival Association have insisted on the “Gareta” explanation. As a result, the correspondence logo of the Association’s presently depicted by the artwork and lithographic representation of “Gareta”. Sometimes, there is among the people of Lagos, a mix-up in terms of appellation, of both Fanti and Fancy. Some have even suggested that Fanti is a corruption of the word “Fancy”, but there is no doubt that the name by which the carnival is known in contemporary Lagos state is “Fanti”.

At a point in the history of Fanti in Lagos, the carnival was labeled as violent, but later metamorphosed into a large organization that currently spans a wide terrain of the geographical spread of Lagos state. The case of Fanti in Lagos state testifies to this. At a point in the early history of Fanti, some elements of disorderliness that was borne out of unbalanced introduction of other cultural mannerisms in the different traditional set up in early Lagos, began to be noticed in the carnival. At this initial stage of the carnival, it went through some cultural shock as the effects and fanfare attributed to Fanti began to be negatively affected.

For example, the members of the Egungun masquerade group introduced the use of the cane that was characteristic of the Egungun festival. Members of the group believed that the introduction of the cane into Fanti, will enable the “visitor” from the realm of the spirit to make use of the cane on his visit, to ensure discipline and effect decency during the Fanti carnival. Similarly, the “Opanbata”, the ritual stick that is used during the Eyo festival for blessing the people by lightly tapping them on the shoulder was introduced into Fanti, albeit with an undertone of violence. The use of the cane and the stick among other things and the ensuing violence that was precipitated by them thus discouraged the African-Brazilian custodians of this carnival and caused some lull in the regular performance of the carnival.

Although, the performance of Fanti was perceived for a long time to have lost its original gaiety, it soon began to pick up social recognition once again when in the early nineties, there came a new initiative to clean up the organization and introduce discipline and decency into it. Unfortunately at this time, there began to creep into the Fanti scene, the appearance of certain elements of rivalry between the African-

Brazilians who were the original custodians of the carnival and the early settlers. As part of the efforts to resuscitate Fanti, “family pride” concept was introduced at the early part of the 1990s by a new leadership structure in the carnival organization. This was to serve as a platform on which the element of pride in family decent could be tapped to reawaken general interest in the carnival.

It has been discovered that sometimes during the performance of Fanti, songs which indicate the silent rivalry or cooperation that lurk behind the social relationship set up between the native settlers and African-Brazilians in Lagos are rendered. These songs can be seen to have invaluable interpretation for the socio-cultural set up of the people of Lagos. These songs sometimes are considered to be vulgar and are often rendered in a manner that adults of major street paths of the Fanti procession may assume that they are the victims of the mockery. In most parts, these songs are reflections of existing inter-group tensions among adult population on the Island of Lagos.

Indeed, gender reversal in terms of dressing and mannerism was a major part of the carnival performance in Lagos. An aspect of “free dressing” in which some male members of the carnival had come out in female attire thus permeated the carnival scene. For example, the Fanti people of Lafiaji also came out with gender reversal acts in which men dressed like women and referred to themselves as “IyawoOlele” (fake bride) in their “Ankara” wears. The term implies the status of a newly wedded wife who would usually be seen to walk with elegant gait and exaggerated strides. Indeed, some participants who exhibit transvestite characteristics often go to the extent of engaging in pseudo-breastfeeding, an act that is deemed relevant to the entertainment environment of Fanti but which is frowned upon in the everyday life of the Lagos Island.

Nowadays, Fanti carnival has extended beyond the Lagos Island to other parts of Lagos state that were hitherto not included in the hosting of this cultural event. With the extension of the carnival to the other parts of Lagos state, it has now become an all-embracing holiday event that cuts across religious borders including Muslims festival periods. In short, Fanti is becoming more and more identified with notable holiday celebrations in Lagos state. Consequently, various forms of music from other cultural backgrounds have been introduced into the carnival, including fuji, juju and brigade band music. Fanti carnival performance is reminiscent of political manipulation which looms large at periods of political contestation. This manifests in the covert rivalry between some traditional political institutions, diaspora community of the African-Brazilians and the state government.

Conclusion

The performance of Fanti carnival in Lagos has provided an avenue whereby social relationships that are related to diaspora settlement in the area can be examined. This implies that the existence of this seemingly entertaining cultural aspect of the culture of the people of Lagos as introduced by the Brazilian returnees goes beyond mere aesthetic appeal that largely characterizes the subject.

Appendices

The Amaro and Saro have in actual fact played important roles in the socio-political and economic evolution of Lagos just like the indigenous element yet they were regarded as returnees in Lagos. They were regarded as returnees simply because they migrated to Lagos in order to be free from slavery and white domination. As they settled in Lagos however, they began the process of acculturation through inter-marriage and other forms of interaction and this afforded them the opportunity to contribute to the growth and development of Lagos. The returnees no doubt returned to Lagos with a sincere sense of attachment to its people and value and viewed their return to Lagos with immense patriotic enthusiasm.

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***Written in Auschwitz Case Study: Works Written in Auschwitz by
Sonderkommando Participants, Polish Political Prisoners and Lili Kasticher***

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Abstract

This study focuses on the works of three different groups of writers who dared to write in Auschwitz-Birkenau, where anyone caught with a piece of paper or a pencil stub was immediately sentenced to death. Accordingly, inmates produced virtually no written material (Shik, 2012), with certain rare exceptions: (1) The *Sonderkommando*, who documented everyday life at the camp, concealing their records in jars that they buried near the crematoria in the hope that someone would find them after the war, as indeed occurred. (2) Certain Polish political prisoners, who kept records in Auschwitz and managed to save their works. (3) Lili Kasticher, the only woman known to have written at Birkenau who did not belong to any organization; all her writings thus constituted her own private heroic initiative. She risked her life by stealing pieces of paper and pencil stubs to write poetry and encouraged her friends to do so, offering them a prize, a portion of her bread ration. Her writings were concealed on her person until her liberation in spring 1945.

Keywords: Sonderkommando, political prisoner, Auschwitz-Birkenau, death camp, writing

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Introduction

Three unique and precious written sources created in Auschwitz-Birkenau constitute the core subject matter of this paper: The first and most detailed source consists of the writings of the *Sonderkommando*, who documented everyday life at the camp, concealing their records in jars that they buried near the crematoria in the hope that someone would find them after the war, as indeed occurred.¹ The second comprises works by Polish political prisoners. This well-organized group had the benefit of being Polish in a camp built on Polish soil and conducting its everyday operations in its native language and culture. Most had the additional advantage of being non-Jewish.² Third are the poems and social manifesto³ written by Lili Kasticher, who may well be the only individual inmate who had written in Auschwitz-Birkenau, knowing that she was risking her life, as the possession of a piece of paper or pencil was forbidden in Birkenau. Anyone caught with such contraband was immediately sentenced to death.

Jewish inmates were ordered by the Germans to write postcards to their relatives, describing the “decent” living conditions in their “new place of residence” (O. D. Kulka, 2013, 10).⁴ In *Moments of Reprieve*, Primo Levi describes a love letter that a gypsy inmate asked him to write, indicating that he endangered both their lives doing so, just to gain half a portion of bread.⁵ This type of writing in Auschwitz, however, was ordered by the Nazis and consequently is not the subject of this study.

The Writings of the *Sonderkommando*

The *Sonderkommando* who wrote in Auschwitz-Birkenau despite the risks, left rare and precious documentary material that details the lives and daily routine of the prisoners who did the most horrifying work of all at Auschwitz: Accompanying the victims to the gas chambers, searching their bodies after their extermination, transporting corpses to the crematoria and grinding the bones that were not entirely burned. They even photographed the transport of the victims to the gas chambers, collecting the bodies, examining them, cutting off the women’s hair, extracting teeth and dental gold, bringing bodies to the crematorium and handling the ashes. They

¹ Some of the *Sonderkommando* used those same jars to conceal poetry or diaries, such as the diary of Zalman Gradowski, that was discovered among the Auschwitz crematorium ruins. These *Sonderkommando*, who faced certain death as a consequence of their documentation, were also members of the Underground that planned the revolt.

² Most of the information about the Polish political prisoners’ writings was kindly contributed by Dr. Wojciech Polosa, Archives Director at the State Museum in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Oswiecim, June 22, 2016.

³ Known as *The Rules of Behavior*.

⁴ These postcards included cryptic references warning their addressees not to believe the ostensibly optimistic messages. For example, they might say: “Every day, we welcome Uncle Hlad (Czech: Starvation) or Uncle Mavet (Hebrew: Death).” The cards were sent by inmates of a Birkenau camp populated by families dispatched there from Theresienstadt. They were dated March 25, but the people who wrote them were annihilated on March 7, over two weeks earlier. The entire family camp was wiped out in July 1944.

⁵ Postcards were given only to those who could write German. Primo Levi knew German well but the gypsy did not, so Levi took a chance and wrote a postcard that was not his own.

documented everything, at imminent risk to their lives. Officially, it was a serious infraction to possess paper and writing implements. Nevertheless, these intrepid men persisted, realizing that they were the last witnesses to tell the story of the annihilation of European Jewry and knowing that in any case, they would eventually be slaughtered along with the rest, except those with jobs that required professional knowledge and skills, such as oven tenders, expert mechanics and “room service” providers.⁶ Every few months, it was necessary to annihilate them and keep their dark secret, because they were witnesses and partners to all particulars of the Final Solution. The *Sonderkommando* acquired their writing equipment from *Kommando Kanada*, that was in charge of handling the possessions of the victims and sorting them before shipment to Germany. In his testimony, Shlomo Dragon,⁷ a “room service” provider,⁸ reported that as part of his job, he made sure that Zalman Gradowski⁹ had a particularly well-lit pallet, so he could devote himself to documentation after working hours, as well as thermos bottles in which he could hide the written material.¹⁰ Gradowski was one of five *Sonderkommando* participants¹¹ who understood the historic mission imposed on them. Documentation of their work was of particular significance because of the horrifying tasks they performed at the crematoria. They documented their lives before Auschwitz, the ghetto from which they were dispatched, the precarious and dreadful journey to Auschwitz and the horrors that had become routine.¹² Nevertheless, when addressing the bold records kept by the *Sonderkommando* in Auschwitz we refer primarily to the first three: Gradowski, Leventhal and Langfus, who was also called the *Maggid* (Hebrew: Preacher), who worked in Crematoria I and II, where the living conditions were slightly more bearable, explaining their moral and physical strength to concentrate on writing despite their labors in the crematoria. The three received considerable assistance from their comrades, such as better pallets and brighter living space, paper, ink, a camera and regular updates on all that was happening. Furthermore, some of their comrades kept watch while the three were writing, as they would surely be executed if caught (Gradowski, 2012, p. 266). The three belonged to the Underground, that launched the well-known revolt on October 7, 1944. Gradowski, a leader of the revolt, was captured during the fighting and hanged, but not before the Nazis tortured him and smashed his skull, as Shlomo Dragon reported, having

⁶ The *Sonderkommando* unit responsible for the German quarters, their regular maintenance, including food service, upkeep and the like (as Rudolf Hess attested at his trial in Warsaw). For more extensive information, see Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002).

⁷ Shlomo Dragon’s testimony is discussed at length in Greif, 2004, 195-199.

⁸ An assignment that saved his life because he was not sent to the gas chambers like his comrades after a few months.

⁹ Who was in charge of writing and documentation and was among the planners of the October 7, 1944 revolt.

¹⁰ Gradowski told Dragon where he hid the material. Right after the war, Dragon recalled the location and pointed it out to the Red Army liberators, who excavated near the crematorium, under Dragon’s instructions, until they found what they were looking for. Shlomo was assisted by his brother Avraham, who was also among the few *Sonderkommando* participants who survived.

¹¹ The five were Zalman Gradowski, Zalman Leventhal, Dayan (Rabbinic Judge) Leyb Langfus, French Jew Chaim Herman and Greek Jew Marcel Nadjari, who survived and provided testimony following his liberation (Gradowski, 2012, p. 265).

¹² For a more extensive description by Nathan Cohen, see Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, pp. 551-565.

witnessed it with his own eyes. Dragon also attested how people like David Nenzel¹³ smuggled paper to Gradowski and his associates so that they could continue writing. Nenzel, for his part, risked his life by tearing strips of paper from cement sacks and concealing them on his person.

Zalman Gradowski, born in 1910 in Suwalki. In November 1942, he and his family were deported to the Kielbasin Transit Camp near Grodno and from there, in cattle cars, with sojourns in Treblinka and Warsaw, they arrived in Auschwitz on December 7-8, 1942. Following “selection,” his entire family was annihilated. Then, on December 9, after elimination of the previous *Sonderkommando* group, Gradowski was assigned to the new group being formed. To his good fortune, he did not have to become involved with the murder of his family, that had been sent to the gas chambers a day earlier. First, he worked with a subgroup called *Schreiber* [German: Writer, scribe], responsible for clerical work at Crematorium I. Subsequently, he was transferred to Crematorium IV at Birkenau, where he transported the victims to the gas chambers and then brought the bodies to the crematoria. where he would make sure to enwrap every corpse he “handled” in a *tallit* (prayer shawl) and recite the Mourner’s *Kaddish* prayer.¹⁴

Gradowski began writing in 1943. Six of his diaries were discovered near the crematoria in Birkenau between 1945 and 1970. Gradowski’s poetically styled Yiddish texts provide more testimony than mere documentation: “At least a minimum of truth will reach the world and then you, O world, will exact revenge, revenge for everything... If we cannot weep for them (his slaughtered family), then at least a foreign eye may shed a tear for our loved ones” (Gradowski, 2012, p. 108).

Gradowski’s first manuscript was found on March 5, 1945 near the Birkenau crematoria by a delegation of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission stored in a German canteen sealed with a metal lid. Each page comprised 20-30 densely handwritten lines, along with a letter that Gradowski wrote in September 1944. The manuscript describes deportation to Kielbasin, then to Auschwitz via Treblinka, selection at Auschwitz and parting from his family, that he discovered later had been sent to the gas chambers that same day. He also described the joy experienced by those who, like him, were chosen to live and assigned to living quarters. Gradowski’s imagery-rich language, said Nathan Cohen, reminds one of Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, that the writer must have known well (Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, p. 553). On the first page of the notebook, Gradowski wrote in Polish, Russian, German and French “Read this document. It has a rich supply of material for historians” (Ber, 1978, p. 145). Concluding his notes, Gradowski asks readers to “study his writings intensively before they judge the *Sonderkommando*.”

In summer 1945, searching among the remnants of the ovens, a Pole found Gradowski’s second manuscript, that were obtained from him by Chaim Wallerman,

¹³ See Nenzel’s testimony, Yad Vashem 03/6014.

¹⁴ Testimony by Lemke Plisko, in an interview with Gideon Greif, August 9, 1993, Givat Hashlosha, filed in Greif’s private archive.

who published the material in 1977, in Yiddish, calling it *In Hartz fun Gehennom* [last letter unclear in original—English: In the Heart of Hell]. It was divided into three chapters: *White Night*, *The Czech Transport* and *Departure* (order determined by Wallerman; for a more extensive description, see Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, p. 554 and note 7 on page 563).

First, Gradowski appeals to the moon with complaints against the bitter fate of the Jewish People that he saw and experienced, accusing it of indifference, wondering how it can shine above Auschwitz without getting involved in the destiny of the people put to death there below. He concludes this chapter by declaring that the dark night is his friend, weeping is his song, the sacrificial fire his light, the smell of death his fragrance and Hell his home (Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, p. 555; original Yiddish version, p. 24).

In the second chapter, Gradowski bewails the annihilation of the first group deported from Theresienstadt in September 1943, relocated at the family camp at Birkenau and eventually exterminated in March 1944, but not before the victims were ordered to write postcards¹⁵ to their loved ones in which they described their good life in their new location. In December of that year, a second group of Jews arrived, only to be annihilated six months thereafter. Their records bore the abbreviation SB6 (*Sonderbehandlung* (“special treatment”) [after] 6 months). Then another two groups came, each allotted six months to live, as indicated by the “SB6” next to their names (Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, pp. 427-428). This “special treatment” is described as well: Gradowski notes that once the six-month period was over, it took less than 20 minutes to move people from the family camp to the death camp, where they were summarily annihilated. Gradowski wondered about the Czech Jews quietly walking to their deaths and their indifference to a cruel fate that was known in advance.

Parting, the third and final chapter of the manuscript, describes the life of the *Sonderkommando*, Gradowski’s disappointment with their silence when 200 of their comrades were sent to their deaths and the clear realization that they are living on borrowed time. He expresses amazement at the psychological barrier that prevents him and his comrades from taking steps and committing suicide, for which they excuse themselves, calling the taking of one’s own life a mortal sin.

Zalman Leventhal was born in 1918 in Ciechanów, Poland, from which he was deported with his entire family on December 10, 1942. On January 10, 1943, he was assigned to the *Sonderkommando*, following elimination of the previous group. His manuscript was discovered in 1962 in a glass jar hidden near Crematorium III. There were more than a hundred unnumbered pages, but unfortunately most were illegible because moisture penetrated the jar and destroyed the paper and ink.

Leventhal asks how much time is required for a person to accept the fate of his loved ones. He attested that he and his comrades were “too weak to struggle for the will to exist” (Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, p. 557), explaining how they could perform the

¹⁵ The cards were dated March 25, two weeks after the writers had already been slaughtered

horrible tasks to which they were assigned. In the same breath, however, he indicates that there were those who behaved differently, like Gradowski or Langfus, who kept their traditions and humanity in spite of all and expressed severe opposition to the Polish and Russian inmates who belonged to the International Resistance but delayed the revolt, claiming that the war would soon be over and they would be liberated.

On October 7, 1943, Leventhal was detained at Crematorium III and was not present at the revolt. Hence one may assume that from that day, his reports are no longer as precise as they had been. His manuscript is signed October 10, 1944. The date and circumstances of his death are unknown.

The third person in this group of writers is Warsaw-born Dayan Leyb Langfus,¹⁶ Langfus worked at decontaminating women's hair and preparing it for shipment to Germany—a job that was considered “easy” on the *Sonderkommando* scale. He was an intelligent man, admired by his friends, who appreciated his assertiveness and prestige as a religious adjudicator and ritual leader, according him relatively convenient conditions for writing. Like Leventhal and Gradowski, he was active in the Auschwitz–Birkenau Underground and did not support passive acceptance of one's fate of annihilation. Along with this, however, as a religious man, he believed that one should not challenge God's will and people should go silently to their deaths in fulfillment of Divine justice. Langfus began writing his Yiddish-language diary in Auschwitz in 1943 and completed it on November 26, 1944 in Bełżec. The diary was discovered by a search party dispatched by a Polish political party in the area of Crematorium III in 1942. One part of the manuscript describes events that the writer witnessed with his own eyes, written in a dry, journalistic style, only occasionally expressing a personal opinion. The final part was his will, written in the first person.

Langfus wrote another three documents—two of them reports on the extermination of 600 children and 3,000 women and the third a list of names of inmates gassed to death between October 9 and October 24, 1944 at Crematoria II, III and V. In his descriptions of selection, there is great similarity between his writings and Gradowski's.¹⁷ Langfus describes events that took place in the infamous “locker room,” such as his description of the wife of the Rebbe of Stropkov, who asked God to forgive the Rebbe of Belz who calmed and misled the Jews of Hungary at the time that he himself and his followers escaped to Palestine. Another description relates to a group of Hassidim from Hungary who recited the confessional prayer before entering the gas chambers and invited the *Sonderkommando* to join them in drinking *Lechaim*. The incident so shocked one of the *Sonderkommando* participants that he murmured: “That's enough! We have incinerated Jews. Let us destroy this accursed place and die as martyrs” (Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, p. 561; Ber, 1978, p. 223).

¹⁶ Langfus lived in Maków Mazowiecki and married the daughter of the local *Dayan*, from whom he inherited the title. His friends also called him the *Magid* because he was a prayer leader and rabbinic judge.

¹⁷ Apparently attempting to ensure that their testimony would be precise and reliable, Nathan Cohen claims that they may have compared versions (Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, p. 558).

Langfus described the arrival of a group of children from Šiauliai in November 1943 that shocked the *Sonderkommando*, who had ostensibly already seen and heard anything. This was when one of the children asked one of the *Sonderkommando* people how he, as a Jew, could send other Jews to their death, in collaboration with the murderers, just to save his own life (Gutman and Berenbaum, 2002, p. 561; Ber, 1978, p. 222).

The principal and last composition, including testimony from Bełżec, was written on November 26, 1944. It included a description of the dismantling of the ovens in Bełżec to send them to Germany. Post facto, we are aware that they were sent to Sachsenhausen and Mauthausen. At the end of his diary he wrote that he is being taken along with another 170 *Sonderkommando* members to the gas chambers, referred to as the “showers” by the murderers to conceal their true purpose.

The writings of the Polish Political Prisoners

In a letter the Director of the Archives of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum dated June 22, 2016, Dr. Wojciech Polosa indicates that the Archives include documentation of the writings of a minuscule number of political prisoners, most of them Poles, that were written in Auschwitz. First among them is Wincenty Gawron, inmate no. 11237, a Polish political prisoner who arrived in Auschwitz after his arrest in April 1941 for clandestine activity. He managed to obtain paper and pencils from other Underground members and produced black and white drawings and caricatures of camp life for inmates. Thanks to his connections with the Underground, he escaped Auschwitz in May 1942 and smuggled his works out with him.

Another Polish political prisoner, Jerzy Pozimski, was given the serial number 1099–work, meaning he was assigned to the section responsible for classifying inmates according to the various types of work they are able to perform at Auschwitz. This is how he was able to obtain paper and writing implements and to document realities at Auschwitz in his typed diary from June 24 to December 31, 1940. Pozimski used his connections with various inmates and with *Kommando Kanada* to obtain food and at times even medicines for other prisoners. On January 18, 1945, he was transferred to Mauthausen–Melk and released on May 5, 1945, but wrote in no camp other than Auschwitz, where his connections with other political prisoners of Polish origin apparently helped him (according to Document No. 997209, based on a report by the Claims Committee, the ITS Archives and the Red Cross). In 1989, Jerzy Pozimski was awarded a posthumous Righteous Among the Nations medal by Yad Vashem, in a touching ceremony attended by several of the people who survived the Holocaust thanks to him.

A third Polish political prisoner, perhaps the best known of all among those who wrote in Auschwitz (according to Dr. Polosa’s report dated June 26, 2016), was Tadeusz Borowski, inmate no. 119198, who was arrested on February 24, 1943. Borowski was forced to work on the ramp at Auschwitz, where his job was to direct the Jews to their death. Despite the difficult assignment and his precarious emotional and physical states, however, Borowski was a political prisoner whose conditions were far better than those of the camp’s Jewish inmates. For example, he was allowed to write to his family (in German, of course, with every word subject to strict censorship) and even to receive postcards and packages from them. As he requested in

his postcards, the packages contained food and bars of soap (Drewnowski, 2000, pp. 17-30). Like Pozimski, Borowski was in contact with other political prisoners and when he was sent to the Birkenau infirmary in autumn 1943 with a case of pneumonia, he used the infirmary's typewriter to compose his poem *Tango Teskonty* (Tango Longings), that was handed over to his friend Mieczyslaw Szymkowiak, who hid the text until liberation by the Red Army on January 27, 1945.¹⁸

While Borowski was hospitalized, he sent letters to his fiancée Maria Rundo, a political prisoner of assimilated Jewish origin who was incarcerated in the women's camp at Birkenau. Both of them were connected with Underground members and other political prisoners who provided them with the supplies needed for writing and also transferred letters back and forth.¹⁹ This correspondence was not preserved in its original format, but reconstructed almost entirely by Borowski following liberation. Signs of his attempts to contact his beloved and receive signs of life from her are evident in Borowski's letter to his mother, dated March 5, 1944.

By late 1944, Borowski had been transferred to Dautmargen and from there to Struthof, from which he was dispatched to Dachau in a roofless cattle car. Even in Dachau, he managed to write, as is evident from the content of his first letter to Toshka, his love, from Munich, dated January 12, 1946 (Drewnowski, 2000, pp. 91-92). Borowski was liberated from Dachau by the Americans on May 1, 1945. Following liberation, he worked as a journalist and writer and processed the traumas he experienced into literary works (see Bibliography). He married Maria on December 18, 1946. In July 1951, they had a daughter, but the traumas of the past never left him and he took his own life by inhaling toxic gas only three days after she was born.

A letter from Dr. Polosa mentions that the Auschwitz Archives include two handwritten poems of unknown authorship. The first, in Polish, discovered in 1958 at Auschwitz Camp no. 1 during maintenance work, is very brief, while the second, in Russian and somewhat longer, was found at the same camp around the time of liberation in 1945. Neither poem bears a date, signature or other means of identifying their authors.

The Auschwitz writings of Lili Kasticher

Lili Kasticher was born in 1923 in Petrovaselo, Yugoslavia and subsequently lived in Novi Sad²⁰. She was deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau in April 1944 and had the K. C. number 8965 tattooed on her arm. From there, she was assigned to Gross-Rosen, where she worked at the Lorenz factory until liberation in May 1945. In December

¹⁸ The original Polish text is at the Auschwitz Archives.

¹⁹ Some of the reconstructed letters are at the Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature, Warsaw, thanks to the generous intervention of Dr. Wojciech Polosa, Director of the Archives of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum.

(annexed by Hungary in 1941)²⁰

1948, she immigrated to Israel, where she remained until her death in November 1973.

In Auschwitz²¹, Lili wrote five poems with date-bearing headings and two—*The Song of The Camp* and *Where Is Our Homeland*—whose headings mentioned only the location: Auschwitz. *The Song of the Camp* describes the women’s yearning for the landscape of the Danube and their “homeland,” whereas *Where Is Our Homeland* opens with the eponymous question and concludes with a prayer for success in finding that homeland, where they will be free and where “mother is waiting to be hugged and kissed.” The two poems appear to have been written about the same time, as their themes are similar and no mention is made of the camp and its hardships.

Her first poem, *One Night in Birkenau*, was written on May 31, 1944, not long after Lili’s arrival, on a piece of paper filched from the office with German writing on the other side.

The poem’s content expresses the tortures of life in the *Lager* (camp), with all its terror, loneliness and hopelessness. The inmates lived with their nightmares, in which they see their children asking for a cup of chocolate milk. Then, the alarm signals the start of the work day and the reality of being separated from their children, who were slaughtered in the gas chambers. To the left of the poem is a miniature illustration of the muddy camp and its wooden barracks.

The second poem, *To the Doctor at Auschwitz*, was written on June 15, 1944 in the same manner—in pencil on a piece of used paper, with a miniature sketch in the upper left-hand corner depicting tiny women raising their hands towards heaven. The poem was dedicated to a Jewish woman doctor who risked her life by tearing a piece of cloth from her smock to bandage a wounded inmate. The poem describes the inmates’ physical and mental torture and their yearning for words of encouragement:

Stand strong! We shall overcome...

Lili’s third poem, *The Parade is on the Way* (July 30, 1944), describes the women’s marching repertoire, fulfilling the Germans’ order that inmates, men and women alike, must sing on the way to and from work. It was sung to the tune of a well-known march, *Mariska*, describing the inmates’ lives with much humor and irony:

The parade is on its way, out of the gate
Whoever stays in place gets a kiss on “the place”...
Oh, how wonderful is our fortune of plenty

²¹ In spite of the severe prohibition against possession of writing utensils and paper scraps in Birkenau (Shik, 2012), Lili insisted on writing and even encouraged her fellow inmates to do so as a means of maintaining a last shred of human dignity.

This poem includes a miniature illustration of marching women at its upper left corner.

The fourth poem, *The Women of the Camp* (November 11, 1944) expresses joy that another week has passed and all are still alive. It tells us of the horrifying starvation that the inmates suffer, yearning for bread as they listen to the sounds coming from their empty stomachs.

Spring 1940 (December 3, 1944) was Lili's fifth and probably last poem written at Auschwitz. Unlike all the others, it describes the horrible historical events of Spring 1940 that she had witnessed, in which people killed one another as the Danube flowed peacefully through the beautiful green forests typical of springtime in Europe. Lili's postwar notes call the poem *Dreaming of Novi Sad 1940*. Its most remarkable feature is the absence of any reference to the misery of Auschwitz, focusing instead on Lili's account of the Third Hungarian Army's butchering of Serbs and Jews as it passed through the region. This event preceded the mass shootings along the Danube in winter 1942, known in Serbian history as "the Cold Days."

The Rules of Behavior,²² a guidebook influenced by Lili's socialist views, is a piece of undated prose in which she declares that the only way to survive the hell of Birkenau is to act as a mutually supportive group that adheres to the moral values on which its members were raised: "Here, there is no longer 'I,' there is only 'we.' And as 'we,' we will be saved if we behave sincerely, sacrificing ourselves for others, displaying good will, never bearing grudges or reporting others. Only thus can we maintain human dignity," concludes Lili (Kasticher, 1951), illuminating her personality as a socialist leader and revealing the true purpose of her writing initiative: to preserve a modicum of humanity, for herself and her friends.

Another piece of information left by Lili is a poem dedicated to Berta, describing hunger. It bears no name, date nor signature, but its content and handwriting indicate that it was most likely written by Lili. It begins with the verses: "I feel ashamed/but I am hungry / I should have been given more food."

Lili's Auschwitz works reflect starvation, humiliation, beatings, hard labor, crowding, fear of death and uncertainty, but also expressed hope for a much better life in Israel after liberation, as exemplified by the final lines of *Homeland*:

Those who suffered
Will rejoice again one day.

Conclusions

This study indicates that the common feature among the three groups is writing at the risk of one's life, with the intention of leaving traces behind on the one hand and

²² A handwritten manuscript found in Lili's diary. Lili's granddaughter recalled her mother's informing her that *Rules of Behavior* was written in Birkenau (conversation with Sela Ben-Ami, 2007).

remaining human beings whose spirits have not been subjugated by the Nazis on the other.

Sonderkommando documentation, including photographs, constitutes one of the most important and detailed non-German sources we have today regarding what took place in Auschwitz–Birkenau. The materials were written bravely and coherently, their writers all too aware that they would not survive and hoping that after the war, several Jews might remain in the world who must be told what happened to their brethren and who might perhaps seek revenge on the Nazis.

The conditions under which the Polish political prisoners' heroic writing was produced were the least harsh of all. These works surrounded a concept and ideology that helped them not only with practical organization work but also with emotional necessities. Thus they remained united, loyal to one another and functioning well on their own soil in their own language.

Lili Kasticher, by contrast, was alone. She too acted in fulfillment of an ideology and upheld freedom of thought, even though it was clear to her that at any moment she was liable to get caught and pay for her writing with her life. But for her, life without meaning was not worth living in any case. While the *Sonderkommando* and the political prisoners had connections that provided them with a supply of paper and writing utensils, Lili found a unique way of obtaining these materials. She read the palm of a *Kapo* who rewarded her by ordering office supplies, including pencils and writing paper.²³

Those who wrote in Auschwitz–Birkenau mentioned in this article constitute proof that the human spirit and freedom of thought were more important than life itself and more powerful than any oppressor's decree.

²³ In an interview published in the Hungarian-language Israeli newspaper *Uj Kelet* (New East) on February 23, 1951, Lili explained how she stayed alive, revealing the ways she obtained pencils and crayons in Birkenau. She had once read a book on palmistry and would read palms for the inmates. One day, she was approached by the *Kapo*, who asked to have her palm read. Excited by Lili's reading, the *Kapo* asked her to analyze letters from her boyfriend at the front, wanting to know if he really missed her. Subsequently, the *Kapo* asked Lili to write and illustrate her letters to her boyfriend. That's how Lili obtained writing implements.

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Noli Timere Draconem - How TRPGs Create Space to Play with Fear and Collaborative Storytelling

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Abstract

In the digital era, and the fourth industrial age, agency and ownership of storytelling has been shifting. How might we deal with the fears that bubble in these stories? The hypothesis of this doctoral research is that imagination is ‘eventified’ within roleplaying gameplay and can be shaped like a theatre performance, and therefore studied as performance. This study experiments with concepts of authorship and liveness, in an information age where engagement with entertainment and narrative is located more often within digital (or analog) games. This paper is an exploration of how dramatisation in the future of globalised society has moved from the proscenium-stage to the immersive stage-space. Key theorists in roleplaying-as-performance are Sarah Lynn Bowman and Jane McGonigal. The former claims that role playing games, “impose limitations on imagination and enactment through rules, norms of the play culture, and genre considerations... role-players enact their characters mainly for their own edification and in order to engage with one another... Therefore the expectations of performativity are different in role-playing” (2015: 5-6). This study therefore argues that the space of the ‘theatre of the mind’s eye’, the imaginative playground of collaborative storytelling – more often than not, around a simple table - can engage player identities in such a way as to practice/‘rehearse’ roles/stereotypes; or alternate solutions to problems. This particular presentation of the research focuses on one core question: How does improvisation contribute to a sense of imagined embodiment in creating alternate realities and alternate selves?

Keywords: Theatre studies; performance practice; role playing; games

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Introduction - Don't fear the dragon

In preparation for ECAH 2018 I first considered what 'fearful futures' means to me. Singularity comes to mind immediately, especially with the fourth industrial revolution escalating as fast as it is in a technology-obsessed society. A similar fearful future might be an unlivable planet - where scarcity of air and water replaces our current status quo. Further still, a future where a breakdown of communication occurs between structures of power, nations etc; These are all states of the future that given current research, is rather likely. More personally, a fearful future with myself as the centre point of experience, is not knowing who I am, or what I can do (to contribute to the bigger, more public/global problem-solving). The conclusion I thus reached, in preparation for this paper, is that a future I fear is being confined and limited by my own fears.

The field of study of my research is the use of role playing games and play (as performance) to engage with the imagined future and self, and perceived fear. The journey of this paper begins with outlining for an academic readership what Tabletop Roleplaying Games (TRPGs) are, through the performance lens I am working with. Thereby unpacking the relationship of imagination with social/shared play. Collaborative storytelling - as the state of play - is then compared to perception and imagination (inclusive of fear). And the paper concludes with a proposition for understanding TRPGs performatively as Imagin-acting. My background is in theatre, particularly my previous masters research into contemporary performance.

Where anecdotal evidence features in this paper, I am referring to myself as the researcher/practitioner-gamer. The performative aspect of tabletop roleplaying games interests me most because I believe in play, and (in conjunction with the theme of this year's ECAH conference in Brighton) I believe in the future of our imaginations.

1. Tabletop Role Playing Games

As the name itself suggests, a TRPG is a game about playing roles, on/around the top of a table.

“Growing interest in fantasy genre fiction combined with the principles of wargaming to create the new category of role-playing games, which began with the hugely popular *Dungeons & Dragons* (1974). In these games, players managed individual characters more so than the vast armies common in wargames, and the scope of agency of these characters encompassed far more than just conflict. Although role-playing games still relied heavily on the systems of wargames, they are distinguished by the many innovations present in the flagship title *Dungeons & Dragons*” (Peterson, 2012: 1).

This paper will focus primarily on *Dungeons & Dragons* (*D&D*) as an example of TRPG, but there is mention of some of the other games in circulation at present. However, unlike Jon Peterson above (who is more interested in role playing games as simulation) specific to this research is the observation that TRPGs can be analysed through a performance-studies lens.

In order to enter into a discussion about tabletop gaming as performance, it might be useful to locate it from within the world of games and play. Games edit the site of play. In a similar fashion, Miwon Kwon (1997) examines site specific performance with regards to sensorial immediacy. She unpacks the idea that the space of art is no longer perceived as a blank slate, a tabula rasa, but rather as a real place with its own unique history. From Kwon's perspective, the space demands the physical presence of the viewer in order for a work to even be perceived, to be present, to become complete. Much of the modern day Immersive Theatre movement echoes these sentiments. And not just in the live performance sphere, but games that permeate daily lives (such as ARGs - most notably *Pokemon GO*¹) engage with a nomadic narrative. Here the real-world space is augmented by a virtual (fictional) world. The former is overlaid by the latter and as such the story world bleeds into the player's own reality; ie: in order to catch that Pokemon, the player has to physically walk over to the geographical spot where it is located.

In a discussion around the site of performance, and the site of play, tabletop roleplaying occupies a slightly different perspective. These kinds of games require the physical gathering of people around a table, who then imagine themselves to be elsewhere. Their story exists in a liminal (imagined) space. The similarities to Kwon's interpretation of space, holding its own memory for an audience to activate, lies within the understanding of where the tabletop roleplaying performance occurs. At the core of any site-specific performance is the capacity to re-imagine the space. And so, the idea of imagination as space as well as tool-of-play is what lures this research into its provocation. For the most part, it is concerned with one particular TRPG. However, in offering a brief description and history of it, the paper will also consider similar performance environments in other game systems.

a) The world's greatest roleplaying game²

Dave Ewalt gives a comprehensive origin story of *D&D* in his book *Of Dice and Men* (2013). In summary, as the father of TRPGs, the game essentially developed out of the miniature wargaming scene in America in the 1970s. Since then the genre of role playing games had been reserved to the basements of the male gamer stereotype. However, in recent years, following the board game renaissance, the tabletop roleplaying genre has seen a massive increase in popularity. Jak Hutchcraft (2016) explores this rising popularity of board games (especially into the mainstream) in his *VICE* article about the increased sales of board games in an age of video games. In part this may be due to the internet, and the ability not only to connect in real time with players across the globe but to find out how to play more complicated games (before spending money to buy them); and in part due to the increasingly developed video game industry. The reasoning for the rise (and success) is beyond the scope of this paper.

It is also worth noting that in 2017 Wizards of the Coast and Hasbro (the companies that own *D&D*) beat the record for the fastest selling book they had ever printed. Especially in an age where book sales are predominantly in competition with ebooks. This may have been due to the fact that 2017 was the year of "influencer" marketing.

¹ Developed and published by Niantic, for iOS and Android devices in 2016.

² This subtitle is located on the cover of every 5th edition book/manual.

Wizards and Hasbro caught on to various groups of players from around the world who were streaming their games (to large internet audiences) - and essentially acknowledged them, partnered with some, and reaped the marketing benefits. Thereby growing the audience, which is no longer confined to the nerd stereotype from the late nineties.

Some role playing games offer unique experiences of gameplay mechanics that do not involve dice, but the majority of TRPGs require rolling a set of dice to discover whether one's character proceeds to achieve what the player says they do in the story. Within *D&D* the dice used are polyhedral dice, the most famous of which is the twenty-sided one (or d20). In order to succeed the DM sets a (secret) target that the player needs to roll. A "15" for example, in order to jump the chasm within a dark cave and proceed along the trail. The player rolls the d20 in hopes of rolling a 15 or higher. If they do not, the DM narrates how the player's character fails (falls into the chasm, say). Either way, the story continues.

Another system worth mentioning at this point is the Narrative Dice by Fantasy Flight Games (see figure 1). What does this do? There are no numbers on these dice (similar to other mechanics like those used in the Fate system³). Instead, various symbols have a positive and a negative version. They cancel each other out, in the moment of the roll, to determine the outcome of an action.



Figure 1 - Narrative Dice

Those symbols that remain after all cancellations tally up to give a majority call in favour of positive or negative. This system involves the whole table of players in the roll. Deciphering the outcome is more complex, there are no clear answers as with a simple number being reached. The player may achieve the task they set out to do, but there may be some sort of disadvantage (or unforeseen effect). This complication is decided-upon narratively and collectively, including every player at the table to develop the story - much like a theatrical performance. A character on stage will always need to speak a line to another character.

There are myriad TRPGs that exist in the genre today, other than *D&D* and games using Fantasy Flight's narrative dice (*Star Wars* and *Genesys*). The game most aligned to the particular theme of the ECAH conference is Fantasy Flight Games' series called *The End of the World* (2014). These games are in favour of roleplay over gameplay, in the sense that players play characters that are fictionalized versions of themselves, in an apocalyptic version of their own world. The latter here is a reminder that even though, "role playing games impose limitations on imagination and enactment through rules, norms of the play culture, and genre considerations... role-

³ A generic roleplaying system, more freeform, more adaptable to a groups' gaming desires. The system uses Fudge dice, which are unique dice with plus and minus signs on them - which reflect modifiers to certain skills being 'checked' with the dice roll.

players enact their characters mainly for their own edification and in order to engage with one another... Therefore the expectations of performativity are different in role-playing” (Bowman, 2015: 5-6).

Out of the scope of this research paper is my proposal to play three different TRPG systems with trained performers and collect the qualitative data from the players’ experience over an extended period of time. However, the hypotheses going into that extended research are the two moments of inquiry of this presentation. First, that collaborative storytelling is an imaginative practice(ing) for real social encounters; and second, that the performativity of TRPGs can be considered an embodied sitting, which one might go so far as to call Imagin-acting.

The reason for this nomenclature is that TRPGs have slightly different expectations when it comes to performance. When one opts in to play a game of *Dungeons and Dragons* with a friend, one is not expected to buy a ticket or read reviews of the adventure before they arrive at said friend’s home - as they would with a play or a trip to the cinema. Which alludes to the following breakdown of types of TRPG play: Private Play and Public Play. The first is the kind of TRPG played in the privacy of one’s own home, with one’s own friends, creating (and sharing) their own story. In common parlance, this is referred to as a home-game. The second kind of play has two constituents. One kind of public play simply refers to playing a TRPG in a more public space than one’s own home; known as ‘organised play’. This might be a game store that coordinates community events, and the like. In most cases this is still with one’s own friends (or perhaps extending to acquaintances). The other kind of public play is the ‘actual-play’ (or streamed game). This is when a group of players share their game with an outside audience. In the current internet age this is how a lot of newer, younger, audiences are learning about TRPGs. Essentially this kind of play includes a group of strangers at one’s table - in the form of a live internet feed. Thanks to the internet, and platforms like Twitch/Youtube, it is possible to become an external audience to a group of people playing TRPGs.



Figure 2 - Force Grey in play

One such example is a short web series produced by Geek & Sundry (and endorsed by Hasbro and Wizards of the Coast) named *Force Grey*. See figure 2. This live actual play had an assortment of actors play *D&D*. Not dissimilarly, the same production company has a show called *CelebriD&D* where Hollywood stars like Vin Diesel, Troy Baker or Terry Crews play the game. Once again, this highlights how much out of the shadows the game has come. And as it should. Games are unmistakably a part of human nature. “Humanity has created games deep into its prehistory; from physical contests we created sports, from observations of random behaviour we created luck games and the casting of lots; from these we created the earliest board games.” (Costikyan, 2013: 7)

2. Shared fear and collaborative storytelling

“Playing *D&D* is an exercise in collaboration creation... there’s a special alchemy that takes place around a *D&D* table that nothing else can match” (Carter et al, 2014: 4). This claim, from the preface of the *Players Handbook for D&D 5th edition*, released in 2014, establishes the idea of a shared storytelling practice. South African academic Stephen Cloete further explains that “whereas a traditional narrative (such as a play) represents the voice of one author whose story is then interpreted by an audience of some sort, possibly through the auspices of actor/s or a text, TRPG narrative is a reciprocal performance” (2010: 9). It is the argument of this paper that two corollaries develop from this kind of performance. First, the idea that one’s perception of self is written, and invited to be rewritten in the TRPG space. Second, the process of doing so in that space can be called *Imagin-acting*.

a) Writing Self

“Players are both audience and author in *D&D*; they consume the DM’s [dungeon-master’s] fiction but rewrite the story with their actions.” (Ewalt, 2013: 7). There is an overlap here with a popular theatre theorist, the late Augusto Boal, who expounded on the ‘spect-actor’. This was the combined actor and spectator within his Forum Theatre - used to empower people, both trained actors and not.

The collaborative storytelling act in TRPG performance is a joint writing event. Writing in the performative sense: the ability to create through a language system. In the case of TRPG, this is straightforward spoken language. “Language is a way of modelling reality” (Rastall, 2018: 41). A counterpoint to this collaborative writing event is writing oneself. Here I refer to the act of voicing the very character that is our own protagonist. This has multiple benefits. “Role-play allows for the exploration of identity, not in order to essentialise it, but in order to investigate relations between self and the world, self and other selves, humanity and our world” (Morris, 2005: 65).

The understanding of TRPGs as dramatic performance is not a new proposition. Edward Choy first proposed the term *Theatre of the Mind’s Eye* in a 2004 publication. The premise of which is that the performance exists in an imagined, third, space in the collective mind of the players. It is from this provocation that my own research considers the act of doing so as ‘*Imagin-acting*’.

b) Imagin-acting

Essentially, my research culminates in a proposition for this concept. It is an acknowledgement of what is happening within the ‘happening’⁴ that is TRPG play. Players are in essence actors, but only in the realm of the imagination. And in TRPGs the imaginative story-space is shared. Onstage or on screen an actor is engaging in a false reality - that is, the world of the story. Social analog games, particularly TRPGs like *D&D* allow players to engage in jointly constructed realities.

“Language plays a key role in our construction of, and orientation in, reality as we know and experience it” (Rastall, 2018: 39). Rastall points out that the verbally constructed nature of reality is limited by language and communication. For the purposes of this research, it is worth pointing out that by playing in an imaginary game that demands the player to verbalise the characters and actions of a make-believe world, language is the tool and the plaything that drives the story in a shared imagination space. And it is surmisable that this pretense, and play, is practice for real world social interaction. And as such has real benefits to the player.

c) Embodied sitting

Rastall goes on to say that “language is a means to extend our experience of reality” (2018: 40). Even though verbiage is the only engagement to which any type of ‘performance’ is enacted within TRPGs, the body is still explorable as the locus of action. Various theorists in the world of performance studies discuss how, “the body itself can experience a dynamic range of aesthetic-cultural processes” (Morris, 2005: 64). One of the most well-known, and widely practiced, of them is Stanislavski. Whose method (in various permutations) drives much of American cinema. He spoke of memory as a tool for awakening emotion on stage. In this way, simply remembering a moment in the actor’s personal life could bring about a real, physical and emotional reaction to a scene. If this is acceptable as a theory, then included in this thinking is the experience of tabletop roleplaying performance. A player is able to embody a character purely by imagining them, recalling an imaginary sequence of actions that lead to a story being told. All while never leaving the chair in which they sit.

But is it performance? Throughout this paper I have assumed that reading TRPG play as performance is unanimously accepted to be the case. More puritanical performance studies experts might relinquish only enough to dub it disembodied performance. This comes from the understanding that traditional acting is a total theatre experience. The actor should be using every faculty provided by the body to play their part. Voice acting, that most closely associated with performance in TRPGs, is but one factor.

This may be true. Yet for the purposes of my study - as it continues - it is most important to focus on the use of imagination in acting. And to do so specifically with the limitation of a passive (seated) body, so as to narrow the investigation. Even so, the imagination initiates physiological responses in either realm (theatre and tabletop

⁴ See Michael Kirby’s *A Formalist Theatre* (2011) for more details on this genre/style’s development and legacy. Also see the company that made the movement most known, the Living Theatre.

role playing). An example of this is McGonigal's notion of Fiero⁵.

It is Sarah Bowman that says, "both role-players and actors speak of inhabiting a dual consciousness when performing a role in which the player passively observes the actions of the character to greater and lesser degrees" (2015: 7). As spectator to the story we are a seated audience (depending on your level of fiero); as actor you are actively engaged with your character (and embodying them in order to play their motivations clearly). It is also McGonigal who claims that, "gameplay isn't just a pastime. It's a twenty-first century way of working together to accomplish real change" (2011: 13)

McGonigal specializes in video games and ARGs but her statement is equally applicable to analogue/social games (given their recent rise in popularity). Whether games can be considered performance or not does not alter their usefulness for society. It is merely one point of view to take, especially when applying a theatrically-academic lens to the playing of TRPGs. The benefits that are resultant from it are due to the fact that growth and change are manifested through playing these types of games together. "Countless writers, artists, and other creators can trace their beginnings to a few pages of *D&D* notes, a handful of dice, and a kitchen table" (Carter et al, 2014: 4)

Conclusion

In resolving the discussion of this paper, there are three associations with TRPG that have been drawn. They are 'TRPG as PROCESS', in that concepts of fear and future are in flux in the play space; 'TRPG as PLAY', in that the game is a tool for the above process; and 'TRPG as SPACE', which is something defined by the players, sometimes solely in the imagination but always something that can be shared.

If Imagin-acting in TRPGs is processional, then a game like *D&D* is never complete. It is never over (players win by continuing to go on adventures together). This echoes the transitory nature of performance generally. Where characters and scenarios exist only in the live moment of a story being told, and/or experienced. If the improvisatory writing is simultaneously an act of playfulness then someone from a theatre background knows that power. It is the perspective of this paper that improvising a story as it is being written is more engaging than simply receiving a written/complete text. If the space of TRPGs is accessible, and analysable because of it, then as there are no limitations in constructed (creative/fictionalised) space this means that there are no limitations to who a person can be, and how they can behave.

⁵ "Fiero is what we feel when we triumph over adversity. You know it when you feel it - and when you see it. That's because we almost always express fiero in exactly the same way: we throw our arms over our head and yell" (2011:33)

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Figure 1. *FFG Narrative Dice for the Genesys Roleplaying system*. Accessed online on 13 August 2018, at <https://www.fantasyflightgames.com/en/products/genesys/products/genesys-dice-pack/>

Figure 2. *Force Grey, season 2*. Accessed online on 13 August 2018, at <http://www.mandatory.com/culture/1305731-dungeons-dragons-force-grey-twitchs-next-big-exclusive-show>

Dance and Resistance in Tango and Reisado: Comparative Audio-Visual Research on Cultural Performance in Argentina and Brazil

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Abstract

Comparative audio-visual research within Cultural Studies has emerged in recent years as an interdisciplinary form of critique and social intervention. In Latin America, many of the cultural manifestations of the body, which were previously discredited in academic circles, are currently at the centre of interdisciplinary research, thanks to their being captured “in situ” by performers, philosophers and cultural researchers in the form of audio-visual essays. Examples of this idea can be found in comparative research on traditional dances in Brazil and Argentina. The audio-visual recording of artistic performances in urban spaces brings into the current debate the historical and choreographic links with the influence of Afro-descendant culture on both countries. Many body movements and choreographic cells are currently conceived as forms of resistance. I based my analysis on two audio-visual essays – *In Corpo Tango* and *Philosophies of the Body in the Cariri of Ceará* – that address Tango in Argentina and Reisado from Brazil. In order to compare these corporal expressions, I conducted a film analysis of a synthetic set of choreographic cells. I intend to highlight the relational aspect of bodywork in these dances and fights by revealing the improvisation that is structured in duets and that which is re-enacted as a form of provocation and cultural resistance.

Keywords: body; audio-visual research; Argentina; Brazil; cultural resistance

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Introduction

This article examines a number of concepts and practices of audio-visual research on the basis of the dialogue between dance and philosophy. In my trajectory as researcher and filmmaker, this dialogue begins in my native country, Argentina, and travels for several years and kilometres until it reaches the north east of Brazil. When the topic of dance and audio-visual research is mentioned, most people in academic circles think, immediately, about three main concepts: first, that dance and cinema are arts that are representative of the twentieth century; second, that audio-visual research is an area of visual anthropology; and, third, that there exists a formal tension between how cinema captures time and the ephemeral time of the choreographic art of dance.

All of these notions are correct. However, when we look for Brazilian and Argentinian films that narrate the history of their countries' traditional dances, we find that material is scarce. The lack of material is even greater when we consider dances of African descent, such as the Tango from Argentina, and the Reisado from Brazil, principally because we are looking for artistic manifestations composed by latent patterns of movement that originated with Afro-American peoples, mainly slaves and liberated slaves in both countries. My focus here is to investigate how some dances and some films represent local, national and transnational cultural, political and historical aspects through dances.

It is important to note that this work began as a doctoral research that collated more than 300 Argentinian films in which there were images of Tango and other dances. Of these 300, 30 were chosen for a real filmic analysis. This enabled me to have a clear notion of how Argentinian filmography, from its beginnings in 1896 up to the present day, has placed Tango – the personages, culture and his dance – at the core of its filmic dramaturgy.

In Brazilian filmography, dance appears much less on the screen before the 1960s, and this is one of the main reasons for my current audio-visual work. This lack of material was what motivated me to produce a film essay showing artists and dancers from the Cariri, in northeastern Brazil.

As a foreign philosopher in Brazil – I was born in Argentina – I carried out research in the field of aesthetics from a transnational perspective. And, as a filmmaker, I am always looking for new ways to create dialogues between artists from Latin American countries. According to Jean Rouch's maxim, cinema is one of the instruments I possess to "show" the other as I see them; and, in my research, in addition to the action of "showing" I seek to produce changes in, dialogues with and approaches to the artists, through the cinematographic production itself. I tried to experience relations of intersubjectivity and to share moments of "cinema direction" and "audio-visual production" with the "real actors" of the films I produced, because I believe that this is a way of questioning the "authorial dimension" (NICHOLS, 2005) of the classic and modern documentary traditions.

My interest is in what I call audio-visual research in dance and cinema: the audio-visual production space between contemporary aesthetic theory, artistic production and historical post-colonial studies; in which Latin American comparative film studies are included.

Following the ideas of the English researcher Catherine Grant, we access a real critique when we associate cinematographic products, such as the cinematographic essay, with true audio-visual argumentation (GRANT, 2016). In this work of critical reflection, I gathered the filmic image of the body and the concepts about the body, ideas and narratives of the artists, dancers and researchers, trying to understand ethical aspects of the encounter between the audiovisual director, researchers and traditional artists.

Comparative audio-visual research in Brazil and Argentina

I seek to access the underlying pattern of relationships – so far never studied – between the Argentinian Tango and the Brazilian Reizado, to open a new aesthetic topic on body expressions as a form of resistance in Latin America. Traditionally, comparative audio-visual research in Latin America has considered as its object of study the filmic device itself, most often analysing the production, exhibition and reception of cinema in the different countries under comparison. I have taken a different path: my object of study are the relationships between dances of African origin in Brazil and Argentina and the philosophy of body they display.

Before presenting my films, I will briefly outline the context of my study and the methodology used. It is important to point out that features of Afro-descendant culture – its music, dance and other performing arts – are not really evident in Brazil's cinematography until well into the 1960s, and not until the 1980s in Argentina. It was only after the birth of both the "social documentary" and "Cinema Novo" that the camera went into the favelas of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, and among the groups of Afro-descendants in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

They are, of course, significant differences between the populations of the two countries under study. In Brazil, across a whole century of films, few Afro-Americans have been directors or actors, in spite of their comprising 54% of the population. The Afro-descendant cultural expression that has most commonly been captured on film is Samba, the music – in the form of carnival musicians and singers – more so than the dance. This hegemony of Samba in Brazilian film has been a strategic representation of the nation-state's ideals.

In Argentina, the make-up of the population is very different to in Brazil. In 1810, under Spanish rule, Afro-American slaves comprised 30% of its inhabitants, but their numbers subsequently decreased, mainly due to their being sent to fight in the War of Independence from Spain, in which they played a key role as part of the so-called "batallones de pardos y morenos" (groups of Afro-American soldiers). By the end of the century, the Afro-American population had reduced even further, following the abolition of slavery in 1853, the War of the Triple Alliance and the 1871 yellow fever epidemic. Well into the twentieth century, this community suffered a lack of access to employment and health services, due to the Argentinian Government prioritising European immigrants in their state policies. First enslaved and then socially marginalised, the group developed a range of cultural and artistic expressions in the fields of music, cooking, poetry and, most significantly, dance. Throughout the nineteenth century, Afro-descendants came together at gatherings and celebrations called "Candombes", in which they played and danced to syncopated rhythms, and

which many historians believe gave rise to Tango. Today in Argentina, those who self-identify as Afro-American make up less than 5% of the population.



Figure 1: Stage of the San Martín Theatre. National Archives, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

In light of the fact that during Argentina's silent film era (1896–1933) there was a general lack of representation of African culture, I wish to focus on a film from 1906, now lost but written about extensively in the literature of the time: *Creole Tango* [Tango Criollo], directed by Eugenio Py. This short film recorded an Afro-American clown of the Podestá Company circus, dancing Tango with his partner on the stage of the San Martín theatre.

Among the limited number of recordings of Afro-American-derived dance in the audio-visual history of Argentina and Brazil there are a few noteworthy examples.



Figure 2: Coco (Dance) Photogram of *Folklore Research Mission: Traditional Music of the North and the Northeast*. Commissioned by Mário de Andrade, Brazil, 1938

One of these is *Folklore Research Mission: Traditional Music of the North and the Northeast* [Missão de Pesquisas Folclóricas Musica Tradicional do Norte e Nordeste], a 1938 ethnographic documentary commissioned by Mário de Andrade (at the time head of the Department of Culture in the Municipality of São Paulo). The

documentary was directed by Luiz Saia (the head of the Folklore Research Mission), Martin Braunwieser (musical director), Benedicto Pacheco (sound technician) and Antonio Ladeira (general assistant). The film was restored in 1997 and it can now be found in São Paulo's Cinemateca Brasileira. It constitutes the first systematic recording of manifestations of the music and dance of north and northeastern Brazil's traditional culture. The Folklore Research Mission carried out the filming in Pernambuco, Paraíba, Ceará, Piauí, Maranhão and Pará, and the documentary presents a never-before-seen panorama of traditional culture, including the dances and rituals of the region's slaves.



Figure 3: Kings of Congo, Pombal, Paraíba (11/4/1938). Photography from the Folklore Research Archives at the São Paulo Cultural Centre, Brazil

A further example from Brazilian cinema is *Civil Disobedience* [Inconfidência Mineira], a 1948 film directed by Carmen Santos. In a ballroom scene with members of Brazil's high society (wearing outfits similar to those worn in the Portuguese court) everyone stops dancing when they hear the sound of Lundu drums coming from the street. The dancers become spectators, watching a procession of slaves passing by dancing and singing Lundu. Many historians claim that Lundu, both the music and the dance, gave rise to Maxixe, which is also called the Brazilian Tango (SANDRONI, 2012).



Figure 4: Photogram of *Civil Disobedience* [Inconfidência Mineira], by Carmen Santos, Brazil, 1948

One of the Argentinian films I studied was *The History of Tango* [La Historia del Tango] from 1949, directed by Manuel Romero. It presents a timeline of the evolution of Tango and the stories surrounding its origins. The film begins with a cursory plotting of the route taken by the African slaves, as they crossed the Atlantic to the port on the River Plate in the holds of cargo ships, and then moves quickly on to the drums and dances of the Candombes on the streets of Buenos Aires, and the birth of Tango.



Figure 5: Photogram of *The History of Tango* [La Historia del Tango], Manuel Romero, Argentina, 1948

This brief journey through the history of Brazilian and Argentinian film revealed how difficult it is for researchers to find representations of African culture in Latin American cinema. As well as being scarce, the film recordings provide no details of the dances, or of the characteristic gestures and everyday movements, of Afro-descendant rituals and culture.

In search of the audio-visual history of dance in Latin American cinema

In my doctoral research on the relationship between cinema and dance (LOPEZ GALLUCCI, 2014) I commented that, from its inception, Argentinian cinema considered Tango – its gestures, dance and music – as an essential component of the mode of presentation that is the urban social drama. In addition, I questioned the systematic omission of Afro-descendant culture from these films. I found the cinema industry to have been used as a tool in the construction of the Argentinian nation-state and it was, except in cases such as that of the director Agustín Ferreyra, who openly identified himself as the son of an Afro-descendant mother, at the service of the hegemonic values of white society. Although the Argentine film production presents a great variety of cultural aspects of Tango "on", "off" and "behind the scenes", demonstrating how, through dance, Argentine society expresses gender and class differences, there was a long period during which relations tango and mestizo population were hidden from view.

A challenge I encountered during my research was the production of a systematic archive of images that would show the matrix of the gestures used in Tango, on the basis of which I could identify elements of African culture that might have lived on in the dance.



Figures 6 and 7: Choreographic cells of the Tango dance. Photographic studio with film projection of *Quereme asi Piantao* by Eliseo Álvarez 1997.
Performer: Natacha Muriel. Photo by Bruno Marton, 2014

However, an interesting thing happened in 2017 when I was beginning my audio-visual research into the traditional manifestations and dances of the Cariri, a central region of Ceará in northeastern Brazil. While immersed in the field, I recorded video and sound, a number of traditional groups who every year, over the period between the Nativity and the feast of the Epiphany, perform a series of artistic practices called Reisados. These practices, involving music, theatrical performances and dance, also included sword fights, to music, which whip the audience up into a ritual climax.



Figure 8: FeminineFemale? Reisado. Photograph of film *Philosophies of the Body in the Cariri of Ceará* by Natacha Muriel, 2018

Through analysing the dances and the fights in the audio-visual archives, I managed to identify in detail key aspects of their codification that were claimed by a number of informants to be the product of the region's Afro-descendant culture. This is in line with historical research that attests to the presence of African slaves in the state of Ceará (RIEDEL, 1987).

As my aim is to examine the particular characteristics of the codification of these dances, I will first briefly outline the sociocultural processes that gave rise to them. Reisado first appeared during the period 1850–1900, adopting the form in which it is currently practised in the Cariri between 1940 and 1960. It is of traditional African origin with Iberian and Catholic influences. This sword fight, as an improvisation technique within rhythmic and musical temporality, is interesting to watch. The Reisado sword fight shares its historical and cultural roots with Congadas and Maracatus, all of which re-enact the battles between the Congo and Angola. It is performed alongside a religious ceremony, which, attended by an entourage representing members of the Portuguese court, culminates in the symbolic coronation of a King and Queen (similarly to in the traditional African Candombe that was performed in the River Plate region before it was banned).

In my fieldwork, it was interesting to observe how this form of dance, theatre performance and music reveals very little of its African roots. The Reisado's dramaturgy and songs appear, at first glance, to be manifestations that invoke the Christian God, the angels, the Virgin Mary and the Three Wise Men. Among the Reisado's range of artistic expressions, including its songs, "entremezes" – interludes of small dramatic scenes – and dances, I consider the sword fight to be that which most fully expresses its African origins. Traditional historiography claims that Ceará's Afro-American population was small in the time of slavery, but more recent research shows that this is not the case (NUNES, 2011). Nevertheless, we know that Ceará's slave population increased during the growth of the cotton industry in the mid-nineteenth century. Unable to buy slaves directly, Ceará imported them from Pernambuco, Maranhão and Bahía (RIEDEL, 1987, 100), at least until 1840. These

slaves worked on cattle ranches and cotton plantations and identified themselves with the farming and shepherding cultures.

For the purposes of this comparative study it is important to consider the genesis of the other dance, Tango. Tango as a dance also emerged between 1850 and 1900 and its codification came to distinguish it from European forms of dance in the closeness of the partner hold – the embrace – and the skills of the dancers. Many authors associated the elements that were introduced into this form of dance in the River Plate region, Tango's "cortes", "zapateos" and "quebradas", with both the dances of the "cuarteleros", the women who accompanied the soldiers on the battlefield in the War of the Triple Alliance (1864–1870) and the corporeality of the Candombes. In the River Plate region, the Candombes had been allowed to continue on the condition that they did involve the symbolic coronation of Kings and Queens of the participants' African countries of origin. The significant social restructuring that occurred between the end of the War of the Triple Alliance in 1870 in the River Plate region and the beginning of the First World War in 1914 provided the setting for the emergence of new Argentinian styles of theatre and bodywork.

The crossbreeding of the traditions of the European immigrants and the Afro-descendant cultural expressions and drum rituals resulted in unique theatre, circus, music and dance styles, one of which was Tango. By the time of the celebration of the centenary of the May Revolution in 1910, Tango had already achieved the status of an urban dance, and it adapted its choreography for the dance hall, bringing about the emergence of a new social class in Argentina. Between 1940 and 1955 (the so-called golden age of Tango), the codes for walking and improvisation were consolidated, and the Argentinian middle class adopted Tango as a mode of representation of its values and as a positive form of self-expression. In 1980, new studies of the embrace, musicality, codification and improvisation presented Tango as a form of contemporary dance.

From empirical research to audio-visual critique

With the aim of examining the codification of Tango and Reisado, I conducted empirical audio-visual research into both styles of dance, the results of which I will now present. The first film essay, entitled *In Corpo Tango*, is the result of my doctoral research, which I concluded in 2014¹. This film presents the gestures and codification (axes "-1", "0" and "+1" and system of movements "H", "L" and "V") for Tango (LOPEZ GALLUCCI, 2014). The essay focuses on the dissociations and spirals that Tango has inherited from African culture (from Candombe) and, although some historians deny the existence of any African influence in the music of Tango, I am able to provide evidence of its influence on the dance.

The second film essay, entitled *Philosophies of the Body in the Cariri of Ceará*, was made between 23 December 2017 and 6 January 2018, in the lead-up to the feast of the Epiphany, in the districts of Nova Olinda and Juazeiro do Norte (Ceará, Brazil). The essay highlights the different bodily expressions found in the inland regions of Ceará.

¹ Available from: < <http://www.natachamuriel.com> > [Accessed 1 July 2017].



Figure 9: Reisado. Photogram of film *Philosophies of the Body in the Cariri of Ceará* by Natacha Muriel, 2018

Although this research sits in the borderland between documentary and film essay (CORRIGAN, 2011), it is the result of a journey from empirical research to audio-visual critique. I have employed my knowledge of dance along with an analysis of both films and data collected in the field to access the philosophies of dancers' bodies. In this way, I explored the hidden relations between explicit culture and the gestures – in both the Tango dance and the Reisado fights – beneath which lie aspects of Afro-descendant culture that have survived by dint of mixing with what are socially acceptable traditions in the eyes of the ruling classes and the Catholic Church. And these traditional manifestations persist in modern-day urban life as a form of cultural resistance.

A number of ethical issues exist in this production space, those associated with documentary discourse and those concerning the critical and creative provocations of the cinematic essay (MORTON, 2017). According to the Brazilian documentary filmmaker João Moreira Sales, "... every documentary contains two distinct natures. On the one hand, it is a record of something that happened in the world; on the other, it is a narrative, a rhetoric constructed from what has been recorded" (MOREIRA SALLES, 2015, author's translation). By taking a camera into my empirical research, I did not intend simply to produce recordings of dance. Rather, I sought to bring into this field of research practices that are not obvious, even to the protagonists themselves. The film essay offers a particular kind of argumentative narrative, which recreates that which has never been shown in the cinema and which has all but vanished from people's memories. Narrating the unreported is part of a methodology that calls into question the historical forms of subjectivation associated with the ideals of the ruling classes that have appropriated the economies both of images and of the physical arts throughout the history of Latin American filmographies. The search for sources of choreography of African origin brings into current debate the ethical issues surrounding documentary discourse, film ethnography (FREIRE, 2005) and the philosophical provocations of the cinematic essay (WEINRCHTER LÓPEZ, 2015).

Conclusion

In light of the fact that dance is part of peoples' cultural heritage (ZEMP, 2013), the film essays in this comparative study have revealed how and why the two dances under study endure in modern-day urban life. At numerous points in history, movements that reflect the Afro-descendant origins of Tango and Reisado have been combined with the predominant gestures of the time, thus concealing their African roots. In spite of this, it is possible to observe similar physical codes, principally in the improvisation carried out by couples. Each member takes on a role (explicit or otherwise) in the dramaturgy, and based on this, they structure their improvisation to the music. Two characteristics of both Tango and Reisado are strongly associated with a tradition of ritual fight scenes: the intense focus that is demanded both in the couple work and in the face of risk, and the danger presented both by the swords and by the legs that invade the partner's personal space. The bodies of the participants improvise, by way of movements of distinct dissociation between upper and lower limbs, in order to carry out these invasions (sword strikes in Reisado; "cortes", "sacadas", "boleos" and "ganchos" in Tango). And, in both cases, there is the "amague", or feint, an unexpected false movement in one direction and then a return to a static position, a great awareness of the body's axis, and an excellent control of motor skills and of movement. In this improvisation, the couple's playful relationship with both the music and the audience brings the performance to a highly emotional climax.

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The Concept of Political Power in Thailand s' Philosophy "Absolute Power Tends to Absolute Morality": Obstacle of Thailand s' Liberal Democracy

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Abstract

In the late of 20 century Since the fall of The berlin wall and the collapse of soviet union, the end of political ideology era has comes, liberal Democracy the worst form of government except for all those other forms having been tried from time to time became a political Main Idea and regarded as one the great civilizing achievements of our time. However, Kingdom of Thailand is different from that. The Authoritarian-Aristocracy old school regime in the name of moral was adopted and was supported by extreme right Wing. The purpose of this paper is to study the Thailand s' concepts of power, differing from western original Concept, which equates power with moral; and absolute power led to absolute morality and Then Thai s' political philosophy do not share the idea of separated power. This view is concluded that the best way for political society If power Centralized to the good moral ruler such as Plato s' philosopher king. As Montesquier s' famous quote "experience constantly proves that every man who has power is impelled to abuse it." The consequence of this concept is dictatorship

Keywords: Political Power in Thailand, Seperation of power, Absolute Power

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Introduction

Since Thailand changed its rule from absolute monarchy to monarchy under the constitutional which has the government with the king as the head of the state in 1932. The liberal democracy seem was not rooted on Thai society. In the past 86 years, the image of democracy in Thailand has fallen into one of the most widely known as “The sinister political cycle of Thai politics”¹, or the cycle of constitutional drafting (by coup d'etat group and the most of it is to inheritance the power), uses the constitution and tear the constitution (by the coup d'etat group).

Thailand has a total of 20 constitutions and there are attempting of 13 coups. At the present, National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), the current national government which has been in power since the coup on May 22, 2014. It is a government that has gained power by military intervention and has the longest tenure in every government of the modern world.² It has been in power for over 5 years.

In the 21st century, the power of authoritarianism in Thailand can be traced to the value of (almost) all political societies due to many supporting factors. This work will present the factors of political philosophy in Thai civilization that centralized on the morality of the potentate over the structure of the political system.

Thailand s’ concepts of power, differing from western original Concept, which equates power with moral; and absolute power led to absolute morality and Then Thai s’ political philosophy do not share the idea of separated power. This view is concluded that the best way for political society If power Centralized to the good moral ruler such as Plato s’ philosopher king.

Conclusion

Overview of political philosophy in Eastern civilization.

The main religions of the world such as Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Hinduism are all originate in Eastern hemisphere. This indicates that Eastern civilization focus on human life in an individualistic way. On the perspective of Buddhism, their common questions are “What should a human life be like?” or “How can men be free from suffering?” Difference from the political content, it is about answering the question like “What should the good politics be like?” On the view of Professor Dr. Amorn Tassanee through the logical reason, he has a comment that originally Eastern civilization especially in Suvarnabhumi, there are no political philosophers at all. It is not because the wisdom of the Eastern civilization people is inferior. But the influence of the belief in Brahman-Buddhist culture of India³ that the king is a divine king, they have the power and the avatar to subdue the suffering of the people. No other concept came to the challenge this idea of Eastern civilization. In the ancient times, the most people in this region do not care about politics or engage in political doctrine.⁴

¹ See Likhith Dhiravegin (2011, p. 157).

² Not included the many countries that are Authoritarianism. But leaders have been transformed into elections, such as North Korea.

³ Even in ancient India in the epoch, It is a democratic process, but it has not been developed.

⁴ See Amorn Ruksasuth (1996, pp. 52-53).

The remarks about the citizen ignore on the political issues in the views of Professor Amon are in the same track with the observations of Monsieur de la Loubère. Monsieur de la Loubé, ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Louis XIV, the king of Viseu, traveling to Thailand for the amity in 1630 during the reign of King Narai the Great. He recorded the overview of the economic, social and cultural history of Thailand at that time in the archives of the name *Du Royaume de Siam*, which was later translated into Thai as “La Loubère archives”. “La Loubère archives” described the characteristics of Siamese people in those days that kindness.⁵ Deeply believe in a profound, intelligent mind, easily and clearly understood, sharp and nimble through dialogue.⁶ But in the view of political issues, La Loubère sees that Siamese people have no interest in political. For example, “Siamese people will not focus on politics, we can hear singing and dancing of all the houses, at the nightfall.”⁷

“In a country where there is hardly for anyone to talk about (Political affairs) The Great servitude of Siam, it is almost impossible to open Siamese’s mouth to tell the story of their country to anyone”⁸ In the concept of freedom which is the root of liberalism, La Loubère notes that “Slavery in Siam is still popular, can say that self-freedom at that time was so harsh?”⁹ In the sense of the fraternal brotherhood as one of the foundations of human rights, La Loubère notes that “Siamese people are well known for their kindness to animal, even it sick in the fields, they will help. But it is hard to give help to fellowmen beings.”¹⁰

A good example is even in the 21st century in a constitutional referendum on August 7, 2016, which is a day of judgment that our life is still ours. How do the basic rules for establishing our political society and for compatriot will be? The future of the next generation will go on which direction. The milestone in the political life of Thai people at that time, King Prajadhipok’s Institute public survey on the referendum in the subject of the reading of the draft of the constitution, the result shown that for the entire country, 3.4 percent read every section, 39.5 percent read some section, 57 percent did not read. The area that read the draft of the constitution before the referendum the least is Bangkok, 0.9 percent read in every section, 29.7 percent read some section, and 69.4 percent did not read.

In the point of view of Eastern political philosophy, Professor Dr. Thanate Apornsuwarn gave the opinion that political philosophers who have influenced to the human mind in Eastern civilization are not without, but very few. There are only five Eastern political philosophers: Confucius, Lao Tzu, Mao Tse-tung, and the most influence of the political ideas of Suvarnabhumi and Thailand are Manu Sarajarn¹¹ and the Buddha. If include the Prophet Muhammad of Islamic civilization, It is only 6 people. The political philosophy of Eastern civilization is the only question “Who should have the power to govern the society?” The answer of Western civilization since the 18th century will become “The People”. But the direction of the answer of Eastern civilization is reversed. The answer is the same for all Eastern political philosophers “The minority that better than the else in society.”¹² The slight difference

⁵ See La Loubère: 224, *as cited in* San T. Komonbut (2009).

⁶ See La Loubère: 187 and 198, *Ibid.*

⁷ See La Loubère: 120, *Ibid.*

⁸ See La Loubère: 249, *Ibid.*

⁹ See La Loubère: 236, *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See La Loubère: 236, *Ibid.*

¹¹ From the influence of the teachings on Mānava-Dharmaśāstra whether Manu Sarajarn the hermit is present in history or not?

¹² Western political philosopher who ever proposed this concept is Plato. He proposed that the person with intelligence and had a vision of true truth over the illusion of the world. The intellectual king whom is filled

in the concept of each political philosopher is that “how goodness of the right person should be?” For example, Mencius explaining that the potentate must have a “Lao Jue” or the righteousness of the hordes of people, together with righteousness from heaven. Mao Teung explains that partisans must be proletarians who understand Marxist materialist philosophy, can bring revolution, can reach and appreciate the teachings of the Communist Party. Buddha has the greatest influence on the political philosophy of Thailand, explain that the qualification of the custodian is: virtuous and high prestige person who has accumulate merit from religious principles. Tripitaka or the Buddhist scriptures teach the governance rule for Buddhism in Jukkawatdhiwat or Akkunyasutha which all about Dharma for the Emperor. They all focus on the qualities of good custodian. This has a great influence on the political concepts of Thailand. These philosophies are clearly explaining that Eastern civilization emphasis on the “person” who has the “Absolute morality”. It does not focus on the “system” or “regime”, which is the opposite of the political philosophy that focuses on good systems in Western civilization.¹³

The concept of power in Thai civilization.

In Western civilization, power is signified in the way of fraud or “Power is Corrupt” but in the Eastern civilization, especially the South-East civilization preferably in Thai civilization, not hold on it but one of the concepts is power and merits comes together and reflect to each other. Prof. Dr. Thongchai Winijakkul gave an sharpen example of the relationship between merit and power that

“These stories are reflection of this concept. All of us know well but never connect them together. One-When the Buddha was born. The astrologer predicts that if he is not a prophet, he will be the king, so two merits close to each other. Depend on Siththudtha the prince choose the way. This story of Buddhist philosophy reflects the merit to each other. Another story is Lord Ashoka. As a king, he spread the glory and kills a lot of people to build a great kingdom. Lord Asoka is the greatest Buddhist. These two things are together. We have this tradition. But now a day we forget that there are. That means the power does not cheat. But the power is morality. The absolute power is absolute morality.”¹⁴

The influence of the concept of power that the power is the merit and the power is the prestige comes from the spiritual beliefs of Suvarnabhumi people. Blended with the Buddhism teachings and emphasized by the rituals of Hinduism. It has become a Theravada Buddhist teaching¹⁵ or “Thai Buddhist religion,” which is based on the

with knowledge, he should be a potentate. However, the theory of Plato, the problem is finding the intellectual king whom his vision over the illusion of the world and how to measure the qualities of a kingship over another?

¹³ See Thanet Arpornsuwan (2016).

¹⁴ See Thongchai Winichakul (2016).

¹⁵ Herein, the author refers to Theravada Buddhism in the current Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, Section 67, which states that

“The state favors and protects Buddhism and other religions. In supporting and protecting Buddhism, which is the religion of the majority of Thai people for a long time, the state should promote and support the education and propagation of the principles of Theravada Buddhism to develop the mind and intelligence. There must be procedures and mechanisms to prevent Buddhism subverting in any form and encourage Buddhists to participate in the implementation of procedures or those mechanisms too”

logical reason that all things come from the source or the “cause” of existence. It is not happening by them-self., (Tipitaka, Abhidhamma Pitaka, Phra Maha Patthaya). Buddhism uses the concept of “Law of Karmic” explains the cause of things that happen from the past actions of each unit of life in transmigration. This principle, although initially reasonable considered but easily come to a halt because cannot explain empirical facts in many cases. Such as why some people are so wealthy, some people are born poor. Some people do bad things all their life but they have a good life. Some people do good things in life but they get bad returns. In order to response this problem, Theravada Buddhism teaches that physical and mental are separate.¹⁶ The body can be extinguished by physical death. The mental will remain eternal by circulating in the transmigration.¹⁷ The following statement was made from the belief in the circular death of this birth.¹⁸ The results in this world, some of them are from the actions of the past worlds. The cause of actions in this world will affect the next world.¹⁹

The belief of “Law of Karmic” becomes the concept in the book of Trai Bhum Pra Ruang or Three Worlds, a Thai Buddhist cosmology composed by PraMahathammaraja Litai. The content is described that the aristocracy is a man who has accumulated a lot of merit, the power that exists is right. The proletariat, the poor is caused by their own actions, not the result of the system.²⁰ Professor Dr. Nitthi Eawsrivong also describes the view of Thai ancient about the power is merit that may be due to Thai people view that the power cannot separated. Power and moral are considered the same power. State potentate holds the power from the power of their own merit. The greatest state potentate power, the highest authority of the merit power automatically. So even the monks will have a much dharma power, it is less than the monarch with the absolute morality in the state.²¹

The concept of power is morality and morality is power, state potentate is the man with high merit in Thai society make the state authority is meritorious. State potentate must try to behave in dharma for example temple building, make the merit. The power does not cheat when state potentate is the man with morality. This results in the

¹⁶ In Comparative Religion, all religions are based on spiritual beliefs. It is from the initial view of human beings, they understand that his world has two parts. The first part is the world of objects around the body. Another part is the world of mind. It appears in the picture that he was thinking “in mind” (in the brain).

¹⁷ In the 21st century, Professor Michio Kaku, a US scientist, explain the most popular research in this century that “To answer the question that how the brain create the mind?” This is a question that man has long been trying to answer in the history. He give many advance results to complementary the book “*VISIONS How Science will Revolutionize the 21th Century and Physic of the future*”. Doctor Chudchapol Kietkajornrada rise this issue “*how the brain create the mind*” to write a book “*500 million years of love*” which is a total of 2 books. His books included the philosophical ideas, history of finding the answer and important result from the researches in many disciplines.

¹⁸ Monsieur de la Loubère, a Westerner whom wonder to this notion, his opinion is “If human beings are in circulating death is real. Why are so many people increasing?”

¹⁹ In view of Prof. Dr. Richard Feymann's Nobel Prize in Physics, he is described in his book *Lecture on Physics*: “Science is the search for natural truth by experiments or observations of natural phenomena. When considering the process of explaining the results of the life of the last world, as well as the consequences that will affect the next world. It is found that no scientific process can explain the phenomenon of “karma” of Buddhism.” Prof. Dr. Somphan Prommata, who was a professor of Buddhism in Chulalongkorn University and Mahachulalongkorn University, explained that “The proof that the Buddha attain complete Nibbana and prove that Steve Jobs died and was born as giant. It is not possible to prove both.”

²⁰ See Likhit Dhiravegin (2011, pp. 52-53).

²¹ See Nithi Eawsrivong (2014, pp. 126-127).

understanding that the king with the highest morality or Thammarajja is never going to do the wrong thing. However, exception is the diminish of the morality or powerless, the power will decline.²² The coup in the Ayutthaya period is always having allegations of moral deterioration.²³

Professor Kukrit Pramoj has noted that. Power in a manner that is the same as morality, the acquisition of power must be in the way that is the omnipotent of the merit. Such as the power of the king, the power comes to the almighty because of king's morality, not the power of the ardent desire to acquire power in any way. Beside the influence of this concept on power in Thai society, at present, those who still have the notion that "morality is the power and power is morality" will look at the politicians who hold positions through elections that low legitimacy. Because of the process enters into power by election. There must be a campaign with the public that is running into power. Even the entry of a coup d'etat, they all have a view on the power is morality, morality is power, often explained to the public in a similar way. He did not come in because he needed power; it is the necessary to come into power. Of course, the reason is due to the moral deterioration of the former governance. The most interesting from the observation of the current author is that when people believe that the morality is the power and power is morality, according to the ancient Thai political motto. If the junta leader is a good person, there is morality in their minds. The idea of the power is a fraud. The authority has sought a mechanism to recover the capital from the cost of entry into power. It is imperative that the power monitored as doing to politicians will disappear. They will see that power is absolute when there is absolute power. Power monitoring system is not necessary.

Political philosophy which including the concept of power, is the blueprint of the constitution.²⁴ The Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand is a reflection of the concept of the power of Thai civilization, as in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (Provisional), BE 2557, Section 44, which is the heart of the constitutional power of this provisional provision, established that

"In the case where the Head of the National Council for Peace and Order deems necessary for the purpose of reforms in various fields, for the enhancement of unity and harmony among people in the country, or for the prevention, restraint, or suppression of any act which undermines public order or national security, the Monarchy, the national economy, or State affairs, irrespective of whether such act occurred inside or outside of the Kingdom, the Head of the National Council for Peace and Order, with the approval of the National Council for Peace and Order, shall have power to order, restrain, or perform any act, whether such act has legislative, executive, or judicial force; the orders and the acts, including the performance in compliance with such orders, shall be deemed lawful and constitutional under this Constitution, and shall be final. When those have been carried out, a report shall be submitted to the President of the National Assembly and the Prime Minister for acknowledgement without delay."

These provisions are a reflection of the absolute power that has no distinction of Thai civilization. In the present day, there is no law in any country in the world to give full

²² See Thongchai Winichakul (2013, pp. 61-63).

²³ See Chit Phumisak (2008).

²⁴ See Dieter Grim *as cited in* Michale Rosenfield and András Sajó (2012, p. 100).

power to any man to do any like this. At present, even the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand (Temporary) 2014 will be canceled. The promulgation of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2560, but the provisions of the Provisional Constitution of the current Section 265 also laid down the principle. The provisions of section 265 of the current Constitution stipulate that the Head of the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) shall remain in power until the new Cabinet becomes available after the general elections to be held in the future.

In addition, the current structure of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand also requires that the organization be governed by the election of the people or politicians elected by the House of Representatives and the Cabinet. They have a very small power. The power to determine and decide on the conduct of public policy is in politicians who are not elected. The Constitutional Court has virtually no connection with the sovereign state. This reflects the bizarre view of the people who believe. “Absolute Power is Absolute Morality,” which looked at the politicians who tried “Campaign with the people” to enter into power is less legitimate than the kind of politicians who have the power by the designation. This is a major obstacle to the Liberal democracy regime of Thailand.

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Creative Market: A Gathering Place for Folk Creative Forces in Contemporary Cities

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Abstract

The theme of this paper is to develop Creative Market and promote the development of folk creative forces in contemporary cities. Creative Market refers to such fair that displays and sells small creative objects for everyday use within a given time and venue. This paper expounds on the emergence and development of Creative Market, as well as overall development and main features of Creative Market in China. The paper holds that Creative Market is a “Chinese-style creation” by creativity of the common people in the tide of creative economy, with originality as its core value and individuality, small production size and handmade crafts as its basic features. Creative Market is constructive for contemporary consumption culture, which, with a passion for creative and knowledge of design, is willing to pay for creative ideas and “created in China”. Creative Market is a mass creative space integrating creative, design and manufacturing, where creative people are maker-designers who transform creative ideas into products. It is also an innovation platform for grass root design and mass art, where maker-designers represent a new lifestyle and way of work. The paper suggests that the government and society should support the development of Creative Markets so that they can play a greater role in the construction of Contemporary urban culture and the creation of urban creativity and artistic atmosphere.

Keywords: Creative Market, creative forces, folk

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Creative Market is a “Chinese-style creation” by creativity of the common people amongst the tide of creative economy as well as a new creative space in the diversified contemporary urban culture eco-system. Creative Market refers to such fair that displays and sells small creative objects for everyday use within a given time and venue, where products sold on such fair mainly features originality, individuality, trendy style and handmade production. In short, Creative Market is where participants take what they have created to the fair. The organizers would provide or apply for the venue from authorities and determine the time, and openly solicit creative works from the public and accept registration. Sellers and shoppers would discuss face to face during the fair and make the deals.

Creative Market is a new form of traditional fair in the contemporary context; yet what differentiates Creative Market from conventional fair is that most of the products on the Creative Market are characterized by individuality and originality. Integrating lifestyle and art and accessible for all, Creative Market is an experimental stage of creativity of the common people and a creative space for mass design and grass root design.

The idea of Creative Market was first proposed in 2005 in *Creative Market* by Wang Yiyi, a Taiwanese designer pursuing her studies in UK. The phenomenon that London designers took their creative works to the market for sale was described in the book and referred to as “Creative Market”. In fact, no specific market in either UK or other countries is operating under the name of Creative Market. With the publication of this book, the concept of Creative Market was responded with much enthusiasm among creative people, especially the young generation in China, Imart Creative Market, which was the first Creative Market in mainland China, was held in Guangzhou in July, 2006, followed by the emergence of new markets named Creative Market in large and medium-sized cities in China, and the concept of Creative Market was truly materialized in reality.

Creative Market is a mass creative space integrating creative, design and production, and the creative people in the market are maker designers who transform creative ideas into products. Maker designers on the market offer handmade products with artistic, individual and little technical element, they translate personal interest, inspiration and talent into reality through individual manufacturing. The creativity displayed by Chinese Creative Market is making it a living carrier of contemporary urban creative spirit and a part of new urban culture.

I. Current Development of Creative Markets in China

From 2006 to now, the Creative Market with a history of 10 years has developed from the original several cities, scattered and intermittent state to the large and medium-sized cities across the country, presenting a trend of sustained and stable development. Creative markets are organized in a variety of ways, from indoor to outdoor.

The scale is from a few stalls to 200 or 300 stalls. The initial Creative Market does not have many sessions each year, but it is relatively large. In recent years, the host frequency is much, the scale is small. In many cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen, there are dozens to hundreds of fairs held every year. After

years of development, some cities have formed some influential Creative Market brands. Such as iMART Creative Market in Guangzhou, Firefly Creative Market in Shanghai, T Street Creative Market in Shenzhen, West Lake Creative Market in Hangzhou, etc. Many of the small studios that participate in the Creative Market are composed of young creative people, some one or two person, some three or five.

The modes of Creative Market are divided into three types: stall, physical store and online store.

Most Creative Markets are in the form of stall, which is the most basic and most widely seen so that Creative Markets mainly refer to creative stalls. Yet rather than randomly arranged like normal street peddlers, such stalls are organized events with organizer, co-organizer and in many cases, specified theme. Usually the organizer must follow certain procedures to acquire a permit for holding the event, and post related information about the stall as well as the conditions and procedures for application on certain media (internet or posters); participants therefore may bring their goods for selling at the given time and venue after being noticed by the organizer for approval through certain procedures. It is normally for the organizer to determine where or not stand fees should be paid by participants and the payable amount. Such stalls can be categorized into ground stalls and stand stalls. In the former case, no material support is provided by the organizer and participants may place their goods directly on the ground while in the latter case, the organizer usually provides tables and stools, cartons, slipcovers, parasols, tents, etc., and participants may place their goods on the table for shoppers to choose.

Online Creative Market refers to the model where a certain number of creative brands agglomerate on an online platform for buyers to place their order online after making a choice based on the text and image information of the products. As online Creative Market offers more convenience and efficiency, some creative people would advertise and sell their products simultaneously in stalls, physical stores and online markets. Wowsai.com and nuandao.com are two online creative platforms functioning as online Creative Markets where creative designers and their studios gather together. While many market participants also set up online stores on ordinary online platforms, such as taobao.com, selling online is the main sales way when they do not participate in a live Creative Market.

Physical store Creative Market refers to such a model where the creative people sold their products in a fixed physical market space. Some stores are independent boutiques while others might be chain stores or shoppes in department stores. This model is characterized by fixed venue and daily business operations. Creative Market of Fengguo.com is represented by physical stores. Compared with the stall market and network market, brick-and-mortar stores account for a small proportion in the model of Creative Market due to their high operating costs.

Products on Creative Markets include a wide variety ranging from handicrafts and paper art to accessories and clothing, mostly small products for everyday use featuring individuality and creativeness. The vast majority of these products are handmade in small batches. These products come from small studios that participate in the market. With the development of Creative Market, some Creative Market brands with their own ideas, features and styles have emerged, including Happy Chen, Jing

Maomao, and Beauty Original, etc.

Young people aged between 20 and 35 constitute the mainstream of Creative Market participants. Although Creative Market still sounds unfamiliar for many people, its awareness among young urban residents proves quite high. These young people are both producers of the goods sold on the market and mainstream consumers. The vast majority of these brands are run by small studios of one, two or three designers, who have just graduated from university or fresh in the professional world, and most of these young people have an education background in design or art, in addition to participating in the Creative Market, they mainly sell their products online or consignment in stores. Consumer groups of Creative Markets are mainly young urban residents and university students.

Organizers of Creative Markets include a wide variety of social entities such as media, companies, governmental agencies, schools, non-profit social organizations, etc., among which three types are relatively more active and influential: companies, governmental agencies and media.

The May Day holiday, National Day holiday and summer vacation from July to August constitute the peak seasons for Creative Markets, which are mainly held outdoors in spring, summer and autumn and indoors in winter. Usually lasting for one or two days, and normally not exceeding three days, most Creative Markets are held in venues with many visitors, recognized and frequented as trendy landmarks or those with historical and cultural richness. Shopping malls and featured stores are the most common places for Creative Markets, also major parks, art zones, stadiums and squares and street blocks. After more than ten years of development, some cultural creative spaces that support and suitable for development of the Creative Market have been formed.

2. Core Values of the Creative Market: "Creativity", "Individuality" and "Fashion"

Creative Market is a result of the overwhelming era of creative economy. Since the late 1990s, the concept and practice of creative industry and creative economy has been sweeping across the world, as gaining driving force for enterprise and social economy through individual or collective creativity became widely accepted, and Creative Market was born in such social atmosphere that values and respects creativeness. Though the concept of Creative Market is originated from Creative Markets was born in London, yet its concrete form and massive practice are taking place in contemporary China, It can be safely stated that Creative Market is a type of "Created in China" by grass root creative talents amongst the tide of creative economy.

Originality is the core value of Creative Market while individuality, small scale and handmade production constitute its basic characteristics. the pursuit for originality is the most precious and most valuable content of the Creative Market, Participants in Creative Markets have always followed the principle of originality, which is manifested in the themes and mottos of some of these markets, including "Small Design and Big Idea", "Creative Ideas Generate Wealth", "Support Original Design and Discover the Beauty of Originality".as the novelty, fun and uniqueness of the

products on the Creative Market are all related to originality; while sustainable innovation capacity is the fundamental driving force for contemporary creative urban development.

Creative Market is where creative and unique products are valued and appreciated while profit-seeking “wholesale goods” with little originality are despised by creative people participating in the market and are constrained in various ways. In some Creative Markets, once organizers spot goods procured from wholesale markets, such booth or stand would be immediately suspended. Many organizers clearly state the requirement for originality when calling for product entries for the Creative Market, and participants must submit images of their products. After examination and approval, these participants are required to sign a letter of commitment with the organizer, promising that the certain level of similarity between goods sold on the market and the images submitted. As the commonly acknowledged fundamental principle of Creative Markets, originality is what essentially differentiates Creative Markets from general markets or flea markets, making the former a newly emerged contemporary form of market and a new creative space in the contemporary city.

Compared to industrialization, batched production and high- and new-technology integrated in contemporary products, the goods sold on Creative Markets show opposite characteristics: hand-made production, small batch and little technical element yet showcasing the core essence of creative products, i.e. “emphasis on creativeness”, “individuality” and “fashion”. Here the value of products is a result of individual inspiration, talent and creativity, which is core to the emergence of market and social influence. The characteristic of handmade and small-scale production reflects the contemporary trend for consumption featuring niche market and customization. Products on the Creative Market are an integration of design and production, conveying a multi-layered connotation which encourages creativeness, emphasizes handmade crafts and expresses individuality and an attitude towards life that is different from traditional values of industrial products. Besides, these creative products also echo with a low-carbon and environmentally friendly modern lifestyle.

The products of the Creative Market conform to the current high-quality and personalized consumer demand. The products on the market are not pure artworks, the products need to have the potential to be “purchased”. The fact that the Creative Market develops mainly in cities, especially in large and medium-sized cities, shows that a certain consumption environment is a necessary condition for the development of the Creative Market. The pursuit for individuality, uniqueness and creativity as reflected in the products on Creative Markets illustrates the consumer preference of the contemporary market which has lost interest in the mechanical, massive and stereotyped industrial goods. Creative Market, on the other hand, encourages quality products and quality consumption, which means creative, individualistic, interesting and inspired products rather than necessarily expensive, premium or luxurious consumption. Creative Market is consistent with the demand of niche market as well as the development trend of contemporary consumption which values individuality. With the development of Creative Markets in China, new consumer groups who are enthusiastic about creative, knowledgeable of design and tasteful about life have emerged. Developing Creative Market helps to encourage awareness and consumption of creative products, individualistic products and quality products of consumers in Beijing, while helping to cultivate a diversified consumption market and consumer

group and developing a contemporary consumption culture featuring passion for creativeness, understanding of design and willingness to pay for “Created in China”.

3. Creative Market Is A Gathering Place for Folk Creative Forces

Maker refers to those transforming various creative ideas into reality as an interest or hobby. Creative people active in Creative Markets are maker designers who translate their creative ideas into products on the market. Unlike the mainstream of makers—the “geek makers” working with hardware installations and open source coding among other high technologies as their platform, maker designers on the market offer handmade products with artistic and little technical element; yet they do possess the core characteristic of makers: translating personal interest, inspiration and talent into reality through individual manufacturing. Maker is a representative of contemporary folk creative power, maker designers in the market is a unique type of maker. In the cultural construction of contemporary cities and the cultivation of creative resources, cities needs not only glamorous brand designs and maestro designers but also grass root creative talents providing long-term and sustainable support for the development of creative city. In the Creative Market some maker designers won the market, gathered consumers and venture capital, launched the brand, and eventually left the Creative Market to open stores independently; some have been active in various types of Creative Markets for several years; some people disappear after a while at the Creative Market, and meanwhile new people keep coming in, there are many young people looking for opportunities to join in. These fledgling designers in Creative Markets in Beijing are the grass root foundation and reserve forces indispensable to the goal of building a creative city and “Capital of Design” of Beijing.

Creative Market is a creative space for grassroots design and civilian art. A brand may possibly be born from a computer, several rough sketches and some feet of dyed textiles. The idea of Creative Market was originated on the grass root level rather than the top design, hence spontaneously developing in echoes with the times. Without any subsidy from the government, its survival depends on the market from the very first day. At a Creative Market, everyone can be a designer or an artist. The first Creative Market in mainland China was named after iMART, which means I am art (everyone is an artist). On Creative Market characterized by low threshold and easy accessibility, the only criterion is the creativeness of products. This design by the masses on grass root level reflects the enormous cultural creativity of the populace, and practice the spirit of The Times of mass entrepreneurship and innovation.

The Creative Market is the reflection of the folk creative power in contemporary China, and the identity of the creative person in the market is folk. In the social structure of China, they are independent non-institutional (group) individuals with high degree of freedom and belong to freelancers. For some of them, entrepreneurship starts immediately after they graduate from university, or even before graduation; while others, including those well paid, quit their jobs after some time and start their own enterprises, for example, Gao Xinyue, a girl from Beijing, quitted her job as assistant manager of a TV & media company to pursue her career as an independent maker designer. The younger generation enthusiastically involved in Creative Markets are creators of a new generation of culture characterized by the era. They tend to integrate work and fun, life and art, and pursue a lifestyle with more independence

and less constraint in creating culture and life. Creating in freedom and fun is the lifestyle advocated and followed by maker designers involved in Creative Markets who arrange their own schedules for work, life and leisure. Enjoying what they do and living a carefree life in freedom is what they have chosen. The work and life style of creative people in the market reflects a kind of individualistic culture with the characteristics of The Times, which is part of the process of social diversification and democratization.

Creative Market is the living carrier of contemporary creative city. China's Creative Market is dominated by young urban people. In one city's Creative Market, a lot of people are from the local area, but some people are from other cities, and young foreigners are seen engaged in such markets from time to time. With youthful passion and dream to create, these people take Creative Market as their stage and testing ground, where they test, revise and materialize their creative ideas. The Creative Market gathers the scattered and weak forces of the folk and strengthens them, thus becoming the most vigorous and energetic part of the modern urban creative spirit. The Creative Market integrates the new connotation of "having dreams, loving creativity and daring to venture" into the creative spirit of contemporary cities.

The development of Creative Market will contribute to the construction of urban creative atmosphere and new urban culture, the culture of a city is by no means limited to its history. All new cultural phenomena and new accumulation are possible to be part of the urban culture. All healthy and positive cultures should be included in the urban cultural spirit. The spirit of innovation embodied in the Creative Market has injected new connotation and vitality into the contemporary urban culture.

4. Suggestions for the Future Development of Creative Market

Considering that the development of Creative Market contributes to the creation of urban creative atmosphere, the formation of new creative space and the construction of creative city, the governments and official institutions of various cities should pay attention to and support the development of Creative Markets to make the development of contemporary cities more dynamic. For this purpose, the following recommendations are made:

A. Provides a fixed space for the Creative Market and fosters a new urban public creative space.

As a flexible and convenient platform for demonstration and circulation of creative products, Creative Markets Participants remain undimmed in their enthusiasm for Creative Market. Yet the constantly expanding demand of such enormous creativity has not yet been fully satisfied, Creative Market participants are looking for more opportunities for involvement and more convenient space for events and activities, therefore, it is suggested that: First, It is suggested to set up the Creative Market section in various large-scale social and cultural activities, such as art festival, cultural festival and cultural forum, hence building a consistent and representative brand of Creative Market. Second, the experience of Shenzhen and Taiwan in involving Creative Markets in the construction of urban leisure space as well as cultural and tourism landmarks can be borrowed in terms of providing a fixed venue and space, to provide a permanent place and space for long-term activities to the Creative Market in

a city with conditions, to cultivate the city's new fashion and creative landmarks and cultural tourist attractions. During a survey for consumers of Creative Market in Beijing in 2013, over half of the recipients gave the answer of “monthly or biweekly” to the question “what do you think is the most appropriate frequency of Creative Markets”, accounting for 54.7% of the total. For the construction of modern creative cities, this innovative folk aspiration should be answered.

B. Develop Creative Market, attract designer-makers to gather and boost the development of grass root creative.

Creative Market is a gala of designer makers. It is therefore recommended to guide the spontaneous impulses to create to transform from purely “creative for fun” to creative-based entrepreneurship so that Creative Market would truly function as an experimental stage and starting point for young entrepreneurs in design and creative as well as a maker space nurturing and maintaining young design talents. Dynamic efforts in developing grass root design including Creative Markets would improve the social awareness and perception for design and creativity, hence forming a favorable social atmosphere of valuing and understanding design. It is suggested to organize design contests and awards on various levels and of different types, especially those for young designers, and to support small and micro enterprises established by makers, including those on Creative Markets, by providing favorable conditions or fee reduction in terms of enterprise creation, loans and patent application, in an effort to boost the grass root creative power.

C. Strengthen attention and research on Creative Markets

Rather than labeling such Creative Markets as young people having fun or acting on youthful impulse, the ideas of “emphasis on creativeness”, “individuality” and “fashion” reflected in these Creative Markets should be guided as a driving force for advocating innovation spirit and constructing a new urban culture. In this sense, social understanding and support of Creative Market as grass root creative resource are far from being sufficient. In the media reporting of the Creative Market in the past year, fewer than a few cases can see the attention of mainstream media, the media focus on emerging media such as civil websites and Internet groups. Besides, in the study of the contemporary urban cities little attention is shown to Creative Markets and grass root creative resources. It is therefore suggested that the government should engage in and support Creative Markets through organizing, co-organizing, media support, project research, etc. so as to strengthen the research on grass root creative activities such as Creative Market and to explore deeper into the relationships between Creative Market and cultural & creative industry, between Creative Market and grass root creative resources, between Creative Market and urban youth culture as well as new urban culture, hence making Creative Market a new highlight showcasing the urban dynamism and creativity.

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***Violence and Radicalisation in Communities: The Role of Multi-Agency
Partnership in Detection and Prevention***

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Abstract

After 52 murders in London during the first 100 days of 2018, and the 2017 UK terrorist attacks by religious extremists, concerned commentary on this state of affairs emerged among politicians and in the UK media. Some UK media commentary questioned the Conservative Government cuts (LGA, 2015) to public spending, including the Police, and posited this as a possible cause for the spike in violence (BBC, 2018). Kevin Campbell, former London gang member, commented in a BBC interview for the Victoria Derbyshire programme that “When there are less police officers on the street, members of gangs see this as a window of opportunity” (BBC, 2018). This interview questioned whether the fall in police numbers could be a major contributory factor to the rise in gun and knife crime in London. It was followed by a series of stories in the broadcast and print media investigating the reaction to the murders. Some of these commentaries have been included in this paper alongside interviews with former prison officers, a former gang member, youth workers, charity support person, and community safety personnel. All interviewees except one referred to the need for collaborative working between communities and statutory agencies to address the violence, signifying levels of complexity that exceed a single, isolated cause such as the loss of police personnel. Multi agency partnerships include a range of membership from statutory agencies to members of the public, reflecting local demographics and the complexity of local problems (Roberts, 2016). The most serious concern is that the early warning signs that can lead to violence of the kind witnessed in the 2017 attacks (UNISON 2016) and the murders of early 2018 in London, seem to be missed, and there appear to be causative factors. The research considers the societal and political background to the London murders and the reasons why local information about crime, shared through multi-agency partnerships and coalitions, is important to policing and community safety. The paper also examines policing, community safety, social policy changes in the UK and their effects since 2010. The paper goes on to present findings about contributory factors to the violence and the significance of shared information in detecting violent intent, violent action, radicalisation and terrorism. The final part of the paper reviews the question of how involved agencies can address ongoing violence and extremism in communities through local intelligence gleaned through partnership working.

Keywords: Community violence, knife crime, extremism, terrorism, partnerships, collaboration, coalition

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Killings in London in 2018

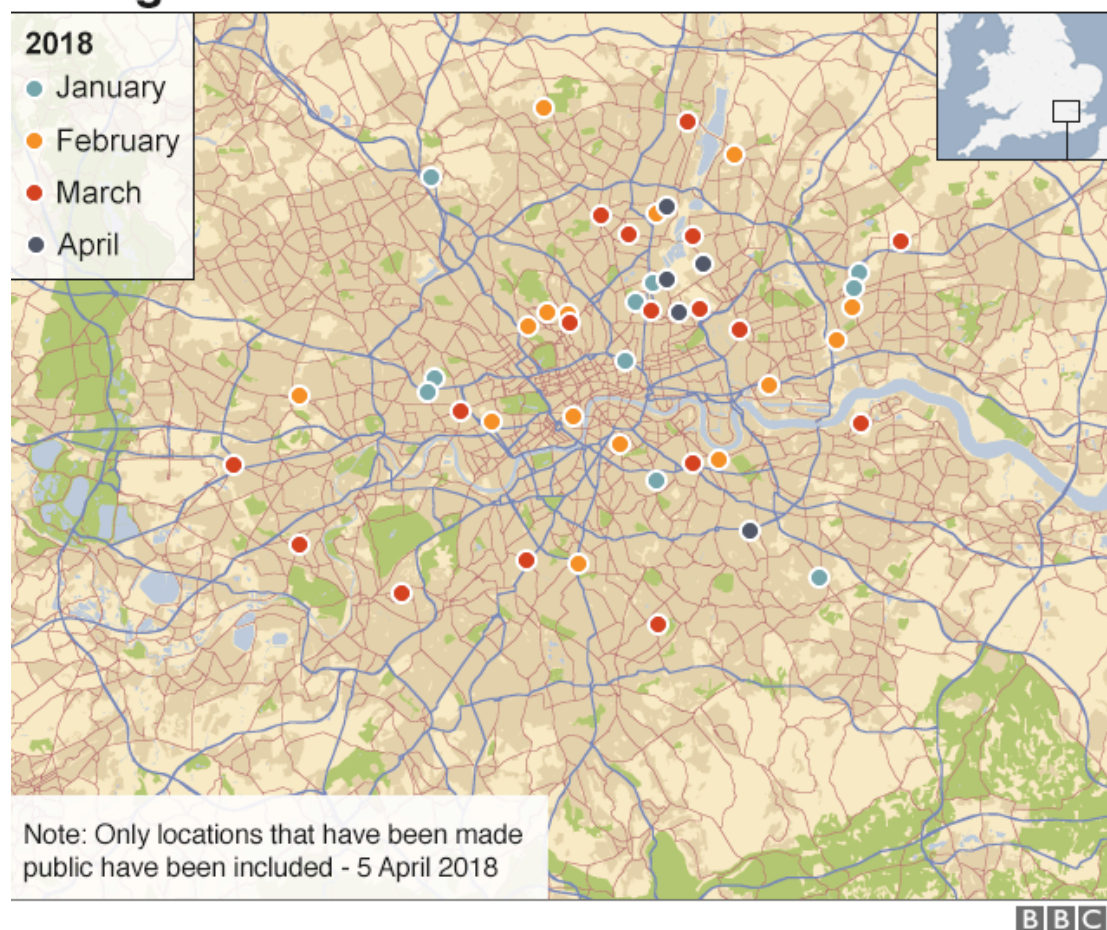


Figure 1: London Killings. Source: BBC News.co.uk.

Introduction

The focus of this paper is the political and societal complexity involved in the recent rise in UK gun and knife crime during 2018. Alongside government policy developments since 2010 and the recent 2018 media coverage, the paper considers the modern social landscape in the UK, particularly in London, and an apparent environment of marginalisation, isolation and division expressed by young people and public services professionals interviewed for this study. Furthermore, analysis is undertaken relating to some media statements made on the theme of cuts to police resources by former Conservative Home Secretary Amber Rudd, serving Metropolitan Police Commissioner Cressida Dick, London Mayor Sadiq Khan and the present Home Secretary, Sajid Javid.

Research design

To address the issues, the research is based on a qualitative design using mixed methods. This was chosen because both narrative and documentary analyses can elicit a rich picture of causative factors as perceived by those working and living among the violent communities in question. Qualitative research gives us the tools to help achieve an in-depth picture of the research subject, focusing on activity in its natural setting to interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning that people might bring to it.

Creswell (2014, p.15) suggests that qualitative research can be understood as a process of enquiry intending to enhance understanding, and there seems little doubt that the rise in gun and knife crime in UK cities has prompted those in authority and ordinary communities to seek to understand the reasons behind this phenomenon.

The object of qualitative research in the context of this study is to achieve a nuanced understanding of social realities in groups, individuals and cultures, through the subjective experiences of these groups and individuals in their natural setting. Qualitative research design is linked to social constructions, placing an emphasis on subjectivity wherein the insights offered by interviewees for this paper can be analysed in relation to questions about the societal and political causative factors. A common critique against qualitative research concerns its internal validity and reliability when considered with quantitative approaches based on scientific, deductive logic (Flick, 2011; Creswell, 2014; Hull, 1997). However, the rise in gun and knife crime in the UK during 2018 is not just a question of numbers, which are in themselves a concern. This paper seeks to uncover the story behind the numbers. In considering the effects of political and societal changes, these effects are more immediate among those that experience them.

Denzin and Lincoln (2014) highlight links between qualitative research designs and interpretivist epistemologies. In this study, an interpretivist epistemological framework is adopted to support a qualitative approach. Although epistemology is not an observable construct it can affect the world view and assumptions made in any research. However, the reasons for selecting the qualitative approach are based around an experiential or grounded rationale for investigating the human aspects of social disorder. Myers, (2009, p.38) says that in the interpretivist epistemological framework, “access to reality (given or socially constructed) is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness, shared meanings, and instruments”. Quantitative approaches alone are more aligned with some limitations in enabling in-depth, multi-level explanations for social phenomena.

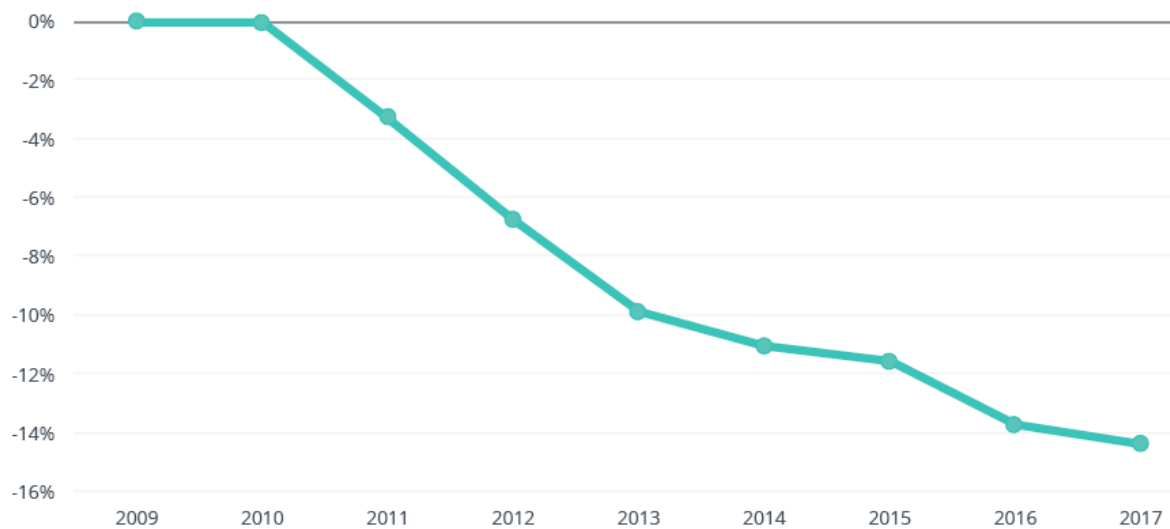
The research also includes participatory observation at a large community meeting involving community safety and police professionals, local government officers, Health professionals, youth workers and members of the local community held in May 2018 in Portsmouth, Hampshire. This approach enabled interaction between the researcher’s direct experience of the meeting and individual contributions to matters of concern about local community violence. Semi-structured interviews, lasting from a few minutes to one hour, were undertaken. Questions were similar for each interview, but where time allowed, deeper questioning took place. The rationale for including media interviews is that the subjects are from political circles and local communities offering insight into specific social norms and expressions which are germane to the subject, and bear direct comparison to the interviews undertaken for this study.

The complexity of the subject area indicates that a structured approach should be taken in analysing the data and this will relate themes identified by each of the interviewees in London and Portsmouth. These are:

1. Government cuts to policing resources
2. Government policy of Austerity, affecting Local Authorities
3. Housing

Government cuts to policing resources

There is little equivocation about the extent of cuts to policing and community safety since 2010. National Audit Office figures (Comptroller and Auditor General, 2016, p.6) show that direct government funding for policing fell by 25% (£2.3 Billion) over the years 2010-2016. The Institute for Government (2017) has published figures showing a further drop in police funding and the concomitant fall in police numbers by 14% to 2017.



Source: Home Office, Police Workforce England and Wales Statistics, March 2017



Figure 2: Declining police personnel numbers

There is no question that police numbers fell, and continue to fall, with a loss of 21,000 police officers, 18,000 police staff and 6,800 police community support officers since 2010 (House of Commons Library, 2018; Disney and Simpson, 2017, p.2). This equates to nearly one quarter of the police force for England and Wales. The House of Commons debate pack quoted above records concerns about the ability of the UK police to maintain public security and community safety and these concerns are echoed by Chief Constables and the Community Safety staff in this paper. The present UK Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Cressida Dick, appeared before the House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee in June 2018 where she admitted that it would be “naïve” to think that the fall in police numbers had nothing to do with the rise in gun and knife crime in 2018 (Parliament TV, 2018). The office of the London Mayor published figures in January 2018 saying that £600 million had been cut from the Metropolitan police budget since 2010 (Mayor’s office, 2018) whilst in Hampshire, the Police Federation recorded their concerns over cuts to local policing during 2011 (Hampshire Police Federation, 2011).

In October 2017 the Guardian newspaper reported concerns about police numbers expressed by Metropolitan Police deputy commission Craig Mackey (a. Guardian, 2017). In a later Guardian story, Met. Police Commissioner Dick stated that police cuts will have contributed to the rise in violent crime (c. Guardian ,2018).

The question must be asked: how much are these statements supported by the facts? In 2017 the Institute for Fiscal Studies published their findings confirming that 20,000

police officers were lost between 2009-2016 and further cuts to police funding are planned by the government until 2020 (Disney and Simpson, 2017 p.3). The Association of Police and Crime Commissioners reported in 2015 that “Budget Cuts will Radically Affect Policing” (APCC, 2015) saying that “a fundamental rethink” would be necessary to help maintain services. A compelling argument comes from Lumsden and Black’s 2017 paper on “austerity policing”. Here they refer to Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary’s (HMIC) warning, on page 60 about the way in which austerity had affected police forces in England. The study uncovered evidence of “deliberately suppressing demand, not responding to crimes and not making arrests due to a lack of resources”. If the police are not making arrests due to lack of resources, it may be expected that such intelligence could have leaked into the criminal community and local areas of concern in large cities such as London. The comment about police officers not making arrests chimes with Kevin Campbell’s comment in the BBC interview on 4 April 2018 signalling a “window of opportunity” for those seeking to perpetrate violent and other types of crime (BBC,2018). “I know I ain’t gonna get caught. They don’t even bother to come out no more” (Interview 10).

On the other side of the argument, the former Conservative Home Secretary, the Rt. Hon. Amber Rudd MP, made public statements about the rise in knife and gun crime in London, referring to “evidence”, which she stated did not support the idea that larger police numbers have a greater effect on reducing crime. It is important to examine these statements and the evidence referred to by the former Home Secretary in light of the statements to the contrary from academics, statutory agencies, HMIC, the Police and representatives of affected communities. The evidence that Rudd appears to refer to is that high numbers of police officers coincided with equally high figures in violent crime in 2008 during the Labour Government administration. Sajid Javid, former Conservative Communities Secretary, supported Rudd in a Guardian article saying that both police numbers and violent crime were both at their highest “ten years ago” (b. Guardian, 2018). For the purpose of comparing like with like: if this constitutes the “evidence” that Rudd cites, it is important to note the changes in both crime types and patterns during the last ten years (Loveday, 2017; UN 2015; PERF, 2018). This 2008 “evidence” has tenuous links with the changing pattern of modern crime in Britain and further afield where criminals are moving towards a less obtrusive means of committing criminal acts through use of the internet. This criminal activity was cited by Commissioner Dick in her assessment of the present crisis in gun and knife crime in London when she referred to so-called “Drill” music and social media as key influencers in inciting violence among young people (a. BBC news 2018). Evidence in the research for this paper states that both social media and “Drill” are symptoms and expressions of a much deeper problem (Interviews 3,5,6,7 and10). Youth workers and prison officers concurred in their opinion that Drill and social media are part of a far wider picture of youth disaffection with the loss of youth services, local youth clubs, youth workers, community centres and support workers in local communities. A former gang leader, interviewed by the BBC on 6 April 2018 said "Due to spending cuts there has been less policing, community centres are closing. There's been no money directed at the third sector for a while and with all these cuts and reductions we've got more young people falling out on to the streets." (BBC, 2018. c.) indicating that this is not merely a question of fewer police officers on the streets of the capital. One former prison officer who was interviewed for this research stated “These are kids who no longer have any support, either at home or in

the community. There are very few youth workers or local services since the cuts to local authority budgets. They literally feel they are on their own and it's kill or be killed". The former gang member who contributed to this research (Interview 10) said "I got a knife because all the bad boys got one. I'd rather be arrested and sent to prison for having a knife and still be alive. If I didn't, I'd get shanked [stabbed] soon as I went out the door." Drawing parallels between the media commentary cited above and the primary research for this paper helps to support the notion that the recent rise in gun and knife crime is not just a question of reduced police numbers.

London Mayor, Sadiq Khan, announced a rise in the precept for London Policing in April 2018, enabling the deployment of an enhanced force of 120 officers to tackle the problem of gun and knife crime in the capital. This force has greater powers to stop and search (b. BBC News 2018), but it is also noteworthy that in this interview, Mayor Khan cites cuts to both policing and local youth services as contributory factors to the recent spike in violent crime in London. It should be remembered that Sadiq Khan is a Labour party Mayor and this view could represent an ideological opposition to public sector cuts, but his concerns are also echoed by Commissioner Cressida Dick, the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners (APCC), Lumsden and Black (2017), Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary (HMIC) and all interviewees for this research. It seems that anxieties about cuts to police numbers are not merely the concern of a single political party with ideological differences to the present Conservative government.

Government policy of Austerity, affecting Local Authorities

Since the Coalition Government of 2010 and the subsequent Conservative Government, a succession of policy changes have impacted the provision of public services at local level (UNISON,2018; Buck, D. 2018; Emerson, 2017; Hastings et.al, 2015), many negatively. Contributors to this research mention aspects of government policy in the years since 2010 with reference to the effects of cuts to local services (interviews 1,2,3,4,6,7,8,9). Services referred to are cuts to youth services, community support workers, community centres, probation, policing, housing and housing staff plus benefits changes, and these concerns are echoed by the Local Government think tank LGiU in their 2018 report (LGiU, 2018). Cuts to public spending were and are part of the Coalition, then Conservative strategy of Austerity instituted after the financial crash of 2008 (Roberts, 2018). The Local Government Association published their concerns in 2014 where they warned that statutory services could not be maintained in the face of swingeing cuts to public services (LGA, 2014). The majority of the cuts to public spending under Austerity have been shouldered by local government (JRF 2015) and by services such as the NHS and the Police.

Cuts to youth services and housing

Since 2010, there have been cuts to youth services provision (Eichler, 2018) in local areas as part of the government policy of austerity (MacLeavy, 2011). Warnings have been issued by statutory agencies regarding the loss of youth provision in local areas, not least of which are in the cities. The Local Government Association warned of the dangers of cutting Youth Offending Teams, sited with local authorities, who provide support to young offenders. Richard Watts, chair of the LGA's Children and Young People's Board said

‘Increases in knife crime amongst young people highlights the challenge still facing youth offending teams, and we’re worried that cutting back on funding risks undermining the progress that’s been made over the last decade’ (Cited in Eichler, 2018).

It is not just the Youth Offending Teams that have experienced cuts. UNISON published a report in 2018 called *The Damage* in which it warns that cutting youth services will inevitably lead to a rise in youth crime. Deprivation, says the report, has affected children under the age of 18 more seriously than others:

“it is clear that deprivation is far more acute among young people. And yet it is this group which has borne the brunt of the government’s austerity agenda, with the Education Maintenance Allowance cut, higher education tuition fees trebled to £9,000, and housing benefit slashed” (p.3)

This encompasses many of the issues raised, both by the young people who contributed to this paper and the statutory services interviewed. Drill music and social media seem to be part of the overall picture of deprivation, isolation and social exclusion experienced by many young people at the heart of the current rise in gun and knife crime. Those who spoke to me but did not want to be identified, either indirectly or directly, affirmed that they feel “pushed out”, especially in London. Interview 10 confirmed that young people in deprived areas and those involved in gangs feel that there is no hope, no chance of getting out from the cycle of deprivation. “I can’t afford no room. I sleep on the floor at my mums when she lets me. I got four brothers and we live in a flat. I can’t get no room because I’ve got a [police] record, I can’t pay for it with no job, and anyway, the council can force me to take private [rentals] I can’t afford, then when I can’t pay, the landlord throws me out and I’m homeless again.” Interview 10 stated that he can go home with a pocketful of cash from committing crimes, pay his mother and buy what he needs. The pull for young people in this situation can be seen in such criminal activity as so-called County Lines (Childrens Society, 2018; NCA, 2017), in which children are being sent by gangs in cities to the regions to transport drugs for sale. Interview 10 confirmed that County Lines are sometimes operated by gangs joining together in a larger city to make money and for children involved, this is easy money. Achieving a stable home life, or just somewhere to live appears to be seen as impossible for many. Single, lone men in particular are not a priority for housing. Changes to housing policy since 2010 mean that Interview 10 is still unable to access accommodation via Universal Credit. Because he has a criminal record, private landlords are refusing him accommodation – even if he had the money.

There are restrictions on how much housing benefit an individual can claim under the age of 35. If people are single and rent from a private landlord (Shelter, 2018) support is only provided for a room in a shared house. In 2015, Tunstall warns in her paper on the Coalition government’s record on housing that housing policy changes have resulted in “setting housing association rents above traditional ‘social rent’ levels, undertaking social housing development without public subsidy, ending the assumption of security of tenure for council tenants, and setting housing benefit at sub-cost levels, leaving tenants with ‘shortfalls” (p.5). Lone young people seeking work may still be unable to afford to rent, even with welfare benefits. Interviews 2, 3 and 4 confirmed this is a problem for young people in other cities.

In 2015, Conservative Chancellor, George Osborne, announced the removal of the entitlement to the housing element of Universal Credit (UC) for 18-21 year olds from 2017. This was amended in March 2018 when it was announced by the Conservative administration that young people aged 18-21 would now be able to apply for support for housing as part of UC, but no implementation date was announced (Wilson, Keen and Barber, 2018, p.3). Interviews 3,4,5 and 9 documented feelings of strong resentment among young people over housing difficulties, the lack of youth services in the form of clubs and support workers, and a defined resentment around the affordability of housing. This, they said, causes feelings among the young that they are being deliberately “pushed out” of London, away from their friends and family. Interviews 4,5,6,7 and 10 commented that this felt like “ethnic cleansing” meaning that poverty, deprivation and membership of gangs seem to be treated as “markers” for displacing young people. Whatever the truth of the situation from a policy perspective, these are the feelings recorded by both the young people themselves and those involved in providing services for them. In that sense, such feelings could be said to be the effects of policy. Interview 4 elicited comments such as

“These kids have been abandoned by us since the cuts. They’re left to themselves in homes where there is usually one parent struggling to cope with overcrowded accommodation and deprivation. Why are we surprised when this happens [increased gun and knife crime] when we have taken support mechanisms away from them?”

Changes to Probation and local authority support

Offending children under the age of 18 are dealt with by the Youth Offending Teams (YOT) who are separate from the Justice System, being hosted by the local authority in any given area. When a young offender is arrested, the YOT will get involved with a view to supporting youngsters in a different way to that of the Justice system. They work jointly through local authorities with other agencies such as the Probation Service, Police, Health, Housing, schools, local charities and other support organisations (Gov.uk, 2018) to tackle some of the complex issues that may accompany a young person involved in crime, especially in such cases as County Lines. With fewer resources and the Probation Service struggling with changes brought about in 2015 in which the privatisation of part of the Probation Service was introduced, resources are scarce to support young people at every level.

Robinson, Burke and Matthews’ 2015 paper discusses changes to the Probation Service under the Coalition government. The most serious offenders are dealt with by experienced Probation staff under the Probation Service, whilst less serious offenders, including those under the age of 18, are assigned to private sector staff in a Community Rehabilitation Company or CRC (p.162). The paper also talks about a “Probation ethos” (p.163) which derives from its public sector roots, specifically those in social work. This indicates a strong allegiance to the idea of service as it relates to working with individuals to support and help them, which emerged in interviews 3,4,7 and 11. Comments from interviewees stressed the importance of supporting young people in communities where there are problems such as violence, deprivation and feelings of isolation and exclusion. Interviewees 5 and 6 commented that by the time young people arrive in prison for serious crimes, it is “probably too

late” (Interview 6). Early intervention appears to be key to tackling community violence and youth crime.

A further issue emerged during interviews 5 and 6 in which prison officers stated that due to privatisation in the prison service, jails tend to be run for profit. This, they said, resulted in the employment of younger personnel with little life experience who are less expensive to employ than older, more experienced prison officers. The economic and political rationale suggests that private management may operate more efficiently than public management, meaning that private management would lead to a more effective service being delivered at a lower price, especially if less expensive personnel are involved. The free market competitive principle that operates when public services are privatised is in line with the economic ideals of the UK and US neoliberalist viewpoints (Hood, 1991, p.5). Private companies may benefit from being able to function with comparatively less government regulation, often called “red tape” by authors such as Scott & Pandey (2005, p.155), as opposed to public services which are heavily regulated (Pollitt, 2003, pp.14-15). Here in UK prisons, young officers are sent into potentially life-threatening situations to protect or control those barely younger, and sometimes the same age as themselves (Interview 6). Whilst many are competent and able to tackle such situations, equally many are not (Interview 5).

The role of other agencies and partnerships

In times of diminishing resources, multi-agency meetings and groups can help to share information about local concerns. With reduced resources, many organisations are struggling to support multi agency meetings. At the same time, it is here, as experienced in the Community Conversation meeting during May 2018 in Portsmouth, that agencies can exchange information about areas of concern and individuals who have come to the attention of services.

“If I can’t share what I know about local trouble spots with people I know can help, how can we tackle the problems together?” (Interview 9).

The route to violence and radicalisation

The Community Conversation referred to above was attended by over 70 representatives of the Community and statutory agencies such as the Police, Community Safety and public Health. The researcher asked a group including Police officers, Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) and charity workers supporting communities the question “Who is it that gets radicalised?”. The replies from all participants included “isolation”, “poverty”, “social exclusion”, “lack of support to integrate”, “exposure to people with extreme views”. Similarly, interviews 5,6,8,9,10 and 11 confirmed that those involved in gangs and violence are often those young people who feel socially excluded and find it hard to integrate with communities. The similarities are clear between the two types of extreme behaviour on the part of young people. Decker and Pyrooz (2012) state that gangs and radicalisation do not necessarily co-relate, and their research is based in the US, but in the present study on UK gun and knife crime, it seems clear that there are indeed some social similarities in the type of individual that may be attracted to extreme behaviour, either through terrorism or through violent behaviour in gangs. These, Decker and Pyrooz (2012)

call “risk factors” (p.153). Isolation and social exclusion are not necessarily “explanatory variables” (p.153) but they do appear to be factors present in the interviews for the current research into the 2018 London killings. Hesketh’s 2017 article for Liverpool John Moores University cites his own research into groups and gangs on Merseyside in which he says that the process by which members are recruited to gangs can be seen as a kind of radicalisation (Hesketh, 2017). He goes on to cite such issues as poverty, social inequality, isolation, unemployment, loss of local services and child poverty as factors in the process of attraction to gangs. HM Government’s Serious Violence Strategy (2018) notes on page 35 that some of the risk factors involved in serious violence are “family socioeconomic situation” and “local deprivation”. This view is firmly reflected in the interviews for the current study. As the social landscape in cities changes, it could be that the “explanatory variables” (Decker and Pyrooz, 2012) are changing and that we are now seeing a stronger correlation between the social conditions and processes used to recruit young people to gangs and the route to radicalisation in communities.

How can we tackle this?

Without doubt, there is a role for the many multi-agency groups, coalitions and partnerships in communities and local areas in sharing information about radicalisation and violence (Roberts, 2018). Shared information between both statutory agencies and local groups can help support the police and community safety professionals to identify and take action to prevent radicalisation and violent behaviour. But how can we take action to address the underlying issues of poverty, social exclusion, hopelessness, housing problems, isolation, unemployment and loss of local services to support young people in cities such as London? This multi-faceted action must be addressed in a joint way, as indeed the UK Government’s Serious Violence Strategy, published in April 2018, has affirmed. Tackling serious violence “depends on partnerships across a number of sectors such as education, health, social services, housing, youth services, and victim services” (HM Government, 2018, p.7). There is recognition in this statement that the problem of gun and knife crime among the young is a complex issue with many contributory factors. The strategy underlines the importance of a joint approach throughout, devoting an entire chapter (5) to the role that partnership working plays in addressing the complexity of the issues involved. In many areas, existing multi-agency partnerships are undertaking this role (Roberts, 2016; Roberts, 2018) and support the work of local groups in addressing violence, but there is a crisis of resources. Without further support from central and local government, it is hard to see how multi-agency partnership working can help to tackle this spike in violence. If we are to make any impression on the current community problems in London and elsewhere, and the tragedies that result from them, adequate resources are essential in terms of policing, community safety, support for communities, youth work, education and health. A policy change is clearly needed, but it remains to be seen whether this is in time to stem the surge in violent crime in London and further afield.

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Interview 1: Serving PCSO Hampshire Constabulary

Interview 2: Serving police commander, Hampshire Constabulary

Interview 3: Youth worker, Portsmouth

Interview 4: Local Charity support worker Portsmouth and former Probation Officer

Interview 5: Former Prison Officer, London Pentonville

Interview 6: Former Prison Officer, Belmarsh

Interview 7: Serving Youth Worker. London Borough of Hackney

Interview 8: Serving Police Officer, London Metropolitan Police

Interview 9: Local Authority Community Safety officer

Interview 10: Former gang member Inner London

Interview 11: Youth worker, Croydon

***New Approach of Using Social Media in Graphic Design at the Higher Education
in Sultanate of Oman***

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The European Conference on Arts & Humanities 2018
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Abstract

Over the past decade, Social media has supported education and has become the most common means of digital communication, articulating the advantages and disadvantages of its different platforms for instructors and students to sustain confidentiality and provide tips for applying social media-based teaching into the training curriculum. From this point of view; this research explores the perspectives and abilities of using Instagram, Facebook, and Google plus in the pedagogical of graphic design courses at faculty of art education in sultan Qaboos University in order to play a vital role in teaching methodologies. It was denoted that, Omani art students are interested in employing new media applications in this kind of practice to find new techniques for creating artwork based on Art and design principles, where the flexibility and fluency of this new media introduce infinite possibilities that involve further exploration, investigation and development. Such developments not only encourage the students toward creativity and divergent thinking, but also eventually assist them to obtain contemporary artistic skills that links directly to their art practices, careers, and lives to develop their own styles and techniques in expressing their ideas, issues and thoughts.

Keywords: Art education, Graphic Design, Omani students, Social media, Student creativity, Teaching performance

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Introduction

Humans are social creatures –relationships and conversations between people are part of human nature [1].

Nowadays, Creativeness, innovativeness, affordability and cooperation are highly necessary for successes in the global markets of today [2].

The information and the technology development do shape the routine life of the individuals, especially by making the Internet users gain new attitudes and behaviors [3].

Technologically based developments is seeking to be effective and beneficial for learning and teaching, this can be taken place by enhancing the learning demands in terms of display such as images; color graphics, audio, videos and transferring of information and offer flexible delivery with respect to time, space and place in short period of time [4], [5].

In today's world; by means of growing technological improvements and innovations; life is now easier than it was before. The digital era didn't change this, but did change the way we communicate. Today we have many ways of digital communication where People are becoming more comfortable using the Internet [1], [6]. The internet was first used by the academy and then flourished worldwide as a large knowledge database [1].

The year 2004 established Web 2.0 as a term designating an entire range of interactive and collaborative aspects of the Internet. Web 2.0 is mostly defined as the online applications, and the social media is defined as the social aspects of such applications [7].

Therefore, digital content and information is no longer made available to Internet surfers only by the mass media, but also by private individuals, connected with one another via the social sites of the moment such as Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn or Google+. In a strong interconnection with these tools, technologies and services has been evolving „social media” as a generic term covering a large range of Web 2.0 platforms and applications [8] which has become a humanistic communication means which the basis of is sharing and discussing without any limitations by the time or the space [3]. For example, we have Facebook to keep in touch with friends and family by sharing posts, links and pictures. We have WhatsApp for instant messaging, Twitter for micro-blogging, and YouTube for videos, Instagram to share pictures and LinkedIn for business social networking. In addition, there are many other sites, some for specific needs while others for specific groups [1]

Recently, It is well-known that the internet signifies the main technological innovation that tolerates education earners to modify the institutional level. Digital culture is changing the dual relationship between teacher and student in a three-part process involving the teacher, the student and the technological device [9].

The digital tools are defined as instructional practice that is using technology to support classroom teaching and learning to strengthen the student learning experience [10]. For example, dictionaries, encyclopedias, references, databases etc. changed the concept of time and place where they play an important role in collaborative distant learning among students from different educational institutions in the same and different countries, also enables discussion of different problems with them by offering alternative and creative methods of learning. These evolving technologies have introduced opened, personalized and innovated novel trends in education with greater emphasis on lifelong learning [11]. For example; wikis build a wiki-based glossary that play an important role in facilitating students to work together, providing them with opportunity to comment and support instructor in designing for learning [12]. Wikis and blogs are mainly beneficial writing tools that assist composition practice, where education is more like a conversation and learning [13].

In design education, diversity of perspectives is elaborate to identify creativity, due to the differences between graphic design students themselves, which caused by numerous mental, personal, social, and environmental factors, in which computers can assist them to find creative solutions for graphic problems that might be encountered in the society. Further, graphics lecturers must play a vital role in delivering the pedagogical strategies through the various graphic design courses and have to be duty-bound to help students in practice problem solving techniques within a supportive environment by stimulating their divergent thinking that would increase their motivation so they can interact with people from different societies with different segments. As a result, the students can then interact creatively and learn collaboratively, and be critical and implement the collaborative reflection skills [14].

As we know in general that Social Media is a group of Internet-based applications or a collection of websites and web-based systems built on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of user generated content through mass interaction, conversation and sharing among members of a network [15], [16], But in specific, the higher education has shifted from the concentration on knowledge skills and has become interesting to the use of highlighting long learning in terms of skills [17], [18], shifting attention to apply in teaching and learning the social media [19], because Several studied of its tools as; Facebook, Myspace, Twitter in addition to blogs and microblogs and folksonomies to activate the collaborative learning and the motivation of cognitive skills reflection and metacognition which lead to enhance the performance of learners [17], [20-22]

In the field of researches, social media platform opens valuable information and knowledge sharing among people such as SSRN, Social Science space, Academia.edu and ResearchGate [23] increases the students' publishing, sharing, and participation [24] [25]. Resulted in; this application is becoming popular among students of higher education because it is connecting people free of cost and facilitate the sharing of information in different formats on several topics [26] as well as boosts education in higher institutions of learning [27].

Creative talents play a dynamic part in the sustainable growth of any country and the establishment of its foremost place in competition with the other countries. Therefore, many countries build strategic development of creative programs especially in the field of education.

Art education tolerates people to be productive and creative, enables them to communicate easily with each other by activating their good feelings to be effective in finding solutions to the problems, thinking creatively in every area, gaining aesthetic value, self-evaluating and self-recognition in order to keep up the innovations of the age [28-30]. At this point, it is an undisputed fact that art education has an important role to pass modern society from a traditional society and it is effective on individual's social development and having qualifications which are required by the age [28].

Therefore, the prosperity of the whole society could be achieved. Hence, creative art education is regarded as the solid basis for the sustainable development of creative industries, which accounts for the perfect system for the cultivation of creative talents from undergraduates to postgraduates [31].

The reception of media has influenced the very concept of art education, which has been circulated globally thanks to current technological capabilities, favoring the creation of a mass form of technological digital culture regarding, technology, interaction, production and dissemination processes, ideology, values and aesthetics [32], [33]. As a result, it is an appropriate time to consider how future educators value and address the concept of artistic education [34].

Through literature, several researches in relation with higher education were studied and denoted that social media is reported to use either utilitarian or hedonic technologies based on corresponding TAM foundations which reports positive influences of perceived enjoyment and perceived ease of use on social media adoption behavior [18], [35]. On the other hand, it was found that interactive blogs play a significant role in the peer interaction among students leading to a better academic achievement [36].

In Oman Sultanate, most Omani governmental and private institutions apply computerized environments in teaching to undergraduate students that would help graphic students to produce a piece of design more quickly where the computerized environment provides a high level of digital facilities by offering a wider variety of solutions for most design problems that can promote creative thinking and stimulate students' behavior [37].

Otherwise The Omani graphic design education system lacks a unified framework towards the concept of creativity. One of the consequences of such a lack is a shortage of pedagogical structured programs that can enhance creativity of Omani graphics students. It is believed that this is a result of underestimating the importance of creativity in Arabic traditional educational systems in general [38]. As a result, the educators who are interested in establishing a central role for creativity in universities

and higher education institutions need to ensure that there are suitable opportunities, a supportive environment, and enthusiastic motivation for their students. In addition, they need to activate the innovative and imaginative experiences whilst teaching graphic design to ensure creative thinking in solving problems which is required in developing countries.

Finally, owing to continue moving towards the novel pedagogical approach by using the greatest potential goal of social media to improve the self-regulated learning and provide students the advantage of having control over their learning activities [39], the purpose of this research paper is to explore the perspectives and abilities of social media such as Instagram, Facebook, and google plus and their educational applications in the pedagogical practices This was carried in general, in art education and in particular in graphic design by using a descriptive observation and case-study approach, in addition to some classroom observation tasks that had done by students in “Graphic Design 1”, and “Graphic Design 2” courses taught in Fall 2016 and Spring 2017 in the Art education department at Sultan Qaboos University, Sultanate of Oman. This can help to understand the academic use of social media among students in order to reduce the phenomenon of learning distraction and enhance their online engagement to be applied in an international context.

Methodology of the Study

The study has applied the descriptive/ analytical survey approach. It was conducted in the Art Education department at the Faculty of Education at Sultan Qaboos University on all the enrolled (36) students in the Graphic Design course during Fall 2017 and Spring 2018 semesters.

The study was built on the relationship between graphic design and social media where both of them are connected by media technology. It was designed to address the interaction skill gained in the relations between student and student, student and the instructor, students and their surrounding environment (society). The students have begun to think about how to benefit from the skill of using social media not only during their current education, but also for a stage after graduation. This can be done either by transferring their experiences in education and learning to teachers in schools or through their self-teaching of students in schools. On the other hand, it can also be used in building their portfolio professionally to act as an advertisement or marketing to help graduate students to start in small projects and community service. This strategy took place through four key concepts which are central to the prospect and perception of our students. These concepts are: 1) how the social media can act as a tool for learning and be connected to graphic design? 2) How students feel about applying social media to support learning? 3. How students and their parents comprehend social media in education and learning? And 4) Are there any negative image about the use of social media in Omani society, if so; how can we do anything to overcome this negative image?

Firstly, it was primarily carried out with a quantitative approach using a survey methodology via a Google online questionnaire. This was done by sending the link

via email to the faculty members at the Faculty of Education, the enrolled students in Graphic Design Course and the parents of those students. The data was analyzed by the suitable statistics to obtain the answers to the research questions and translated it into useable information. Secondly, a teaching strategy was carried out on the enrolled students in the Graphic Design Course to encourage them to build up branding names and a ‘professional account’ rather than a personal one to allow sharing their designs, artistic productions, experiences, conduct interactive discussions and take opinions etc. Finally, the instructor tried to capture more feedbacks from the other faculty members in the form of qualitative information about the role of social media in developing the learning skill of these students and how these skills may affect their future work after graduation.

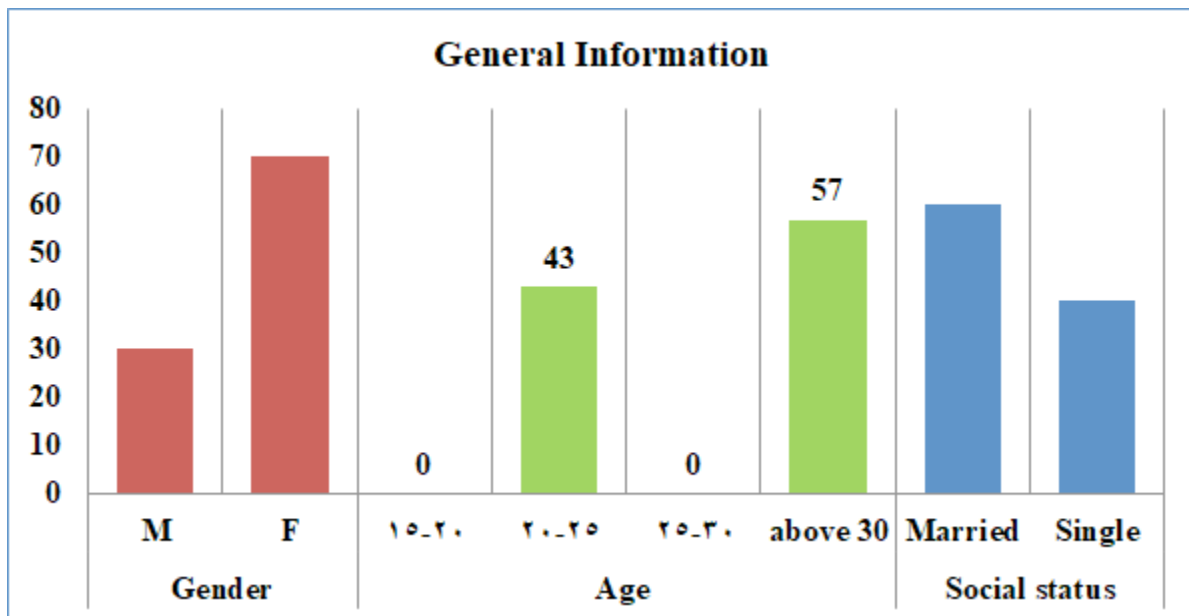


Figure 1: General information about the participants of the questionnaire

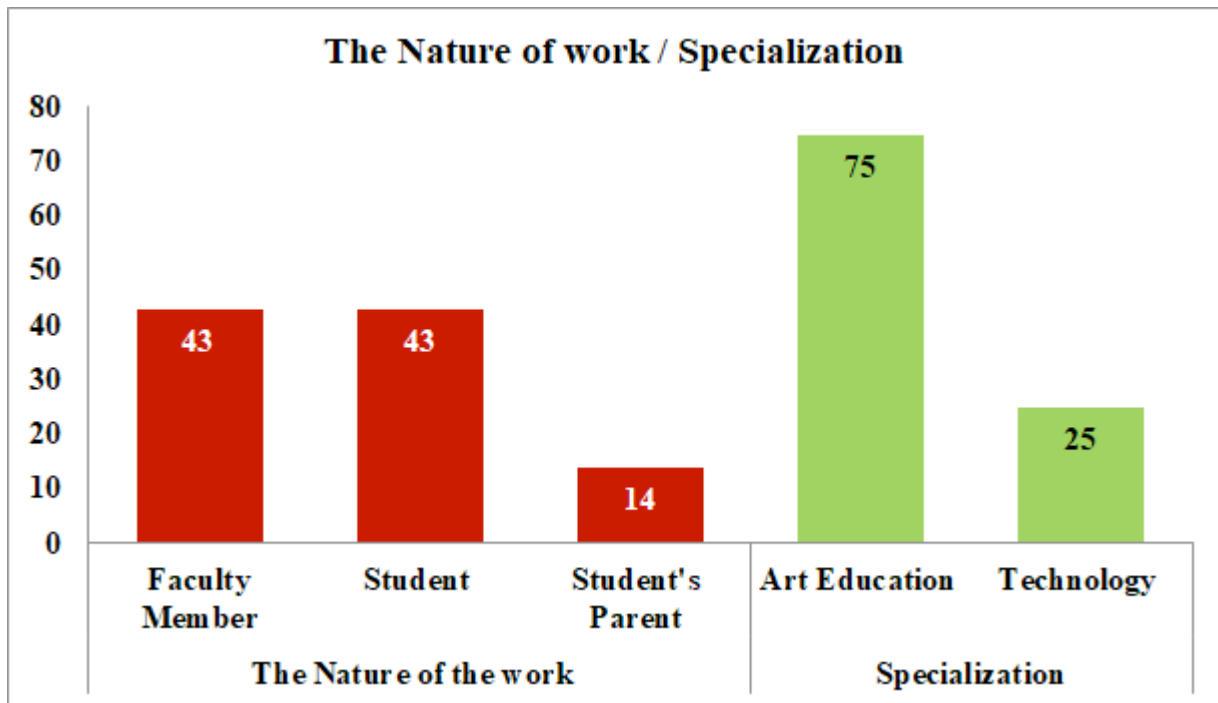


Figure 2: The nature of work/ specialization of the participants of the questionnaire.

Results and Discussion

A systematic scientific method was followed to arrive at the final outcome of this study and to ascertain its suitability for the professional, educational and ethical standards. Through the results, it was denoted that the applied strategy of social media in learning and teaching through the graphic design course exhibited a wonderful experience for students, their parents, the academic staff at the Faculty of Art Education and the trained teachers in schools by the students in the Graphic design course during their field training. So that everyone reacted amazingly not only to the students of the course, but also to their fellow who viewed their work and portfolio on the social media.

The primary results have confirmed that social media can be used to enrich students' imaginative and creative approach towards learning. Students of art education can use social media to develop mental, physical and psychological talents and capabilities. Social media can also be used to learn different techniques in teaching graphic art because by using modern technologies that appeals to them such as E-learning and Google drive, where these tools causes students to have a stronger tendency to learn and interact well with information via uploading the course files and designs on the mentioned social media where then can be handled easily on cell phones. Students have reacted positively to the use of social media in different educational situations. The first was its application in other curriculums in the faculty of Education such as the Microteaching course which is taught in the department of technical learning. The second was with the training of school teachers. It is expected for the usage of social media in teaching to be applied in the future in schools across the sultanate through

the teachers who have acquired this technological skill and to use it for the benefit of collaborative learning by establishing a kind of communication and dialogue which will allow the spread of educational materials for everyone. This highlights the importance of the use of social media in education where it allows the expansion of understanding and cooperation beyond the boundaries of traditional classrooms. From the quantitative analysis of the questionnaire, data indicate the following information;

Do you have an account in a social network		Do you have difficulty dealing with such sites		Do you register in social networks with your real name			Do you encourage others to use social networking sites			Do you think that social networks have a role in the development of individual personality?		
Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	May be	Y	N	May be	Y	N	May be
96	4	5	95	64	7	29	79	3	18	64	32	4

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for participants’ responses of the questions (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5) of questionnaire.

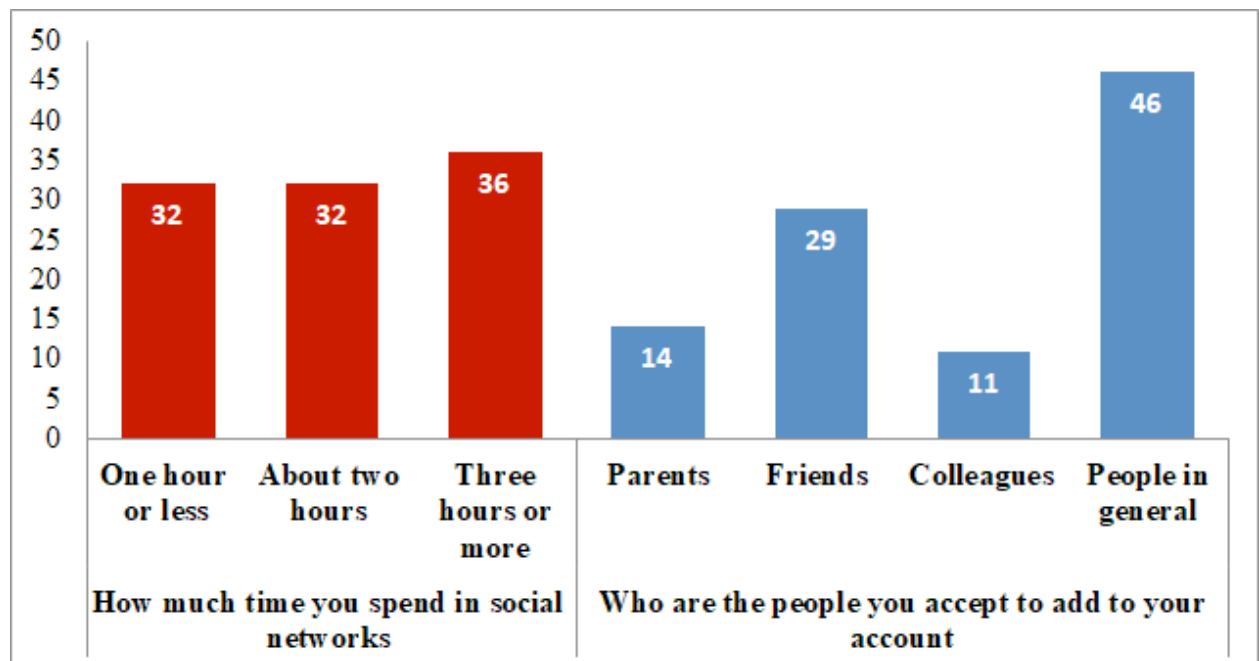


Figure 3: The responses of the questions (6 and 7) of questionnaire.

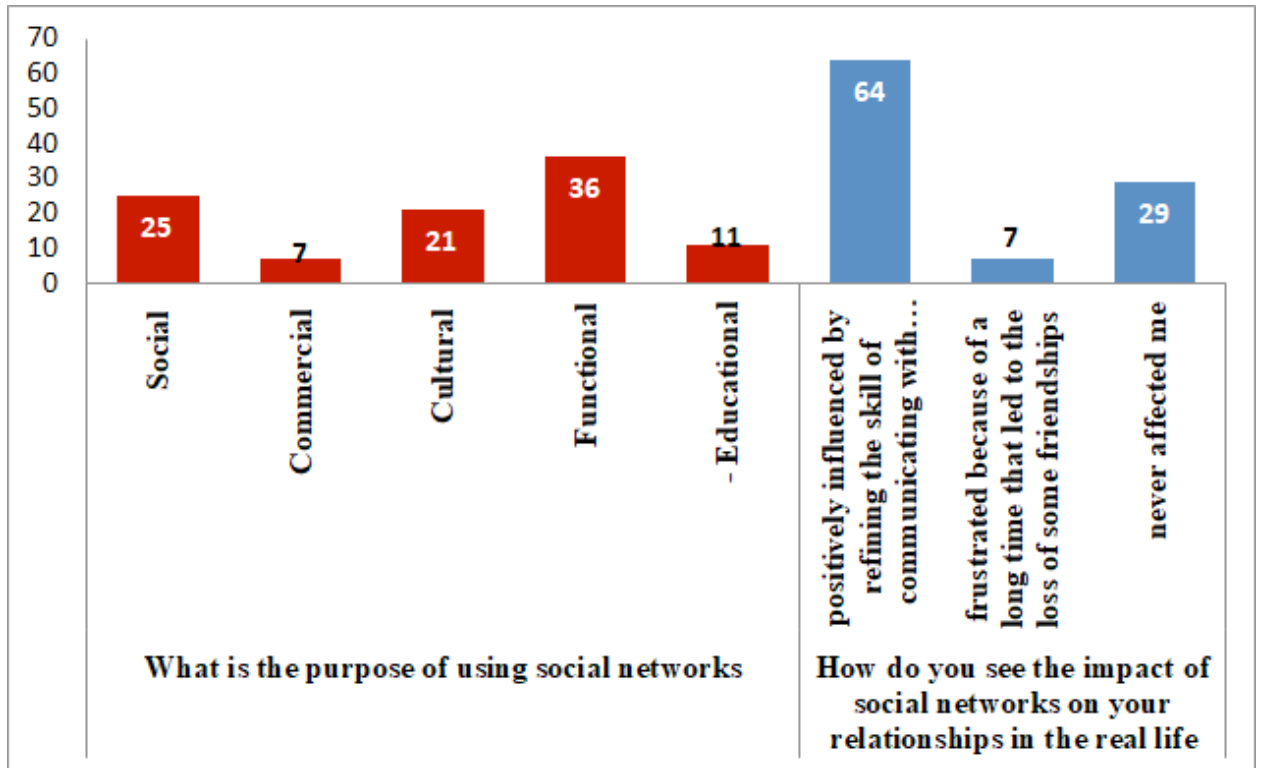


Figure 4: The responses of the questions (3 and 4) of questionnaire.

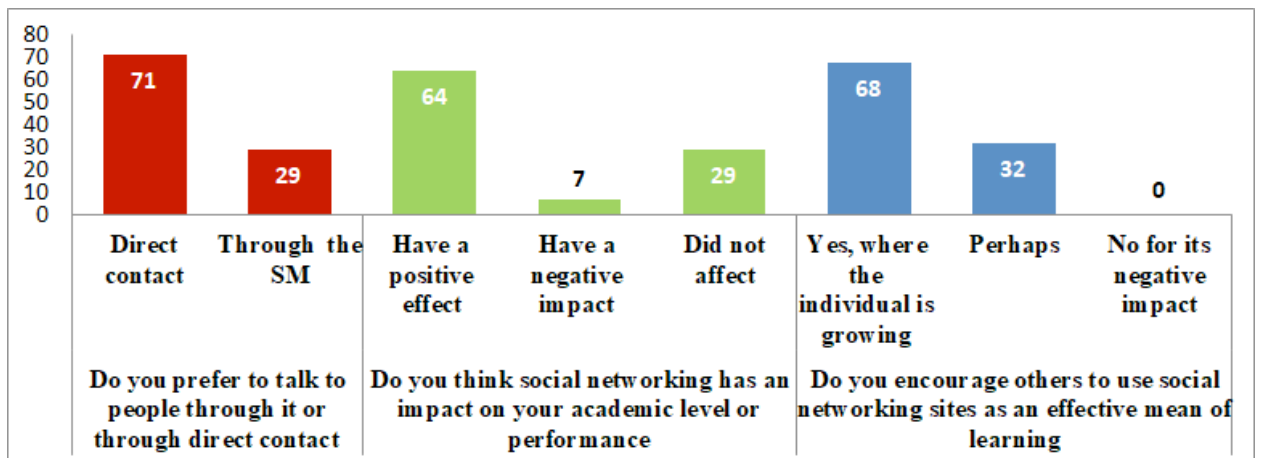


Figure 5: The responses of the questions (8, 9, and 10) of questionnaire.

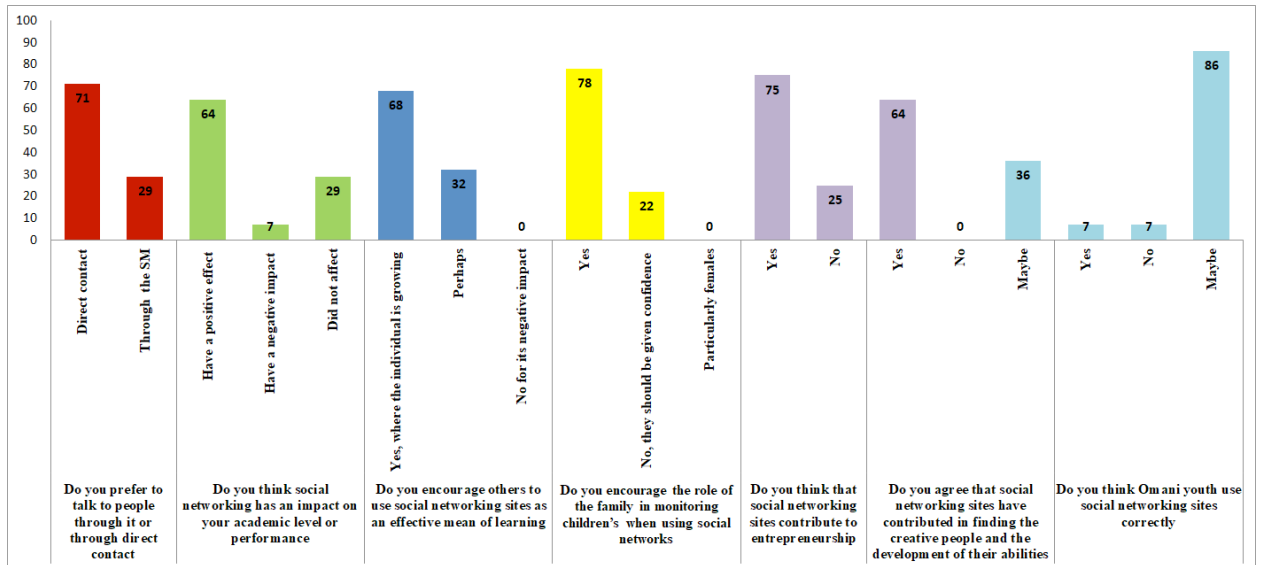


Figure 6: The responses of the questions (11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17) of questionnaire.

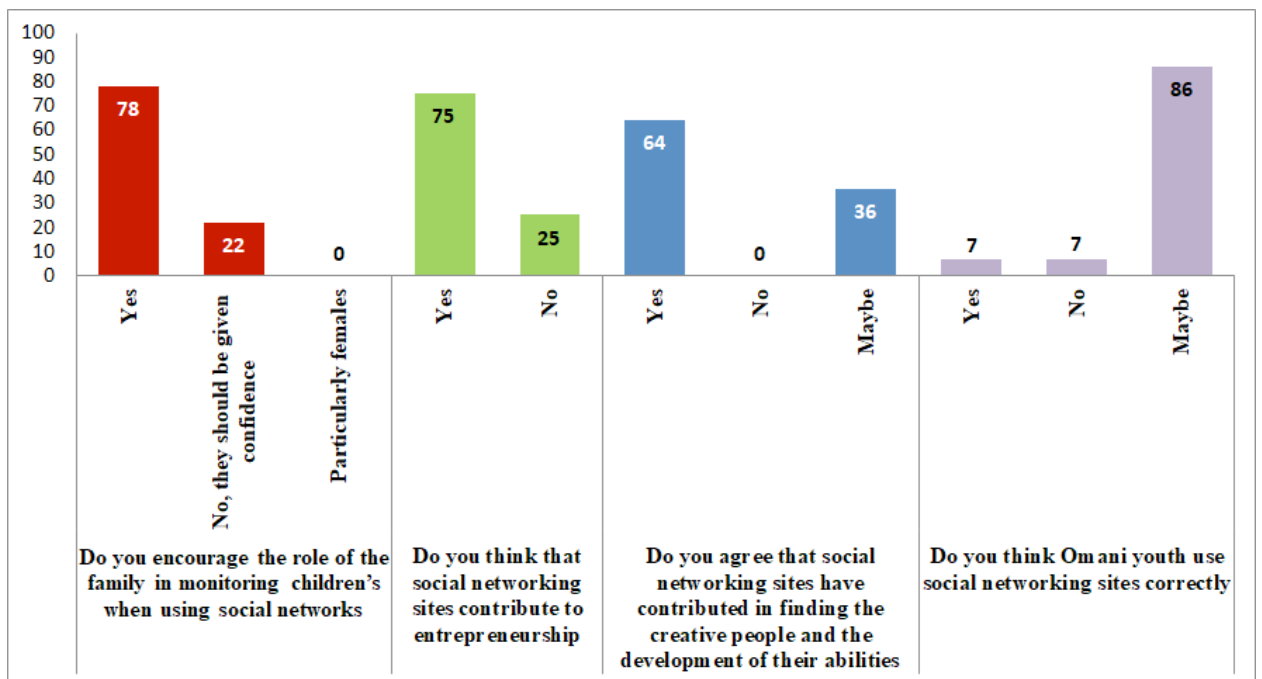


Figure 7: The responses of the questions (18, 19, 20 and 21) of questionnaire.

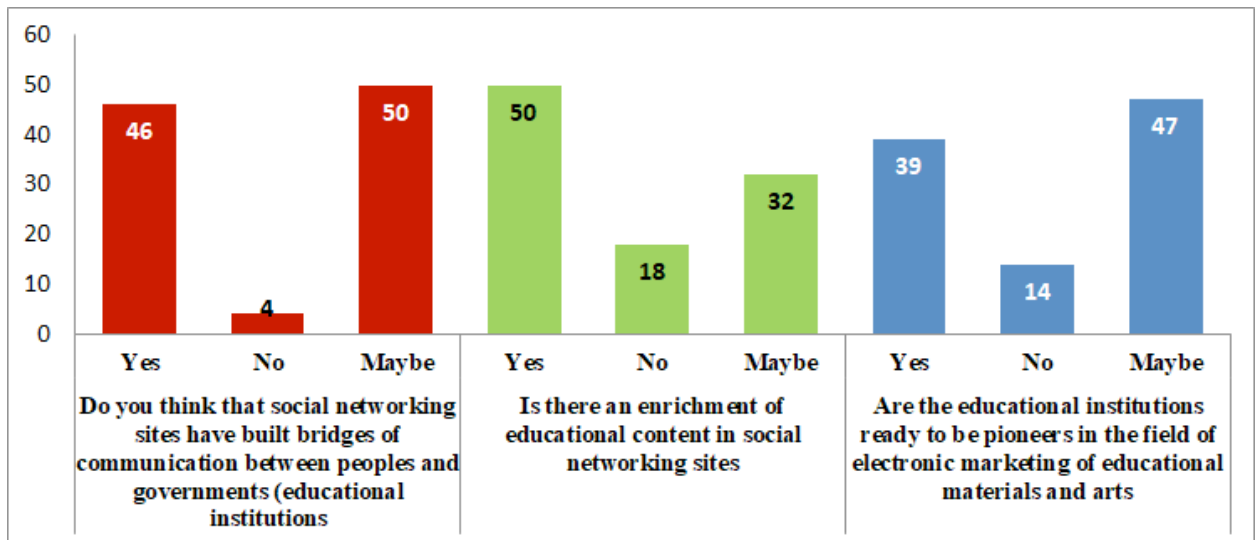


Figure 8: The responses of the questions (22, 23, and 24) of questionnaire.

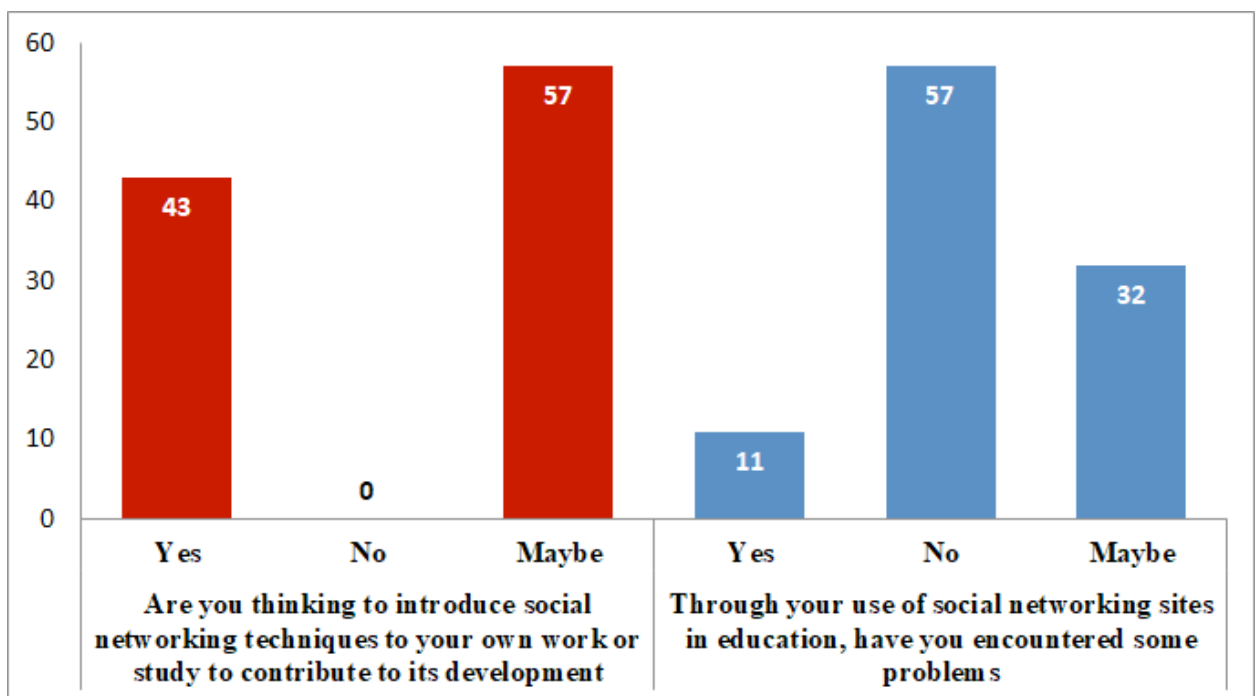


Figure 9: The responses of the questions (25 and 26) of questionnaire.

From the qualitative Analysis, it was denoted that the graphic design course assisted the students in art education department to apply the social media in teaching and learning processes. This was reflected not only on the other courses in the same department, but in the other departments at the whole faculty of education, especially through the Teaching Practice course which aims at enabling the trainees at the faculty of education to employ modern technology while practicing teaching and to support students' evaluation and demonstrate the specialized knowledge they have obtained so as to strengthen their professional practices and their teaching competencies, providing them with opportunities to apply, in a practical and direct way, the components of the conceptual framework of the college since these

candidates are considered as resident teachers in partner schools who are soon after continuously communicate with other teachers, parents and civil society institutions so as to improve teaching practices. The trainees of students at faculty of education interacted with the social media positively during the teaching practice training in schools in the spring of 2018 through the introduction of modern technology, implementation and evaluation of teaching, as well as planning the design and research processes of teaching through technology in the global network. During their supervision, many cases have been monitored that demonstrated the extent to which how these students are active in the use of social media in teaching and learning processes based on what they studied in the graphic design courses. These cases were recorded as follows (Al-Amry,2018; Fawzy, 2018; Hatem, 2018)

- The application of WPS Office in smartphones has been intensified with many other applications related to virtual reality concepts such as the Quiver application to present and conduct teaching data to students, either between the trainees or between the trainees and schoolchildren.
- The adoption of trainees to the recruitment of some graphics programs for processing images such as Adobe Photoshop and Adobe Illustrator as they develop modules to enrich the educational content and learning methods.
- Many students were directed to help their colleagues through sharing their technological and graphic experiences they learnt in graphic design course to activate the technological media during teaching art education whether in direct interviews with each other or Via social media such as WhatsApp, Facebook or Instagram, and Google Plus.
- Activating the social media with some schoolchildren where the trainers gave their students their email or Facebook in order to communicate and interact with each other to stimulate the talents of schoolchildren especially the time allocated for teaching fine arts in schools is not sufficient for many technical operations to be completed.
- Activating the interaction between trainees during their teaching in schools and their supervisor at the faculty of education during the field training through the establishment of the social communication groups, the Email, Google drive, E- learning and live text system to share teaching plans and methods and to discuss the issues and problems where it was very necessary for trainees to quickly get speedy feedback to suit their accelerated school attendance with daily requirements for planning and teaching, increasing the positive achievement and transfer of experience from the university to cooperating schools in field training.
- The trainees of students apply many applications of social media learnt in graphic design course in teaching at schools, not only to the schoolchildren but also to their teachers in order to present, explain, exchange ideas, portraying the art sessions of some academic faculty in workshops to spread their

teaching strategy of arts. Also, the trainees use their pages on the social media to exhibit their art works as educational tools for the schoolchildren.

- The trainees have gotten an access to many international art experiments and experiences and participated with their schoolchildren's artistic work in the International Week of Artistic Education of UNESCO, in addition of making a hash tag (#MoreArtnotLess) which put the trainees of Sultan Qaboos University on an international map as art education lecturers in the world.
- The trainee designed a documentary file (portfolio) which is one of the key factors in evaluating the trainee during field training through many evaluation tools that intersect with the pillars of the conceptual framework of the faculty of education, including the use of modern technology design and application.

In addition, it was denoted that this skill was also reflected on other courses in the faculty of Education as TECH3007 (Introduction to Educ. Tech) course in fall semester 2016 which helps the students to develop their professional skills required for designing, developing, evaluating, and innovating curriculum, where it was recognized by the instructor that the art students especially who were taught graphic design course were active students among their partners in term of using Web 2.0 tools for designing and creating their portfolios. They were also active contributors to the Internet. They were confident in using Web 2.0 tools that it was easy for them to create their work more interactive and innovative, because they have a good background in the design principles and the layout (Elhaj, 2016).

Conclusion

Responding to the digital age and online speech in teaching and learning. Graphic design course in the department of art education at Sultan Qaboos University opens the wide opportunity for students to focus on the impact of social media on student academic teaching and learning in higher education to excite their critical thinking skills, collaboration, and knowledge construction especially in building their professional portfolio which can increase the productivity of their art works and help them learn how to work well in groups as an integral part of developing their career or building a business to survive in the business world.

A survey was conducted and the responses of more than 90 participants were analyzed. In addition, a qualitative analysis was monitored through the experience and opinion of some faculty members. Results denoted that most of the academic educators in Faculty of Education are using social media and be in agreement on the benefits of social media in education. The study discovered some obstacles from the students' parents especially for females that prevent the use of social media, however, through the academic awareness of how to direct social media to the service of education and learning with the ethics and rules of use, it became possible to persuade most of the parents and the students were able to use the social sites and open accounts with their brand names instead of applying Nicknames as usual especially in conservative Arab Muslim societies such as the Sultanate of Oman.

The study discovered the easy handling of the social and professional sites on cell phones which provide a great contribution in solving many problems that encountered students during their practical education or during their training through the teaching Practice course. Finally, this study might meet students' expectations by offering more dynamic and appropriate pedagogy by increasing student collaboration, inspiration and commitment with course material. Removing barriers to self-expression, in addition to contribution and instilling responsibility with self-confidence through free writing expression and portfolios. On the other hand, the trainees of students in the field of art education were able to transfer their technical and scientific expertise from the campus to the scope of application in the collaborating schools through practicing some applications of social media in education, providing students with the applied contemporary technological skills of this century in instructional processes which could assist their employability and raise the standard of living.

Recommendation

1. The educational institutions must train teachers and faculty to maximize the educational potential of these social media technologies in learning and teaching to identify and create new ways of connecting with students that may be more effective than traditional judicial norms.
2. The use of social media in various activities of the university beside teaching as in research, community service and marketing.
3. Sultan Qaboos University should design frameworks to reposition the applications of new media in policies and legislations of education that can benefit the entire education system inside and outside the University.
4. College of Education should develop a philosophy that values the role of social media an important tool of education that can enrich the abilities of students in learning and teaching.
5. Art educators of The Departments of Art Education should start the implementation of social media into their course teaching.
6. Centre of Excellence in Learning and Teaching (CELT) should discuss the executions of social media in learning and teaching among SQU academic faculty, and to be included the Centre training courses.

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