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Personal Branding on Instagram: The Challenges Encountered by Saudi Female Fitness Trainers

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Abstract
In Saudi Arabia, significant investments in fitness field reinforcements were started since the announcement of the 2030 vision. Instagram is a popular marketing platform for fitness professionals. This study investigates the challenges Saudi female fitness trainers face when using Instagram as a personal branding tool. A purposive, typical sample of eleven Saudi female fitness trainers participated in two focus groups. The results indicated that factors such as media coverage, branding professionals and branding awareness were needed to enhance the personal branding strategies among the trainers. Social shyness was found as a personal barrier, which was associated with society's expectations' of females' social roles. There was also a relation between the type of sport and the choices to start the personal branding journey. Moreover, religious values, family traditions, and conservatism were identified as the main challenges for Saudi female fitness trainers.

Keywords: Athlete Branding, Instagram, Saudi Female Exercises, Self-presentation, Sports Marketing

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Introduction

As Saudi women are expected to be conservative regarding their presentation in public, veiling could affect their online visual presentation selections. Instagram is one of the most popular applications among Saudi women (CITC 2015). It was launched in 2010 as a visual communication facility. It was created by Mike Krieger mainly for sharing photographs. Studying Instagram from an academic position represents how it is valuable and practical as a tool for personal branding (Al-Eisa et al. 2016, Doherty 2017, dos Santos and Fermino 2016, Gainor 2017, Geurin-Eagleman and Burch 2016, Lupinetti 2015, Smith and Sanderson 2015).

This study investigates the online personal branding challenges for Saudi female fitness trainers. Moreover, it tracks their drawbacks to present their online brand images. Furthermore, it contributes to Saudi Arabia's female empowerment campaign. It will target a significant part of the 2030 vision that aims to increase the numbers of weekly fitness practitioners from 13% to 40%. Athlete influencers are an essential part of this change, so I believe my study's findings will be helpful for our country's development and the Saudi women athletes who strategically use Instagram to build their brand names. Limited research has introduced evidence of the motivations, opportunities, and cultural challenges of using Instagram for athlete branding. Moreover, cultural aspects of Muslim women regarding their social roles and public presentation create a considerable gap to investigate.

1. Theoretical Framework

1.1 Role Theory (RT)

Social roles are actions based on social positions or contexts. Those roles create different behaviours (Biddle 2013). In social science, the orientation of the role has progressively evolved from several social interests. The social psychologist George H. Mead theorised that individuals act on socially prescribed themes in prescribed situations (Incorvia 2014, Mead 1934). According to Parsons (2013), roles are crucial to comprehending social actions, and the performers are driven by a series of internal or external expectations. The social structure for their performance judges them.

In general, Role Theory RT includes expectations for how individuals should behave to secure society's acceptance (Lobpries, Bennett, and Brison 2018). This theory was defined by Biddle (2013) as, "a science concerned with the study of behaviours that are characteristic of persons within contexts and with various processes that presumably produce, explain, or are affected by those behaviours" (P:394).

The significance of testing the RT appears when investigating people's tendency to form stereotypes or cultural beliefs, based on their observations of sub-groups positions in the society and inferring that each position has similar role patterns (Eagly, Wood, and Diekman 2000, Biddle 2013). For instance, men's and women's roles have their roots primarily in humans' evolutionary physical characteristics differences, particularly different size and strength of the body and unique female pregnancy ability (Eagly, Wood, and Diekman 2000).

In line with RT, the Saudi female fitness trainers' public presentation's appropriateness is associated with cultural and religious codes. Being a Muslim woman and a Muslim family member adds unique cultural expectations from those women in terms of social roles they should play to satisfy society. Saudi female fitness trainers are limited based on Saudi and

Muslim society's expectations of social roles and acceptable behavioural tendencies for a Muslim woman.

1.1.1 Role Ambiguity

Some fundamental roles have always been associated with a clear foundation and definitions of that role. For instance, a father is responsible for protecting his children even if this fatherhood role has been differently performed within different cultural perspectives. However, some social roles, mainly those considered new, are differently defined and performed concerning different cultural needs. For instance, bringing Saudi women into the fitness field as professionals adds new social roles for them and a lack of information around the characteristics and structure of these roles in society (Gleave et al., 2009).

Role theory theorised that when individuals experience a lack of the information needed to practice their roles and positions or overcome the conflicts of their different roles, this ambiguity of roles would ineffectively impact their satisfaction and performance (Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman 1970). Therefore, investigating the role ambiguity of being a Saudi Muslim female fitness trainer would benefit the athlete branding awareness degree and strategies utilised to present this role.

1.1.2 Role Conflict

RT provides a lens to study those Saudi female fitness trainers' who are aware and desire to present themselves to the public for branding purposes. However, they encounter challenges regarding the conflict of being expected to behave religiously and culturally strict within their selections of public presentations and their Instagram usage to build their brand image and show an attractive appearance to attract clients and sponsors.

Following Muslim traditions and values, some roles conflict with some aspects of athlete branding strategies, which led them to practice online self-presentation differently from non-Muslim female athletes. The Saudi female athletes' roles are highly associated with society's acceptance, where religious values and social respect dominate an individual's public behaviours and attitudes.

According to Biddle (2013), Role conflict is: "any condition of common or attributed polarised dissensus which poses (usually unspecified) problems for object persons", and polarised dissensus is: "a dissensus in which the expectations compared fall into two or more distinct modes" (P:196). Role theory as an umbrella for role conflict hypotheses that the inconsistency of behaviours that a person is expected to practice will lead to dissatisfaction, pressure and instability (Rizzo, House, and Lirtzman 1970). The inconsistency here shows in Islam's veiling orders in public and athlete branding strategies to show attractive appearance. Therefore, RT can guide the understanding of the role conflicts that caused difficulties for Saudi female athletes, mainly those who follow the rules of Islam, regarding their different roles in Saudi society and their desire to build their public branded persona.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Personal Branding

The concept of personal branding was introduced in 1980 in Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind by Al Ries and Jack Trout. They described an action that increases career successes in a notion called "positioning" (Khedher 2014, Ries, Trout, and Kotler 2001). The positioning concept was adopted in the literature until the notion of "self-branding" was initially introduced by Peters (1997) in his book The Brand Called You. Personal branding did not focus at that time on online practices; however, it became increasingly essential to associate it with the digital world today, especially since marketing workers describe social media as a crucial marketing tool (Baym 2015, Duffy, Pruchniewska, and Scolere 2017, Gandini 2016, Hearn 2017, Khedher 2014).

Personal branding is how a person wants their image to be seen by employers, consumers, followers, and professional peers, by having a unique personality and identity (Brems et al., 2017, Chen 2013, Evans 2017). This process is also called self-branding, self-marketing and self-promotion. Those terminologies lead to the same concept of how individuals position themselves in the market to succeed in any career (Montoya and Vandehey 2009, Parmentier, Fischer, and Reuber 2013). According to Marcoux (2017), personal branding is “building your reputation, growing your following, and constructing your name” (p:8). Differently, Lair, Sullivan, and Cheney (2005) described personal branding as promoting actions for individuals in the market instead of focusing on products. Furthermore, it was defined in her book chapter as; "a planned process in which people make efforts to market themselves"(p:29). In contrast, Johnson (2017) described it as an impression management tools for the audience.

Scholars adapted personal branding as a concept from business and marketing for products and services to social media and marketing. For example, studies have included fashion bloggers’ branding by Duffy and Hund (2015), Youtubers’ branding (Chen 2013, Cunninham and Craig 2017) and athletes’ branding (Arai, Ko, and Kaplanidou 2013, Arai, Ko, and Ross 2014, Carlson and Donavan 2013, Geurin 2017, Geurin-Eagleman and Burch 2016, Hambrick and Mahoney 2011, Hodge and Walker 2015, Kunkel et al. 2019, Park, Williams, and Son 2020, Parmentier and Fischer 2012, Sharifzadeh, Brison, and Bennett 2019, Yiran Su, Baker, and Thilo 2020).

2.2 Branding on Online Social Networks

OSN are useful tools for personal branding with visual and textual features that allow self-presentation. Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and Snapchat are websites and applications that enable users to establish their profiles to communicate with each other by several actions such as follows, comments, direct messages, likes, etc. (Al-Suwaidi 2014, Baker 2016). Thus, athletes should recognise the constant need to participate in digital markets and understand the vital role of OSN as a channel for human resources to find the right candidate (Johnson 2017; Wetsch 2012).

Studies assert the need for consistency on OSN to build a personal brand; unregulated online interactions might lead to pressure and risk of reputation and negative judgements and feedback that could harm the athlete (Marwick 2015, Marwick and Boyd 2011). For example, Morrison, the basketball player, was downgraded to Florida's minor league because of his

Twitter activities. Despite this, many athletes use OSN to promote themselves and brand their names (Brown 2011, Sanderson 2013; Smith and Sanderson 2015, Whitmer 2018).

This study will discuss the branding challenges for Saudi female fitness trainers on Instagram. Companies consider the Instagram platform a powerful marketing tool (Alharethi 2016). Park et al. (2020) found that Instagram is the most favourable platform for athletes utilising social media for personal branding purposes. Thus, Instagram was chosen as a practical context to discuss the exercisers' online branding challenges.

Research Questions

Based on the above discussion, the following questions have been generated:
RQ 1. What are the cultural challenges that Saudi female fitness trainers encounter in their online branding journey?
RQ 2. What are the personal challenges that Saudi female fitness trainers face in their online branding journey?
RQ 3. What are other challenges of personal branding that Saudi female fitness trainers encounter in their online branding journey?

3. Methods

For my descriptive qualitative research, I aim to understand the online personal branding challenges, such as privacy, veiling and gender segregation. I already built an initial understanding of the challenges that I encountered in my branding practices as a Saudi woman through my personal experience on Instagram (Basabain et al., 2021). In his book The Body Silent, the cultural anthropologist Robert Murphy (2001) advocates the need to connect auto-ethnographies with existing theories to build an initial understanding of the research problem. Therefore, this study investigates the phenomenon of Saudi female fitness trainers' online personal branding challenges by conducting focus groups to build an in-depth understanding of the perceptions of other Saudi female fitness exercisers.

3.1 Virtual Focus Groups

To collect data about the challenges of personal branding practices, I moderated the virtual mode of conducting FGs. Virtual focus groups are defined as: "Focus group conducted using some form of mediated communication, such as the internet or telephone, rather than face-to-face" (Braun and Clarke, 2013. p.457). FG method started before the digital era. It was first laid by the social scientist Robert Merton and colleagues in the 1940s (Braun and Clarke 2013: 159), even earlier in 1926 by Emory Bogardus, described it as group interviews in marketing research (Bogardus 1926, Liamputtong 2011: 2, Robson and McCartan 2016: 298).

Many researchers have recently conducted virtual forms such as chat, audio, and video applications for many reasons (Adler and Zarchin 2002, Fox, Morris, and Rumsey 2007, Reisner et al. 2018, Rezabek 2000). Online FGs overcome the participants' physical barriers in different places, let them feel more comfortable in their homes or workplaces, and overcome the fear of meeting strangers in unfamiliar places (Fox, Morris, and Rumsey 2007). Researchers switch to virtual FGs to have a record for the session transcribed easily for thematic analysis (Robson and McCartan 2016). Furthermore, due to the Coronavirus global pandemic social distancing guidelines, I include one more significant need to shift for digital communication technologies.

My main direction in the typical case approach sampling procedure is to recruit Saudi female fitness trainers to understand how they negotiate their branding challenges. Following the sample size guide of conducting inductive FGs, I invited eleven heterogeneous Saudi female fitness trainers to my three online FGs to ensure a more profound understanding. The first FG that was conducted as a pilot study contained three trainers. The other two focus groups consisted of four participants each. Small numbers of participants help to better moderate the chances of answering and negotiating the questions. The participants were given pseudonyms as "Fatina, Dalal, Amna, Marwa, Areen, Ruba, Daleen, Reemas, Nawal, Fawzya and Farah". Heterogeneity refers to people with different perspectives and diverse opinions of the phenomenon (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Liamputtong, 2011b), which leads to collecting a wider image of the Saudi exerciser's opinions and experiences.

4. Result and Discussion

The following are the thematic analysis guidelines used in this study by Davis et al. (2012, pp. 361-362).: (1) analytical reading and notation for the focus groups data; (2) generating codes, (3) specifying thematic categories, (4) formulation and building connections that build understanding and answer research questions. Thematic analysis (TA) is defined as follows: "form of analysis which has the theme as its unit of analysis, and which looks across data from many different sources to identify themes" (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 455). It was also defined as: "A method of categorizing data into thematic categories" (Davis et al., 2012, p. 343).

RQ 1 examined the cultural challenges encountered by Saudi female fitness trainers in their online branding journey. They encountered several significant cultural challenges. The findings in this section were categorised into four main themes. Three themes are adopted from (Basabain et al. 2021), coded as: " Family and social traditions, Followers bullying and Religious values". Husband's jealousy was raised as a cultural challenge encountered by the participants. The findings were demonstrated in table 1.

Table 1: Cultural Challenges

Themes	***Findings examples***
Family and social traditions	**Dalal**: Because Instagram is an open platform and because the values of the society in which we live do not allow for a more open appearance. I preferred to respect that. **Amna**: My family doesn't help me and never accepts seeing me unveiled in public, even though I believe I'm not making a mistake at all, and these are my true values, so I kept the idea out of my head to hold myself away from their criticism. **Ruba**: More than one TV channel asked me to appear on a live broadcast, and I could not attend because of my family's refusal; being seen visually is difficult for families to accept.
Followers bullying	**Dalal**: In real life, I am not veiled, but I cannot practice this online for preventing followers' anger. **Ruba**: Most of them are social obstacles.
Husband's jealousy	**Dalal**: My husband does not accept that I show myself in public; if he agrees on anything I decide to post, maybe I would be famous now. Before I got married, a long time ago, If I had an Instagram account, I could

	introduce myself with normal sportswear. My parents are not conservative, but now my husband is totally refusing that idea. **Amna**: Laughs! and says to Dalal, even though my husband is open, his parents aren't.
Religious values	**Veiling** **Fatina:** because I do not want to show my body parts at all, and I am satisfied with keeping my religious values, But I still think that the veil is not a problem for me. **Fatina**: The girl who is not veiling has a much higher chance of Instagram success regardless of her athletic level. **Gender Segregation** **Amna**: Being segregated from men in gyms does not make much difference regarding my performance, but sometimes I feel that I want my husband to be with me to enjoy our workout together. **Fatina**: I feel that the presence of men in gyms is very enthusiastic because it is challenging; their strength sometimes generates high energy and increases performance. But it is still not a big issue for me. **Nawal**: I was veiled; I attended a mixed-gender event for a competition, so I was shy, and my performance was unusual. I was not myself, and perhaps because we are not used to mixing gender. **Farah**: As a taekwondo "black belt" trainer, I must practice with men to improve the level of my performance; same when it comes to kick Boxing, men have all the details of the game. So, the best exercises with men to perfect the movements of the game in all its details.

RQ 2 examined the personal challenges encountered by Saudi female fitness trainers in their online branding journey. They encountered several significant personal challenges. The findings in this section were categorised into seven main themes. Three themes are adopted and modified from (Basabain et al. 2021), coded as: “Faking personality, Low skills and Low commitment”. The findings were demonstrated in table 2.

Table 2: Personal Challenges

Themes	***Findings examples***
Faking personality	Dalal: In real life, I am not veiled, but I cannot practice this online. Amna: I can't change myself; I'm not veiled, I want to show my real self, but I can't. Areen: in my private account, I post and reflect what I strongly believe in; with my Hijab, I present my real identity and reflect my beliefs.
Social shyness	Amna: naturally, I am a bashful person. You can say that I do not like to expose myself too much, especially on social media. Nawal: I am happy with women-only gyms. I had an experience in KAUST, I was veiled, and I attended a mixed-gender event for a competition, so I was shy, and my performance was unusual. I was not myself, and perhaps because we are not used to mixing gender.
Lack of time	Fatina: Time pressure is restricting me from keeping posting. Marwa: This matter requires time, effort and focus, and I am busy being a

	new mom. Fawzya: Time is the first hindrance.
Lack of skills	Areen: I am not fully aware of the capabilities currently available on Instagram to some extent. If I know all the features, it will be better. Fawzya: Likewise, I do not have much experience with technology, photography and montage. Nawal: I do not know much about using Instagram.
Lack of effort and commitment	Marwa: those who became famous, I think a big reason is because of their work, diligence, and development for themselves in the field of sports. Marwa: I have no problem when I return to the domain again to work harder to brand my name. Areen: another reason is that I do not put in my full effort. Fawzya: Yes, I have a small to medium number, and it suits my efforts.
Lack of branding awareness or desires	Nawal: I have no great experience with it, so I avoided it. Daleen: I just wanted to work, and I haven't thought of earning followers or sponsors.
Keeping privacy	Dalal: I show myself because I want to market myself and become known; this is more convincing to the clients; being a ghost in my account is ridiculous. that is why I keep my account require access approval, then I select who to accept even if minor.

RQ 3 examined the other challenges of personal branding the exercisers need to overcome. Two key findings were raised. One is categorised as professional challenges, and the other was challenges related to the type of sport. One of the themes under the category of professional challenges was adopted from (Basabain et al. 2021), coded as: "Lack of sports facilities". The findings were demonstrated in table 3,4.

Table 3: Professional Challenges

Themes	***Findings examples***
Lack of media, brand management	Marwa: I am still not presented my work in the media, and I admit I don't attend sports meetings and events, which in my opinion, would increase the number of an athlete's Instagram followers. Fawzya: I must seek a specialist who organises my social media and helps me get more clients. Ruba: I believe that appearing in TV interviews could grant me more than the 11,000 followers I struggled to gain after I was invited on Radio channels and my efforts on social media.
Lack of sports facilities	Areen: I usually buy modest sportswear before travelling to Dubai for international qualifications courses. Amna: I attended international courses with men instructors. But that was under-covered because, before the new Saudi, it was not allowed to give mixed classes. They implemented some undercover courses by master trainers from the US and Canada; I am sure I gained huge knowledge and practice.

Table 4: The Challenges Related to Some Types of Sports

Themes	***Findings examples***
inappropriate positions	Fawzya: As a PT, I think I can post my exercises and pictures with my Hijab; there is no contradiction, especially that I can choose exercises that are simple and moderate in terms of their positions. Amna: In addition, Yoga has embarrassing and somehow unusual positions, and it is difficult for me to display comfortably, even with modest clothing. Farah: Regarding the Taekwondo movements, some movements can be done, and others are hard with Hijab. To be honest, I am more relieved when practising Taekwondo without the veil. exercises in terms of their positions.
Inappropriate dress code	Dalal: I am facing a big obstacle; although I don't mind showing up in moderate clothing, my sport type is difficult. I train an oriental dance, and it doesn't fully fit with the veiled appearance; it must show the body's charms almost half-naked. Imagine me dancing with a veil would be so funny! And just filming the leg area while dancing, that's never going to be convincing!

This study's results indicate several significant findings that are associated with the previous literature. Regarding the athlete branding challenges, Lobpries et al. (2018) and Parmentier and Fischer (2012) reported that an athlete's professional image would not stand alone. There is a significant need for mainstream media brand management efforts to building an athlete brand. The current study confirms that the participants encounter a lack of media coverage and branding management in line with the previous finding. However, exposure to visual media was unexpected behaviour for Ruba's family, and this makes this finding shifted to a cultural challenge as well as a professional challenge; she stated that:

> "More than one TV channel asked me to appear on a live broadcast, and I could not attend because of my family's refusal, while I believe that appearing in TV interviews could grant me more than the 11,000 followers I struggled to gain after I was invited on Radio channels and my efforts on social media, but being seen visually is difficult for families to accept".

Moreover, Marwa, who has a supportive family, said, "I am still not exposed to the media". Here she indicated that a lack of media representation could slow down her brand name construction, coded as a professional challenge.

On the other hand, Fawzya confirms that professional branding management needs to help her build her brand on social media "I must seek the help of a specialist, who organise my social media and help me through getting more clients".

The current study also confirms the result of the study done by Wetsch (2012), which indicated the need to build awareness of practical branding opportunities, abilities, and strategies via social media. Some participants showed a lack of branding awareness, and they felt sufficiency with their usual routine.

> "I have no great experience with it, so I avoided it".
> "I just wanted to work, and I haven't thought of earning followers".

Types of sports raised a non-expected challenge. As being a personal trainer, this challenge was not encountered, which also the personal trainer Fawzya confirmed when she stated:

> "As a PT, I think I can post my exercises and pictures with my Hijab; there are no contradictions, especially that I can choose exercises that are simple and moderate in terms of their positions".

The challenge was encountered by three trainers of "Yoga, Belly dancing and Taekwondo". As they stated that:

> "I am facing a big obstacle; although I don't mind showing up in moderate clothing, my sport type is difficult. I train an oriental dance, and it doesn't fully fit with the veiled appearance; it must show the body's charms almost half-naked. Imagine me dancing with a veil would be so funny! I think Filming the leg area while dancing, that's never going to be convincing!".
>
> "Yoga has embarrassing and somehow unusual positions, and it is difficult for me to display comfortably even with modest clothing".
>
> "Regarding the Taekwondo movements, some movements can be done, and others are hard with Hijab. To be honest, I am more relieved when practising Taekwondo without the veil".

In line with SRT, this result indicated that social shyness as a dominant female feature was found a challenge to some extent. As one of the participants stated that:

> "Naturally, I am a bashful person. You can say that I do not like to expose myself too much, especially in social media".

The above comments confirmed Lobpries et al.'s (2018) research, which reported that being bold and assertive is what some female athletes feel is not appropriate when they brand their names; they also imply that women have not been encouraged to talk about themselves. It also supports women's traditional stereotyping and expectations as more satisfied when supporting others, rather than talking about their strengths (Moss-Racusin and Rudman 2010).

It is also clear that the participants raised similar challenges as the researcher found through analysing her personal experience (Basabain et al., 2021). Most of the exercisers' families expect roles from them as women are stereotyped in relation to their religious values, customs, traditions, and conservatism level. The fear of being criticised by others in their community was also why they held back and kept away from branding themselves. As personal challenges, lack of time was found to be a barrier that affects their consistency.

Conclusion

This study resulted in several significant findings. It had reported various types of challenges that encountered by Saudi female fitness trainers through their Instagram branding journey. The findings were classified in four main categories as personal challenges, cultural challenges, professional challenges and The challenges related to some types of sports. The challenges faced by Saudi female fitness trainers were in line with the findings that were revealed in the literature of athletes personal branding challenges in regard to personal and professional challenges such as, social shyness, lack of branding awareness and lack of media coverage. However, cultural challenges and types of sports were an addition to the literature of Muslim female athletes' personal branding. Saudi and Muslim cultures are ruled by strict and conservative sharia laws, the appearance of Muslim women in public should be mostly modest and lack of attractiveness. Thus, regarding social roles of the Saudi female fitness trainers, the participants showed role ambiguity and conflict around their two different roles as being Muslims and self branders, with the respect of their cultural norms. To secure their societies acceptance, they cared for avoiding followers' bullying, husbands' jealousy, breaking religious values and families' traditions. Which affected their selection of self presentation on Instagram. The types of sports revealed more challenges; for instance, the appropriateness of the sport's dress code. As an example, belly dancing outfits are typically far away from modesty which caused a major drawback for the Saudi female belly dancing trainer. Yoga's bold poses were also not appropriate with the modest Hijaby Saudi female Yoga instructor. Both reported that it is inappropriate and uncomfortable to practice their professions in public. Further studies are recommended to conduct a qualitative individual in-depth interviews on the challenges of personal branding among Muslim female athletes to build deeper understanding of the cultural challenges in the online personal branding practices that could be a start point for exploring thier practices. Researcher are recommended to find solutions to avoid the conflict for those athlete to practice their rights of utilising Instagram as a branding tool, within social acceptance of Muslim socities. Moreover, this research was limited to Instagram use, and researchers can investigate the challenges on other visual or textual based platforms used for self branding.

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Analysing Politeness Changes When Speaking Indonesian and English: A Case Study of Indonesian-English Multilingual

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Abstract
Being fluent in English as a foreign language in Indonesia is not as easy as learning the language itself since English is not common to use in Indonesia. However, there are some Indonesian speakers who are able to speak English fluently. Considering cultural native background and the target language cultural background, it will create different types of politeness. However, several studies which have been conducted mostly focused on a specific situation in some countries, meanwhile this study focus on two different situations in Indonesia considering their different cultural native background. This study entitled "Analysing Politeness Changes when Speaking Indonesian and English: A Case Study of Indonesian-English Multilingual" is aimed to investigate their politeness changes when they speak English and Indonesian or native language. This study used qualitative research involving ten Indonesian speakers who speak English fluently with different cultural backgrounds. The sample was taken purposively in order to get the uniqueness. The data is collected based on observation, interview, and questionnaires. Observations were conducted in this study to investigate their interaction during community meetings and gathering for five meetings. An interview was also be conducted to find out their perception about their politeness changing. The questionnaires results were shown to see the differences between Indonesian bilingual and multilingual. The findings showed that their politeness changes in particular contexts. Therefore, it is suggested that if it is necessary, EFL speakers in Indonesia respect other cultures and values in order to have better communication.

Keywords: Bilingual, Indonesian, Multilingual, Politeness

Introduction

English is the most important language in the world and has been known as the international language. The ability to speak a foreign language at a natural rate without disruptive hesitation patterns, predictably placed planning pauses, and lack of pausing are the focus of this study in choosing the participants. Foreign language learners who have been living or lived in target-language environments give an opportunity to increase their fluency (Field, 2004). Considering their cultural native background and the target language cultural background, there will be some different values when they speak Indonesian and English which will create different phenomenon when they speak different language. The topic of this study is analyzing and describing speech act and politeness changes of Indonesian – English bilingual speakers. Since Indonesia has many different cultures and values depending on where they come from, Indonesian may react and respond to particular circumstances differently. They also may react and respond differently to something when they speak English since each language and culture have different politeness strategies even a bilingual speaker will use different strategies in different languages.

Words for social institutions and customs will vary between cultures and what speakers think about the world is determined by cultural and linguistic background (Saeed, 2003). It is called as linguistic relativity in which it is seen as a view that each language has categories and distinctions which are unique (Field, 2004). It is believed that speaking different languages means that we think in different ways. Some Indonesians are likely more direct in terms of using the language but it still depends on the speaker's culture and background, for example a Sundanese tend to be more indirect and polite than Bataknese. But, when they speak another language like English, there is a possibility they change their speech act. So, this study is aimed to investigate their politeness changes when they speak English and Indonesian or native language. This study is also expected to answer following research question:

1. How do Indonesian-English multilinguals interact in terms of politeness when speaking Indonesian?
2. How do Indonesian-English multilinguals interact in terms of politeness when speaking English?
3. How are Indonesian-English multilinguals able to communicate in English fluently?

This study is expected to give contribution to people who live in multicultural area, multilingualism' study in Indonesia, and further researchers. For people who live in multicultural area, this study hopefully can make them aware of differences and how some people react to something differently, so it will create less misunderstanding. Whereas for multilingualism's study in Indonesia, this study hopefully can be one of considerations for linguists in Indonesia since there has not been many studies about directness and politeness changes in Indonesia. For other researchers, this study is expected to serve as an additional source especially for those who conduct a research on multilingualism and speech acts changes.

Literature Review

Language Attitude

Human is the only creature who have language as one of their characteristics. Language has also a social function as a communications tool and a social group identity. In a communication, language and attitude are related to each other. Lambert (1967) stated that attitudes consist of three components such as cognitive, affective, and conative component. The cognitive component refers to an individual beliefs, the affective refers to emotional and reactions, and the conative refers to the tendency to behave in a certain way (Gardner, 1985). According to Kristiansen (1991, as cited in Ladegaard, 2000), knowledge (cognitive) component refers to knowledge about and experience with language varieties, language use in a regional and social perspective, and own language usage, while emotion (affective) component refer to evaluation of and opinion about language varieties, speakers, and own language usage, and behaviour (conative) component refers to variation in linguistic behaviour depending on interlocutor and auditor, content, and topic.

When human produce a language, they also have attitude in delivering a message. According to Baker (1988), language attitude is feeling that people have about their and others' language and language attitude can be positive and negative feelings. It can be concluded that language attitude is a negative or positive feeling about people's language considering their knowledge, emotions, and behavior toward the language itself. In terms of knowledge, people who have enough knowledge about other people's language tend to have positive feeling towards other languages. In terms of emotion, people who have positive evaluation of and opinion about other people's language and the speakers tend to have positive feeling and in terms of behavior, people who can deal with any topics and context while they are having a conversation with someone from another country tend to have positive feeling (Ladegaard, 2000; Giles & Billings, 2004).

Language attitude is important in bilingualism and multilingualism since it deals with the social behaviour of an individual. Language attitude can be observed through actual behaviour such as the way people treat speakers of other languages and when someone are learning another language. Language attitudes are also affected by experience, so that the attitude will change in bilingualism context. Language attitude can also predict their sociolinguistic behaviour (Ladegaard, 2000). This means that people who have positive language attitude are more likely successful in acquiring a second or foreign language than people who have negative language attitude towards a language.

Speaking

Speaking is one of human activities in delivering a message and one of language performances which people use to communicate. Speaking in a second language involves the development of communication skill (Bygate as cited in Carter & Nunan, 2001). A speaker needs to have the same language in order to communicate with someone else (Celce & Brinton, 1979). Harmer (2002) states that there are two main elements of a good speaker: language features and mental or social processing. Language features is when the speaker needs to consider their speech, expressive devices, lexical, and grammar. Mental or social processing is when the speaker get the information from the interaction. Those speaking aspects need to be acquired by learners in order to master speaking skill.

Different from the way people acquire L1, acquiring L2 have several stages. According to Bashir et al. (2011), there are several stages of language learning in terms of speaking skill. At stage 1: pre-production, the learner can hardly understand anything at all and the learner is mostly observing the speaker since beginners only listen but rarely speak. At this stage, the students imitate gestures and movements to show comprehension and the teacher should focus on listening activities. At stage 2: early production, the learners try to speak some words and they can produce short conversation. At this stage, students listen to their classmates and enrich their vocabulary. At stage 3: speech emergence, the students have a good vocabulary words and use simple phrases and sentences when they are communicating with others. At this stage, they are able to ask simple questions, which may be grammatically correct or wrong. At stage 4: intermediate fluency, students are able to use more complex sentences in speaking and ask questions to clarify what they learning in class, also they are able to work with some teacher support. At stage 5: advanced fluency, the students have near-native proficiency and they are able to perform in any topic and context.

In accordance to those stages, it can be seen that a good speaker is at either stage 4 or stage 5. Being a good speaker means that everyone can understand what the speaker says. Good speakers need to consider their pronunciation, grammar, and the rules of sentence formation and the selection of vocabulary and a speaker also needs to consider their fluency, pronunciation, and discourse management (Georgio & Pavlou, 2003) and also knowing how use the language since knowledge of a language is particularly '*knowing how*' (Crookes, 2009). It can be said that acquiring native accent make someone put at the stage 5 and they are able to perform as a good speaker.

Difficulties of Speaking English

Speaking another language is not that easy since speakers need to say and think at the same time. Difficulties in speaking happen to many people who learn another language. There are several difficulties which make speaking difficult to master according to Brown (2001): Clustering (fluent speech is usually phrasal, not word by word), redundancy, reduce forms (contractions, elisions, reduced vowels, etc.), performance variables (hesitations, pauses, backtracking, and corrections), colloquial language (words, idioms, and phrases), rate of delivery (speed), stress, rhythm, intonation, and interaction. He also adds that the biggest problem for a learner is not the complexity of words, sounds, phrases, and discourse forms, but the interactive nature of communication. So, conversation makes a learner know how to say things and when to speak.

Interactional skills requires many things that a learner need to be able to such as express purpose, recognise other speakers' purpose, express agreement, express disagreement, elicit opinions, elicit information, questions assertions made by other speakers, modify statement or comments, justify or support statement or opinions of other speakers, attempt to persuade others, repair breakdowns in interaction, check their understanding, establish common ground, elicit clarification, respond to request, correct themselves or others, indicate understanding, and indicate uncertainty (Hughes, 2003). He also states some skill in managing interactions: initiate interactions, change the topic of an interaction, share the responsibility, take turn, give turn, come to decision, and end of the interaction. Those skills can be very difficult to master by speakers who speak a foreign language, it means that people who can speak a foreign language fluently are doing a very great job.

Second or Foreign Language Acquisition

Foreign language and second language is different from each other. In several countries, they have English as a second language while in Indonesia, English is a foreign language. According to Saville-Troike (2006), a second language is an official language needed for education, employment, and other basic purposes while a foreign language is one not widely used in the learners' social context.

The way people acquire native language is also different from acquiring second or foreign language. However the process children use in acquiring first and second language is very similar since it requires meaningful interaction in the target language (Krashen, 2002). There are three states regarding to language development defined by Saville-Troike (2006): initial state, intermediate state, and final state. In initial state for second language learning, it has resources of native language competence, world knowledge, and established skill for interaction while in native language learning, innate state happens naturally. In intermediate state, there are processes, necessary conditions, and facilitating conditions. In the process of second language learning, people tend to transfer information such as grammar structure while in the process of native language learning, it happens because of maturation. Then, both second language learning and native language learning, they need input such as several resources, exposure, and interaction as their necessary conditions. The facilitating conditions only occur in second language learning process since learning a language needs a feedback, aptitude, motivation, and instruction. The final stage is the outcome of L1 or L2 learning.

Learning a second or foreign language is not as easy as we think. There are several techniques stated by Stern (1975 as cited in O'Malley & Chamot, 1995) such as sound acquisition (repeating, listening, and role playing), grammar (following rules given in text, comparing L1 and L2, memorizing), vocabulary (making up charts, learning and using words), listening comprehension (exposing to different accents and registers), learning to talk (not being afraid to make mistakes, making a contact with a native speakers, asking for correction, etc), learning to write (having a pen pal, writing frequently, etc), and learning to read (reading something every day).

The differences and similarities of L1 and L2 pronunciation and structure also influence the way learners learn a second language. L1-L2 difference can predict the amount of avoidance which learners show in using certain structures meanwhile L1-L2 similarities can result in differential learning rate and path, overproduction of L1 influenced forms and predictability/selectivity (Gass, 2013). However, some learners have their own certain techniques in learning English as a second or foreign language.

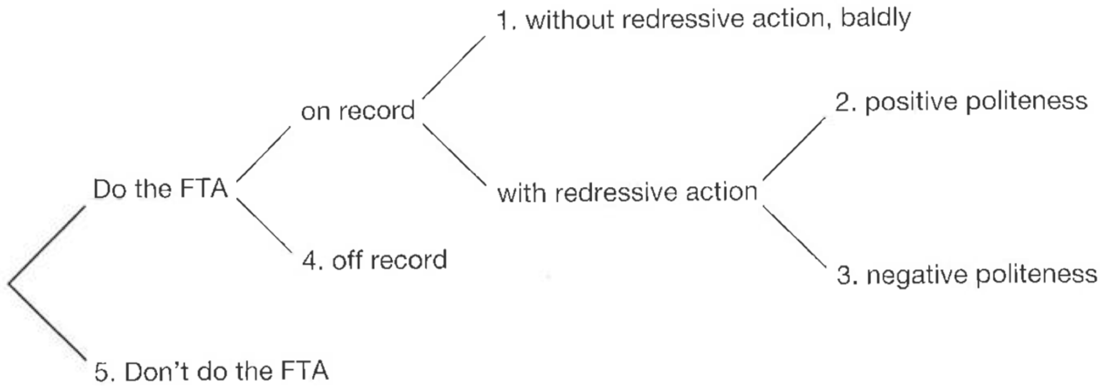
Politeness and Impoliteness

In human's interaction, there must be a way of delivering the message either in polite way or impolite way. There are eight characteristics of politeness proposed by Leech (2014). First, politeness is not obligatory which means that people will not behave politely unless there is a reason to be polite. Second, there are varying gradations of polite and impolite behaviors. Third, there is a sense of what is normal recognized by members of society. Fourth, how far politeness will occur depending on the situation. Fifth, there is always a reciprocal asymmetry in polite behaviors between two parties. Sixth, politeness can manifest itself in repetitive behaviors. Seventh, politeness involves the passing of transaction of value between the speaker and the other party. Eighth, the tendency to preserve a balance of value between the speakers.

In terms of politeness face, there are two components of face: positive face and negative face. Positive face represents an individual's desire to seem worthy, to have others admire what we value, to be understood by others, to be treated as a friend and confidant, and to deserve an approval, meanwhile negative face represents our wish not to be imposed on by others and to be allowed to go about our business unimpeded, to be autonomous and with our right to free and self-determined action intact (Grundy, 2008; Saeed, 2003). In line with that, according to Leech (2014), negative politeness is used to reduce or lessen possible causes of offense and it involves indirectness, hedging, and understatement which can be considered as an indicator of the polite use of language. Meanwhile, positive politeness assigns some positive value to the addressee such as offering, invitating, complimenting, thanking, apologizing, and congratulating. Mills (2002) also stated that positive politeness is concerned with demonstrating closeness and affiliation while negative politeness is concerned with distance and formality.

However, impoliteness also sometimes occurs. Impoliteness is behavior that is face-aggravating in a particular context (Locher & Bousfield, 2008). Terkourafi (2008) also added that impoliteness is types of perlocutionary effect in which it consists of the hearer thinking that the speaker is using inappropriate words or acts as given in cultural norms. Thus, Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed some strategies in doing face threating acts (FTA) as follows:

Figure 1: Face Threatening Acts strategies by Brown & Levinson (1987)



On record means that the participant has only one intention meanwhile off record can create more than intention. Then, when someone is doing on record without redress, it means that someone is doing the most direct way meanwhile doing on record with redness means indirect action which will create either positive or negative politeness. Based on these strategies, it is claimed that there is a strong link between politeness and indirectness based on a hierarchical model of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (Blum-Kulka, 1987). Direct and indirect speech acts are those kind of speech acts that speakers use to get someone to do something (Yule, 2017). Direct speech act is known as the conventionally expected function, meanwhile indirect speech act is known as the extra actual function and it also associated with greater politeness in English than direct speech acts (Saeed, 2003; Yule, 2017).

Related Previous Research

Several researches have been conducted related to the topic. Atawneh and Sridhar (1993) found out that since Arabic has fewer modals than English, different politeness strategies were used to make up for the politeness function of modals in English. Qari (2017) also found out that Arabic speakers who speak English were more indirect when they make a request than Arabic speakers who speak only Arabic. A study conducted by Marti (2005) also discovered that the Turkish monolinguals tended to be more direct to make a request, while the Turkish-German bilinguals preferred indirect strategies. A study on Persian preschool children, Sadighi, et all (2018) found out that there is a frequency of the use of English request strategies features in their first language. It indicates that the exposure to the foreign language learning brings changes in their first language strategy use features.

Another finding conducted by Ardi, et all (2016) shows that there is a tendency of politeness changes in translating an English novel to Indonesian which was more using negative politeness, while the original novel written in English was more using positive politeness. This finding is supported by Gunarwan's (2005) study which found out that Indonesians tend to use negative politeness because it considers a politeness, meanwhile English prefers positive politeness. Meanwhile, Hickey's (2000) study found out that British tends to be a negative-politeness whereas Spanish tends to be a positive politeness in translating a paper. Shafran (2019) also tried to explore the use of '*please*' in the production of request by advanced L1 Hebrew and L1 Arabic speakers of English and she found out that the use of direct requests decreased and the use of indirect request increased in both groups of speakers as the status of the addressee went from lower to higher than the speaker.

In terms of politeness, Mehrotra (1995) claimed that Indian English politeness forms admit of greater individual variation and stylistic range and a lower percentage of standard, conventional, and fixed forms in comparison with British or American English. However, Tanaka (1988) found out that Japanese speakers of English were more direct and did not appear to be as appropriately polite as the Australians. It means that the Japanese speakers did not experience politeness changes when they spoke English.

To sum up, speech act and politeness may or not change in particular context and certain culture. However, those studies which have been conducted mostly focused on a specific situation in countries above, meanwhile this study will focus on five different situations in Indonesia considering their different cultural native background.

Research Methodology

This research was conducted using a qualitative case study design in order to investigate what really happen in real-life events. A case study is an empirical inquiry which is used to investigate a phenomenon in real-life events and the boundaries between phenomenon and contexts which are not distinguishable (Yin, 1994). The case study also inquiry copes with different situations, relies on multiple evidence, and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions. The main purpose of a case study is to understand a case in depth and it is also useful to answer descriptive and explanatory questions (Hamied, 2017). The result is going to explain what really happen in the real event rather than generalize the conditions.

Observation, interview, and questionnaires were conducted in this study. Observation enables researchers to gather data on physical, human, interactional, and program setting (Cohen & Manion, 2000) and according to Merriam (2009), interview is a process in which the researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to study. Questionnaire were distributed to Indonesian-English multilingual group and Indonesian-Sundanese bilingual group in order to see the differences between both of the groups in terms of the interaction which is dealing with politeness. Rating scales were used in this study in order to build in a degree of sensitivity and differentiation of response (Cohen & Manion, 2000).

Observation was used in this study in order to observe what really happen during the interaction of Indonesian-English multilinguals when speaking Indonesian and English with Indonesians and foreigners in a community gathering during five meetings and interview was used in this study in order to investigate deep truth about their experience, their knowledge, and also their habit. The interview questions used English since the participants are in advanced level.

There were 10 participants (six females and four males) who are able to speak English fluently with the range of TOEFL score are 550-600. They are also in the range of age of 20s. All of them have Sundanese background even though some are mixed by another ethnic and have experience living in English-speaking country. The participants were purposive participant in which they were chosen because they matched the criteria. Purposive participant means that the participants are selected because of who they are and what they know (Hamied, 2017). There were 25 Indonesian-Sundanese Bilinguals and there were 25 Indonesian-English Multinguals were involved in questionnaires. Then, the data were analyzed based on the observation sheets and interview result. The observation sheets were transcribed, coded, and categorized while the interview results were transcibed and analyzed and the questionnaires result were analyzed and generalized.

Findings and Discussions

1. Observation Findings

The observation findings show that there were some changes in terms of politeness when they speak Indonesian and English. The participants' conversation were observed in terms of several aspects: opening the conversation in both language (ask permission, salutation formula, address term to Indonesians who are older and to non-Indonesians who are older), notice and small talk in both language, and requesting and apologizing in both language. Based on the observation findings, it was found that Indonesian-English multilinguals conducted almost similar result. The analysis is shown below:

a. Opening the Conversation in Both Languages

	Indonesian			English		
	Ask permission	Salutation	Address term	Ask permission	Salutation formula	Address term
P1	-	Hai	Aa, Mas, Teh, Mba.	Excuse me	Hi, how are you?	First name
P2	-	Hello	First name	-	Hi, guys	First name
P3	-	Hello	Mas, Mba	-	Hello	First name
P4	-	Hai	Mas, Mba, Aa	Excuse me	Hello, guys	First name
P5	-	Hai	Mas, Mba	Excuse me	Hello	First name
P6	-	Gesture	Teh, Aa	Can I….	Hello	First name
P7	-	Hai	Mba, Mas	Excuse me	Hi	First name
P8	-	Hai	Aa, Mas, Teh, Mba.	-	Hi	First name
P9	-	Hai	Aa, Teh, Mas, Kak	-	Hi	First name
P10	-	Hai	Mas, Mba	-	Hi	First name

Table 1: Observation Results: Opening the conversation in Indonesian and English

According to that table, all participants did not ask for permission when they open the conversation and they mostly used Aa, Teh, Mas, Kak and Mba to Indonesians who are older and stranger except P2. Meanwhile, they used the addresses' first name when they speak English to non-Indonesians who are older than them.

b. Notice and Small Talk in Both Languages.

In positive politeness strategy, notice and small talk are used to show some kind of politeness. Notice and small talk are usually used to shows the speakers' interest in the hearer by taking notice of the hearer, for example giving a compliment or ask how they do and small talk is used to show the speaker's interest or friendship toward the hearer by talking about unrelated topics (Brown & Levinson, 1978). According to the observation result, almost all participants did not use notice and small talk when they speak Indonesian, meanwhile they used notice and small talk when they speak English. It can be seen that after they said salutation in English, all participants did notice such as complimenting their appearance (clothes, hair, face, etc) that day and all participants did small talk such as commenting what they posted on Instagram yesterday, talking what happened yesterday, asking about family, asking about their job, etc. Meanwhile, notice and small talk never happened to the participants when they speak Indonesian, they just stated what they wanted to say after salutation.

c. Requesting and Apologizing Sentences in Both Languages.

	Indonesian		English	
	Request	Apologizing	Request	Apologizing
P1	Eh, ambilin itu dong. (Get that for me)	Ya, maaf sih	Can you pass me the salt, please?	I am sorry, I did not mean that
P2	Bayarin dulu tar gua transfer (You pay, I'll transfer)	Gua kan udah minta maaf	Can you pay first, please?	Sorry
P3	Pinjem baju boleh ya (I want to borrow some clothes of yours)	Maaf	Could you please drive me home?	Oopss, sorry
P4	Mau coba dong. (I wanna try that)	Ga maksud (I don't mean it)	Would you like to drive me home?	Sorry, sorry
P5	Mau ikut ga? (wanna come or not?	Maafin ya	Would you like to come with me?	I am sorry, man
P6	Aing minjem duit lah (lend me some money)	Hampura weh	Can I borrow some money, mate?	So sorry.
P7	Pinjem duit dong (lend me money)	Maaf, ya	Could I borrow some money?	Sorry
P8	Jemput urang lah (pick me up!)	Hampura	Can you pick me up, please?	I am so sorry
P9	Hayu ikut urang (come with me)	Maaf atuh	Would you like to come?	Sorry iiihhh
P10	Nari ini dong (Dance this)	Maaf maaf	Can we go home now please?	I am sorry.

Table 2: Observation Results: Requesting and Apologizing in Indonesian and English

According to the table 2, all participants were not that polite when they request and ask something in Indonesian and sometimes, they mixed Indonesian with Sundanese language (their native language), meanwhile they tend to be politer when they requested something in English. It happened when they apologized as well. They sounded pretty informal and mixed it with Sundanese language, while they tend to be politer when they apologized in English.

2. Interview Findings

The interviews were conducted to all participants and the results found out how they can be so fluent in English and how they changes their politeness without realizing it. According to interview results, all participants had different experience even though they had similar cultural background. P1 is 100% an Indonesian who has Acehnese and Sundanese blood. She learned English since she was four years old and she is studying English in University, she also had lived in Australia for two years and married to an Australian man. She catches all Australian culture and behaviour in terms of notice and small talk. P2 is 50% Sundanese and 50% German but he was born In Indonesian and never lived overseas. He uses English since he was a kid as his father spoke English all the time, however his Sundanese is greater than any participants in this study. P3 is 100% a Sundanese who had been living in USA for 10 years and now she is working in Indonesia and surrounded by English speakers. P4 is 100% a Sundanese who taught English in TBI (The British Institute) Bandung. Her English is very good and it can be said that she had little bit a British accent even though she never lived overseas. P5 is 50% Sundanese and 50% Ambonese who loved to hang out with foreigners since she was a kid. P6 is 100% Sundanese who never lived overseas but he studied English literature and he was surrounded by native speaker of English environment. P7 is 100% Indonesian who has Dayak blood. He used to live in European countries and studied in Switzerland, so he is not only good at English, Sundanese, and Indonesian, but also German. P8 is 100% Sundanese who has good experience in travelling to English speaking country. P9 is 50% Sundanese and 50 % German who is really good at Sundanese language, however, she never lived abroad but she speaks Sundanese, Indonesian, and English very well since she was a kid. P10 has Javanese, Sundanese, and Ambonese blood who is married to a foreigner and her environment is always surrounded by foreigners from many countries.

According to that result, it can be seen that all participants whether or not they have lived abroad, they were surrounded by English speakers so that they used English most of the time. Their environment effects their politeness changes when they speak English.

3. Questionnaires Findings

The questionnaires findings show that there are differences between Indonesian-Sundanese bilinguals who cannot speak English and Indonesian-English multilinguals who speak English fluently in terms of politeness changes when they speak both languages. First question category was about their English knowledge. Based on the result, there were 100% of Indonesian-Sundanese bilingual who always think too long when they have to speak English meanwhile 100% of Indonesian-English multilingual stated that they never have to think when they speak English. Second, there were 100% of Indonesian-Sundanese bilingual who only learned English at school and never used it English in their daily life, meanwhile 100% of Indonesian-English multilinguals learned English not only from school, but also through books, movies, music, and having social conversation. Third, all Indonesian-Sundanese bilinguals were afraid of making a mistake when they speak English and they were shy saying something in English, meanwhile all Indonesian-English multilinguals were not afraid of making a mistake and all of them were not shy at all.

Second category was about their politeness changes when they speak Indonesian-Sundanese and Indonesian English. The result showed that all Indonesian-Sundanese bilinguals change their politeness when they talk to someone older, strangers, and close friends. Indonesian-Sundanese bilinguals will talk more polite to someone older and strangers meanwhile they tend to be less polite to their close friends. All Indonesian-Sundanese bilinguals always give address term to someone older and stranger, for example Aa, Mas, Mba, Teteh, and Kakak. Meanwhile, there were 80% of Indonesian-English multilinguals who change their politeness when they speak English. All Indonesian-English multilingual always use Indonesian language informally, meanwhile they use English formally. However even though they become more polite when they speak English, 100% of Indonesian-English multilinguals did not use address term to someone older or stranger when they speak English because they prefer to use someone's first name, but when they speak Indonesian, they would use address term to someone older and stranger.

Conclusion and Recommendation

People who speak more than two languages will change the way they think. They mostly follow the culture of the language itself and they also will follow what their environment bring them to. In this study, it can be concluded that most Indonesian-English multilinguals change their politeness because they follow the 'English culture' and they will go back to their native culture when they speak their native language. It is suggested to all people who love to socialize with people from other cultures to understand each other and someone's culture in order to avoid misunderstanding and argument because misunderstanding can happen when someone does not recognize the 'politeness standard' in other cultures.

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A Comparative Analysis of Romeyka and Turkish Personal Experience Narratives

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Abstract

This senior thesis is a comparative study on personal experience narratives in Turkish and Romeyka (or Pontic Greek), an endangered Greek dialect spoken in northern Turkey. This study compares and contrasts Turkish and Romeyka narratives produced by Turkish-Romeyka bilingual speakers in aspects of Turkish influence, Labovian framework, and similarity with Modern Greek narrative with a touch on speakers' own perception of their identity in Turkey as Romeyka speakers. Narrative is considered a very important element for our mental and social life (Cortazzi 1994). One of the most groundbreaking studies about narrative was done by Labov and Waletzky (1966), who proposed a structural model for personal experience narratives. More specifically, they proposed that personal experience narratives could be segmented and categorized into parts according to their function in the narrative. They emphasized the temporal juncture in what differentiates narrative from other kinds of discourse. Other approaches to narratives were on their linguistic characteristics and what they tell us about the narrative or their social action. A third approach is about the unconscious organization of oral narrative. In the Standard Modern Greek context, specifically, Georgakopoulou (1997) studied forty Standard Modern Greek oral narratives and claimed that there was a visible pattern of number three in the narrations. These kinds of patterns are attributed to "shared cultural modes of thinking", and as Johnstone (1990: 99) argues and Georgakopoulou agrees that number 'three' is a key number in European and American cultural norms.

Keywords: Narrative, Romeyka, Turkish, Bilingual

1. Introduction

Narrative is a very broad concept, definitions of which change according to the approach one adopts. Brian Richardson (2000) explains four main approaches to the definition of narrative; temporal, causal, minimal, and transactional. For this study, I adopted the temporal narrative definition, which is the representation of events that had happened in a time interval before the narration time. The main characteristic of this approach is that narratives are produced in a time sequence Narrative in this study, is a temporally structured discourse of people's personal experiences.

Narrative is considered a very important element for our mental and social life. (Cortazzi 1994) Different models were used for certain disciplines to unearth different aspects of interaction through narratives; for instance, Labov and Waletzky (1966), proposes an underlying linguistic structure model for narratives; made up of different components that are not necessarily sequential in a narrative.

Although narratives have been studied from different perspectives in different fields of study, to my knowledge, the study of the same narratives by bilinguals in a comparative manner is still in its infancy. In this study, I look at the characteristics of narratives uttered in both languages by Romeyka-Turkish bilinguals and compare the structure and components of them to see the differences and parallels between them.

2. Romeyka

Romeyka, or Pontic Greek, is a dialect of Greek spoken in northern Anatolia, Georgia, Ukraine, Russia, and northern Greece. The language was historically spoken outside Greece until the Treaty of Lausanne between Greece and Turkey in 1923. (Kaltsa and Sitaridou 2010).[1] Due to the treaty, many Romeyka speakers of Turkey had to emigrate to Greece. This led to a great decline in the number of Romeyka speakers in the Pontus region of northern Turkey. However, there are some remaining Muslim Romeyka speakers of Turkey that have been preserving their language and identity, although the current number of speakers is unknown.

Similarly, with some other minority languages in Turkey, Romeyka does not have a formal written system. Romeyka speakers in Turkey are bilingual speakers of Turkish and Romeyka; therefore, they individually use either Turkish Latin alphabet or very rarely Modern Greek alphabet to write in Romeyka. The close coexistence with Turkish both culturally and individually makes the Turkish influence inevitable.

In its social and historical context, using Romeyka in social life has not been easy. After the foundation of the republic in Turkey, the state adopted a policy that was supposed to 'unify' all of the people under the republic under one nation and one language. The pressure against speaking Romeyka from that era continues to affect its speakers. At the beginning of my research, I asked my speakers if their older family members, who were also Turkish-Romeyka bilingual speakers, can contribute to this study. Speaker 1 stated that her family members refrain from publicly promoting Romeyka out of fear and did not want to participate in the study. Due to this pressure, Speaker 2 said that those who migrate to cities

[1] Today, it is estimated that there are more than two million Pontic Greek speakers in Greece, but only 200.000-300.000 people use this dialect actively (Kaltsa and Sitaridou 2010).

from her village hid their Romeyka identities and did not speak Romeyka there to avoid being in the middle of a political dispute. According to Özkan (2013), although many of the speakers deny the connection between their language and Greek, some of them acknowledged their *Rum* identity beneath their Turkish national identity.

Despite this adverse situation, there has been progressing in the social status of Romeyka, and the state-induced pressure is relaxed in recent years (Özkan 2013). A documentary about Romeyka was filmed with the financial support of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism[2], Romeyka songs are aired by the official national television broadcasting corporation *TRT* (Özkan 2013). Although there might be still some prejudices in public, especially in older generations, things have been improving for Romeyka and other minority languages of Turkey.

3. Participants and Methodology

This study was done with two female speakers. Speaker 1 is from Trabzon, Çaykara, Aşağı (lower) Ogene village. Speaker 2 is a 34 years old female and is from Trabzon, Çaykara, Yukarı (higher) Ogene village. Both were born and raised in predominantly Romeyka spoken environments and acquired Romeyka first, Turkish second. Both speakers are now bilingual Romeyka and Turkish speakers, living in predominantly Turkish-speaking cities and circles, except for family context and their personal studies about Romeyka.

I asked these speakers to report me an event first in Romeyka, then in Turkish. Due to global COVID-19 restrictions, no face-to-face recording sessions were possible. I asked the speakers to record themselves report an event and send them to me online. I collected four recordings in total, two from each speaker, each of which has two versions, Turkish and Romeyka. First, I compared the dialectal differences between speakers. Then, I applied Labov's analytical framework for personal experience narratives, analyzed the Turkish influence, and compared the Romeyka narratives with Modern Greek.

4. Literature Review

As mentioned in section 1, narrative is a multi-dimensional area, hence studied by plenty of researchers from different fields. Studies about narratives are generally divided into two branches: narratives studies that focus on cultural folk stories, narrated through generations after generations, and narratives of personal experience, uttered in everyday conversations. In my literature review, I focused on narratives of personal experience.

4.1. Labov and Personal Experience Narratives

In the area of personal experience narratives, sociolinguists Labov and Waletzky's theories roughly shaped the later research on narrative studies. (Labov & Waletsky, 1966; Labov, 1972; Labov & Fanshel, 1977) After analyzing narratives about personal experience from American English speakers, Labov suggests that a 'fully formed' narrative has a structure model that chunks the narrative into six parts based on the sentences. The model considers uttered sentences' content and their function in the narrative. The model includes

[2] Romeyika'nın Türküsü ('The Song of Romeyka', 2009) by Yeliz Karakütük

Abstract	the point of telling the story
Orientation	the characters and the backstage information that gives an introduction to the narrative's context
Complicating action	the event of the narrative takes place
Evaluation	narrator's attitude to the event, comments about the narration
Result	the conclusion to the event
Coda	connecting the narrative to present time

Table 1. Labovian PEN Framework

The sequence of the elements is not fixed. The fact that this model is mapped from unconscious, vernacular narratives, makes it very important in showing that "talk" is structured and can be analyzed and modeled (Johnstone 2001). However, it is useful to note that their definition of narrative is heavily based upon its temporal juncture. Any series of clauses with a temporal juncture is defined as narrative. Furthermore, they take into consideration only the narrations that follow the same temporal order as original events. To illustrate this;
a. Well, this person had a little too much to drink
b. and he attacked me
c. and the friend came in
d. and she stopped it

The above example is a narrative that follows the same temporal order as the real-life event.

Below is an alternative interpretation of the same event;
c. a friend of mine came in
d. just in time to stop
a. this person who had a little too much to drink
b. from attacking me.

Although both versions are acceptable and semantically parallel, the latter is not considered as a narrative and thus Labov's analytical framework cannot be applied to it.

To further improve the above studies about personal experience narratives, research can be done on narratives in conversation analysis. The above model is based upon elicited narratives and may not be easily applied to spontaneous narratives in daily conversation. (Georgakopoulou 1997) There are a lot of external factors coming into consideration in conversation analysis. One is that narrators are more familiar and share more background information about their experiences with their listeners in a conversational setting. That those shared assumptions may not be known to the interviewer and hence need to be explained in an experimental environment leads to longer orientation in narratives (Georgakopoulou 1997).

Nonetheless, two points of Labov's work also caused confusion in narrative studies. One is the definition of narrative. While Labov defines narrative as any sequence of clauses with a temporal juncture parallel with the original event, he also includes non-narrative sections as orientation and evaluation in a 'fully formed' narrative (Johnstone 2001). In addition, many researchers continued to use the term 'narrative' as an umbrella term for both any talk concerning a past event and talk designed to be presented and attract an audience. (Johnstone 2001) Later, some researchers adopted the distinction that "narrative" is used to represent past events and "story" is used to refer to a 'narrative with a point' (Johnstone 2001).

The second point is related to the aforementioned feature of Labov's stories: the fact that they are elicited in an interview environment. Labov's claim that all 'fully formed' narratives have the structure above was not valid for narratives produced in a different context. (Johnstone 2001) It can be observed that not all narratives have all of the sections described in the model, but according to Johnstone (2001), this supports Labov's suggestion that narrative structure is dependent on the context it is produced.

4.2 Other Works on Narrative and Greek Narration

There have been other structural studies in the field of narrative research as well. One approach focuses on how narrative is dependent on its social context. Narration evolves and changes according to the environment it is produced, its audience, and the audience's reaction to the ongoing narration. Schiffrin (1984, 1996) examines how structures of narratives reflect their social action. Moreover, how audiences are also a part of the construction process, either directly or indirectly is also studied by different scholars (Ochs et al. 1989; Norrick 1997). (Johnstone 2001)

Another approach is about the linguistic characteristics of the narrative and what they tell us about the narrative. Schiffrin (1981) studied the tense shift from past tense to historical present tense in narrative. She analyzed the structure of the clauses concerning their relation to the Labovian framework of the narrative. Then, she examines the historical present tense use in narrative and its possible reasons.

A third approach is about the unconscious organization of oral narrative. Dell Hymes (1981) showed that Native American myth was performed in recurring literal and numeral patterns. Coming back to the Greek context, Alexandra Georgakopoulou (1997), studied forty Standard Modern Greek oral narratives, and claimed that there was a visible pattern of number three in the narrations. These kinds of patterns are attributed to "shared cultural modes of thinking", and, as Johnstone (1990: 99) argues and Georgakopoulou agrees, that number 3 is a key number in European and American cultural norms. The three pattern is seen in the following examples.

1. Three elements presented in a sentence (mostly adjectival phrases)
(a) akusa mŋa δinati δjaperastici aδjakopi foni
I heard a loud penetrating continuous voice

2. Three micro-actions related to each other in an event-schema
(b) opote jirnai, perni fora, ce tsap piδai to fraχti
and so he turns around, makes a bounce, and "tsap" jumps over the fence

3. Focus on three characters and their actions in a story
(c) a. aftos etreçe ce kornarize, eyo krataya ti Vivi, i mana su travaje ta malja tis c 'ekleje as pume...

he was running and honking, I was holding Vivi in my arms, your mum was pulling at her hair and crying...

4. The three elements in the pattern are most times bound with reiteration device (e.g. parallelism, paraphrase, repetition)
(e) . itan ena prayma me ute steji ute tavani ute tipota
it was a thing with no roof no ceiling no nothing

In some cases, the number three appears in the narration even when it is not relevant to the plotline and does not appear again. We also see the three pattern in the number of phrases in the sentences of a narrative.

Although there are studies on Ancient and Standard Modern Greek narrative and discourse – such as Georgakopoulou's-, there have been no studies on Romeyka narrative structure.

5. Results

5.1. Dialectal Differences

Although both speakers were from the Ogene village there were differences in their dialects. Speaker 2 who was from Aşağı Ogene part of the village, put stress on the second syllable of most of the verbs. This led to the deletion of the initial *e-* in the verbs.

1)	(e)Seven	apes.
	enter-3SG.M.PST	inside.
	He went inside too.	

The verb *eseven* 'he entered' is pronounced as *seven*. This is not peculiar to sentence-initial position. The verb *egolisen* 'he burned' is pronounced without initial *e-* in the sentence.

2)	So	közin	(e)GOlisen	to	dhadhin.
	LOC	ember	burn-3SG.M.PST	ACC	kindling
	He burned the kindling in the ember				

Another difference was seen in the nominal form of nouns that end with a vowel. Speaker 1 pronounces nouns with proper determiner and noun's bare form in nominal case in the context where the plural is needed.

3)	Emis	tin	kosara	uç	exume
	we	ACC.PL.F	chickens	NEG	have.1PL.PRES
	We do not have any chickens.				

Speaker 2, adds an additional *–n* to nouns in nominal case.

4)	O	Leyon	ne	insanin	en	ne	hayvanin	en.
	DET.1SG.M	Leyo.NOM	neither	human	COP	nor	animal	COP
	Leyo is neither a human nor an animal.							

5.2. Comparison with Labovian Framework

Below are four tables of speakers' narratives divided into six parts of Labov's personal experience narrative framework. The tables show the durations of each function in speakers' narratives. Through this table, I tried to see whether speakers spent visibly more or less time when they narrated in two languages. This could show speakers' tendencies when they speak to a Turkish speaker who did not know Romeyka.

Speaker 1.1-TR (01.44 min)	**Speaker 1.1-ROM** (01.59 min)
Abstract: -- Orientation: 0.00 - 0.11 Complicating action: 0.12 – 1.20 Embedded orientation: 0.32 – 0.42 Result: 1.21 – 1.44 Evaluation: -- Coda: --	Abstract: -- Orientation: 0.00 - 0.10 Complicating action: 0.12 – 1.26 Embedded orientation: 0.32 – 0.40 Result: 1.27 – 1.59 Evaluation: -- Coda:--
Speaker 1.2-TR (0.48 min)	**Speaker 1.2-ROM** (0.58 min)
Abstract: -- Orientation: 0.00 – 0.03 Complicating action: 0.03 – 0.36 Embedded orientation: 0.02 / 0.10-0.16 Result: 0.36 – 0.48 Evaluation: -- Coda: --	Abstract: -- Orientation: 0.00 – 0.01 Complicating action: 0.01 – 0.37 Embedded orientation: -- Result: 0.38 – 0.58 Evaluation: -- Coda: --
Speaker 2.1-TR (2.14 min)	**Speaker 2.1-ROM** (2.14 min)
Abstract:-- Orientation: 0.00 – 0.14 Complicating action: : 0.18-0.22 / 0.29-0.44 / 0.50-1.14 / 1.19-1.49 / 1.52-2.13 Embedded orientation: 0.22-0.29 / 0.45-0.49 Result: 2.13 - 2.14 Evaluation: Coda:	Abstract:-- Orientation: 0.00-0.25 Complicating action: 0.31-0.55 / 0.58-1.27 / 1.33-2.10 Embedded orientation: 0.55-0.58 / 1.28-1.32 Result: 2.11- 2.14 Evaluation: 0.28 – 0.30 / 01.53-01.55 Coda:
Speaker 2.2-TR (3.38 min)	**Speaker 2.2-ROM** (3.24 min)
Abstract:1.11-1.16 Orientation: 0.00 – 1.10 Complicating action:1.16-1.25 / 1.36-2.16 / 2.26-2.52 Embedded orientation: 1.26-1.35 / 2.17-2.24 Result: 2.52 - 2.58 Evaluation: -- Coda: 2.59-3.38	Abstract: 0.00-0.05 Orientation: -- Complicating action: 0.16-2.42 Embedded orientation: -- Result: 2.42- 2.49 Evaluation:-- Coda: 0.06-0.15 / 2.50-3.24

Table 2. Narratives According to Labovian Narrative Framework

5.3 Turkish Loanwords Usage

Table 3 shows the Turkish loanword usage rate of speakers and narratives per minute. This ratio shows the speakers' conscious or unconscious stance on using Turkish loanwords while speaking Romeyka.

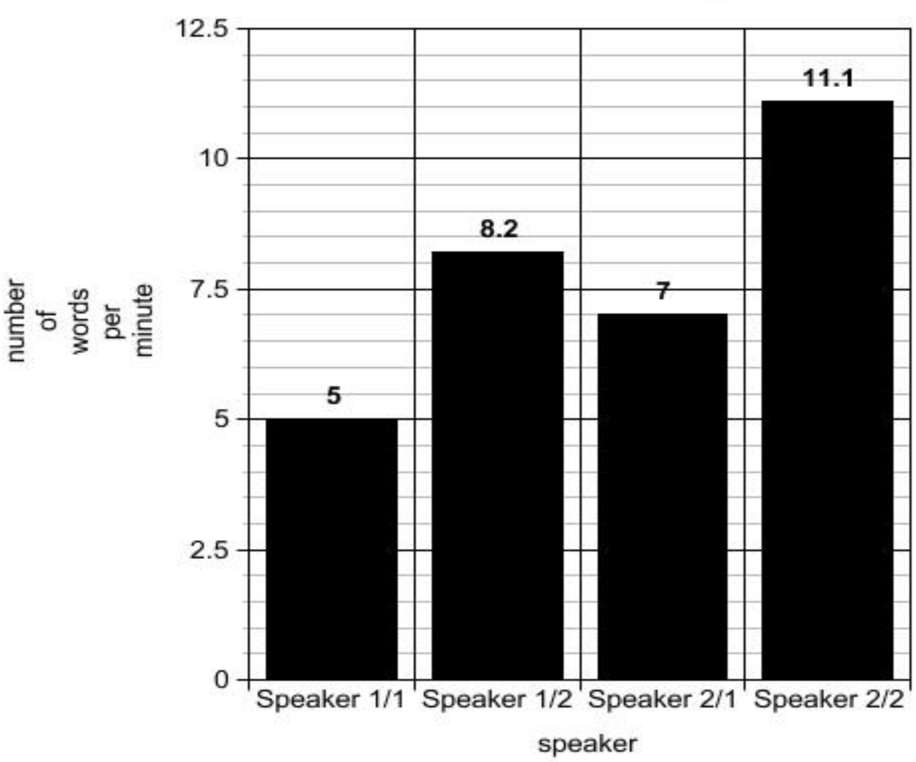

Table 3. Turkish Loanwords Usage Rate per Minute

Table 4 demonstrates classes of Turkish loanwords. There were 62 different Turkish words in total from four narratives. This data helps us see what classes of words are more likely to be borrowed from Turkish. The result can help to see Romeyka's morphological system and lexicon.

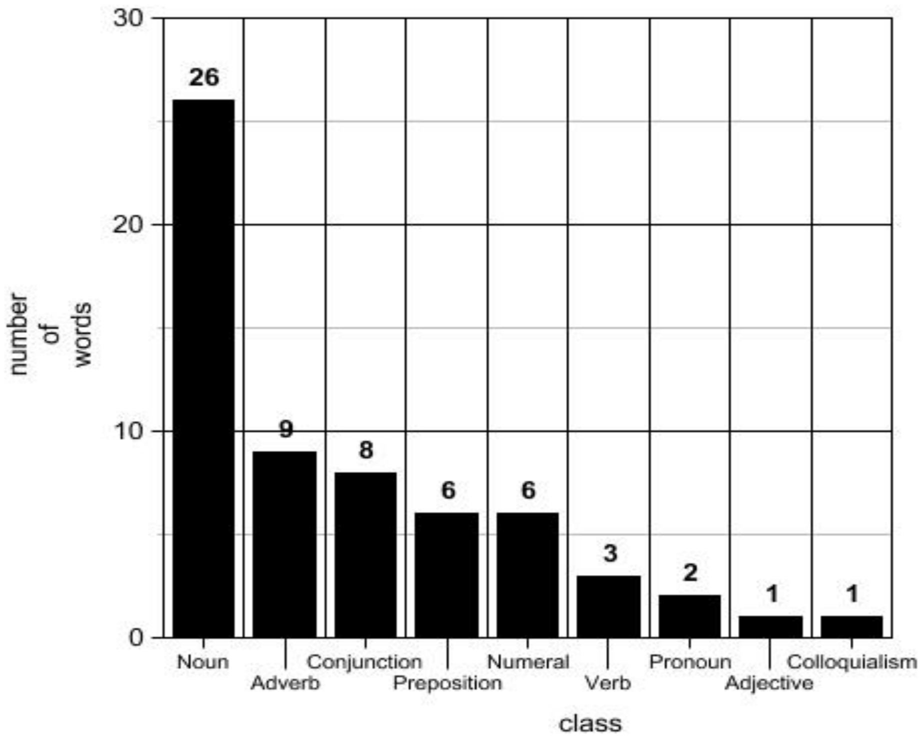

Table 4. Turkish Loanwords' Use Count and Word Classes

6. Discussion and Analysis

6.1. Dialect Differences

There were dialectal differences in pronunciation although the villages were both southern mountain villages quite close to each other geographically. Trabzon is a city with many mountains and most non-urban villages are on mountain slopes. My opinion is that the traditional settlement layout has hindered the communication between even very close villages. This may have caused the still preserving dialectal differences in Romeyka. The cultural isolation due to topography in the Black Sea region is prominent also in Turkish-speaking villages.

6.2 Comparison with Labovian Framework

One immediately visible result of putting the narratives into the Labovian model is that except for one narrative, there is generally no abstract in narratives. The only abstract is a very short one from narrative 2.2 in both languages, taking up roughly only 2% of the narration. Another interesting point is that, in all of the recordings, orientation, before complicating action or embedded, took more time in the Turkish versions. The reason for this may be that I, the experimenter, was a Turkish-speaking person. When the speakers were narrating their stories, they may have felt the need to explain more things to me about their village life and culture. This would not be necessary when they spoke Romeyka to a person who can also speak it, since the person who knows the language would be more familiar with their life and daily practices. This is direct evidence on how the audience determines the narrative's content and the unconscious choices the narrator makes, depending on the audience's relation to the narration. The audience can co-narrate the story even without participating in the actual utterance, only through existing and having its characteristics.

Overall, the Labovian narrative model does not fully meet both Romeyka and Turkish narratives I have collected. Mostly the narratives directly get to the point of the story, usually starting with orientation, continuing with a long complicating action with sometimes a few embedded orientations, and finally the result. There is little evaluation and only one case of coda, in both Turkish and Romeyka versions of narrative 2.2.

6.3 Turkish Loanwords Usage

When we look at the Turkish word usage in speakers, we can see that Speaker 2 uses more Turkish loanwords in her speech. Speaker 1's reluctance may be due to the fact that she is a journalist who actively promotes Romeyka and Romeyka identity in Turkey. It is possible that she deliberately avoids using Turkish loanwords as a way of preservation of ethnic identity.

The loanwords' classes were determined by their function in the narrative. It is possible to see some of the words listed below in other categories with respect to their context. As for the distribution of their classes, it is not surprising to see that nouns are the most borrowed words from Turkish. Out of 61 loanwords, 26 is noun. It is widely known that nouns are the word group that is most likely to be borrowed from a donor language. Haspelmath (2008) noted that "according to Myers-Scotton (2002: 240), nouns are borrowed preferentially "because they receive, not assign, thematic roles", so "their insertion in another language is less disruptive of predicate-argument structure". Turkish is also the language that has the most influence on Romeyka spoken in Asia Minor. Hence the Turkish nouns' are the most suitable candidate to be borrowed.

Among the second most borrowed words are adverbs. In 61 words, there were 9 different adverbs. Out of the 7 adverbs, 5 of them is adverb of time (*her gün* 'everyday', *sabahtan* 'in the morning', *en son* 'at last', *o zaman* 'then', *anda* 'the moment (something happens)'); 2 is adverb of frequency (*bazen* 'sometimes', *genelde* 'usually'); and 1 is and adverb of manner (*kendi kendine* 'by/to himself'); and 1 is an adverb of degree (*epey* 'very much').

The eight conjunctions, namely *ye.. ye..* 'either.. or..', *yani* 'in other words', *ama* 'but', *neyse* 'anyways', *hani* 'I mean', *ki* 'which/that', *ne.. ne..* 'neither.. nor..' and *eğer* 'if', are among the most used conjunctions in colloquial Turkish. Thus it is no surprise that they were borrowed by Romeyka speakers, who are also speakers of Turkish.

As for the numerals, Romeyka borrows all of the numeral system from Turkish. Only numbers up to 5 are used in Romeyka, but even that is not common in daily life according to Speaker 2. The first 5 Romeyka numbers are *ena* 'one', *dhio* 'two', *dria* 'three', *desera* 'four', and *pedhe* 'five'. The rest of the numbers are borrowed directly from Turkish.

The six prepositions are *işte* 'well', *tabi* 'of course', *gibi* 'like', *bir de* 'also', *belki* 'maybe', *artuk* 'or/well'.

The three verbs are *kız-* 'be angry with', *başla-* 'start', *paxla-* 'clean'. There is another questionable verb that is used inside a sentence, *hallediyor* 'he takes care of it'.The interesting thing about this verb is that while the first three verbs are used with Romeyka time and person markers as seen in examples (5) and (6), *hallet-* is entirely borrowed with its Turkish time and person markers as seen in example (7).

(5) İyneka kızepse.
The woman got angry.

(6) Ama Leyon başlayepsen sablesimon.
But Leyo started to burn.

(7) Hallediyor ejega efdeyise perişan artık.
He takes care of it, he makes (you) miserable there.

Although *hallediyor* is used at the beginning of the sentence which is unusual for Turkish but very common in Romeyka, the way it is used entirely with Turkish markers is notable. However, as there is already a Romeyka verb *efdeyise* 'he does' in the sentence, I did not consider *hallediyor* as a loanword. I considered it as an example of code-switching. Whether this kind of use of Turkish words is common or not is not clear, but can be further studied with more speakers.

Lastly, the one adjective is *perişan* 'miserable', one colloquialism is *tamam* 'okay' and two pronouns are *ondan* 'that.ABL' –a pronoun directly borrowed with its markers from Turkish- and the reflexive pronoun *gendi*[3]. *Gendi* is also used with Romeyka markers.

(8) Hayes leğune dipo anda efdey gendis
The elderly say so when they bring something upon themselves.

Moreover, the adverb *kendi kendine* 'by/to itself' is made using this reflexive pronoun and it is borrowed directly from Turkish with its Turkish markers. While speaker 2 prefers to write the *gendi* with voiced consonant [g], she writes *kendi kendine* with voiceless consonant [k]. The fact that the latter is borrowed directly as a phrase from Turkish, probably causes her to write it in Turkish form.

6.4. Comparison with Modern Greek Narrative

Georgakopoulou's number 3 pattern is not distinctly apparent in the narratives. There are a few examples where number 3 can be traced as in examples (9) and (10).

(9) Sa ğardelie is ye eğo ye i Fatoş ye o Salihis ebeybame.
Among the children, either I or Fatoş or Salih would go.

(10) Binami is tin mamim yerdimin. Pername do storaçi muna. Da za elename.
We used to help my grandmother. We would get our sticks. We would herd the cows.

However, there is not enough evidence to say that a number 3 pattern is prominently observable.

This difference was not surprising. As mentioned in Section 2, almost every Romeyka speaker is also a Turkish speaker. Being raised in a culturally Turkish environment may have cut their ties with the "common Indo-European culture" mentioned by Georgakopoulou. The stories they hear, the way they speak are probably more interrelated with the Turkish language and Turkish culture than any other. Accordingly, this disconnection with Modern

[3] *Kendi* in Standard Modern Turkish.

Greek must be due to the geographical disconnection that has damaged Romeyka's ties with it for centuries.

Concerning the connection with Modern Greek, conforming to the issue in section 2, Speaker 2 specifically requested me to transcribe the narratives using voiced consonants [b], [d], etc. in certain words when I transcribed her dialect. She said that when I use voiceless consonants, the language sounds 'more like Greek (*Yunan*)' and she did not want that. She did not deny the possibility that Romeyka 'might be Greek in the end', but she claimed that she did not see it as a political issue. She also expressed her disapproval of Romeyka being used as a tool in political discourse.

6.4 Overall Linguistic Comparison

One notable difference between the linguistic qualities of the narratives in two languages is the tense. Romeyka uses its regular past tense.

(11) Erthen i manam çe i thiam.
My mother and my aunt came.

(12) O toxtor, "esi", ipen atona, "her gün ena ovo na tros."
The doctor; "you" he said to him, "should eat one egg every day."

Turkish has two suffixes that are used for past tense, *-mIş* and *-DI*. The evidential *–mIş* suffix is mainly used to talk about past events that the speaker "was not a direct or fully conscious participant" (Slobin and Aksu 1982). But it also has a narrative function that is special to unreal events, used for telling folktales, myths, or jokes (Slobin and Aksu 1982). Inside the narrative 2.2, Speaker 2 talks about a folktale she heard when she was a child. In the Turkish version of the narrative 2.2 when she starts with a little anecdote about "Leyo", the fictitious character she was scared of as a child, she uses the *–mış* tense as expected as seen in example (13).

(13) Leyo'ya sormuşlar 'Seni kim yaktı?', 'Ben kendimi yakmışım, ben kendimi yakmışım.' demiş.
People (literally 'they') asked Leyo 'Who burned you?', it said 'I burned myself, I burned myself.'

However, in the very next sentence, when she goes on about her memories about the tale, she also uses *–mış* tense, which is unexpected. Stories about self are usually told in *–DI* tense in Turkish, which, unlike –mış, indicates that the speaker is a direct participant in the event.

(14) E ben de merak etmişim 'Leyo kimdir, nedir, niye kendini yakmış'.
So I wondered, 'who's this Leyo, what is it, why did it burn itself?'

Moreover, immediately after example (14), she continues with –yor suffix, which indicates imperfect aspect and –when it is used without any other tense marker- present continuous tense. The –yor marker is rarely used in narrating past events in Turkish.

(15) İşte babaanneme soruyorum "Nene bu Leyo kimdir, niye kendi kendini yaktı, niye böyle bir şeyi yaptı?"

So I ask my grandmother, "Grandma who is this Leyo, why did it burn itself, why did it do such a thing?"

Then, right after example (15), she finally goes on with past tense –DI marker, which is the expected one in telling personal experience narratives.

(16) Babaannem de<u>di</u> ki "Leyo insanımsı bir canlı, artık insan desen insan değil hayvan desen hayvan değil."
My grandma said, "Leyo is a humanlike creature, it is neither a human nor an animal."

Then again, the tense shifts to –yor again and goes on mostly with –yor until the folktale, hence –mIş begins.

The mixed tense use is interesting because it is rarely mixed in daily conversation in Turkish, except for intentional shifts made by the speaker to create an effect.

7. Conclusion

This research was aimed to compare and contrast Romeyka and Turkish personal experience narratives produced by bilingual speakers of both languages. Based on the results, there are a lot of differences in the narration of the same event in Romeyka and Turkish, even if they are narrated by the same people. Among Romeyka narratives, there were dialectic differences and different ratios of Turkish loanword usages. Between Romeyka and Turkish narratives, there were differences in style and tense use. When both versions were put into the Labovian personal experience narrative framework, we see that more time was devoted to orientation in the Turkish version. When we compare Romeyka narratives to Modern Greek narratives, we do not see parallelism in number three pattern of Modern Greek narratives. This is attributed to the cultural disunity between Romeyka speakers and Modern Greek speakers.

To better understand the relation between two languages, this study can be further improved by adding more speakers from different genders, ages, and villages. Furthermore, the scope can be expanded into different discourse types in two languages. This study answers the question of how bilingual speakers of a minority language make conscious or unconscious choices when they speak either language, what are those choices and why do they do them. Although there has been some research on Romeyka and its grammatical structure, the sociolinguistic aspect of the language has a great potential to work on and improve. This study shows one viewpoint from this aspect, and many more exciting research questions are waiting to be addressed.

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The Impact of Snapchat Beautifying Filters on Beauty Standards and Self-image: A Self-Discrepancy Approach

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Abstract

This study explores the problematic nature of Snapchat's beautifying filters by presenting Saudi women's perceptions of self-beauty and reactions to these face-perfecting filters, from satisfaction to self-discrepancy. It expands the existing literature on Snapchat filters to users from Eastern regions. It uses the self-discrepancy theory to show the impact of perceived discrepancies between the actual and ideal self in facial images that use Snapchat filters, showing its impact on beauty standards and emotions. This study demonstrates the tension between the temporary satisfaction and confidence boost provided by filters and the simultaneous self-discrepancy that affects some women negatively. The study utilises qualitative method of research. It is based on online interviews conducts on ten Saudi women. The study emphasized the role of personality, self-beauty confidence, and faith in shaping the intensity of the impact. The results show a fluctuation in women's perceptions of the effect of filters on beauty standards, from filters merely emphasizing well-known standards to promoting new ones, causing women to enhance their actual self to reach an idealized look. This study argues that, to some extent, Snapchat filters are fake, unpleasant, and distorting.

Keywords: Self-discrepancy, Filters, Snapchat, Social Media, Saudi Women

Introduction

In the last few years, the Snapchat platform has witnessed an increase in use all over the world. Snapchat supports ephemeral communications and has become one of the most popular social and photo sharing applications worldwide (Tankoveska, May 21, 2021). This digital interaction on everyday photos and videos using augmented reality has drawn attention to the application (Rios, Ketterer & Wohn, 2018). Statistics indicate that there are 280 million daily active Snapchat users worldwide. It is one of the most popular social networking sites used in Saudi Arabia (Al-Qahtani, Basardah & Al-Shaer, 2019); Saudi Arabia ranked fifth place worldwide with a Snapchat audience of 19.6 million users in January 2021 (Tankoveska, Feb 10, 2021). One of the essential features of Snapchat that distinguishes it from other social media platforms is the Face Lenses feature, which is applied to users' faces using augmented reality.

Snapchat

Snapchat was launched in 2011. It is a mobile application that displays shared content for a limited period. It depends on mobile portability; photos and images are taken anywhere and at any time (Bayer, Ellison, Schoenebeck, & Falk, 2016). People use Snapchat to share photos, communicate, and interact socially (Kerr and Faulkner, 2020). In 2015, Snapchat introduced Lenses, commonly known as face filters (Barker, 2020). Filters have been widely used to enhance users' appearance and present their ideal selves. These filters edit facial features, e.g. contouring the nose and jawline, widening the eyes, smoothing and lightening the skin, getting rid of blemishes and imperfections, applying virtual accessories and makeup, changing photo colouring, or adding cartoon elements. A "biometric grid" activated on the users' faces allow them to apply different Lenses on their faces (Zhao & Zappavigna, 2018:675). In their daily lives, users combine these technological effects with self-expression (Barker, 2020) and visual and written content (Brubaker and Wilson, 2018) while forming social connections.

Technically, the most unique Snapchat feature is the 24-hour story. The process shows a series of photos or videos; each remains between 1 and 10 seconds. It is presented, monitored, and edited by the user, and then viewed by the chosen audience. Different facial expressions are displayed and frequently changed and updated by the company.

Women on Social Media

Physical appearance and self-presentation are essential components in women's self-evaluation (Wang, Wang, Liu, Xie, Wang, & Lei, 2020:164). Therefore, women are selective when posting picture of the self and tend to choose an image that gives a positive impression. Activities such as posting selfies, which usually involves applying filters, enhance women's self-image satisfaction (Wang, et al., 2020). Alsaggaf (2019) argues that Saudi women use strategies to present their idealized selves on social networking sites,while Rios et al. (2018:321) reveals that idealized filters are chosen depending on personalities, goals, and "scroll-first mindset."

Snapchat, from Satisfaction to Harm to Self-image

A growing literature has developed on Snapchat with its increased use. Previous literature has shown that Snapchat has been used as a platform to enhance learning (see Kerr at al., 2020 and Al-Oudan, 2019), produce social capital (see Phua, Jin & Kim, 2017), share spontaneous experiences (see Bayer et al., 2016), and market products (see Tropp & Baetzgen, 2019). Most of the focus in the Arab literature on Snapchat has centered on its use in education (see Al-Sharaf, 2017 and Al-Oudan, 2019), social aspects (see Al-Azmi, 2017), the gratification of use (see Al-Qahtani et al., 2019), and marketing)see Alghamdi & Bogari, 2020).

In the western literature, many studies have identified negative psychological consequences associated with Snapchat use (Kahn & Martinez, 2020; Shin, Kim & Chong 2017; Steinsbekk, Wichstrøm, Stenseng, Nesi, Hygen & Skalická, 2021; and Utz, Muscanell & Khalid, 2015). One showed the negative impact of Snapchat selfies on users' mood (Fox, Vendemia, Smith & Brehm, 2020), and another showed that comparing the self-image with others' ideal images led to harmful outcomes (Vogel and Rose, 2016). But what about users focusing on their self-image compared to their ideal image? Vogel and Rose (2016) also demonstrate beneficial outcomes specifically when SNSs' users focused on their self-images rather than focusing on others' ideal images. Snapchat filters encourage such comparisons by allowing users to manipulate their self-image to reach the ideal version. Zhao at al. (2018) argue that editing apps such as Snapchat challenge the "authentic" self that is associated with self-images. Thus, Snapchat features have shifted the self-image from authentic to augmented and a modified form of the self (p:675). Kandathil, Patel, Saltychev and Most (2020) examine different perceptions of images taken by digital single-lens reflex (DSLR) cameras and by mobile phones, both filtered and non-filtered pictures of the self. The study found that images taken by Snapchat filters are linked with appealing attributes, whereas DSLR camera images are associated with ordinary traits.

Moreover, Eshiet (2020) argues that Snapchat filters influence the beauty standards of young women, thus playing a role in encouraging them to use fillers and seek plastic surgery. According to Ramphul and Mejias (2018), a plastic surgeon revealed that many clients request an appearance that corresponds to their filtered images on Snapchat and Instagram.

While there may be negative consequences, self-image satisfaction might occur to Snapchat filter users. Users upload their pictures/videos of the self to be seen by an audience, which might be enjoyable (Oliveira & Tam, 2020), boost confidence and raise self-esteem (Krause, Baum, Baumann & Krasnova, 2019), help pass the time (Phua at al., 2017), or help to express emotions through visual and written content on Snaps (which increases audience engagement, as argued by Brubaker at al., (2018).

The previous Western literature demonstrates the impact of filters' use, from satisfaction and joy to harm to self-image. With the increased use of Snapchat filters among women sharing photos and videos in Saudi society and the lack of studies on Saudi women's perceptions of self-beauty on social media, it is essential to understand the impact of social media features on women's perceptions of beauty and whether the use of these features influence the way they feel about themselves.

The study has three main questions:
Q1: Do Snapchat filters have an impact on Saudi women's self-image?
Q2: Do Snapchat filters have an impact on Saudi women's beauty standards?
Q3: Do filters lead to self-discrepancies that negatively impacted women's emotions?

The Self-Discrepancy Theory

The use of Snapchat filters is an attempt to idealize the actual self-image. It is important to note here that the actual self-image is the image of the users without filters. The contradiction that users might feel when viewing the actual image compared to the ideal image using Snapchat Lenses (filters) could lead to negative emotions and dissatisfaction with the self-image. The self-discrepancy theory (SDT) described by E. Toy Higgins (1987) argues that there are specific emotional consequences that occur when individuals compare one self-state to another self-state and realize that a discrepancy arises between the two. Most are dissatisfied and disappointed when perceiving a discrepancy between actual and ideal selves. To researcher knowledge, the literature on self-discrepancy focuses mostly on body image (see Kim, 2020) except for one study on self-photos (see Mankotia & Wesley, 2020). As facial features, facial shape/form, and hair are considered integral parts of body image according to Jalali-Farahani, Amiri, Zarani & Azizi (2021), this study extends previous research and chose two self-states of interest out of six proposed by SDL: the actual/own (non-filtered image which I refer to as actual self throughout the paper) and the ideal/own (filtered images which I refer to as ideal self) focusing on facial features and appearance. These selves can be identified from one's perception, as proposed by SDL. Users likely compare Lenses before choosing which to post, resulting in a self-discrepancy that consequently may raise emotions such as dissatisfaction or disappointment.

Methodology

Sample

Participants were 10 Saudi women from the faculty of King Abdul Aziz University, in the age range of 35-65 years (see Table-1). Participants were selected depending on Snapchat filter use. The goal was to understand filter use and effects, with no intention to generalize to larger populations.

Initial	Years	Educational level	initial	years	Educational level
BF	35	PhD	AS	38	PhD
MH	36	PhD	AL	44	PhD
NS	39	PhD	SL	40	MA
NY	37	PhD	FM	38	PhD
AA	65	PhD	NA	44	PhD

Table 1: Participants' age and educational level

Data Collection

This study utilized a qualitative method of research. Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted. To face the unique challenges of coronavirus pandemic precautions, data collection was mainly conducted online applying "social distant" technique. A technique that is advocated by Lobe, Morgan, Hoffman (2020:1) encouraging qualitative researchers to use technologies (video platforms) and alter their face-to-face study design to online one if needed. Due to cultural aspect and for women's privacy, it was difficult to use video platforms among participants.Thus, this study has used WhatsApp to collect data. Messages written or voiced on WhatsApp could remain recorded for the researcher's future use, at convenience, while allowing for future explanations if needed. I was able to conduct two face-to-face interviews while the remaining eight were voice interviews through WhatsApp.

Interview Questions

General questions were asked to participants about their interest in Snapchat filters and their use, followed by main questions asked about the impact of these filters on self-image, self-beauty confidence, self-discrepancy, and beauty standards. Data were collected, translated from Arabic to English, and categorized into main categories and themes.

Results

Beautifying Vs. Distorting the Actual-image

Snapchat beauty face filters have shown their effectiveness in beautifying users, as most participants use filters on the majority of their photos for an ideal appearance. They also agreed that filters make them prettier. NS, SL, AS, have never posted a photo without a filter. “Filters are Snapchat’s salient feature; that’s why I like to take advantage of them… why not use filters if I have the opportunity to look prettier,” NS stated. AS also said: “Filters give the perfect image that I like my face and features to appear with.” AQ uses filters on about 90% of her posted Snaps and stated that filters make her “glow” and look prettier. Likewise, AL and NS declared that filters make them prettier and they use them specifically when taking personal selfies. AS stated that these filters give clarity and lustre to her skin even when she is exhausted. She also said:

> “Filters always give me the nice image that I seek, in the nice moments, when I am not prepared to take a memorable photo with family or friends, especially when I have not carried my makeup back, do not want to put on makeup, have no time, or am in a hurry”.

Although filters beautify women and enhance their looks, for some participants, certain conditions allow them to dispense with using filters. AS and AL said that they may post an actual image if the sunshine gives them perfect lightning, or if they are in a group photo. Also, the clarity of the Snapchat camera was blamed for this attitude. NS said:

> “I would take a photo without filters if the lighting were good or my face was not exhausted and the photoshoot was good. Sometimes I have photos saved from my regular camera... as photos by the regular camera are different from those taken by Snap, even without a filter, they are different, the settings are different... or when taking a group photo and the focus is not on me, my image will appear good and I don’t need a filter here... also, I definitely don’t need to use filters when I have a full face of makeup…but to be honest, I always use filters, about 98% of the time.”

Furthermore, some participants vary in their level of dependency on filters. NA, FM, and AA, for example, fluctuate in their use, as they post photos with and without filters. NA said: “I like my natural look; I post many, many photos without filters. I also like to save photos with my actual look.”

Although most of the participants were interested in Snapchat filters and affirmed their role in making them prettier, one participant showed no interest at all in filters; she criticized the distorted role of filters on self-image. MH is the only participants that refused to use filters, explaining that they distort the actual self-image. She said:

> "I don't use filters; I feel they change the facial features... not real… I don't send photos with filters, I don't like to, I feel I am prettier without them ... I feel filters are fake, not me." She then proceeded: "The filters don't reflect the actual look of a person, they are not cosmetic, on the contrary, they are distortionary."

Nine out of ten participants agreed that filters make them prettier, but most did not like filters that applied significant changes to facial features, making the user look like they are a different person.

Self-discrepancy

When comparing actual self to ideal self, we see conflicting data. When scrolling between filters, some participants felt emotional dissatisfaction and disappointment in their self image, while other participants expressed no effect.

Feeling Negative

Some participants were emotionally dissatisfied with their picture of the self and complained about their skin's appearance and tone, such as dark circles around the eyes. Some were unsatisfied with their entire actual self. This inconsistency, which MH did not allow to control her completely, was worrying to some participants. AL, for example, stated:

> "I always do that: I look at my filtered image, then I press the X [button] and see myself, I look again at myself with the filter, then press the X [button], and in this way the comparison happens, and each time I choose, very fast, filter then X, filter then X, I realize the difference… My skin is ruined; why is there black under my eyes? The wrinkles are about to appear, what exactly is that?! Well, I do not see in the mirror what I see on Snap; why do I see them then on Snapchat? Because moving between the filters and the actual-image makes it clear…"

AA, a 65 years old participant, acknowledge her elderly appearance, saying sadly: "I look at my image, I can clearly see the wrinkles and the signs of being older when I compare my image with and without the filter."

SL gave a shocking answer. She feels a high discrepancy between her actual and ideal filtered image that leads her to feel she is "ugly." She said:

> "I feel I am ugly, really ugly. I go back to look at myself and say why why do I look like hat? [emphasis tone]. I feel sometimes that I am not satisfied with how I look. Not stisfied at all [emphasis tone]. I feel also that Snapchat is exploiting and promoting people to use their app more; filters make you beautiful and I am sure that they intentionally make our actual look ugly; they clearly show all the facial imperfections such as pores and I really feel unsatisfied about myself, so I use the filters."

Is It All About Confidence and Maturity?

The impact of self-discrepancy on self-image could relate to self-beauty confidence and maturity. Participants such as NA, BF, NY, NS, AA and AS acknowledged such discrepancies without diminished self- beauty confidence. BF stated that self-confidence plays a role, stating:

> "I found myself prettier with filters, but in contrast, I don't feel that I am not beautiful without it... it depends on the person, I am pretty, some people look normal or not

> pretty, so it could be massively disturbing to them… I have self-beauty confidence, but I feel I am prettier with filters.”

Likewise, NS feels more satisfied with herself, stating that filters have reinforced her self-beauty confidence, though she stated that it depends on how a person reconciles with themself. Similarly, NY said: “These filters show our real beauty; they bring out the beauty we have.”

However, filters also diminished some participants’ self-beauty confidence. SL said: “Of course filters decreased my confidence in my beauty; they make me feel ugly… shake me… I start looking a lot at myself... they annoy me.” Likewise, AL said: “Some filters are very nice, but they lead me to not accept my face.”

Moreover, one participant said that acceptance of unfiltered posts depends on a persons’ maturity, as sensitivity and selectivity about self-image diminish as you age. AS said:

> “Definitely filters don’t make me more confident about my beauty, because I am mature enough in this age… lately, I have been thinking more deeply; I don’t care like before. People start realizing and knowing that the beauty-look on Snap is not real, and the reality might be the opposite. People know the reality and they can distinguish it. For example, I would never judge how beautiful someone is from Snap and I think many people think the same.”

Snapchat self-care Monitoring

The effects of Snapchat filters on self-discrepancy were not extreme enough to lead participants to seek plastic surgery. Most of them insisted that filters only help them to think more about their skin/look and encourage them to take care and time to reach the beauty level that Snapchat filters show them. BF stated:

> “Yes, when I see myself with filters and go back to my actual image, I say to myself: I haven’t done any skincare for a long time? My skin is pale. When am I going to take off these sebaceous cysts around my eyes? I can see pale and poor skin without filters… but I don’t go to the extent of seeking plastic surgery. Many people ask for bigger lips, facelifts, etc. For me, I feel like my face is good but I need to take more care of it to look like the filters... so my cheeks will glow and the lips and eyes will look pretty…”

Treatments such as fillers, Botox, false lashes, or tanning are used to temporarily enhance looks due to the desire of idealizing the self on social media (Alsaggaf, 2019) that filters allow participants to experience. For instance, a filter that makes SL look tan encourages her to tan. AL stated that face beauty filters made her consider buying new green contacts to emulate the Snapchat green eyes filter. Likewise, NY felt that she needs to fill her lips to look like she does in filters. She said:

> “With filled lips, I look prettier... and that does not mean I am not satisfied with God’s creation... no... thank God, I am so satisfied, but humans always seek the ideal look… and this is normal... that’s why we use makeup and foundation to clarify skin... it is the same idea with filters.”

As NS mentioned, the role of faith in accepting God’s creation was endorsed by most participants, which may explain why participants did not seek plastic surgery. AL, however, mentioned other factors that might prevent women from seeking cosmetic surgery, such as fear of the procedure, economic factors, or side effects.

Beauty Standards

Interestingly, most participants agreed that Snapchat filters promote well-known beauty standards such as wide eyes, long lashes, small sharp noses, and smooth skin. SA said:

> "Look, for example, my sister and I have used the blue lens filter and it was nice on us but when our friend used it, it wasn't nice on her at all, despite the filter being amazing... so the filter here is not a measure of beauty or a way to adjust standards... no... for me, beauty standard are still those wide eyes, shaped nose... what filters do is just take these standards and use them."

On the other hand, some participants stated that beauty standards are shaped by social media. NS said: "Yes, definitely with filters, indeed, look at these freckle face filters, when it appears, people start liking it on their faces, when they put on their makeup… filters change lips to more filled ones, so you feel you have to fill your lips to look beautiful." NS affirmed that filters promoted new standards, saying:

> "I have never thought that the shape of the face could give beauty to the face, I always believe that a beautiful person is beautiful, that's it. I have never thought that if the face was longer, if the cheeks were higher... the person might look prettier. Yes, standards change, and probably to a great deal because of filters."

Discussion

This study demonstrates a tension between how filters provide users with temporary satisfaction (Oliveira et al., 2020) and a boost of confidence (Krause et al., 2019) while simultaneously inducing discrepancies that affect them negatively, supporting the self-discrepancy theory. Vogel and Rose's study (2016) demonstrated the harm caused when comparing the actual self-image to another's ideal image. This study extended the harm to the self to comparisons between actual self and ideal self images. Therefore, women may evaluate themselves more harshly, exhibiting negative feelings and diminished self-beauty confidence. This result is consistent with Kahn et al. (2020), Shin, et al. (2017), Steinsbekk et al. (2021), and Utz et al. (2015), who emphasize psychological consequences for Snapchat use. On the other hand, the study highlighted the role of personality and self-beauty confidence, which shaped the intensity of the impact. Moreover, to most participants, beauty standards are constant and merely used by Snapchat, while to others, filters are promoting standards that affect people's perceptions and reactions in line with Eshiet (2020). In this study, the impact of Snapchat filters has not gone beyond normal idealizing of the self; women may increase self-care or utilize superficial tools such as fillers or Botox, but will not seek significant changes such as through plastic surgery. This is in opposition to Ramphul and Mejias's (2018) study which showed that filters caused users to seek plastic surgery. This might be due to the role of faith, as acceptance and satisfaction of God's creation were frequently mentioned by participants.

This study also supported Zhao et al.'s (2018) study that emphasizes the role of Snapchat filters in challenging the "authentic" self, manipulating the self through enhancement or augmentation, but also argues to some extent that Snapchat filters are fake, unpleasant, and distorting to some users. In contrast to Eshiet's (2020) study, which argued that filtered images are more appealing than those taken by regular cameras, this study indicated that actual “authentic” images of the self with regular cameras or through a mirror are acceptable. This raises questions about why Snapchat’s camera settings have had such a significant negative impact on some users.

Conclusion

This research adds to the existing literature and explores the impact of Snapchat filters on users’ self-image and beauty standards. It specifically brings to light the emotional consequences of discrepancies between actual self and ideal self brought about by filter use. The study emphasized the satisfaction involved in Snapchat filter use. It also showed the different emotions women have towards filter use, in which personality, self-confidence, and faith play a significant role. The study shows that Snapchat filters are promoting well-known beauty standards, and to some extent argues that Snapchat filters are fake, unpleasant, and distorting. For future research, studies could explore the impact of filters on users’ self-esteem and social relationships.

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Mnemosphere: An Interdisciplinary Research between Memory of Places, Emotions and Atmosphere of Space

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Abstract
The transmission of memory seems to be an obsession of our time. This issue has been addressed by different disciplines and approaches. Design, as a discipline that contributes to the enhancement of culture, can help to expand the horizon of memory studies, but so far this issue is still undefined and blurred. Mnemosphere project, through an interdisciplinary approach, investigates the ways in which the memory of places is designed and communicated through experiential spaces capable of stimulating emotions. The research proposes a dialogue between communication design and exhibition design, in the atmospheric and aesthetic dimension, with emphasis on the translation of content into a system for the understanding of the mnestic space set up. This is done with special attention to the topics of emotions, chromatic perception, and the design of temporary spaces and services. The research first considers the articulation of a common lexicon regarding the memory of places, atmospheres of spaces and atlas of emotions, among others. Then, the project analysis devices for activating the memory in exhibition spaces, through data collection and defines parameters for the design of future spaces related to memory and emotions. The result is the collective construction of an archive of visual materials for the concepts proposed. This is being done through an open call that has been spread online through the project's platforms. The shared archive and results will be available online to contribute for a further perspective on design studies connected with memory and spaces.

Keywords: Aesthetics, Memory of Places, Emotions, Exhibition Spaces, Atmosphere

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Introduction

Mnemosphere is a research project funded by MiniFARB 2020 grant, promoted by the Design Department of Politecnico di Milano, involving Ph.D. students and research fellows coming from different academic areas. As part of the interdisciplinary dialogue within the Design field, the Mnemosphere project investigates how the memory of places can be aroused through the design of exhibition spaces in the atmospheric perspective (Böhme, 2016). The term "mnemosphere" is a neologism coined specifically by this research, conceptually expressing the themes investigated. The concepts of memory of places and atmosphere of spaces are linked by the sphere of emotions, representing the key element and conjunction of the entire research. According to Zumthor (2000), in fact, thinking about atmospheres is never separated from spatial design. Combined with fundamental elements such as light, materials, sounds, memory and reminiscences, they are part of an all-embracing design system. The "central pivot is emotion [...] and the atmosphere is constituted through the memory of places" (Alison, 2020, p. 113). The concept of mnemosphere is thus investigated aiming to find new interpretative paths within design culture, emphasizing the translation of content addressed into a system of parameters and guidelines for the design of mnestic spaces.

Mnemosphere project bases its approach on a synergic collaboration between different disciplinary fields and enriches its interdisciplinary nature with the study and analysis of emotions, colour perception, and the design of temporary spaces and services.

The research has been divided into two intermediate objectives, intended to investigate the research theme from both a theoretical and practical point of view in a different and combined way. The first one aims to establish how the different disciplines involved in the research can contribute in a specific and 'transversal' way to communicate the memory of places, starting from the existing literature and moments of comparison with the scientific community of reference. The other one is about investigating the research theme through field activities to gather data and knowledge. It is about analyzing, synthesizing, and critically interpreting the information and conducted experiences, hence defining guidelines and parameters to contribute to design culture within the memory/emotions/spaces axis.

Considering the memory of places as a lively and dynamic concept, not only rooted within the past, it is possible to expand its horizon until it enters into a design perspective. Here is why the Mnemoshere research project comprises an interdisciplinary research team with diverse backgrounds, providing a synergistic collaboration between different design fields, driven by a common goal of achieving multiple theme interpretations. Thus, the first stages of the research were focused on defining a standard glossary of reference to align the different thematic perspectives amongst the research team towards a common theoretical framework. (Fig.1)

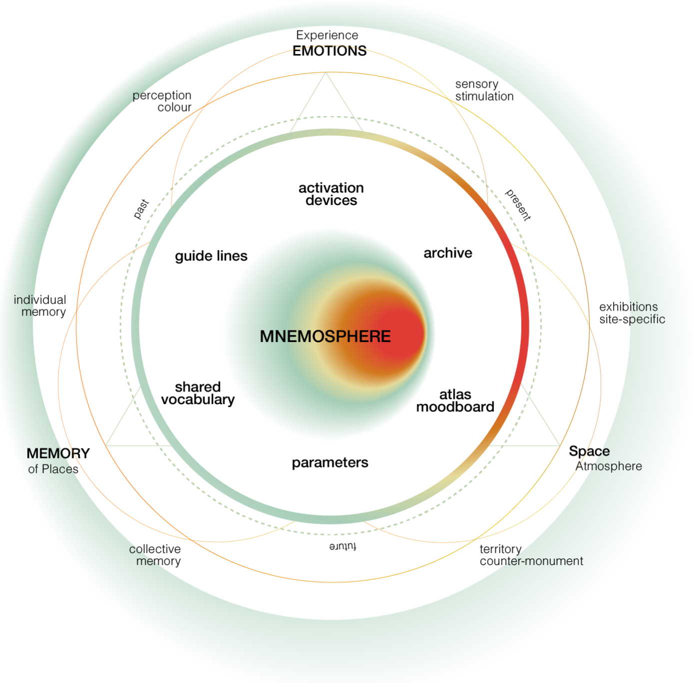

Figure 1: Mnemosphere Concept Map

The research defines that the mnemosphere context includes three main concepts: the "atmosphere of space", the "memory of places", and the "atlas of emotions". The "atmosphere of space" is defined as a temporary spatial condition between resonance and permeation, physical, cognitive and emotional, that involves the perceiving subject and the environment in a state of synchronicity; the "memory of places" as a specific site that embodies a collectively shared knowledge and, at the same time, a more private and personal form of attachment; the "atlas of emotions" as the entirety of nature and landscape of sensations, intensities and reactions related to the human lived experiences. The project intends to investigate the emerging themes by analyzing their specific communicative and visual components, by collecting data and analyzing recurring elements.

Open Call for Images

To visually explore mnemosphere topics, an *Open Call for Images* was launched online, spread through the project's digital platforms.

The main intention behind the process was to use a tool, the Open Call, usually connected to the art world, and apply it to a design study. It was considered preferable to use this particular format of investigation because, from the very beginning of the research, the lexical and textual apparatus appeared insufficient to define, represent and communicate the mnemosphere conceptual dimension. The visual expression of the concept, essential for its representation and perception, was missing.

The call, therefore, aimed to 'give texture' to the intangible *mnemospheric* concept, and was composed of a brief questionnaire and the upload of a maximum of three images for each participant. The primary part consisted of general questions on the participant's identity, like name, age, nationality. Then, the self-assessment questionnaire was structured with an inventory of questions aimed toward analyzing the potential mnemosphere dimension. The questions opened up the possibility of introducing other key concepts, describing various characteristics, and indicating possible synonyms. Another valuable consideration has been to offer participants the option to describe the concept through the use of antonyms. Thus, participants have been given the choice of defining intangible and elusive themes, such as those investigated in this research, through a negational and oppositional description (e.g., "the mnemosphere is not aseptic and it's not cold"; "a mnemosphere cannot be tangible"). Other questions were proposed through closed-ended answers and multiple choices, allowing participants to select several items simultaneously: like determining the mnemosphere in terms of size and movement and imagining what kind of characteristics it would have consistent from their personal point of view.

For the second part of the Open Call, the focus was entirely on the uploading of images. Each participant could submit a maximum of three files, without any restrictions in terms of format, communicative and figurative language. In fact, the images uploaded showed a wide range of formats such as photographs, illustrations, paintings, collages, drawings and sketches. The great variety of images and visual expressions made it possible to add heterogeneity and expressive variety to the research resources.

In addition, to each image uploaded, participants were asked to add the title and other information, such as the year and place of the shooting, keywords and concepts related to the image in question. Participants were also asked to express, through indicators in the form of percentages, colours and senses involved in the images. The reason behind this investigative section was to collect data on sensory approaches and synaesthetic nuances.

Lastly, a free description of the image has been included to add the right framework for each contribution (whether autonomous experiments or linked to didactic exercises etc.) and deepen each mnemosphere 'spectrum'.

The Open Call took place between mid-January and the end of March 2021, and more than 200 participants from all over the world have contributed, uploading more than 400 different images that capture the mnemospheric essence not yet explored. Once the Call was officially closed, the quality of the contributions collected was immediately evident as they were visually expressive and capable of conveying (through concepts and words) particular present and past experiences. The evocative power of the images collected enabled a first outline of different *emotional landscapes*, either private or collective, linked to the memory and atmosphere of the places. After collecting all the images, a multi-method approach was set up to catalogue and organize all the responses. One of these actions was to develop a website (https://www.mnemosphere.polimi.it/) as a medium to virtually configure an international 'online exhibition' of the images. A configuration that functions as a digital database that can be consulted by anyone interested in looking at the work of other participants and the various 'meanings' given to the concept of mnemosphere. In this way, users are involved in the project and thus be inspired with further interpretations.

Besides the development of the website, a careful analysis of the visual contributions submitted was followed by defining criteria, as if they were mnemospheric guidelines, through the creation of Identity Cards.

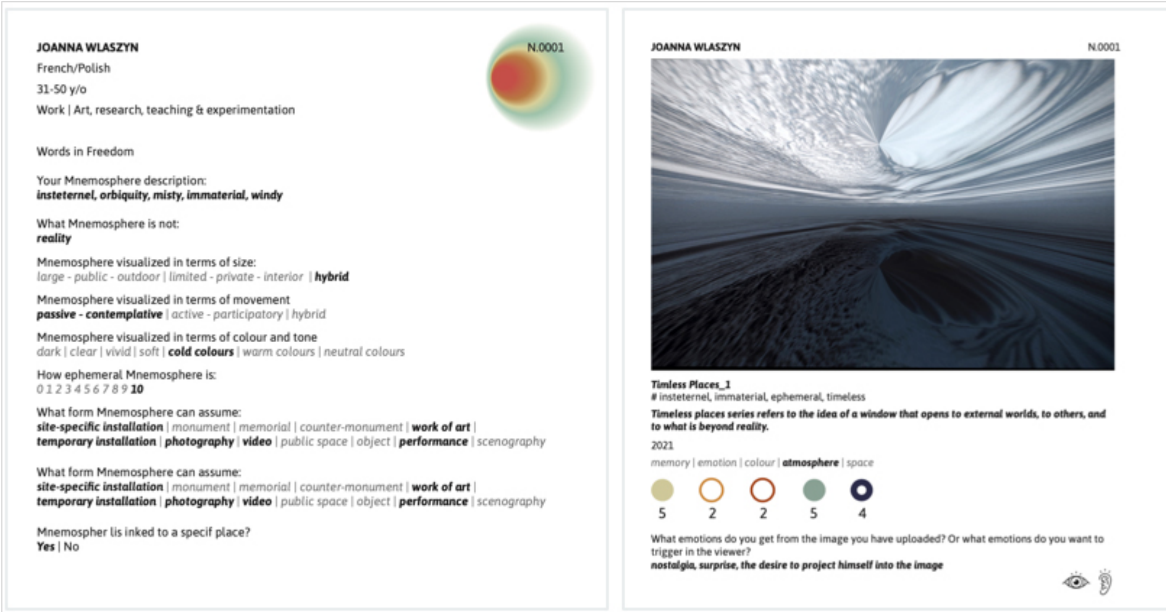

Figure 2: ID Card Example

The first step to analyze the contributions received was systematized and organized through the creation of a set of "identity cards". Data related to the general concept of mnemosphere have been discussed and processed apart. The designed identity cards have the function of summarizing all the data inherent to each image in a more effective, synthetic and visually intelligible way, thus allowing to order the contributions for analytical observation. Hence, each ID card has multiple interpretations, related to the written information (consisting of concepts and descriptions), visual information (consisting of image and color percentages) and sensory information (related to the senses involved in each image narrative).

This introductory phase sees the role of the identity cards as essential to define the relationship between the narrated and developed data. They were also refined according to the objectives and themes established at the beginning of the project, such as atmosphere, memory, space, emotion and colour.

Historical Background: The Atlas

The historical background for the images analysis takes as model the visual research of one of the most famous modern art historians, Aby Warburg. Energetic ambassador of the interdisciplinary study of culture, he pointed out, since the beginning of the 20th century, that researchers should stop policing disciplinary boundaries to gain insight into processes of cultural memory. (Erll 2008). His studies focused on what he called iconic memory (*Bildgedächtnis*) and materialized in his great work called the *Atlas of Mnemosyne* (1924-28), demonstrating how certain "*pathos formulae*" migrated through different artworks, periods, and countries (Erll 2008). Mnemosphere workshop process was inspired by his panel system, a practice of assembling and organizing images that made it possible to perceive at a glance, the *nuclei* of visual and mnestic investigation, placed not in hierarchical relation to each other and continuously modifiable according to the evolution of research (Forster and Mazzucco 2002). These iconographic schemes were useful to connect artworks, artists, creative inspirations, and suggestions that converged into proper tables, panels that could be exhibited and be part of various forms of installations. At the beginning of Warburg's research, the tables were meant to be only the introduction of the project, but soon became the core of the work which was dedicated to the Greek goddess protector of memory and remembrance.

In Warburg Atlas, which contains about one thousand photographs assembled and arranged following a new academic method of looking, the images are the subject of privileged study because they provide a direct way of narrating cultures, histories and aesthetics of the world. The image is the *locus* in which impression and memory come together and condense. Endowed with primordial energy and powers of evocation on the strength of their expressive vitality, images are the principal vehicles and supports of the cultural tradition and social memory, which in certain situations can be "reactivated and downloaded" (Iuav, 2012). In the Atlas, the juxtaposition of images, that weave several themes around a core element, creates energy fields and triggers in the beholder an open interpretative process: "the word to the image". The importance of Warburg's work lies in the evocative power of panels that are not trapped in linear and ordered sequences but develop in fluid and continuously updatable assemblages. His translating operation allows new paths of meaning and emotion to be discerned in historical and pre-existing materials thanks to a carefully designed juxtaposition. Mnemosyne Atlas is an interpretative machine, a kind of enormous condenser, in which all the energy currents that animate and enhance cultural and communicative memory are collected.

The mnemospheric experimentation, which took shape in the open call, wants to offer a series of visual *hypertexts*, in which the images will lose part of their initial meaning to acquire others suitable for the recognition of the atmospheres and the memory of places. It will not be a sterile loss, but functional to the development of the collective mnemosphere definition. Inspired by Warburg, the Mnemosphere Atlas aims to be an activator of the memory of places, a tool and an apparatus to navigate in the context of atmosphere, memory, colours, and emotions.

Figure 3: Internal Workshop Process and Tables

Results and Discussion

After the Open Call for Images, the research actions were dedicated to recognizing common red threads and recurring elements running through the collected images that can be translated into parameters. All the atlases are different from each other. This aspect highlights how the analysis of images and texts can follow different directions depending on how the concepts are to be conceived.

Therefore, each atlas is considered a dynamic, ephemeral, and active tool as it can constantly change. Hence, these atlases reflect the inner nature of the topics addressed, which are unlikely to be precisely contained and defined in one unified way.

During the first workshop within the research group, the images were initially organized and arranged according to the atmospheric perspective related to spaces and places, considering also the descriptions and concepts given by the call participants. The clusters inherent to this section were set up in advance as reference macro-categories: "air", "bubble", "diaphragm", "haze", "colorful", "nets" and "void". Subsequently, within each macro-area, more defined clusters of images were identified, acting as thematic sub-categories. Then, this information was translated into more precise spatial conformations and morphological elements, identifying the main features of each atlas (Figure 4).

The recurring themes emerging from these atlases are, for example, natural landscapes, portraits and period photographs, architecture, ruins, blurred atmospheres, and abstract visualizations.

Main Clusters	Related Sub-categories	Spatial Conformations and Morphological Elements
AIR	air, wind, aperture, sky, flight, vastness, horizon, wingspan	openness, no borders, big long shots, low-angle shots, glance beyond
BUBBLE	focus, eyes, dimensions, habitat, fullness, closure	roundness, bubbles, nests, spheres, clear outlines inside out, focal point, light focus
DIAPHRAGM	filters, thresholds, constructs, entrances, views, portals	movement, sequences, linear paths, holes, cuts, passages, upturned reflections, over & below
HAZE	fog, overlaps, accelerations, faded, limitless, muffled, chaos	transparencies, opacity, blurred, out of focus, diffuse, dazzling, in motion, blended
COLOURFUL	chromatic, rhythms, textures, vibration, rainbows, spectrum	tones, brightness, blends, accents, shadows, intensity, contrast, harmony, iridescence
NETS	webs, connections, contact, mutation, growth, systems	organic, natural, interconnected, interlaces, nucleus, bonds, complexity
VOID	lack, loneliness, instants, nothing, ruins, silence	old portraits, industrial abandoned places, no-places, close-ups and zoom-in, textures

Figure 4: Definition of the First Seven Visual Atlases Regarding the Concept of Atmosphere

The internal workshop organised afterwards continued with the arrangement of the atlases, this time from the perspective of memory. Four additional thematic clusters were obtained, which arose spontaneously mainly during the textual analysis of the descriptions given by the participants, and subsequently the visual analysis of the images was performed.

The thematic clusters refer to the following concepts within which additional subclusters and red threads could be identified as follow:

- "individual memory", in which people's faces, bodies, animals, portraits, frozen moments and instants, signs, and symbols of different kinds mainly appear;
- "collective memory", consisting of memorials, monuments, ruins, cemeteries and landmarks;
- "physical environment", linked to pictures of anonymous places charged with their narrative, wild natural landscapes, generic urban contexts, and domestic or private interiors;
- "abstract dimension", i.e. images constructed using different artistic techniques, characterized by vivid and saturated colours aimed at emphasizing the emotional impact of external places through internal emotional tones only.

Hence, two different approaches were used to structure the atmosphere-based and memory-based atlases, stressing two conceptual approaches that analyse the topic of “mnemosphere" from parallel perspectives but drawing from the same sources.

An overview of some of the atmospheric-based and memory-based atlases can be seen in Figure 5.

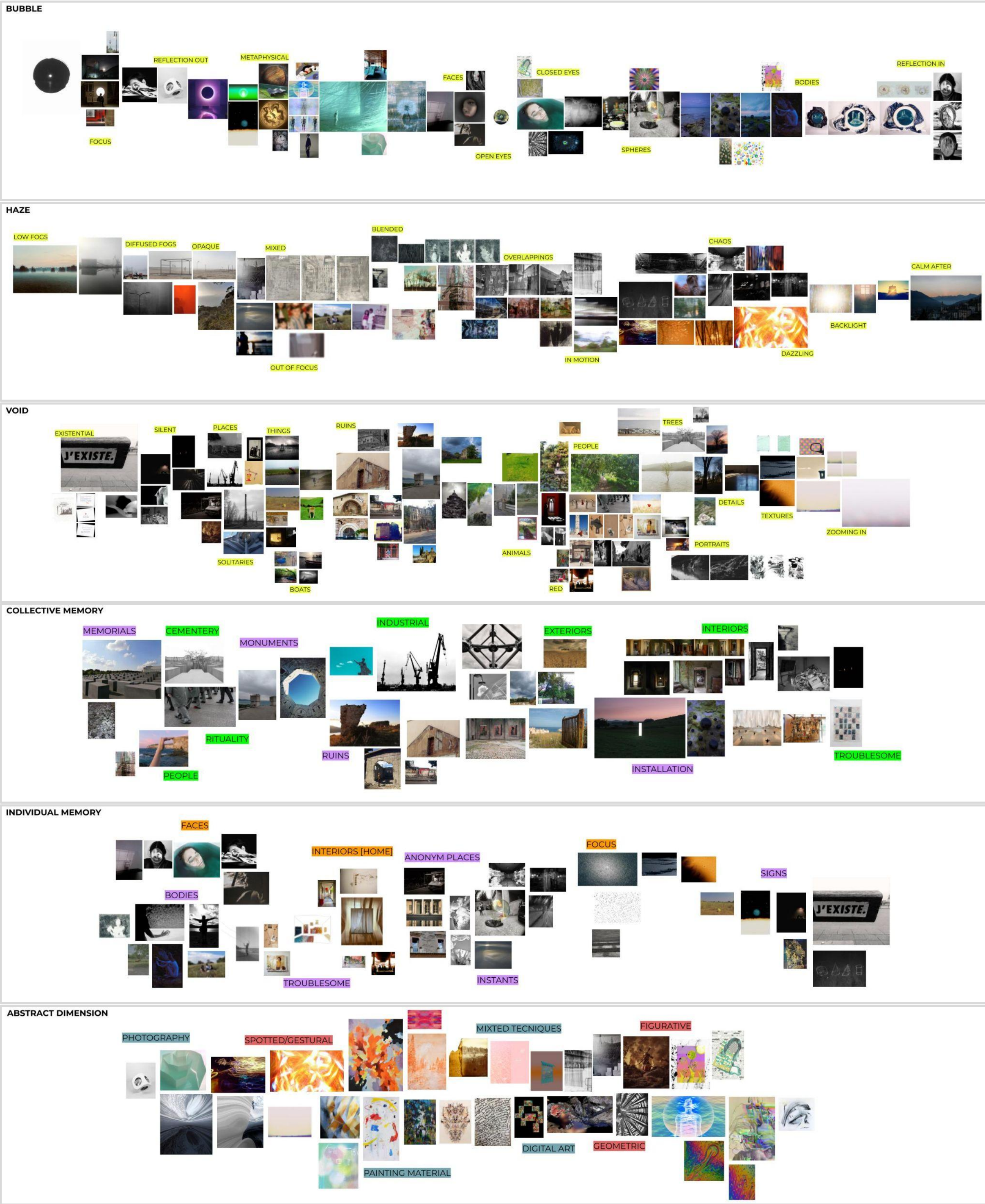

Figure 5: The First Examples Illustrate the Atmosphere-based Atlases of "Bubble", "Haze", and "Void", While the Following Three Examples Represent the Memory-based Atlases of "Individual Memory", "Collective Memory" and "Abstract-Dimension".

Conclusion

The results obtained reveal the complex nature of memory rooted in places, and how emotions are involved in its atmospheric communication and expression.

The subdivision into categories of the images is not intended to define precisely the areas investigated but rather to provide an *orientational framework* through the arrangement of the various contents.

In parallel with the analysis of the images, the colour component was also investigated, as it represents one of the main axes of this research. The chromatic analysis led to the definition of specific chromatic codes for each thematic cluster.

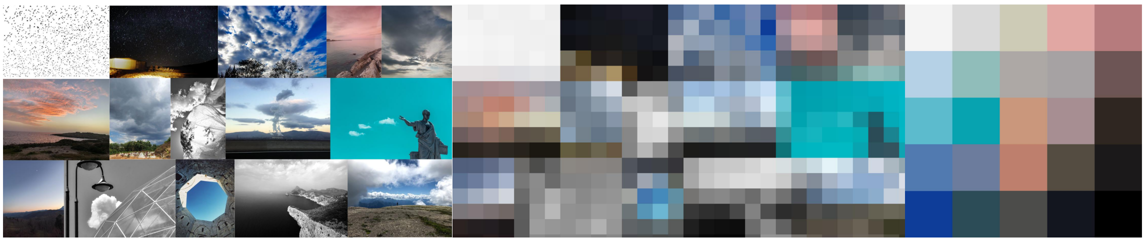

Figure 6: Colour Analysis Example to Obtain Specific Chromatic Codes for Each Atlas

It evaluated the different shades and saturation of the colours concerning the themes investigated. The resulting identification of *visual communication guidelines* from a chromatic point of view is complementary to the definition of parameters and guidelines for the design of exhibition spaces capable of evoking the memory of places.

Hence, the current state of research is still in the process of analysis to determine parameters and guidelines for the design of spaces, which is one of the main objectives of this research.

The focus of the project is to define the concept of mnemosphere through a collective and participatory mode and visualize its mutable manifestations through interactive and dynamic atlases to be collected in an open-access publication. Furthermore, Mnemosphere's interactive and digital atlases trace remembrance, spaces and sites through changing and temporary images, in which paradoxically the purpose is to “turn an ephemeral message into a permanent memory” (Tumminelli, 1997).

The final aim is to inspire further original reflections, by addressing researchers and scholars fascinated by the mnemospheric world. The Mnemosphere Atlas can also facilitate and enhance the dialogue between design and other disciplines, bringing together different voices and perspectives.

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'Climate Fiction Narratives': A Study of Maja Lunde's Novels – The History of Bees and The End of the Ocean

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Abstract
Climate fiction (Cli-fi) is a genre that is gaining momentum over the last decade due to the proclivity in the environmental imagination towards issues concerning climate change. As such, this interdisciplinary area calls upon new voices in the literary scape to address pressing environmental concerns that plague us today. In a growing dystopian world where terra-transformation is the norm, disrupting fixities in life as also influencing the Anthropocene setting on a global scale, cli fi provides a potentially fertile field of study in the broad humanities. Perhaps, it is at this juncture in the contemporary scenario, that the emerging voice of the visionary Norwegian writer Maja Lunde needs to be heard the most. The author in her two novels - The History of Bees and The End of the Ocean, opens a complementing intersection via the 'land' versus the 'water' perspective on matters of climate change and mitigation. Stemming from this line of enquiry, the research study at hand attempts to closely examine the following key precepts: literary attempts in eco-historicism, an exploration of the theme of climate mitigation and adaptation, the author's attitude towards climate education and ecological consciousness as evolving through various characters, and viewpoints on post-modern vs. post-carbon descriptions of environmental utopia(s) and/or dystopia(s). In this connection, the study provides a thematic and conceptual frame of analysis to configure the critical standpoints it dwells upon. Interesting key findings include the theme of the 'Biophilia hypothesis' as well as the 'time-theory perspective' which Lunde integrates into her novels.

Keywords: Climate fiction, Cli-fi, Eco-fiction, Post-Carbon literature, Maja Lunde, Climate fiction narratives, Anthropocentrism.

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Introduction

In a growing dystopian world where climate change is the norm, disrupting fixities in life is also influencing how we view the Anthropocene setting on a global scale, it is refreshing to see how new voices blossom in the literary scape to address pressing environmental concerns.

Climate fiction narratives are most often positioned in the backdrop of ‘global warming’ and ‘climate change’ usually refer to the pre-condition of chaos in a rapidly morphing world. Closer yet, one can observe it as an offshoot of the environmental movement that took off in the early 1980s with got kickstarted with the publication of Jules Verne’s The Purchase of North Pole. Ever since ‘climate fiction’ has been viewed as an ‘evolving field of study’ with a retinue of writers investigating the complex intersection between the environment and human settlements. Moreover, such a slant of thought is derived from the notion that ‘earth is running out of resources and suffering from the severe effects of climate change’. As such, ‘climate imagination’ is an interdisciplinary field calling upon the views of scientists, writers, literary critics, anthropologists, historians and the like. Thereof, at a tangent, the challenge in the climate fiction genre would be to depict how the predilection of ‘nature’ and ‘future’ is constructed. This makes one mull over the authorial point of view.

The Literature Review provides a theoretical framework for the understanding of Climate Fiction narratives and environmental concerns as a mode of interpreting a literary work. Schneider-Mayerson **(2018)** in his paper focuses on the influence of climate fiction to understand its impact on potential readers. The concept of science and literature through situating, relating and comparing contemporary climate change fiction was the area of study by Nikoleris, Stripple and Tenngart **(2017)**. Clode and Stasiak **(2014)** emphasize fictional depictions of climate change, keeping in view that climate change fiction is framed around its aesthetic function that is the literature is a good piece or its didactic function if it causes a change of behaviour. By the way of exemplifying *Nathaniel Rich’s Odds Against Tomorrow*, Bergthaller **(2013)** connects the concept to the catastrophe of reality. In lieu of understanding the environmental concerns and their reflection on literature, Alonso and Traseeira **(2019)** study in terms of the ‘a legacy of waste’. Rachele Dini **(2016)** illustrated the concept of water, landscape and the environment in J G Ballard’s climate novels *The Drowned World, The Drought and The Crystal World.* Roman Bartosch, **(2018)** in a study on the scale, climate change, the pedagogic potential of literature worked on the work of Barbara Kingsolver and TC Boyle. Engaging in the lines of understanding the disrupting climate change futures, De Cock, Nyberg and Wright **(2019)**, enumerated that the present conditions require a particular approach to the past to understand the climate change future.

Under the umbrella of ' Climate Fiction ' and ' Climate Narrative ' research scholars have been exploring various angles such as – the environmental context, the problem with anthropocentric viewpoints, apocalypse and post-apocalypse themes, sophisticated environmental perspectives, and complex global structures. It is this a more than a dynamic complex global phenomenon to be examined within the purview of science, sociology, psychology, i.e., in lieu of the appreciation of the prodigious contributions of literature and literary writers.

While we see that several authors contemplate different ingredients to investigate certain works of climate fiction literature. Maja Lunde- despite making her mark with the Norwegian Booksellers' Prize (2015), her novels have not been sufficiently researched. Thus, a research gap was found in the lack of texts discussing this narrative hook of Climate Fiction presented in Maja Lunde's novels. This gap needs to be filled. Therefore, Lunde's genre specifications are today popularly bracketed as – cli-fi, eco-fiction, green fiction, post-carbon literature.

Conceptual Framework of Study

The research study at hand attempts to configure critical standpoints on the genre of climate-fiction. As such, a qualitative approach is employed in analyzing Maja Lunde's novels *The History of Bees* (consists of 352 pages) and *The End of the Ocean* (consists of 36 chapters and 304 pages). Furthermore, each chapter has been taken as a unit of analysis that is studied in detail. The conceptual frame of analysis encompasses a reading of the following key precepts: Attempts in eco-historicism; theme of 'climate mitigation and adaptation'; attitude to 'climate education' and 'ecological consciousness' as evolving through the characters; viewpoints on post-modern vs. post-carbon descriptions of environmental utopia(s) & dystopia(s). The theoretical frame of analysis includes the following paradigms: approaches to 'deep ecology' and 'the Anthropocene'.

The literary narrative fiction of Cli-Fi methodology is a further dimension of environmental imagination that signifies all kinds of literary writings as purposeful and are not written in a vacuum. The imagination of the authors emerges from history, ecology, geographical location, experience, culture etc. Cli-fi looked from this perspective enhances the usefulness and reasoning in terms of historical representation and anthropocentric perspectives.

Analysis of the novels – The History of Bees and The End of the Ocean

The article has been geared towards understanding the climate-fiction genre in the light of climate fiction narratives, for which two of Maja Lunde's novels, them being - *The History of Bees* and *The End of the Ocean* have been duly analyzed.

In both the novels, the author adopts key literature elements by the means of exaggeration, personification, presenting the text as 'larger than life', sarcasm, irony, satire, mockery, suspense, indirectly hinting on various themes and meanings, subtly touching upon various ecological tropes and more. For example, it is not explicitly mentioned in the text, about the death of Tao's long-lost son, Wei-Wen, it is only subtly hinted at. Or the author does not explicitly mention that the characters were facing a hard time dealing with a dystopian environment; but rather gives 'life' to the characters and his or her thoughts. The novel establishes a pattern, that allows the readers through different centuries, to differentiate and familiarize the text with that of reality.

More specifically, in the contemporary scenario, Lunde's work is credited for the intricate story-weaves that converge in seamless narratives, that showcase a combinatory approach to underlying themes and techniques: the striking eco-historical emphasis, a rather unusual blend of the pastoral sensibility merged with the presentation of urbane concerns, as also the non-human environment which is used as a framing device. It appears how one relates to the flora and fauna from land-based ethical point-of-view foregrounds the discursive threads that emerge in her novels. For instance, a striking characteristic feature is how each novel works to the rubric of disparate time zones, only to stress the value of relationships across periods – i.e., the bond between parents and children, one generation and the next, and the intermeshing nexus of nature and humanity. Besides, the scenic transitions from one story to another in Lunde's picturesque novels telescope the exquisite power of heart-breaking story to syndicate the inexorable bond between primordial nature and the zealousness of the human spirit. This iconoclastic feature of foregrounding nature as the ultimate hero, treated as an erstwhile character provides a subtle means of catharsis to the very human characters caught in the conflict, pervades most of her work. In that, given the paradigm of 'climate fiction' regarded as an enterprising genre, once can see how Lunde successfully juxtaposes and balances the 'dark past, predestined to modernity and a dystopian future' with the prospect of 'unambitious hope' that is to be posited in the future.

Type of Perspective

The History of Bees can be categorized under the 'Land perspective', one can contemplate how the significance of bees and the relationship between nature and humanity, holds strong and is woven with fine intricacies into the text and binds the three different narratives together. Similarly, in *The End of the Ocean* can be categorized under the 'Water perspective', one can contemplate the way in which the significance of water and the relationship between nature and humanity, holds strong and is woven with fine intricacies into the text and binds the two different narratives together.

Ecohistoricism

In both the novels, while enumerating on the aspects of 'Ecohistoricism', the author has focused more the describing the setting and the backdrop while taking the readers through the journey. The author rightly communicates the geology to the readers which are linked to that of nature. 'History' and 'ecology' comes together when the author pens points concerning how nature has been providing for humans for a long period which dates to 'history' and how it always has a robust bearing on life. The way in which nature is represented can also be looked at how nature is speaking back, where the author provides for how nature is 'overused', 'manipulated', and 'exorbitantly exploited', in the 'past', for which nature turns back to answer; in *The History of Bees,* this is represented through 'The Collapse', where the bees started to disappear and at *The End of the Ocean,* freshwater depleted.

In *The History of Bees,* Ecohistoricism in Tao' story, is represented in the text, when the author describes bees, nature, characteristics of bees, pollination, trees, flowers, weather, climate, landscape, crops, plants, vegetation, etc. The author makes a comparison of bees, the way it operates, with that of animals, non-living things, etc. For example, When George loses his bees, he looks at the remaining two beehives, 'The cloud of dust blocked the sunlight as they disappeared'. Another example is where the author compares non- pollinated flowers with that of beauty pageants, 'without them (pollen and pollination) the flowers were just as useless as the contestants of a beauty pageant', 'nice to look at, while they lasted', 'of absolutely no value in the long run'. In George's story, 'A machine drove past in a field a distance away', 'like a gigantic insect' is another example. When the author pens 'Rows of trees, as if drawn using a ruler', the way nature speaks back to the readers is communicated.

In *The End of the Ocean,* the novel highly emphasizes the way nature is acting including the ocean, rising sea level, weather, pure water versus dirty water, characteristics of water, climate, landscape, scenery, etc. is mentioned and described in the text. The author makes a comparison of the ocean, its waves, wind, cloud, landscape etc. with that of non-living things, animals, human beings and more. For example, David when he finds the sanitary barrack on fire, he compares fire with that of snowflakes. Another example is 'a silence like inside a shell, a shell, an empty mussel shell' when David compares the silence to that of a mussel shell. Another example is 'water is just never water', 'water absorbs and whirls around everything it meets' or '*Blue* is a sad creature, amputated, bandaged and bound on a brown river'.

Climate Mitigation and Climate Adaptation

In terms of 'climate mitigation and climate adaptation', the author offers a perfect mix and balance of both the themes in both novels. In the past as well as the present, i.e. *The History of Bees;* in the story of William and George, as well as at *The End of the Ocean;* in the story of Signe, the theme of Climate mitigation is more dominant when compared to that of Climate adaptation. In the future, i.e. *The History of Bees;* in the story of Tao as well as at *The End of the Ocean;* in the story of David, the damage is already done, exploitation of nature is now an incident of the past, and they have no choice but to adapt to the climate change.

In *The History of Bees*, In William's case, themes of Climate Mitigation are to be analyzed where William's daughter Charlotte, looks from the perspective of how to make the lives of bees better, how to make the environment more suitable and flexible for the bees for better reproduction and heath of the offspring while she comes up with different ideas to her father William when he was working on the invention of the new beehives. In George's story, attitudes of both Climate mitigation and climate adaptation can be analyzed. Tom, George's attitude brings out the aspects of climate mitigation where he always speaks against the idea of using bees for personal reasons and how many things are fundamentally wrong in the way bees were looked at, 'used' for different purposes. Also, after the disappearances of the bees from George's farm, he helps George in the beekeeping and thus the theme of Climate adaption can also be analyzed. By adopting and using the organic method, not taking bees on drives to places, etc. were all aimed to ensure to adapt to climate change. In Tao's case, because it is based on a future scenario, the damage is already done, therefore all they can do is to adapt to the prevailing climate change and live life responsibly while understanding the value of each granule of food that is on one's platter.

In *The End of the Ocean*, in Signe's story, she takes part in protests that were directed for the conservation of the natural environment. From a young age, she joined the water conservationists and raised her voice on how nature was being torn apart in the name of development, advancement in technology, modernization for hidden profit motives. In David's story, since it is based in a future world, the damage is already done. There is nothing they can do to mitigate climate change, thus they have only one option and that is to adapt to the prevailing climate change and use water responsibly.

Climate Education and Ecological Consciousness

Elaborating on 'climate education', the author stands apart in the way how she evokes emotional as well as a psychological response thus ensuring a bittersweet experience to the readers. The author educates the reader about various dimensions of the 'superorganism' – bees; the history and nature of bees, the way it functions, the importance of bees, the evolution in the studies of bees, the invention of modernized beehives, etc. in *The History of Bees*. While at *The End of the Ocean*, the author educates the reader about water; the importance and value of water, the fjord, snow up north in Norway, modernization, and development of dams, etc. 'Ecological consciousness' can be analyzed.

The author also presents the reasons why the specific characters that the stance in the text. For example, the author gives the story behind how and why Signe becomes an ardent conservationist and dedicates her entire life to fighting for preserving nature. Or how Thomas ends up writing the book *The History of Bees* which becomes the ray of light in Tao's world.

In terms of Ecological Consciousness, In William's case, William's daughter Charlotte is ecologically conscious, as she is dedicated and committed to taking care of the bees when William didn't and left the bees as we wished. None of the other characters was ecologically conscious. William, to some extent, but not as much as Charlotte. He has an interest in bees and the way they operate but he looks at them as his 'subjects' that need to be studied. In George's case, George is not ecologically conscious, as he uses the bees for his own needs. George's son, Tom or Thomas is very ecologically conscious, he wishes to bring a change in the system to save the human race from extinction. In Tao's story, because the story is based in the future, all of the characters are ecologically conscious as the bees have disappeared and everyone understands the value and importance of bees. The characters include Tao, her son Wei-Wen, and her husband Kuan.

In terms of Ecological Consciousness, In Signe's story, Signe; the protagonist is ecologically conscious, understands the value of water and fights for it till the end. She also leaves the love of her life; Magnus has an opposite worldview. Signe's father, Bjorn is ecologically conscious. Iris; Signe's mother, Magnus; Signe's love of life, and all other characters are not ecologically conscious. As they fight up for the cause, even though Magnus initially takes part in the protest, but was disinterested and was never enthusiastic about nature and water as much as Signe did all her life. He even asks Signe to leave everything when she was taking part in the protest for Ringfjorden and Sister Falls. In David's story, all the characters including David, his daughter Lou, Marguerite; his companion, are ecologically conscious, as they are based in a future where water is the most precious resource, therefore they know the value of water.

'Post-modern vs. Post-carbon descriptions of environmental Utopia(s) & Dystopia(s) in the setting'

One can see how in the future, i.e. *The History of Bees;* in the story of Tao as well as at *The End of the Ocean;* in the story of David, the dystopian setting is depicted, and the theme is dominant when compared to that of the stories based on past and present. Evidence of this can be linked to the entire story of Tao as well David, their journey, the setting, the backdrop, etc. and how everything had turned upside down and surviving every single day was equated to an accomplishment.

In *The History of Bees,* In William's case, one can there aren't many traces of post-carbon description of environmental dystopia. As it is based in the past. Where the focus was on how to better the hives, inventions were at the peak, evolution of bee and beekeeping paced at a high rate and with economy struck by poverty. In George's story, one can spot the traces of environmental dystopia, where there is an exploitation of resources. The adoption of single-crop cultivation in the name of modern farming, which is like a 'green desert' for the bees, stresses out the bees and limits diversity. The extreme climate change, rising sea level, melting of ice, longer winters, fewer summers with unseasonal rains, which is the worst for pollination of bees. Also, the use of pesticides that contain toxins, etc. all contribute to global warming. Thus, lead to the disappearances of bees. The world exercises 'CCD- Colony Collapse Disorder', The impact that the sudden disappearance of bees has on the beekeepers, farmers, the families of the beekeepers and farmers that are affected can all be placed under this theme of the dystopian setting. In Tao's case, this is the most accurate example of post-carbon descriptions of environmental settings based on dystopia. The entire story can fall under this section, how the bees are long gone, people are surviving on artificial farming and artificial products. Food is looked at as something as precious as gold. Now there were wars for Food, rather than wars for power or nuclear weapons. The Collapse is long gone. In China, people were made to hand pollinate; human beings replaced the bees. Education is a luxury. Only prodigies were allowed to attend school after the age of eight who then became the leaders to hold responsibilities. Other children were trained for hand pollination. In China, the Committee made all the decisions for other people. All these points to the dystopian setting.

In *The End of the Ocean*, In Signe's case, concerning the aspects of post-carbon descriptions of environmental dystopia, starting from how the ice was being transported to the Gulf and the Sheikhs, how in the name of developmental projects for modernization and technological advancements, construction of dams in rivers, ruining the livelihood of farmers, etc. started to exist. All of these lead to environmental depletion and ruins the pristineness of nature and tear apart nature. In David's case, the aspects of post-carbon descriptions even more point towards the dystopian setting. Where the world has turned upside down, Europe is plagued by drought, water is gone. With wars for water, rather than wars for power or nuclear weapons. Everyone is forced to leave their houses, become refugees, and are separated from their loved ones. Even in the refugee camp, the food and medicine supply stop. Water is reduced by half, more and more people keep entering the camp, there are no rules or regulations anymore and there is violence everywhere.

Anthropocentrism and Deep Ecology

'Anthropocentrism' and 'deep ecology' become the predominant perspectives in both novels. As the author indirectly brings out to the readers, how anthropocentric perspectives have been deep-rooted and steeped into the minds of human beings which have been passed on for generations. But it takes a lot of conscious effort to disassociate with the preconceived ideologies that stem from a selfish point of view. Where 'human supremacy' and 'human expressionism' dominate the world of thought; one that converts nature and 'natural places' into 'human spaces' with utmost disregard to nature and the natural environment.

In *The History of Bees*, Deep ecology can be analyzed in the text. The author brings out the concept of interconnection. In terms of the great chain of being. It can be found from how the disappearances of bees led to what all Tao experiences in her life. The disappearance of bees meant no jobs for beekeepers. Heavy losses for farmers and crop depreciation and less produce and less profit. Thus, reduction in the food supply, a major loss in nourishment for a nourishing diet, no milk and dairy products, not enough food to feed the animals, the cattle farming takes a hit and thus no meat and animal products. Human beings have to rely on corn and rice and thus the usage of artificial and processed food. And finally, all of this would lead to the population growth turning stagnant. Thus, the chain reaction due to the disappearance of bees is an aspect of deep ecology.

With regard to Anthropocentricism, In William's story, one can spot anthropocentrism, where everyone is trying to safeguard the lives of one's own family. But this led to the destruction of the bioregions and the negligence of human beings ruined the pristineness of nature. Human beings look at bees only as 'mere subjects' that were to be studied. In George's story, Human beings are selfish creatures. They look at bees as mere 'objects' of making a profit. Even if that meant more bee deaths. For example, moving bees throughout the year in order to make money out of pollination, taking away all of the honey or nectar, the bees don't have food to feed to their little ones and their offspring, etc. The precept to convert the nature from 'places' to 'human spaces', where human dominates and tries to 'tame' and 'control' the bees for selfish purposes. In Tao's story, all that the people were experiencing was because of the negligence of human beings. The overexploitation of nature, that led to nature revolting back and giving a tight slap to break the human ego. By the means of making human beings realize that it is bees that gives 'life' and 'make our lives better', that nature is superior, that one cannot 'tame and control' it.

In *The End of the Ocean*, Deep ecology can be analyzed. The interconnection can be found that points to the great chain of being. In a world where there are no more cold countries, ice and snow have completely melted. No pure water to drink can lead to a chain of reactions. Plants, animals, human beings, a majority of natural creatures need water to survive. Without water, there is extreme drought, population depletion, World water wars, human beings at the brink of extinction, which is hinted at in the text.

With regard to Anthropocentricism, In Signe's story, the aspects of anthropocentrism are analyzed where Iris and her fiancé worked for the developmental project where they put human needs above everything else. They think they are superior to nature, that they have authority over it. Also, the character of Magnus who puts his own needs first wants to have a secured life and wants to safeguard his future, at the cost of all the future generations. In David's story, all that David and Lou face is a consequence of the anthropocentric nature of human beings. The Dystopia is a result of this anthropocentric worldview. Where humans feel they are superior to nature.

Conclusion

The central focus of both the novels revolves around the environmental motifs which connect the situation of 'environmental dystopia' with 'the post-carbon world' through a series of anthropocentric references. However, Maja Lunde deals with this concept in a manner that is unique as she ushers a utopian 'ray of light' in an otherwise precarious setting. Furthermore, regarding the depiction of the environment, one traces her emphasis on the Biophilia hypothesis, which may be correlated with the innate tendency of human beings to seek connections with 'nature and other forms of life'. Lunde brings out connections of nature, where; in both the novels, the precept of sexual intercourse which is detonated as inkling with 'self-pleasure', is presented by the way of 'nature' as a path of expression. The author connotates the meaning of 'self-pleasure' with that of 'pounding against the earth' that changes the perspective altogether.

While also catering to the time theory perspective: the idea that our perception of time influences our emotions, perceptions, and action. The author instils a 'sense of emergency' by the way of 'climate education' and 'ecological consciousness'. The author provides to the readers a panoramic view by presenting the past, the present and the future, which opens to a plethora of dimensions. The novel *The History of Bees* deals with three interwoven stories from 1852, 2007 and 2098 and lists human dependence on bees and *The End of the Ocean* entwines two stories from 2017 and 2041 while listing the cruellest losses of nature. In lieu of the provision of an array of a complete picture, Lunde urges the readers to assess and contemplate the evidence of life. She leaves it to the reader's discretion to point what was incorrect, without doing the same explicitly. This discretion and understanding of the deeper meaning take place at a subconscious level and evokes emotional as well as psychological responses in the readers.

Finally, the paper disembarks with the following conclusions: Firstly; both the novels provide for two completely different perspectives to view and understand the text via 'land perspective' and 'water perspective'. Secondly, in terms of the way in which the author binds three different stories in *The History of Bees* and two different stories at *The End of the Ocean;* 'ties the knot' towards the end, point to the conceptual understanding of the ancient Chinese philosophy, 'Yin and Yang', which brings out interconnectedness, interdependence, and complementary forces of the natural world because one leads to another as they interrelate to one another. Thirdly, *The History of Bees* and *The End of the Ocean* alludes to the cultural associations and understanding of the world economies. The themes of superpower versus the third world countries are also evidently analyzed, wherein 'Unites States versus the rest of the world' thought is depicted. In terms of the significance attached to the red scarf and 'The Committee', which are the commonly detonated cultural references to China. Fourthly, in one of the novels, the representation of the 'male gender' dominates the 'female gender'. In particular, the male gender in one of the novels is depicted with the traits of male as 'dominating gender', in the story that is based on past, i.e. *The History of Bees;* William is ruled by the male-dominated thought that disregards and neglects women and women's perspective. In other words, the power hierarchy sees the male gender as the 'dominating' force over the female gender and the environment at large. Therefore, a clear indication of patriarchy is seen in the novel. While at *The End of the Ocean;* the author presents a more feminist perspective, that allows women to live a life as per their wishes and whims, especially when Signe chooses to leave Magnus, which wouldn't have been possible otherwise in a male-dominated society. This balances out two opposite perceptions of human psychology.

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Resilience of La Rose En Vie: Recovering from Upheaval through a Trans-phenomenology of Spirit on the Basis of the Arts and Humanities'

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Abstract
During the pandemic the arts and humanities have often been underestimated, usually considered marginal to other more pressing matters, or too weak to look after themselves let alone others. This paper will revert this view by stating that the success of any civilisation, even in times of crisis, derives from the strength of the foundations of its cultural system. Resilience was found in *La Rose En Vie*(London, 2021, AP), a transcendence and synthesis of three previous studies in speculative philosophy of history of the arts: 1. '"Dare-Renaissance"'(London, 2009, unpubl.,) illustrating a revolution in humanistic precepts; 2.'Transcivilisations…'(London, 2014, unpubl.,) a theory which proposed a new phenomenology of spirit; 3.'Hourglass of Being…'(London, 2018, unpubl.,) testing that same theory. *La Rose En Vie* offers a rethinking and expands the subject matter into the Covid-19 lockdown period, a time of adversity and loss of life but also an apt moment for retesting the strength of hypotheses in the most difficult of conditions. Some compelling results have emerged spacing from the metaphysics of the arts to the extension of the historical and cultural range, from an appraisal of the ethical to offering hope of recovery. *La Rose En Vie* is able to re-inspire if not 're-inspirit' everything else, bravely bouncing back in its robust form of great beauty, unafraid to face the eye of the storm and surviving upheavals at all costs on new basis; it is a new and net resilience from an unlikely source, dare one say, from the arts and humanities themselves.

Keywords: Resilience, Great Beauty, Arts And Humanities, Transcivilisation, Post-Postmodernism, Trans-Phenomenology, Life Giving, Diagonality, *La Rose En Vie*

Introduction

A few generations ago Edith Piaf sang to her audiences that there is at least one phenomenon able to really enthuse oneself enough to know that there is reason to pursue *la vie en rose*. However over-optimistic her lyrics might have sound, one thing is for sure, the pink she referred to is knowable, traceable and treasurable hence resilient even in the middle of a pandemonium, with or without rose colour glasses.

The current Coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic has effected the whole of humanity to the extent that the human condition is more precarious than it has ever been since 1989, or 2001, and probably even since 1945, but all these dates recall Western made crises, while the current one is a truly global problem. Resilience of any kind is needed from anywhere and it is sought after in such great demand by all leaders, thinkers, scholars and practitioners. In this most uncertain present, resilience from a work like *La Rose En Vie*, comes to a most appropriate time, and from such an unlikely source, namely the arts and humanities. In more normal circumstances this source would have surprised critics, and would be brushed aside for some more traditionally 'secure' sources, like governments, NGOs, institutions, scientific companies etc., but the need of any genuine recovery is so great that reproposing a meta-narrative based on the arts and humanities is no longer as abstruse, and cannot be overlooked either.

Today, as indeed for the last few generations, the mere underestimation of the arts and humanities in an increasingly capitalistic world is no rosy matter at all. So alarming it is the absence of the arts as main player in the public arena, that detecting any positive changes, let alone room for resilience, is more than an arduous adventure. This permanent crisis and subsequent ocean of pessimism have stemmed from post-modern and sceptic intellectuals for decades, and the recent pandemic can only exacerbate those voices into a very grim reality lacking the chance it needs to engage with life itself. This paper will revert this doom and gloom by pointing out that in at least one work of meta-narrative referring to many other works, there indeed resilience coming direct from the basis of the arts and humanities

Body

The recent spike and still present threat of virus variants couldn't have made things any more grim, namely hundreds if not thousands are dying every day, even as one speaks, and the vaccine is still pursuing those who do not want to be vaccinated. Various lockdowns have almost halted the arts institutions to a freezing state, and the current 'freedom day'(19th July for UK) is surrounded by grey clouds, even in the political arena, needless to say, the Education Secretary Gavin Williamson of this hosting country (UK) recently had warned he would cut funds up to 50% to arts subjects at high education level (Campaign for the arts, 2021).

The arts and humanities have had 'enemies' from within too, since the 1960s there has been countervailing movements, for example, post-structuralism and postmodernism instead of protecting their disciplines went on an over-zealous deconstruction mode, leaving those same disciplines to endless confused midpoint of cultural amnesia rather than solving the problem itself. Questioning and problematising was needed but there is a time for everything, namely one should be courageous enough to start drawing a new synthesis if not a new paradigm. One cannot continue to underestimate the killing of the arts and humanities well before the pandemic, by the same intellectuals within their own departments, generating exaggerated front page title lines of melodrama, like: ‘the end of painting’, ‘the killing of literature’, ‘the end of history both as subject and as event’ ‘the death of the author’, ‘the death of cinema’, ‘the end of philosophy with the capital P’, ‘philosophy’s death’ etc. etc.

What room or purpose is there for new foundations in culture and aesthetic in a world that was already in crisis from within, and now still more than ever in prey of this pandemic? Could looking into any foundationalism still work given the failures of structuralists in mid-20th century Western world, and along-side them the failure of fellow phenomenologists, existentialists, ‘analyticians’, and logicians?

Recently though, some very courageous scholars have resuscitated the meta-narrative, risking their reputation from post-modern criticism. They have produced some more tentative synthetic works, and by doing so, they could be embarking into a new school, a new paradigm shift, possibly a new philosophy, e.g. even into post-postmodernism itself, not only countering the abandonment of the universals but the return of meta-narratives. This counter movement could even be construed as a return to constructivism, yet this time round it would be one through the glasses of postmodern experience and critique.

In 2010 David Christian published a journal article in *History Theory, Studies in the Philosophy of History* entitled ‘The Return of Universal History’, predicting a renaissance of mega-history, which seemed a little inflated if not over-optimistic then, but time has given him credence(Christian, 2010). A year earlier *Empathic Civilization* by Jeremy Rifkin was published, an extremely courageous and optimistic vision of what humanity can be in both economic, ethical and psychological spheres, but not many scholars of humanities have implemented his counter postmodern ideas(Rifkin, 2009). In 2012 Fergusson did the same in his *Civilization* on the political and economical analysis of things with his six ‘killer apps’, captivating the historical circle for a while but not turning the corner from the general preoccupation with the Western fall and how it should recover (Fergusson, 2012).

Although it is time to turn the page on Postmodernism it cannot be done without keeping in mind the few lessons it has taught, namely some quality guided critique and some well targeted generations of questions to the ‘millenarian’ generation. An example of applying postmodern critique is seen in popular TV series *Civilisations* by Mary Beard, David Olusoga, and Simon Schama. The series of nine episodes drew the history of whole of humanity under one roof, it kept arts at the centre of the whole discourse, this time opening up to latest issues in humanities studies. The stage was set for a subsequent meta-narratives to follow suit for all of humanity. yet more synthesis was needed. A real socio-cultural transcendence and trans-critique on previous attempt to depict Civilisation itself as a universal not without showing all the intricacies, slippages and prejudices, a real sea change from an exclusive Western artistic phenomenon a-la Kenneth Clark in 1969, or from a dominant Western historical prerogative in works by Hutchinson, Osborne, Collins, and Osborne (Osborne, 2006). The recent TV series might have saved the word civilisation itself from oblivion although putting it in the title in the plural, yet with the same zest that propelled postmoderns, a couple generations ago, to question anything meta-narrating.

The dawn of a post-postmodern, as far as a return of a meta-narrative is concerned, can best be seen in the synthetic work e.g. *Twenty One Lessons for the 21st Century*, by Yuval Noah Harari, a very thoughtful guideline for humanity to avert becoming an algorithm(Harari, 2020). Harari comes to this commendable conclusion after having masterly explored in two incredibly successful books on the past and on the future, in *Sapiens*(Harari, 2014) and *Homo*

Deus(Harari, 2016) respectively. Another work turning the tides from postmodern pessimism was *Twelve rules For Life*(Peterson, 2018) also a very synthetic work based on many years of clinical psychological practice by Jordan Peterson, succinct enough only to be supplemented by the another book with 12 more rules, *Beyond Order Twelve Rules More*(Peterson, 2021). Peterson is much more credible when it comes in 'ordering' the individual than with society at large, but his attempt is nonetheless bold and sincere. The same optimism is shared in Jeremy Griffith's *Freedom*, turning the human condition 180 degrees from Lyotard's postmodern one of the late seventies. (Griffith, 2015).

These are new attempts of returning to meta-narratives, daring to give people directions, yet for resilience sake, one would have to be even more precise and probing even deeper in the reality of these times in order to be talking about a recovery proper. As for society bouncing back, these new rules have to be adopted and practised by many more scholars, before being seen to be working, so that one could start noticing a pattern of reshaping.

Resilience is defined in this paper as in the introduction of call for paper for this very conference, namely ECAH 2021(IAFOR ECHH 2021), or as in definitions from Oxford English Dictionary, or in chapter 2 'Understanding Resilience' in *Airman and Family Resilience*, *Lessons from the Scientific Literature,* by Sarah O. Meadows, Laura L. Miller and Sean Robson, namely in succinct manner, the capacity to recover and the ability spring back in shape, usually for the individual after experiencing stress but for the ambience of this occasion to a more social if not universal level (Meadows. Miller, and Robson, 2015).

Although resilience can be largely agreed along those lines, and in many psychological, biological and sociological circles, the same cannot be said of the definition of art itself and even the term humanities. One could give a definition of art, e.g. Roberto Diodato summarising Herbert Marcuse's definition along these lines: 'art is not a superstructure but rather it has revolutionary power for its aesthetic form, and art allows to comprehend exemplar fate namely art produces examples of our destiny, thus placing us towards the necessity of our life, that is, it let's us experience the desire of liberty'(Casa della Cultura, 2019). Yet once out there this very profound definition will be disproved by any artist let alone philosopher, giving new impetus towards that disproving, or in true artistic, spirit by disproving for the sake of disproving. One could argue that every single artist has his/her singularly pinned down conception of what art is, and are willing to change it according to cognitive progress, or perception of new social changes. The Term Humanities has too counter of interpretations as there are education institutions, and as a term is to be exclusively used in the plural, in order to spare confusion with other terms. It too depends on the study by many schools and eminent individuals with a long pedigree and research tradition, and it is in the aura of reconstituting itself in the light of new research, results and great discoveries.

La Rose En Vie

Notwithstanding these terminological wars, one would describe the contents of *La Rose en vie*,(just briefly given that the whole study is going to be presented in full in a book launch in London this coming Autumn, see appendix below), as a speculative philosophy of history in the arts and the humanities. The work is of synthesis of a few analyses, compressing many other binary historiographical opposites, and in short further funnelling historiographical and critical theory of major areas in culture and civilisations, with a main focus and ambitus on the arts and their critique.

La Rose En Vie functions as a further amalgamation/simplification of the last twenty years of its authors'(Albert Pizzaia's) output of four of his previous studies. It all started in Australia when as a PhD candidate it became apparent that the author's trying to adopt post-modern theory of history would have never gained the author a doctorate in a still traditional history department, which was still anchored more on positivistic and empirical archival research. His 'postmodern' papers too were too daring, e.g. the one he gave in conferences at the University of Western Australia and those in his home town, Melbourne, only frustrated him further. Something had to give, so it became clear that a sea-change was needed, the author decided to go independent and he migrated to London in the mid noughties, self-financing all of his research projects which has become almost a lifetime pursuit.

Trans-phenomenology

The author was at the receiving end on both sides of the binary opposites in historical research, and he set forth resolute in finding a path amid empiricists and relativists. In his previous studies he had established a musical culture of two medieval political factions, a study that was published as the 'Musical Culture of Guelphs of the Ghibellines' following cultural and constructive historical precepts and going as far as setting a paradigm of the whole subject matter. Yet one also understood that paradigms were vulnerable from both empiricists and postmodernists camps, so he expanded the topic of the PhD thesis to a broader cultural section of Fourteenth and early Fifteenth Century Italy, entering new periodisations and extra-cultural domains of the Renaissance and Early Modern History. Having left his University the author's consequent study was revised and retitled *Revolution in Historical Language*, an updated version of his never completed doctoral thesis, yet accommodating a more elastic methodology than the one allowed at his former University. In his new found freedom, he was able to test some of his empirical precepts and speculation material alike, in short, forming a new methodology of historiography.

Soon, another work in a similar manner and topic followed, namely '"Dare-Renaissance"'(Pizzaia, 2009) illustrating a revolution in humanistic precepts, making arts along side music a new case of centre stage for the whole Renaissance period; Another study 'Transcivilisations' expanded the historical gamut to the twentieth century in ''(Pizzaia, 2014) a theory which proposed a new phenomenology of spirit; A subsequent study namely 'Hourglass of Being…'(Pizzaia, 2018) testing that same theory through history art by art, synchronically, even though the subject matter on arts history was becoming very extensive for one single work. So in 2019 the author devised a shorter dialogical version, namely *La Rose en vie* as a sublimation of all the above mentioned works in a trans-phenomenology of Spirit, transcending the appearance of an absolute on the basis of the arts, or in simpler terms it would be like envisaging Hegel's phenomenology but with an artistic basis, with more developmental stages and expanded dialectics, arts as the real, the real as arts as foundation, and then a transversal or diagonal review of the whole historical spectrum, extending to present and future and that same diagonality transcending the phenomenological itself.

As mentioned this Trans-phenomenology had its roots in Late Medieval and Renaissance History Music and the Arts, the author's initial area of expertise, but was expanded, tested centred around the by more contemporary times, namely around one of the great events of the author's youth, namely 1989's Berlin's wall collapse and subsequent end of the Soviet block. Yet these events have recently been surpassed by a more global one', namely the current pandemic, hence *La Rose En Vie* has been re-tested, right in the middle of the lockdown period, updating and further demonstrating the resilience of the whole arts-based phenomenology.

In the aftermath of late 20th Century intellectual criticism and lore, *La Rose En Vie* most clear message is that it has taken postmodernism to task in the clearest case by showing its opposite. If postmodernism embraced the idea that metanarratives no longer held ground, and microhistories took centre-stage, *La Rose En Vie* brings back a metanarrative, not just contrasting postmodernism but taking it 180 degrees across. If there are no real universals in the eyes of poststructuralists and postmoderns, and in those of all skeptics, La Rose En Vie provides a counter cultural discourse, new to this precarious present, hence a most clear example of post-postmodern work, aware yet uninhibited by rose colour glass wearing.

Intellectual Debates

Although it is too vast to cover the whole present intellectual discussion on the subject of the arts and humanities in a 20 minutes oral presentation, a shortcut can still be taken to understand the current intellectual crux of the matter. One would suggest three recent intellectual debates, easily accessible to the public domain, held by the Lacanian/Hegelian Slavoj Zizek with philosopher Graham Harman(Finkelde, 2018), clinical psychologist Jordan Peterson(Manufacturing Intellect, 2019), and journalist/politician Daniel Hannan(Cambridge Union, 2021).

La Rose En Vie is in substance more akin in subject matter with Harman and Peterson especially in its *Telos*, see for example the central role of the arts and ethics; though in its reasoning it also adheres to the critique of Zizek. In defence of the latter, one could say that he usually reassures his opponents he is not a Marxist, but rather his main interest is to derive a new system alternative to capitalism. If the first debate the arts were centre-stage, the second debate was drawn out more in the psychological/analytic, while the third one was trying to find a current metanarrative, yet all three are on a path for mapping an absolute, but always using the arts as great supporting factors to that whole goal.

Artistic Resilience

One can speak of resilience in the arts simply because the arts offer the broadest pool of semiological material in all three debates. E.g. In the Harman vs Zizek's debate, both speaker heavily used the arts in support for the object or the subject respectively, and they agreed almost on all points. Similarly in Peterson vs Zizeck's debate both speakers relied heavily on artistic narrative, having so much more in common rather than differences; e.g. Peterson working optimistically in the centre of the argument, Zizek more pessimistically on the fringe, yet agreeing on the foundation and resilience of the arts and humanities. In fact, most philosophers and cultural leaders and even scientists today are more and more embracing the share power of the arts and the humanities, and Jordan Peterson himself as an experienced clinical psychologist and analyst has reserved one of the most passionate defence stating unequivocally :"Omitting the arts and the humanities is not an option"(PhilosophyInsight, 2017). Just like in therapy, clinical resilience offers a path to recovery not unlike what *La Rose En Vie* proposes, especially when giving directives of what to expect in the near and long term future.

The resilience of *La Rose En Vie* is extracted in finding a common ground of two binary opposites rather than their differences. It is like trying to fuse diverging philosophies, like it happened in the above mentioned debates. It is amazing how two debaters try to differ from one another, when in fact they share so much in common. Two great Philosophies of the modern age, mainly Hegel's spirit and Kant's critique, can both offer elements of new stronger metanarrative. The former proposes a dialectics which *La Rose En Vie* has been able to apply an expanded trans-historically, the latter more elusively yet in epistemological terms probably at a deeper level, that is the fourth mode of acquiring knowledge from the quadrant of Immanuel Kant's epistemological theory. Although the form rather than substance is the most noticeable feature in *La Rose En Vie*, the resilience comes in the latter one, in its content first. Philosophers have often typically put philosophy in a prominent position of explaining the absolute, often at the expense of art, but not if the arts are in the plural, and even more powerful if they are joined by the humanities, hence their power is immense and their exclusion is not an option.

Great Beauty

Unlike Immanuel Kant *La Rose En Vie* also relies on a more unified metaphysics of beauty and sublime into one great form, renamed 'Great Beauty', founded on the arts, and ultimately being supported by a great form. So it is 'Great Beauty' from art that with postmodernism became from necessary to contigent, and postmodernism further diffuses beauty so cheaply, instead, *La Rose En Vie* speaks of a contingent that has become necessary, completing and supplanting Postmodern's adversion towards the beautiful.

Not unlike Roger Scruton La Rose En Vie does encourage a humane return to beauty and the fruits it brings to great formation of character, but not without its dose of having to share with ugliness, because artists have a way of studying opposites in order to contribute to a new conception of art itself most suited to even resolve the issues and problems of their times, in short the humane Scrutonian hope is catalyst to a resilient new great beauty (Scruton, 2009).

Not unlike Fyodor Dostoevsky there is resilience in admitting that beauty is mysterious as well as terrible. A literary quote from the great writer suggests that beauty is the battlefield where God and the devil are fighting the heart of man (The Brothers Karamazov).

Life

In life there is hope, and the arts are simply parallel to that, even in those that seem moving in the opposite direction, for example let's take Jean Dubuffet in his current retrospective in central London, namely *Brutal Beauty* makes amends from his earlier brutal exploits. In his earlier years he had included hundreds of butterfly's wings in his painting to both enhance the beauty of his pictures; introducing the vibrant into the work of art(Nairne Eleanor ed.,, 2021). Years later he realises that life is pumped into art in a much more economical and effective way, from his *l'hourloupe* sketches he slowly devised full portraits, then three dimensional forms then as human costumes, worn by actors for a full touring show called *Cou Cou Bazar*, the result is a vibrant injection of life into his work, into theatres of memory; his perseverance shows how to reinspire an otherwise uncertain Parisian period of art history onto great beauty from Brutal precepts (Nairne Eleanor ed.,, 2021).

In a similar vein Claudia Andujar's photography reinspires and saves the cause of the indigenous people of the Yanomami in North Eastern Brazil. She was in her childhood an European Jew who escaped the Holocaust. She did not allow that traumatic experience to inhibit her life nor her artistic journey. She started an aesthetic project with some of the most breath-taking forest of this planet, transcending her artistic status into activist, winning the trust of the Yanomami people and embracing their culture, the 'reahu'(chants, dance, rituals and dialogues that can go on for several days) and even their cause for survival against capitalistic government administrations and greedy NGOs. She also helped overcoming the diseases brought in by Westerners as to go ahead with the vaccinations without fear :"it is this ambiguous feeling that led me, sixty years later, to transform what was initially a simple record of the Yanomami as 'people' -branded to live - into a work that question this method of labelling people for whatever purpose (Nogueira, 2021).

In a world of pandemic restrictions, one that does not allow us to travel as freely as before, how does one find resilience in the arts? Are we to remain isolated and attached to our domestic screens? Ultimately local Arts have the last laugh and during the pandemic further seals their resilience following the example of the synthetic Civilisations, it allows us to explore arts anew, really anew more than ever, applying the lore of humanists but no longer conforming because new venues are opening all the time. Here a few local treats, all London based, examples that can make us explore new worlds and in experiencing them repropose them anew into new teachings, works, and practises:
Lisbon Beat, Afro-Portuguese music in Lisbon Festival at London cinemas
The London Indian Short Film Festival
Walls Remember: Shorts Compilations New East Cinema (Eastern Europe), London
Paula Rego at the Tate Britain, Retrospective
Nero: the Man Behind the Myth at British Museum
Artemisia at National Gallery,
How We Live Now: Reimagining Spaces with Matrix Femist Design Co-operative
SAFAR Film Festival: Generational Encounters in Arab Cinema
Subject to Change: New Horizons; 15 artists have responded to the uncertain events of last year at the Studio, London
Toyin Ojih Odutola, *A Countervailing Theory* at the Curve,
Jean Dubuffet: *Brutal Beauty* at the Barbican Gallery
Claudia Andujar *The Yanomami Struggle* at the Curve

These events are life giving, and not unlike Nietzche, *La Rose En Vie* embraces the notion of needing art as a saviour of life, and even more than the philosopher, there is a scope of going beyond mere hope and into the realm of putting the arts and participating humanities as foundations of reality itself,

Recovering

There is a blueprint on the road to recovery indicated by the subjective and objcetive forces emanated by the arts and humanities and their authors to a society and the whole world, which since Coronavirus has changed for ever. A new universal understanding has taken hold of all of those who have lived together in a global crisis, transforming the whole of society for ever.

Just like visual artists and composers engage into all boundaries finding new paths from the unexpected so leaders should prepare a long term recovery based on these forces of creativity.

Just as the whole performing arts industry is recovering in spite of lack of aid, that positive energy is sufficient to put back into place in a totally novel way a new resilient industry.

Just like you would read any work of art based on the plague anew e.g. Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Dicken's *Bleak House*, Manzoni's *Betrothed*, Camus' *The Plague* after having experienced a pandemic as life experience.

Just as one would look at a play like Romeo and Juliet differently today after Covid 19, this time remembering that Father Laurence could not get to Romeo because of a quarantine restriction in Mantua, and the verse 'A Plague on both your houses' will sound much more vivid than it has ever sounded before.

Just like in Thomas Ades's Opera *The Exterminating Angel* in his inexplicable opera plot, namely, the inability for people to live their premises, so today anyone could explain it so easily coming from the fear and lockdown of a pandemic.

Just as for the humanities themselves this very forum has indicated in past occasions and today more than even that there is a general co-ordination in recovering from unprecedented complications.

The pandemic in its deep tragic reality has generated new complex experiences to the humanities and critique studies in general, a new way of seeing, reconsidering, reconfiguring, and recovering more fully understanding what was previously taken for granted.

Conclusions

The resilience of *La Rose En Vie* is laying new foundations, seemingly being in harmony with yet reliable humanities' narratives and a new metanarrative, and with the further advantage of building on top of them, some of the positive examples of humanities which withstood even the current pandemic era are:

- Roger Scruton ushering the return of beauty via a humane philosophy
- Jeremy Griffith's tranformatinal zest liberating humanity from conditional guilt
- Jordan Peterson's deep analytic experience forging a positive constructionism starting from the individual
- Slavo Zizek's apparently negativity rendering back caution in search of a new order averting the matrix of capitalism
- Mary Beard testing of gender issues unveiling the shortcomings of aesthetics
- David Olusova dismantling colonial myths and discovering from personal experiences new ways forward
- Simon Schama artistic synthesis coming from past personal events and deep knowledge of history
- Daniel Hannan's care to find a new way from dissecting the sources of power and ideologies
- Claudia Andujar transcendental leap into trans-political activism from her artistic foundations
- Yuval N. Harari striving for a greater humane logic in order to avert future algorithm of Homo Deus

La Rose En Vie offers new heart into these discourses, hence resilience as it stands as a beacon beyond mere hope and as it is furnishing the clearest and most mapped-out road to recovery and bouncing back in shape to a world that had lost bearings from quite some time. Indeed, it is time to stop pulling the thread of deconstruction for the sake of getting an entangled yarn, but rather allow artistic entanglement weave itself out in the spinning frame of this moment of life. This reinspiring resilient force *de vive* is as multicoloured as the arts and humanities themselves. They have time and time again offered a multi foundations to humanity itself, to the extent that the rose coloured glasses are no longer needed, no longer matters whether humanity had them on or not, given that the foundations are so greatly beautiful and substantial, quite literally, into the great multi-coloured *Rose En Vie*, yes, the living great rose of great beauty that each one has to keep resiliently alive within one's own life at all costs.

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The Silk Roads, 300 BCE to 1700 CE: Connecting the World for Two Millennia

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Abstract
The trade networks of the Silk Roads offered an impressive array of intellectual and cultural influences, which, through the exchange of knowledge and ideas, both verbal and written, still reverberate throughout our societal framework today. Science, arts and literature, textiles and technologies were shared and disseminated into societies along the lengths of these routes, and, through this exchange, languages, religions, and cultures developed and influenced one another. Our collaborative exhibition at the University of Southern California (USC) draws upon artifacts in our collections and those of partner institutions. This initiative includes two phases: First, working with faculty, staff, and students across USC departments, as well as external collaborators, we are focusing on written artifacts—the books, manuscripts, and other vehicles for nonverbal communication—that connected different Silk Roads communities and created entirely new cultures. Rather than impose chronological or historical divisions, the organization of our exhibition is based on geography. Visitors will walk through and view objects as they would travel along the Silk Roads. The aim is both to introduce visitors to specific peoples and places that mark the Eurasian land mass while at the same time preserving the sense of bewilderment that so many interlinked empires and ideas can cause for modern travelers. Secondly, a companion one-day event, *Borrowed Recipes: Migrant Food Worlds of the Silk Roads*, traces the hidden cultural exchanges underlying the foods originating along the Silk Roads and widely available to us in Los Angeles today.

Keywords: Silk Roads, Cultural Heritage, Culinary History

Introduction

The initial idea for this project was developed as a result of discussions, in February 2020, with Jay Rubenstein[1], Director of the USC Dornsife Center for the Premodern World. Emerging from these discussions was our enthusiastic agreement to initiate a collaborative project between the Center and the USC Libraries (see "Acknowledgements," below), focused on the Silk Roads (an ancient extensive system of pathways that originally linked many trade centers between China and the West) including an exhibition*, The Silk Roads, 300 BCE to 1700 CE: Connecting the World for Two Millennia*, and a one-day event *Borrowed Recipes: Migrant Food Worlds of the Silk Roads*, with the latter tracing the hidden cultural exchanges underlying the foods originating along the Silk Roads and widely available to us in Los Angeles today.

Our first collaboration with the Center (in Fall 2019) led to our project, *USC Illuminated Medieval Manuscripts*[2] which highlights our Special Collections' primary and secondary sources, and make available a model of interdisciplinary collaboration, one that provides multiple levels of discovery so as to open new research perspectives on both Medieval Europe and antiquity, as evidenced by our collection of manuscripts which is quite diverse, including both religious and secular manuscripts, dating from the 13th-15th centuries.

Our three primary goals for our Silk Roads Exhibit and our one-day event, *Borrowed Recipes: Migrant Food Worlds of the Silk Roads*, are as follows:

1. First, to study the premodern cultures which led, as a result of the Silk Roads, to the development of cities and communities which became essential hubs of trade and cross-cultural exchanges for almost two millennia. Our exhibition will feature a range of written and artistic artifacts, as well as visual and pedagogical aids for visitors.
2. Our second goal is to highlight the multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism stemming from intellectual, artistic, and cultural knowledge which these urban centers exchanged and developed over time. Fortunately, recent archaeological discoveries in Central Asia, particularly in China's Xinjiang region, has created a growing body of material evidence that offers tangible proof of the Silk Roads' urban centers and their civilizations. Our exhibition will feature our rich collections of primary and secondary sources, as well as items from our USC Archaeology Research Center, and our USC Pacific Asia Museum as well as cultural institutions in the Los Angeles area.
3. Our third goal (similar to our *USC Illuminated Medieval Manuscripts* project) is to develop strategic alliances by bringing together scholars and students from different fields in the humanities and the social sciences to reflect upon the role that the Premodern period's historical sources can play in contemporary humanistic and social sciences debates, and to engage students in multiple literacies and in evolving multi-modal forms of expression.

Our event, *Borrowed Recipes: Migrant Food Worlds of the Silk Roads*, takes the audience on a voyage of culinary discovery that stretches through time and across half the world, from China in the east to Persia and on to the Mediterranean in the west, along the Silk Roads' ancient network of trading routes. Each distinctive place on the Silk Road had a common theme of cultural exchange that linked people from the desert and mountains to the sea and beyond. One way for us is to highlight this common cultural thread through the food we eat. From Xi'an to Samarkand, from

[1] https://dornsife.usc.edu/cf/hist/people/faculty_display.cfm?Person_ID=1091824
[2] https://scalar.usc.edu/works/usc-illuminated-medieval-manuscripts/about-the-project

Isfahan to Istanbul and then northwest to Italy. It was along the Silk Road trails and sea routes that vegetables, fruits, grains, and seasonings were shared, each transforming the food with their own cultural influence. This dynamic interaction of traditions and culinary culture led to a shared knowledge immersed in innovation and creativity that we still celebrate today (Batmanglij, 2002).

Background

The German phrase *Die Seidenstrassen* (The Silk Roads) coined in the nineteenth century by a German geographer, Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833-1905) describes what for him was a specific route of east-west trade some 2,000 years ago. Richthofen was a German geographer and geologist. He contributed to the development of geographical methodology, and he also helped establish the science of geomorphology, the branch of geology that deals with land and submarine relief features. On a series of journeys, he visited almost every part of China, gathering material for his voluminous work, China, *Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* ("China, the Results of My Travels and the Studies Based Thereon"), 5 vol. and atlas (1877–1912). (Britannica Encyclopedia, 2021).

Richthofen's original concept was limited in that he was primarily concerned about the movement of silk overland from east to west between Han China and Rome. The silk trade routes linked China, India, and the Mediterranean world, through central Asia (Kuz'mina & Mair, 2008). Today, the term, *Silk Roads* is used to refer to the paved roads, the mountain passes, the rivers and the grasslands that run across Central Eurasia, drawing connections between the Roman and Chinese Empires. It also refers to the diverse land and sea trade routes that formed an extensive network covering most of Eurasia and parts of Africa.

Sericulture, the cultivation of silkworms for the process of making silk was, according to Chinese tradition, developed sometime around the year 2,700 BCE. Regarded as an extremely high value product, silk was reserved for the exclusive usage of the Chinese imperial court for the making of cloths, drapes, banners, and other items of prestige. The methods of harvesting silk production were also a closely guarded secret for about 3,000 years with imperial decrees sentencing to death anyone who revealed to a foreigner the process of its production.

At some point during the 1st century BCE, silk was introduced to the Roman Empire, where it was considered an exotic luxury that became extremely popular, with imperial edicts being issued to control prices. Silks popularity continued throughout the Middle Ages, with detailed Byzantine regulations for the manufacture of silk clothes, illustrating its importance as a quintessentially royal fabric and an important source of revenue for the crown. According to legend, the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, who reigned from 527 to 565 CE, paid two monks to smuggle to Constantinople cocooned silkworms hidden inside hollowed-out canes (Hunt, 2011). Additionally, the needs of the Byzantine Church for silk garments and hangings were substantial. This luxury item was thus one of the early driving forces for the development of trading routes from Europe to the Far East. (Federico 2008).

Though silk in the form of both yarn and finished textiles was always instrumental in the development of this trade network, there were other important goods as well, such as horses, incenses, spices, and later tea (Liu, 2010). Tombs in Hubei province dating from the 4th and

3rd centuries BCE contain the first evidence of complete silk garments (including brocade, gauze and embroidered silk) as well as outstanding examples of weapons, chariots, and many personal items, including furniture, musical instruments, as well as bronze ritual vessels.

Travelers along the Silk Roads were attracted not only by trade but also by the intellectual and cultural exchange taking place in cities along the Silk Roads (Juliano & Lerner, 2001), many of which developed into hubs of culture and learning. Since 1988, UNESCO sought to have a clear idea about the rich history and enduring legacy of the historic Silk Roads in connecting civilizations throughout history as well as the ways in which cultures have mutually influenced each other. This led to their Program, "About the Silk Roads" which extends these historic networks in a digital space, bringing people together in an ongoing dialogue and fostering a mutual understanding of the diverse and often inter-related cultures that have sprung up around these routes.[3]

Because premodern technology, such as paper production, stimulated the development of writing systems, it facilitated over time communication across cultures and continents. Knowledge in science, arts (Li & Hansen, 2003) and literature, as well as crafts and technologies, was shared and disseminated into societies along the lengths of these routes, and in this way, languages, religions (Liu, 1988; Klimkeit, 1993; Foltz, 2010), and cultures developed and influenced one another.

Purpose

Our Project

Our project, *The Silk Roads*, includes an exhibition and a companion one-day event, *Borrowed Recipes: Migrant Food Worlds of the Silk Roads.* Our exhibition is our second productive collaboration with Jay Rubenstein, Director of the USC Center for the Premodern World.[4]

Our first collaboration (2019) with that Center was based on our Project, *USC Illuminated Medieval Manuscripts*[5] which led to the creation of a program, "Prehistory of the Book Program". It featured the inaugural invited lecture by Gregory Clark from the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee. He focused on the two Books of Hours included in our Project. He detailed the findings of his thorough investigation into the probable origins and dates of each manuscript.[6]

Our current exhibition and second collaboration with the Center for the Premodern world, includes two phases and is planned for Spring 2022. As stated by Jay Rubenstein on the Center's website, "The goals of our project are twofold. First, we want to study the cultures of written communication that existed before the published book became both the norm and the highest expression of literate transmission. We do not ask where the book came from or highlight the limitations of the written word in a pre-publication world. Rather, we wish to examine strategies, technologies, and products of written communication as practiced in the

[3] https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/about-silk-roads
[4] https://dornsife.usc.edu/center-for-the-premodern-world
[5] https://scalar.usc.edu/works/usc-illuminated-medieval-manuscripts/index
[6] https://scalar.usc.edu/works/usc-illuminated-medieval-manuscripts/greg-clark-lecture

pre-modern world: the pre-modern world widely conceived and a topic as well, besides calligraphy, political broadside to incunabula, you name it, whatever you can."

Our first phase includes working with faculty, staff, and students across USC departments, as well as with external collaborators, we are focusing on written artifacts, the books, manuscripts, and other vehicles for nonverbal communication, that connected different Silk Road communities and created entirely new cultures. Rather than impose chronological or historical divisions, the organization of our exhibition is based on geography. Visitors will walk through and view objects as they would travel along the Silk Roads. The aim is both to introduce visitors to specific peoples and places that mark the Eurasian land mass while, at the same time, preserving the sense of disorientation that so many interlinked empires and ideas create for modern travelers.

Our second phase is a companion one-day event, *Borrowed Recipes: Migrant Food Worlds of the Silk Roads*, and it traces the hidden cultural exchanges underlying the foods originating along the Silk Roads and widely available to us in Los Angeles today.

Our Exhibition

The Silk Roads today, or at any point in their histories, open a vista of cultures and empires whose histories, boundaries, and archaeological remains overlap one another: Roman, Persian, Chinese, Macedonian, Armenian, Scythian, Turkish, Sogdian, Iranian, Mongol, to name only some of the more prominent ones. Rather than to impose chronological or historical divisions upon the material to neatly delineate different Silk Road cultures, the organization of our exhibition is based on geography. Visitors will walk through it and view its objects as one would travel along the Silk Roads. The effect will be both to introduce visitors to specific peoples and places that mark the Eurasian land mass while at the same time preserving the sense of bewilderment that so many interlinked empires and ideas can cause for modern travelers.

Our goal is to promote both the USC Libraries' vision[7] and the University's mission[8], and to that end our focus for the exhibition is on written artifacts in our collections–the books, manuscripts, and other media for nonverbal communication—that linked up different Silk Road communities and, as a result, created entirely new cultures as various groups interacted with one another. Visual materials from different parts of the Silk Roads will be included such as wall painting fragments from ruins of Buddhist temples in Central Asia and ceramic human sculptures found in Chinese tombs. Many of the objects to be featured in this exhibition will come from USC Libraries' Special Collection. Highlights include a 15th-century manuscript, *De Officiis, (On Duties)* by Cicero; *The Travels of John Chardin* (printed in 1686); a 17th-century printed account of the journey undertaken by the Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang to the Western Regions titled *Xiyou zhenquan*. We also plan to borrow from other units at the university (USC Archaeology Research Center and USC Pacific Asia

[7] "The USC Libraries will be an integral, inventive, and inspiring partner in the scholarly and artistic enterprises of USC faculty, students, and staff. In so doing, we actively contribute to the development of knowledge and advancement of the global human community."
https://libraries.usc.edu/sites/default/files/usc_libraries_strategic_plan_june_2017.pdf

[8] "The central mission of the University of Southern California is the development of human beings and society as a whole through the cultivation and enrichment of the human mind and spirit." https://about.usc.edu/policies/mission-statement/

Museum) as well as local museums and cultural institutions such as the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and UCLA Libraries' Special Collections Department.

Collaborations

We are working with faculty in USC Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences and several other colleagues in USC Libraries as we finalize the artifact list for the Spring 2022 exhibition, as well as develop a thematic program to organize the material. We are also conducting more in-depth research on the artifacts and working with Sonya Lee's (USC East Asian Studies Center) upper-level undergraduates to create an online catalogue for the exhibition in Scalar[9]; investigate the best practices in the handling, display, and conservation of paper products and other related materials from the ancient Silk Roads; and focus on developing effective media strategies to make the exhibition content accessible and engaging to different audiences. The goal is to produce a range of visual and pedagogical aids for visitors to the exhibition. The anticipated contributions for the two undergraduate researchers are to produce written reports on their respective research projects, which will form the basis for display labels, wall texts, information pamphlets, online catalogue, and social media posts for the Silk Roads exhibition. They are encouraged to produce photographic and video documentation of the research processes as well as the exhibition installation to be shared through the exhibition website.

Scalar: Media-Rich, Multimodal, Digital Platform

Scalar is a USC based, open source, online publishing tool which was developed at our University by the Alliance for Networking Visual Culture for the electronic journal Vectors[10]. Using Scalar provides the opportunity for a strategic approach to not only the digitization of these selected artifacts, but will also allow us to share our research project and exhibition with international academic audiences and beyond via, publications, workshops, and conference presentations. By digitizing the research and artifacts for the exhibit and one-day event, we can preserve them, while providing ease of access and therefore fostering a more inclusive and collaborative community of engagement that includes faculty and students in multidisciplinary fields, as well as the public.

Phase 2: *Borrowed Recipes: Migrant Food Worlds of the Silk Roads*

Borrowed Recipes, a one-day event explores the history of food and its culinary and cultural exchanges. The event focuses on what might have been the foods exchanged along the Silk Roads in their ancient and modern, international incarnations that allow us to enjoy these foods in Los Angeles. The event includes a conversation between food archaeologist Farrell Monaco, who recreates ancient recipes for her blog Tavola Mediterranea[11]; Harvard University Irish studies professor and food historian Joseph Nagy[12]; LAist food editor Elina

[9] https://scalar.usc.edu/works/the-silk-roads-300-bce-to-1700-ce-connecting-the-world-for-two-millennia/index
[10] "Scalar is a free, open source publishing platform that's designed to make it easy for authors to write long-form, born-digital scholarship online. Scalar enables users to assemble media from multiple sources and juxtapose them with their own writing in a variety of ways, with minimal technical expertise required. Scalar also gives authors tools to structure essay- and book-length works in ways that take advantage of the unique capabilities of digital writing, including nested, recursive, and non-linear formats. The platform also supports collaborative authoring and reader commentary." http://scalar.usc.edu/works/guide/index, http://scalar.usc.edu
[11] https://tavolamediterranea.com/
[12] https://medieval.fas.harvard.edu/people/joseph-nagy

Shatkin[13], who can help USC students explore and taste these foods in Southern California; food historian and science writer Nicola Twilley, creator of the popular Gastropod podcast[14]; and an L.A.-area chef or restauranteur such as USC alum Bughra Arkin of Dolan's Uyghur Cuisine[15] in Alhambra who draws inspiration from one or more cuisines that originated along the ancient Silk Roads.[16]

Background for the Event

The history of culinary cultural exchange is quite nuanced (Pullman, 2016; Everding, 2018; Spengler III, 2020; Ghattas, 2021). In Los Angeles and many other metropolitan cities, people can find culinary experiences from nearly every region of the world.

Oftentimes the origin stories of food and its cultural heritage are difficult to reconstruct. There are pervasive cultural myths about food origins. For example, the idea that 13th-century Italian merchant Marco Polo introduced pasta to Europe after his travels to China, contradicts the evidence that people have eaten pasta for thousands of years. In contrast, pasta has been documented in Italy since ancient times.

Then and Now

Our panelists will explore and contextualize the historical roots of these Silk Roads foods along with their transformation into the foods we recognize today. The creative experimentation by chefs to innovate within the frameworks of these existing food traditions will be demonstrated during the event. In addition to tracing several of these cooking and eating traditions, our participants will contextualize them historically for USC students through overviews of how key ingredients like pepper and other spices were critical to the development of these ancient trade networks.

Anticipated Outcomes

We are confident that USC students and faculty, as well as members of the Los Angeles community, will find this one-day event both engaging and enlightening. In particular, we think that the food tasting, and cooking demonstrations will attract a large audience. Our goal is to encourage them to reflect about food origins and cultural exchanges through the exhibition, public discussions, and other components such as research guides and digital resources that we are developing for *Borrowed Recipes*.

We will promote the event widely to USC students and faculty, drawing on the network of USC faculty involved in the planning of the *Silk Roads* exhibition, and conducting outreach to students and faculty in a wide range of departments, schools, and units in related disciplines including: American studies and ethnicity; archaeology; history; cultural studies; area studies fields focused on regions along the Silk Roads; arts and humanities fields; the USC Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism; the USC School for Cinematic Arts; the USC Price School for Public Policy; and USC's arts schools. In addition, we will

[13] https://laist.com/people/elina-shatkin
[14] https://gastropod.com/
[15] https://www.ladolans.com/
[16] USC Visions and Voices Spring 2022 event:
https://visionsandvoices.usc.edu/eventdetails/?event_id=37458745396289&s_type=&s_genre=

conduct outreach to USC student organizations in related areas and via the USC Libraries' social media channels.

Conclusion

Our exhibition and *Borrowed Recipes* will encourage USC students to think reflectively and critically about the hidden backstories to familiar foods at L.A. restaurants and food trucks, and gain a fuller appreciation for the many distinctive migrant food worlds that have found a home in Southern California. In this way, our exhibition and *Borrowed Recipes* will provoke reflection on several USC Core Values, including the values of the Trojan Family relating to consideration for others and appreciation for diversity. By asking USC students to look more closely at artifacts and food and how they are intertwined with immigrant experiences in L.A., we believe that students will gain a fuller and richer understanding of the cultural complexities of primary sources and most particularly of food as an excellent example of our world-wide cultural exchanges.

In addition, *Borrowed Recipes* will provoke reflection on the USC Core Value of free inquiry, since it will use everyday foods as a medium for thoughtful reflection on cultural influences and a number of related issues like globalization, foods as symbols of national identities, adaptations of food traditions by immigrant cultures, and the hidden histories underpinning basic features of our daily lives.

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Gender differences in language about Feminism: Results from Sentiment Analysis and Use of Emojis on Twitter

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Abstract
Social networks, such as Twitter with its around 192 million active users per day, are increasingly changing the way how people access information, communicate with each other, express opinions and discuss a wide range of topics. An example of a rather controversial topic is feminism. This study sheds light on the used language and emojis when discussing feminism on Twitter. Emojis are graphic symbols, representing inter alia facial expressions, but also objects, food or drinks, animals, or emotions, and feelings. For the analysis, 195,843 evaluable tweets were collected between the end of February until the beginning of March 2021, covering the International Women's Day and part of Women's History Month. A quantitative approach is employed to evaluate the sentiment value of tweets on a lexical level. Sentiment analysis enables the investigation of public emotions about events, opinions, persons etc. Together with the sentiment value of the emojis, it provides the basis to analyze the identified words and topics of the discussions on Twitter. Additionally, as Twitter does not provide the gender of a user, the gender is tried to be derived from unstructured data such as the screen or username as well as the description. Results indicate that female users send in average tweets with a more positive tone than male users, while negative tweets are not significantly different between genders. Emojis are only used in a part of all tweets. The emojis used are correlated to the sentiment value of the tweet.

Keywords: Feminism, Twitter, Sentiment Analysis, Public Opinion, Emojis

Introduction

On microblogging services, such as Twitter, Facebook, or Tumblr, users can write short text messages to express opinions on a variety of topics and to discuss current subjects. Caused by the accessibility and the potential audience for one's opinions, these platforms are seeing significant growth in users and exchanged messages. Due to the amount of created content and the expressed sentiment, opinions or experiences, such microblogging services become increasingly interesting for researchers of different fields to exploit this large database.

Feminism, as a controversially discussed topic of high societal importance, is a field of research regularly analyzed. Tweets are for example used to gain insights into trolling and how people cope with this behavior (Lopez et al., 2018), rape threats on social media (Hardaker & McGlashan, 2016) or the coping strategies and social reactions to #MeToo (Schneider & Carpenter, 2018).

A prevalent method of previous studies was the context analysis, which allows a deep analysis of the content and context of tweets but can only analyze a limited number of tweets. Furthermore, sentiment analysis has been used. Here the emotional content or text polarity is automatically processed, and the text is classified as positive, negative, or neutral (Jianqiang & Xiaolin, 2017). This allows for a higher number of analyzed tweets.

Despite the research, several research gaps remain. As Twitter does not provide the gender of its users, there is no analysis of the differences in revealed sentiments of female and male users about feminism. The gender needs first to be derived by clues given by the user (Vicente et al., 2018). Thus, this research tries to shed light on the sentiment of male and female users on the topic of feminism on Twitter and the language used, to express sentiments.

The linguistic study is in a second step extended by an analysis of emojis. Emojis are abstractions of facial expression, gestures, objects such as food, vehicles etc. and are used increasingly in computer mediated communication (Vidal et al., 2016; Walther & D'Addario, 2001). They provide additional emotional cues and therefore augment the statement of a message (Derks et al., 2007; Chen et al., 2017).

The alignment of the study at hand is explorative. It tries to describe various aspects of the language and emoji use differentiated by gender. This helps to outline further research directions.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. First, related studies and the research questions are discussed in the theory section. Second, the incorporated methods are descripted in detail. After that the results are presented. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion of limitations and open questions for future research.

Related Work and Theory

Microblogging services such as Twitter allow users to share short messages and opinions about a variety of topics. In recent years microblogging services became increasingly more popular (Pak & Paroubek, 2010). Twitter alone has around 192 million active users per day (Twitter Inc., 2021), which generates a huge amount of data every minute. This data is of significant interest for researchers, focusing on user's opinion and sentiments (Vicente et al., 2018). Social and political activism happens on social media to initiate grass-root mobilization, providing interesting opportunities for social scientists (Tinati, et al., 2014). Studies have been conducted on, e.g., racism in elections (Stephens-Davidowitz, 2014), flow of information in protests (Tinati et al., 2014), gender differences in sports coverage (Sainz-de-Baranda et al., 2020) or rape threats (Hardaker & McGlashan, 2016).

Feminism is also being studied by using tweets to identify positive or negative sentiments or opinions. As feminism discusses issues of gender relations, a sentiment analysis should capture comparable dimensions of gender attitude (Scarborough, 2018). Lopez et al. (2018) made a content analysis of all tweets with the hashtag #feminism, which were send within a timespan of 24 hours. While many users engage with the topic of feminism, promote it, and learn about it, some also expressed disagreement, misogyny or even violence. Schneider and Carpenter (2018) conducted a study on the hashtag #MeToo to focus on the social reactions. Most tweets indicated a belief and offered emotional support. They used sentiment analysis along with content and context analysis to get their results.

Several studies contribute to methodical aspects of studying social media. Waseem and Hovey (2016) focused on hate speech and provided a list of criteria and a dictionary of indicative words for identifying offensive tweets. Dilai and Levchenko (2018) transferred the SentiStrength algorithm to Ukrainian to analyze the discourse about feminism in the Ukraine.

Sentiment analysis, which has been used in several previous studies on social networks and is also used in this study, is the automatic classification of a text as positive, negative, or neutral (Jianqiang & Xiaolin, 2017). It is part of Natural Language Processing, which can be applied from document classification down to determining the polarity of single words (Kouloumpis et al., 2011). As Twitter constitute a special environment for communication, especially because of its limitation to a maximum of 280 symbols per tweet (Rosen, 2017), the relevant features for analysis are also influenced by it. The baseline is constituted by n-grams, supplemented by sentiment lexica, such as the AFINN lexicon (Nielson, 2011). Lastly, particular micro-blogging features are included, like abbreviations or intensifiers (all-caps or character repetition) (Kouloumpis et al., 2011).

The goal is to try to gain insights into how male and female Twitter users differ in their language used when discussing feminism. This is done based on a sentiment analysis.

The micro-blogging features are complemented in this study by an analysis of emojis. Emojis are abstractions of facial expressions, bodily gestures etc. and help to communicate emotions or moods in computer mediated communications (Vidal et al., 2016; Walther & D'Addario, 2001). Thus, emojis can help to transport additional social information beyond the text and augment the meaning of the entire message (Derks et al., 2007). The usage of emojis in social media has increased significantly over the previous years (Huang et al., 2008; Huffaker & Calvert, 2005). The popularity is also reflected in the increasing number of available emojis (Ljubešić & Fišer, 2016). In case of Twitter, the user can select out of a set of 3.245 emojis (Twitter Open Source, n.d.).

By using geo-located tweets, Ljubešić & Fišer (2016) came to the result that about 20% of all tweets contained emojis and around 38% of all users used them. Users from the U.S. appeared to use relatively less emojis. Analyzing the demographics of U.S. Twitter users Mislove et al. (2011) showed a bias towards overrepresentation of urban regions and males. A sentiment lexicon for emojis was developed by Novak et al. (2015) by analyzing annotated tweets. Most of the 751 classified emojis were positive, which is especially the case for the most popular ones.

The present work aims to provide an analysis of how emojis are used by male and female users and how their sentiment value corresponds to the context in which they were used.

Methods

In this section the data collection via the Twitter API are described and the steps taken to pre-process the data. The evaluation of the sentiment value of each tweet is depicted in detail and the process of gender identification is explained.

Data Collection

The tweets were collected using the R package rtweet (Kearney, 2019). The search period was between February 24th until March 9th, 2021, covering the International Women's Day and part of Women's History Month. The search terms were related to feminism and taken from Scarborough (2018). The search terms were: feminist, feminism, women's rights, womens rights, women's rightist, womens rightist, women's liberationist, womens liberationist, women's libber, womens libber, women's liberation, womens liberation, women's lib, and womens lib. Search terms were used with and without apostrophes, as Twitter users often do not use punctuation. The initial sample consisted of 603,381 tweets originating from 402,054 different users.

Pre-Processing

The first step of pre-processing was the exclusion of all retweets and non-English tweets. Retweets constitute a form of indirect interaction (Hardaker & McGlashan, 2016), while tweets in other languages than English obscure the analysis. This resulted in a dataset of 195,843 tweets by 133,765 unique users.

After that the text was first tokenized and normalized. Upper-case letters were changed into lower case letters and numbers were removed along with Twitter tokens such as usertags (*@user*) and URLs. Hashtags (*#hashtag*) were kept for the analysis. Finally, stop words were excluded such as *the*, *all*, *of*, *and* or *with*. They are not associated with sentiments (Scarborough, 2018; Jianqiang & Xiaolin, 2017).

Sentiment Analysis

The sentiment analysis for Twitter is based on word n-grams, primarily on unigrams, expanded by bigrams. Values were taken from the AFINN lexicon, which lists English terms with an integer between -5 (negative) and +5 (positive) (Nielsen, 2011). Basic negation detection was done by identifying bigrams beginning with a negation and ending with an AFINN evaluated word (Kouloumpis et al., 2011). This is relevant for sentences such as "I'm not happy.", where the word "happy" would indicate a positive sentiment, but the negation "not" does reverse the meaning. Thus, considering bigrams does improve the accuracy of sentiment evaluation (Pak & Paroubek, 2010).

About 72.8% of all tweets included at least one word out of the AFINN lexicon. The remainder of the tweets were very short, including single words, mentions of other users, links or emojis. For the further analysis regarding sentiment only the evaluable tweets will be considered. The statistical analysis is based on the sum of the values from the AFINN lexicon for each tweet.

Gender Identification

The process of gender identification, adopted in this study, orients oneself towards the work of Vicente et al. (2018). Deducing the gender of a Twitter user is necessary, as the information Twitter provides about its users, is limited. The only required field for a user profile is a user name. Besides this, further information can be provided by the user through the choice of a screen name, a short description, a profile picture, or the content of the tweets. Here, features are extracted from the user and screen names as well as from the description.

A list with first names associated with gender and number of occurrences was compiled with data from the United States Social Security Administration (Social Security Administration, n.d.). Names with less than 4 characters and less than 150 occurrences in 2019 were excluded to avoid false-positive allocations and to reduce the computational burden. Table 1 states examples of screen names and matched names with genders. As in the last example, it is possible that several names may be allocated.

Screen Name	**Found name**
Rebecca__Rouse	Rebecca (Female)
FloraKingi	Flora (Female)
Ahmadabt212	Ahmad (Male)
trevortjames	Trevor (Male), James (Male)

Table 1: Examples Twitter Screen Names with Matched Names

The description was searched for clues indicating the gender of the user, such as words like "mom", "mother", "wife" (female) or "dad", "daddy", "husband" (male). Table 2 shows random examples for descriptions including gender indications.

Gender	**Identified clue**	**Description**
Female	Mother, wife	Feminist, mother, wife, fan of good wine and good conversation
	Mom, wife	Book lover, mom, wife, ex-Sailor with a sailor's mouth, Dem, RN and rabble rouser
Male	Father, husband	Flawed father & husband. Believe in #EqualityforAll. 🇬🇧 🇨🇮 🇫🇷 🇱🇰 🇵🇪 🇳🇬 are always special places to me. He/Him/#HeforShe. domwilliamsl on Instagram.
	Husband, daddy	Malaysian. LGBT. Activist. Leader. Community Organiser. Human Rights Defender. Husband. Cat's daddy. Cuddler. Listener. Advisor.

Table 2: Examples Twitter Description with Gender Clues

Sample three in Table 2 reveals an additional gender reference. "He/Him" is an example for a so-called pronoun introduction, where people state their preferred pronouns, thus recognizing that gender is complex and that non-binary people are not alienated (Mahdawi, 2019). The description was additionally searched for the terms "she/her", "she/they", "he/him" and "he/they", the first two as female, the last two as male indications.

In total, 49.9% of all users were assigned a gender, of which 25.5% are female and 24.4% male. The balance may be caused by the topic at hand, as Twitter has a higher proportion of male users, even though the gender bias is getting smaller (Mislove et al., 2011).

There are two significant limitations to the described method for inferring gender. First, from a viewpoint of accuracy the method does not always provide a clear distinction. User and screen name may be freely chosen, thus not be related to any name in the list of the Social Security Administration. As previously mentioned, several names may be matched to one name, resulting in ambiguity. A description is not mandatory (92% of the users in the sample have a description) and may not contain information usable for gender identification.

Second, the binary division does not consider the fluid relationship between the biological sex and the gender identity (Blevins & Mullen, 2015). Especially in the dataset at hand, users may not locate themselves within a binary division of male and female, but see themselves as trans person, queer, or bisexual. Therefore, the results need to be interpreted with caution in the context of social and cultural practices.

Results

The discussion of the results is split firstly, into the presentation of the sentiment analysis. Secondly, the gender assignment is integrated and finally the emojis are analyzed in relation to the context of the sentiment and gender mapping.

Sentiment

The average sentiment value of a tweet is positive with a mean of 0.1477 and a median of 1. The spread is significant between -51 and +36. 50.1% of the tweets in the sample are positive, 44.4% negative, and 5.5% neutral. In the latter case the evaluation scores of positive and negative words cancel each other out. Figure 1 shows the histogram of the sentiment distribution. It has a long tail on both sides. For clarity it is truncated, ignoring values above +20 and below -20. Less than 0.1% of the cases are excluded.

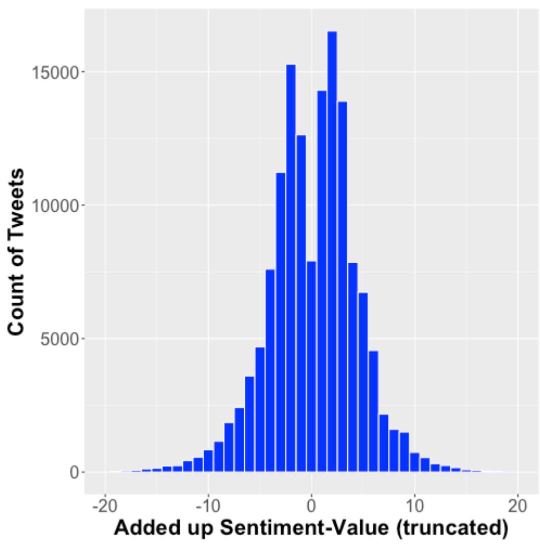

Figure 1: Histogram of Sentiment Values of Tweets (Truncated)

The use of hashtags allows Twitter users to link their contribution to one or several topics. This makes it easier to participate in online discussions. Table 3 shows the top 25 hashtags in the dataset, along with several statistics. In total 20,262 unique hashtags are used, with the 25 most used hashtags making up 40.4% of all mentioned hashtags, indicating a skewed distribution.

No.	Hashtag	Group	N	Average sentiment	No.	Hashtag	Group	N	Average sentiment
1	#internationalwomensday	IWD	8,358	3.3309	14	#womenpower		860	4.1265
2	#feminism	Gen	6,929	1.6193	15	#womensupportingwomen		794	4.1541
3	#iwd2021	IWD	5,047	2.8010	16	#happywomensday	IWD	765	4.8190
4	#womensday	IWD	2,929	3.9190	17	#generationequality		692	2.5943
5	#feminist	Gen	2,764	1.5724	18	#equality	Gen	634	1.7060
6	#twibbon		1,876	5.0011	19	#8m2021		535	1.4737
7	#women		1,778	3.0940	20	#womeninbusiness		513	4.2887
8	#womenshistorymonth		1,744	2.9092	21	#metoo		494	-1.4762
9	#choosetochallenge		1,464	3.4129	22	#inspiration		437	4.1696
10	#womenempowerment		1,396	4.1382	23	#womensday2021	IWD	411	4.8873
11	#iwd	IWD	1,373	2.7854	24	#love		408	3.4200
12	#girlpower		1,093	4.3127	25	#auratmarch2021		392	0.6335
13	#internationalwomensday2021	IWD	891	3.7205					

Note: IWD: Internatinal Women's Day; Gen: General; 8M: Aurat March

Table 3: Most Used Hashtags with Statistics (Sorted by Frequency)

Several hashtags can be grouped as they represent the same topic. Primarily the International Women's Day is mentioned with seven different hashtags, three of them in the top four. The general hashtags covering feminism (#feminism, #feminist, #equality) show significantly lower sentiment values, indicating how controversial the topic is discussed. Lower values are only received by the hashtag #metoo, with the only negative evaluation, which is comparable to Schneider and Carpenter (2017), and the hashtags #8M2021 and #auratmarch2021. #8M2021 combines the fight against patriarchy with the one against capitalism. The Aurat March is a political demonstration organized in Pakistan also annually on March 8th.

The hashtag #twibbon deserves special attention. It relates to a website for organizing campaigns, where users can support causes, brands, or organizations[1]. It allows to add short text, logos, or a colored ring to the Twitter profile image of a user, to show that he or she is sympathetic with a statement. It is also possible to send a preset tweet via one's own account. For the "Violeta feminista", a Spanish speaking campaign related to feminism, an identical tweet was sent out about 1,872 times within the period of data collection. This explains the highest sentiment score of the inspected hashtags.

Gender and Sentiment

For the following part of the analysis, only tweets are considered with a gender-assigned user and where a sentiment calculation was possible. These amount to 71,740 tweets, which are about 50.3% of all tweets. Table 4 gives an overview of the distribution by gender and sentiment category.

[1] https://twibbon.com/

Sentiment Category	Number of Tweets		Average Sentiment of the Tweets	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Positive Sentiment	19,572 – 52.1%	16,589 – 48.6%	3.57	3.42
Neutral Sentiment	1,965 – 5.2%	2,077 – 6.1%	0	0
Negative Sentiment	16,057 – 42.7%	15,480 – 45.3%	-3.66	-3.61
Total	**37,594**	**34,146**	**0.29**	**0.03**

Table 4: Number of Tweets by Gender and Average Sentiment Value

By inspecting the distribution, two aspects become noticeable. Firstly, the proportion of positive tweets is higher when written by female users, while correspondingly male users have a higher share of negative tweets. Secondly, the results show that male users have a significantly more negative sentiment value ($t(71.453) = -8.3131$, $p < .001$). A closer inspection reveals that the average sentiment of the negative tweets is slightly lower for female users ($t(31.535) = 1.744$, $p = .08$), while the mean of the positive ones is significantly higher for females ($t(35.628) = -5.6146$, $p < .001$). This indicates that, while both genders write similar negative tweets, women write more positive ones when it comes to feminism.

It is difficult to identify the sources for the different sentiment values by female and male Twitter users. Several sources on the word and on the topic level are possible, resulting in an elusive mixture of interacting causes. Looking at the usage of the AFINN words by gender, a slight shift in the distribution can be observed. Female users have a higher proportion of positive AFINN words, while the distribution of male users is shifted to a marginal higher share of negative AFINN words. Examples are the words "love", "happy", "thank" or "support", which were used more by female users, or, on the other hand, "anti", "wrong" or "racism" used by male users.

A variety of topics are discussed, which are related to feminism, like toxic masculinity, identity politics, sex workers or the movie Moxie, to name but a few. Different evaluations between genders become apparent for a discussion about feminism and racism related to the pop star Taylor Swift and the behavior of her fans (called "Swifties"). The average sentiment value is significantly lower for female users compared to male users (-.51 vs. 3.3; $t(151.3) = -3.5935$, $p < .001$). The topic of Women's History Month is also less positively assessed by female Twitter users (2.30 vs. 2.94; $t(1087.4) = -2.6438$, $p < .01$). This does not mean that women see for example the Women's History Month in a less positive way, but that in some cases they use the issue to bring up controversial topics to promote a discussion. Further research is necessary to analyze this style of debate in a deeper way. Context analysis may be a more practical research method, compared to the empirical approach applied in this study.

Emojis

In 13.6% of all tweets at least one emoji is used. The average usage in these tweets is 1.97 emojis. The distribution shows a long tail, with a maximum of 67 emojis in one tweet. These are exceptions. When it comes to different emojis used, in average 1.42 different emojis are incorporated, with a maximum of 26 in one tweet. From a user perspective, around 17% use an emoji at least ones. This is below previous results (Ljubešić & Fišer, 2016). The variability is rather small, as in average 1.54 different emojis were adopted by a user.

Table 5 shows the 35 most used emojis in the dataset. Shown is the total number, the number by gender, and the rank of usage by gender. Rank 1 indicates that this is the most used emoji of female or male Twitter users. Please note that the numbers for female and male do not add up for total usage. The latter uses the entire dataset, while for female and male numbers only the part of the dataset was processed, where a gender allocation was possible.

No.	Emoji	N	N Female	N Male	Rank Female	Rank Male	No.	Emoji	N	N Female	N Male	Rank Female	Rank Male
1	😂	4.532	947	1,167	1	1	**19**	💪	413	118	72	20	23
2	😭	2.773	677	438	3	3	**20**	💕	399	123	67	19	24
3	🤣	2.593	547	644	4	2	**21**	🥺	394	111	80	22	20
4	❤️	1.654	501	296	5	4	**22**	🤡	384	76	100	34	16
5	♀️	1.169	775	93	2	17	**23**	😁	367	88	72	28	23
6	👇	1.047	377	229	6	7	**24**	💖	342	102	73	23	22
7	🙄	1.027	293	246	8	5	**25**	✊	339	82	52	30	30
8	💜	989	332	165	7	10	**26**	👍	337	68	110	38	15
9	✨	928	284	148	9	12	**27**	😌	327	116	48	21	33
10	👏	708	180	198	13	8	**28**	🥴	302	92	67	25	24
11	😍	657	204	128	10	14	**29**	😊	288	86	58	29	29
12	🤔	632	153	170	15	9	**30**	😩	288	81	27	31	50
13	💀	620	131	147	17	13	**31**	💯	286	100	66	24	25
14	🕊️	619	187	231	12	6	**32**	😐	284	86	30	29	47
15	🥰	530	194	76	11	21	**33**	🤮	278	73	49	36	32
16	🙏	529	125	90	18	18	**34**	😅	273	55	64	48	26
17	🔥	524	168	87	14	19	**35**	🙌	263	78	49	32	32
18	☮️	436	137	159	16	11							

Table 5: 35 Most Often Used Emojis, Split by Gender

The most used emojis correspond with the overall distribution of emojis on Twitter as recorded by the Emojitracker[2]. There are a few exceptions, which are related to the topic of feminism, like e.g., ♀️ or ☮️.

From a gender perspective more female than male users insert at least one emoji into their tweets (18.3% vs. 14.5%). When emojis are used, there is no difference in average emojis per tweet ($t(8273.6) = .71514$, $p = .4745$), but a difference in unique emojis applied ($t(10.684) = 2.1195$, $p = .0341$). Female users show a higher variety of emojis.

When grouping the emojis by gender several clusters become visible. Women use the female sign ♀️ much more often than men. They also use positive faces more often (😍 🥰 😌 😊), but also negative ones (😩 😐 🤮). Additionally, different heart symbols (💕 ❤️ 💖 💜) are used regularly. This indicates a bigger range of emotional expressions. On the male side it is of interest, that laughing faces (🤣 😂 😅) along with the thinking face emoji 🤔 and the skull 💀 are used frequently, even in absolute numbers more than women. This is especially relevant, as the total number of emojis used by men is lower. The laughing faces indicate that some men deride the topic of feminism and gender equality. This study focuses on a quantitative methodology and cannot provide an in-depth content analysis. Thus, further research is necessary to further analyze this finding.

Following the analysis of the numerical usage of emojis, the focus is now on the sentiment value of the emojis itself and their relationship to each other. To calculate the sentiment value of an emoji, all tweets including the considered emoji are taken and again filtered by tweets

[2] https://www.emojitracker.com/

having a sentiment value based on the unigrams. The emoji sentiment value is then the mean of all isolated tweets sentiment values. The calculated value is then correlated with the emoji sentiment lexicon from Novak et al. (2015). A strong and significant correlation was found with $r(105) = .70$, $p < .001$. This indicates that the emojis used in the dataset are used in a comparable way to their usage in general tweets and it supports the evaluation method. Only emojis are considered, which appeared in at least 25 evaluated tweets, resulting in 107 emojis.

The analysis was repeated by gender. The correlation between female and male emoji sentiment values is moderately positive and significant, with $r(197) = .56$, $p < .001$. This shows that female and male Twitter users use the emojis in a slightly different context.

Next the correlation between emojis is analyzed. Two emojis are correlated if they appear regularly in the same tweet. The analysis was limited to emojis with at least 50 appearances. Table 6 shows the highest correlating emojis.

No.	Emoji 1	Emoji 2	Correlation
1	☮️	🕊️	0.97
2	⚧️	🏳️‍⚧️	0.94
3	🇺🇦	🎬	0.81
4	😢	💥	0.60
5	✊🏻	✊🏼	0.35 to 0.26
	✊🏽	✊🏾	
	✊🏿		
6	🏳️‍⚧️	🏳️‍🌈	0.29 to 0.27
	⚧️	🏳️‍🌈	
7	🧡	💛	0.27 to 0.26
	💜	💚	
8	🇮🇳	💯	0.27

Table 6: Highest Correlating Emojis

The two highest correlations are achieved by pairs of synonym symbols (peace symbol – peace dove; transgender symbol – transgender flag). The following two pairs are related to feminist topics. In both cases nearly identical tweets have been send by different users. The first is refering to Lesya Ukrainka, a former Ukrainian female writer and feminist activist and the development of an animation film based on one of her poems. The second pair is a generic tweet for the International Women's Day. The same applies to pair number eight. The fists with different skin tone indicate the diverse struggle for equality. The rainbow flag (or LGBT pride flag) is correlated to the transgender flag and symbol, referring to the proximity of both movements. Finally, the different colored hearts are related. Table 5 shows that red- or purple-colored hearts are used much more often, but these are used regularly in a stand-alone fashion. The use of the correlation of emojis can be helping to identify current topics.

Conclusions

This study focused on the language used by male and female Twitter users when discussing feminism. The analysis of the sentiment values of tweets and the incorporated emojis provide interesting findings. Women on average seem to be more supportive to other women (Bogen et al., 2019; Schneider & Carpenter, 2018), but on the same side also more critical to foster discussions about ongoing topics related to feminism. A part of male users seems to be trying to disdain feminism, while another part shows support. This support seems to be less constructive as it does less often try to assist the discussion. These findings are underlined by the exploration of the emojis. Furthermore, the sentiment of the tweet correlates to the sentiment of the emojis used in that tweet, supporting previous research (Novak et al., 2015). The correlation of emojis among each other showed several synonymous emojis but can also facilitate topic identification.

Speaking about the limitations of this study several aspects need to be mentioned. Firstly, the gender classification, as a crucial element of the study, is not entirely accurate (Vicente et al., 2018). Moreover, the classification into binary groups of male or female does not recognize fluid relationships of gender identity. The results need to be interpreted carefully in the context of social or cultural practices (Blevins & Mullen, 2015). In the dataset at hand, intersections to the LGBTIQ+ community can be found. Secondly, the dataset stems from Twitter. Other platforms, where similar discussions are taking place, are not covered. Furthermore, non-English tweets were excluded, limiting the cultures involved and thus the attitudes towards feminism. A third limitation, which is related to the previous one, is the demographics of Twitter users. Densely populated areas, male and Caucasian users are overrepresented (Mislove et al., 2011). These points confine the generalizability of the findings.

Future research can tackle these topics by focusing on other cultures and languages. In this analysis, greater differences in genders' communication were revealed when looking on the emojis than on the linguistic analysis. Here, a deeper insight into the assigned meaning of emojis for both genders can be of interest. Finally, the differentiation into more groups, like trolls, neutral or indifferent males, females or activists is of high relevance. This study was only able to identify glimpses of these groups.

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"Fraternal and Sisterly Love": Observing Disintegration and Resilience in The Tenant of Wildfell Hall and Shirley

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Abstract
The Brontës in 1845 were a tight-knit community in Haworth of three grown-up sisters and a brother – Charlotte, Emily, Anne, and Branwell. In chapter 33, "And you," Jane Eyre passionately claims to St. John, "cannot at all imagine the craving I have for fraternal and sisterly love." The fictional Jane Eyre, the orphan, is the protagonist of *Jane Eyre* (1847), written by Charlotte Brontë. While the three sisters took up pseudonyms of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell and each published novels independently, the writings in *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* and *Shirley* are more telling about their tender "fraternal and sisterly love" for each other. In 1848, Anne depicted her "fraternal love" for Branwell, who was addicted to drink and drugs, in her second and last novel, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall.* Tragedy strikes as he died of tuberculosis in 1848, followed a few months after by Emily. Subsequently, Anne died in 1849. Surviving with her father, Charlotte continued writing and publishing the work now known as *Shirley* (1849). Although not an orphan, Jane Eyre's "craving" for "sisterly love" is apparent in Charlotte Bronte's novel *Shirley.* Critics have suggested that Caroline Helstone is modeled after her sister Anne in her severe illness. *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* and *Shirley* testify "fraternal and sisterly love" delved in *Jane Eyre*, as well as the resilience to carry on through life by writing literature.

Keywords: Brontës, Rivers, Jane Eyre, The Tenant of Wildfell Hall, Shirley, Sickness, Resilience, Haworth Parsonage, Writing, Literature

I. Introduction: Haworth, The Glass Town, and the Angrian Saga

Although there are many talented writers, few writers come from the same family generation, such as the Brontës. The compositions of the Brontës have surfaced in new scholarly editions promoting the not widely known Angrian saga and the Glass Town stories written in their home, Haworth Parsonage. The new limelight upon Branwell Brontë's once-obscure writings has provided new insights between the other siblings and their interactions through mutual storytelling. Enjoying their imaginative and passionate excursions through literature was an outlet to enhance their literary aptitudes. The close coterie of budding writers dares to write during all sorts of adversities. The Brontë siblings created various chronicles and stories of interest to the multitudes of readers: "They developed a rich fantasy life amongst themselves, constructing together the imaginary world of Glass Town and writing of it in dozens of microscopically printed 'books'" ("Jane Eyre - Poche").

Although there have been many articles on Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre,* rarely has there been reading of the novel as an autobiographical reflection of the Brontë siblings in the form of the three Rivers siblings – St. John, Diana, and Mary – and their peculiar and eccentric cousin, Jane Eyre. This article contends that *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* and *Shirley* testify "fraternal and sisterly love" delved in *Jane Eyre*. Moreover, the Brontë siblings show that writing literature inculcates resilience to carry on through life's hardships.

II. The Rivers and the Brontës

Although some critics have argued that St. John in *Jane Eyre* embodies Charlotte Brontë's suitors, her brother Branwell is a likely candidate for the author's depiction of St. John. Although the publisher Smith, Elder, and Co, Cornhill marketed the novel as edited by Charlotte Brontë's pseudonym, Currer Bell, *Jane Eyre*'s subtitle as "An Autobiography" on the title page. Moreover, in chapter 33 of the novel, Jane Eyre passionately claims to St. John that "And you, cannot at all imagine the craving I [Jane Eyre] have for fraternal and sisterly love." Jane Eyre's cousins, the Rivers family, consists of Diana, Mary, and St. John. The Rivers family members resemble the Brontës in that there are two sisters and one brother. Interpreted from this context, Charlotte Brontë, the literal embodiment of Jane Eyre who uses the alias of Jane Elliot (so that she might remain hidden from Mr. Rochester), might have seen herself as different or eccentric from other siblings because she is positioned as a family relative – a cousin to the Rivers.

In the words of Du Maurier, Branwell had features such as "the high forehead, the fine Roman nose, the mass of tawny hair so like his [Patrick Bronte] own." In *Jane Eyre,* St. John's features are described in detail:

> Had he been a statue instead of a man, he could not have been easier. He was young—perhaps from twenty-eight to thirty—tall, slender; his face riveted the eye; it was like a Greek face, very pure in outline: quite a straight, classic nose; quite an Athenian mouth and chin. It is seldom, indeed, an English face comes so near the antique models as did his. He might well be a little shocked at the irregularity of my lineaments, his own being so harmonious. His eyes were large and blue, with brown lashes; his high forehead, colourless as ivory, was partially streaked over by careless locks of fair hair. *(Jane Eyre* 308)

Although the fictional Jane describes St. John as different from Du Maurier's description, the inner turmoil and kinship of spirits between Charlotte (the narrative voice, Jane Eyre) and

Branwell (in this case, St. John) are apparent from this passage:

> I was sure St. John Rivers—pure-lived, conscientious, zealous as he was—had not yet found that peace of God which passeth all understanding: he had no more found it, I thought, than had I with my concealed and racking regrets for my broken idol and lost elysium—regrets to which I have latterly avoided referring, but which possessed me and tyrannised over me ruthlessly. (*Jane Eyre* 315)

Moreover, literary critics have shed light on Charlotte and Branwell Brontë's special relationship distinct from the other siblings. Du Maurier claims that "Whatever Branwell read, whatever he was taught, whatever piece of local gossip or general news he picked up during the day, was at once sifted in his mind, discussed with Charlotte, and reproduced on paper." It is well-known that "Charlotte and her brother Branwell invented their shared kingdom of Angria in 1834" ("Jane Eyre - Poche").

In contrast to cold St. John, his sisters, Diana and Mary, are described as amiable as follows:
I could join Diana and Mary in all their occupations; converse with them as much as they wished, and aid them when and where they would allow me. There was a reviving pleasure in this intercourse, of a kind now tasted by me for the first time—the pleasure arising from perfect congeniality of tastes, sentiments, and principles.

I liked to read what they liked to read: what they enjoyed, delighted me; what they approved, I reverenced. (*Jane Eyre* 312)

This passage reminds readers of the close-knit circle between Charlotte and her real sisters, Emily and Anne Bronte. Jane Eyre confesses that "I liked to read what they liked to read," showing that they are kindred spirits who share a common interest in reading and writing books.

There is further supporting evidence that St. John and the Rivers sisters are Bronte family members of Charlotte in the following excerpt:

> "And you," I [Jane Eyre] interrupted, "cannot at all imagine the craving I have for fraternal and sisterly love. I never had a home, I never had brothers or sisters; I must and will have them now: you are not reluctant to admit me and own me, are you?"
>
> "Jane, I will be your brother—my sisters will be your sisters—without stipulating for this sacrifice of your just rights." (*Jane Eyre* 346)

St. John recognizes Jane Eyre's "craving" for "fraternal and sisterly love," and he responds to her that "I will be your brother - my sisters will be your sisters." The strong bond between Jane Eyre and St. John reflects the special relationship between Charlotte and Branwell.

Although connecting contextual information to the text can fulfill the biographical fallacy, knowing such cultural and familial influences can make readers understand what characters initiated writing this novel. A text, particularly a novel marketed with the subtitle of being 'an autobiography' such as *Jane Eyre*, must reflect some aspect of the author's daily experience in Victorian England. The novel's popularity derives from the realistic aspects that reflected the current culture, common personality traits, and prevalent social norms. The characters in the novel do not seem foreign or made up because they can be related to everyday people. Even though connecting the Rivers with the Brontë writers can be criticized for stretching the facts into wild imagination, this framework can be leeway as another lens or channel for interpreting the rich text.

III. Arthur Huntingdon: The Spoilt and Debauched Branwell Brontë

Anne Brontë's novel, published in 1848, was controversial in Victorian England's publishing world. Her elder sister, Charlotte Brontë, prevented the novel from being republished after a year and claimed that her sister Anne had written a work that was "a mistake." Although it was a scandalous subject for Victorian society, readers bought the novel copies within six weeks.

Stevie Davis articulates that Anne Brontë might have been thinking of her brother Branwell while conjuring the character of Arthur Huntingdon. In the "Introduction" of the 1996 Penguin Classics of *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall,* the following passage draws attention to this hypothesis:

> But the author of this historical novel insists in her Preface that this is 'truth': 'I know' that such characters do exist' (p.4) She [Anne Brontë] had lived in books but, at Thorp Green, she had seen at first hand the behavior of the gentry and aristocracy (Branwell liked to boast that the Robinson family was collateral to a Marquis and a Member of the Parliament); Anne's employer would remarry to become Lady Scott. She could say 'I know' because she had lived through a momentous equivalent of the events transcribed in *Wildfell Hall* and had tasted the disgrace of a beloved brother, sharing his disintegration as if she were (as indeed a sister is, in a literal sense) 'one flesh' (xxviii).

Citing from the exact text of Stevie Davis, the following section piques the readers' imagination of what biographical influence might have happened behind the closed doors of Haworth Parsonage:

> She [Anne Bronte] dated her Preface 22 July 1848. Branwell was at home, in advanced stages of addiction. Six days later, Charlotte wrote that his 'constitution is shattered'; 'he sleeps all day' and is 'awake all night.' Two months later, on 24 September, he was dead. Eight months later, the twenty-nine-year-old author of *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* followed him, making a self-commanding Christian death of awesome control and determination: 'Take courage, Charlotte; take courage.'[1] (xxix)

Although this interpretation of Charlotte Brontë disliking or advocating to defend her brother Branwell's reputation might be trustworthy, Anne Brontë fondly describes the fictional double, Arthur Huntingdon, fondly with his merits and faults. Huntingdon is very affectionate, gentle, and loving towards Helen in their courtship. While Helen writes against her husband, Arthur, for his addiction to alcohol, foul language, and violence, she writes in her diary entries (which consists of the main text of the novel) that he once doted upon her in the early stages of marriage.

[1] Ellen Nussey's account to Mrs. Gaskell, SHLL, Vol. II, p.336 (Notes from Stevie Davis's 1996 Introduction to *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*)

Iv. 'Take Courage, Charlotte; Take Courage'

Although not an orphan, Jane Eyre's "craving" for "sisterly love" is apparent in Charlotte Brontë's novel *Shirley.* Critics that have suggested that Caroline Helstone is modeled after her sister Anne Brontë in severe illness. Ann-Marie Richardson, in her article, voices that Caroline Helstone is a merging of the real-life siblings of Branwell and Anne Brontë:

> If Caroline Helstone was a reflection of what Branwell could have been, she was also an echo of Anne Brontë as she was. The feminine foil for Shirley, just as Anne was for Emily, she is obedient and beautiful and a vision of how Charlotte perceived her youngest sister. Charlotte identified Anne in such angelic, if often insipid, terms that upon her death in 1849 she wrote to William Smith Williams stating she felt able to "let Anne go to God and felt He had a right to her" ([1849] 1997,237). While she could not rescue Anne herself from death, she would protect the character she inspired. (17)

Richardson reflects that the death of her brother and two sisters in Shirley is "guarding her siblings in fiction in a way she could not in life" (30).

V. Conclusion: Writing as a Rite of Passage to Resilience

The Brontë family shared a common interest in embarking on imaginative excursions. Examining Brontë Quatro's work differently from this article would enliven discussions on how texts are intertextual. Charlotte Brontë, the well-known author of *Jane Eyre*, shapes an orphan figure whose cousins resemble her real-life siblings. Similarly, Anne Brontë draws upon Branwell's addiction to drink and drugs culminating in his early demise by her elusive creation, Arthur Huntington. The fictional Huntington is a lovable and affectionate husband to Helen despite his faults.

A definition of resilience is: "The capacity to remain flexible in our thoughts, feelings, and behaviors when faced by a life disruption, or extended periods of pressure, so that we emerge from difficulty stronger, wiser, and more able" (Pemberton 2). In short, it is one's ability to bounce back and face hardships rather than crumble or disintegrate. Although it is easier said than done, resilience is valuable for the growth of character. Rebounding after failure is challenging. Following her brother, Branwell, and her sisters, Emily and Anne's untimely death, Charlotte Brontë overcomes the grief of losing her origin of courage - her "fraternal and sisterly love" - by writing *Shirley*. Composing literature in the face of sorrow, grief, and loss is not an easy feat, and it deserves recognition as a trajectory towards resilience.

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Filipino American Identity Development in Something in Between

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Abstract
Identity development is essential in all human lives. Adolescents who are members of ethnic minority groups are seemingly more confused about their identity. This paper was to explore Filipino American identity development of the main character, Jasmine de Santos, in Melissa de la Cruz's *Something in Between*. It is analyzed within the theoretical framework of Jean Kim's Asian American Identity Development, the concept of Homi K. Bhabha's hybridity, and Edward Said's Otherness. In *Something in Between*, De la Cruz uncovers the issues of ethnic identity development that responds to the modern and multicultural society in the U.S. Although Jasmine acknowledges her minority status at first, cultural conflicts and contacts with the White majority cause Jasmine difficulties in identifying herself and leads her to have negative attitudes toward her ethnicity. However, political involvement helps her overcome her identity conflict and develops a full sense of her ethnic identity. Jasmine represents herself as a Filipino American—the hybrid—who is inseparably positioned between American and Filipino standpoint. Hybridity is found as the key concept rendering Jasmine's new life perspective and enabling Jasmine to merge her strong sense of being Filipino American into other identities.

Keywords: Asian American, Ethnic Identity, Young Adult Novel, Diversity

Introduction

Identity development is essential in all human lives because identity impacts on several facets of living. Therefore, enabling individuals to develop identity is crucial. The developmental task can be critical throughout the lifespan, but significantly approached when adolescence begins (Arnett, 2006; Ferrer-Wreder & Kroger, 2019; Kroger, 2006). However, identity development in adolescence can be complex. Bemused amid social shifts and pressures, young individuals are at risk of heading to the wrong directions to overcome “a war within themselves” to achieve a true identity (Erikson, 1968, p. 17). Accordingly, understanding the development of identity in adolescences is useful to help youngsters strive to adulthood successfully and safely (Tekeng, 2008). Particularly, adolescents who are members of ethnic minority groups are seemingly more confused about their identity. Young ethnic minorities are likely to struggle to identify who they truly are and which set of cultures they belong to because the set of two different values, the original and the mainstream, adds extra burden to the development of identity (Phinney, 1989). In order to prevent low self-esteem and identity loss, Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) underlines that ethnic identity, which is a sense of belonging in an ethnic group and the pride in being an ethnic minority, is pivotal in helping ethnic minority adolescents manage their overall positive identity. Thus, facilitating ethnic identity among young ethnic minorities is requisite. A simple study of ethnic identity development in adolescence is to observe ethnic minority adolescents’ lives directly. However, another form to study is investigating the stories of young ethnic minority characters and their ethnic identity development through the literary world.

Young adult (YA) literature is one of the most influential and valuable genres speaking for today's teens (Elmore, 2017). As commonly depicted in YA literature, characters mirror the lives of people in reality. For this reason, YA literature can be a great tool to study adolescent lives through fictional characters and stories, especially in YA novels. The theme of teens being different and struggling to fit in is the leading trend in YA novels (Koss & Teale, 2009). This means YA works reflect adolescent characters who are confused due to being different and alienated. These characters involve the ethnic minority adolescents who dwell on diverse cultural settings and cope with the clash of the original and the dominant culture. Therefore, studying ethnic identity development of young ethnic minorities through characters in YA novels can be an alternative to understand ethnic identity and its development.

Interestingly, there have been major efforts to study ethnic identity development among young fictional characters of different ethnic groups. Asian American characters, as well as other ethnic groups, have also been center of attention in YA novels. Noticeably, most Asian American YA novels portray young Chinese and Japanese American characters. The portrayal of young lives of other Asian American subgroups, like Southeast Asian Americans, is still ignored and much less mentioned than other Asian descents in YA novels. This is evident regarding to Southeast Asian American characters. This causes Southeast Asian Americans to be overlooked and unexplored to the extent that they continue to be recognized as ‘the others’ or ‘forever foreigners’ (Reyes, 2017). In this regard, studying ethnic identity development of young Southeast Asian American characters in YA novels can be another possibility to understand young Southeast Asian Americans and avoid pitfalls of generalization of all Asian American subgroups as one entity (Kobayashi, 1999; Tanujaya, 2019).

Among YA novels with Southeast Asian American characters in the late 2010s, *Something in Between* written by Melissa de la Cruz is one of the notable works that highlights being young member of ethnic minority groups and growing up as a Southeast Asian American. The novel is about a story of Jasmine de Santos who is a young Filipino immigrant encountering the downsides of being an ethnic minority. Jasmine has to navigate a new outlook to identify herself while being caught amid questions as to who she truly is and where she belongs. In respect of the writer, De la Cruz writes several critically acclaimed books and award-winning YA novels and publishes short stories for renowned sources of reading for teens. On the grounds of the writer's credibility and the popularity of her works, *Something in Between* is selected to study ethnic identity development.

Ethnic Identity Development

Identity is the conscious sense of self that is developed through social interactions and experiences based on group membership (Tajfel, 1981). Erikson, viewed as the pioneer of identity theory, believes that identity is discovered during adolescence and the loss of identity can cause vulnerability and depression. Based on Erikson's theory, Marcia proposes four identity statuses of development. He agrees that identity occurs in adolescence but argues that identity is developed through individual experiences, exploration and commitment. Nevertheless, neither Erikson nor Marcia clearly relates their theories to sociological factors that influence the process of identity development in adolescence, such as ethnicity or multicultural facets. Accordingly, in connection with modern psychology and cultural diversity, it is drawn into consideration not to neglect the adolescents who belong to multiple ethnic groups and obtain culturally diverse settings. To overcome this limitation, there are many scholars proposing new concepts and models of ethnic identity development.

Ethnic identity can be defined as: feelings of belonging and commitment, attitudes towards one's group, or the sense of shared values and attitudes (Phinney, 1990). The development of ethnic identity has been studied widely. As a result, there are many proposed models of ethnic identity development. Most of the models share similarities with the early works, not independent from Eric Erikson's theory on identity and James Marcia's identity statuses. Among these models, Phinney's stages of ethnic identity development is the most broadly recognized in studies on ethnic identity development (Côté, 2009). Nonetheless, there is more subtle and discrete information in the subject of ethnic minority groups. Thus, more theories on each minority groups are proffered. In relation to Asian Americans, Jean Kim (1981) postulates five stages of Asian American identity development. The first stage is discovery of ethnic awareness; individuals are exposed to their ethnic values and activities. The second is white identification, which is realization of differentness and alienation from self and society. The following is gaining new political perspective about being ethnic minority, called "awakening to sociopolitical consciousness." The latter stage is redirection to Asian American consciousness; immersion in cultural values is built, and appreciation of ethnic experience is cultivated. The final stage, incorporation, is when individuals blend their identity with the rest of their identities.

In this study, Kim's Asian American identity development is a central framework applied to investigate Jasmine's ethnic identity development. In addition to Kim's Asian American identity development, two relevant concepts will be used to better explain Jasmine's ethnic identity development and ground this study firmly in theoretical constructs: Edward Said's Otherness and Homi Bhabha's hybridity concept.

Filipino American Identity Development in *Something in Between*

From the start, Jasmine acknowledges Filipino culture and traditions. Her positive awareness of being an ethnic minority is primarily raised by her family members and relatives, which is related to an early critical stage in Jean Kim's Asian American identity development. Jasmine primarily considers herself as an American as she grows up in California and vaguely recalls her toddler years in the Philippines. Though perceiving herself as an American, Jasmine is confident and comfortable in being an ethnic minority because she has her parents and relatives as the significant source of her ethnic awareness. Jasmine's parents often speak Tagalog to her and regularly cook traditional Filipino food for her with the intention to teach Jasmine about her original culture. As a result, Jasmine is well-aware of her Filipino origin as she assures herself: "Winning at the meritocracy is my American dream. A successful career and a handsome husband. A family. I'm old-fashioned that way, maybe because I'm Filipino" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 15). Jasmine feels positive and proud of her Filipino origin and the Philippines. She successfully paints a beautiful picture of her native country as she lingers on the Philippines, "I try to remind myself to not to be so negative about my native country. Despite the poverty and the government corruption, the Philippines is a place of such natural beauty" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 348).

However, Jasmine's confidence in being an ethnic minority is shaken when she has contact with white people. According to Kim (1981), direct effects in association with the White majority is the second stage in Asian American identity development, which leads to inner battles or identity crisis. This idea is shown in the case of Jasmine's contact with the White. At first, Jasmine is positive about being different among the White society. Jasmine is aware that she is physically different from the White majority, but she neither sees the difference as a problem nor feels inferior for being physically different. This can be because Jasmine is respected by the school's cheer squad. The squad fills Jasmine with admiration as they tease Jasmine at a cheer practice, "You're so perfect, Jasmine. You do everything right. You were junior class president. Cheer captain. Honor roll. Volunteering. Don't you ever get tired?" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 10).

Jasmine's attitudes toward herself totally changes after she learns that her family is undocumented immigrants. Jasmine finds out that all of the family members are not permanent residents nor American citizenship holders. Unprepared and confused by the truth, Jasmine suffers from her inner conflicts; she is unconfident about who she truly is and where she belongs. Her self-perception begins to shake. She thereafter reveals the truth about her family's immigrant status to her peers, "I'm not an American. I'm not here legally" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 177). The revelation leads to Jasmine's greater exposure to prejudices, which causes changes in her worldview.

The first encounter that weakens Jasmine's confidence is the incident at the immigration court. Jasmine is disrespectfully treated by Judge Reynolds. After Mr. Alvarado, Jasmine's family's lawyer, illustrates Jasmine's excellent academic performance and her leadership capabilities as a cheerleading captain to the Court, Judge Reynolds replies, "Yes, yes. You're right. Our country is in dire need of more cheerleaders" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 298). The Judge's satire and devaluation on cheerleaders send a negative message to Jasmine. She describes her feeling as 'ashamed' and 'belittled' for being disparaged as a cheerleader after the hearing at the immigration court. Moreover, Mason, Jasmine's boyfriend's brother, insults Jasmine and her family with demeaning labels such as 'boat people,' 'forever outsider' and 'unwelcome strangers.' In other words, Jasmine is perceived as 'the other' as in Edward Said's idea that the

West constructs certain negative images about the Orient (as cited in Mohrem, 2020). This is also evidently seen at the party as Isko, Jasmine's brother, are called 'FOB' or 'fresh off the boat' and told to go back to "the stupid island" with Jasmine (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 263). According to Goleman (2006), the phrase 'fresh off the boat' is a derogatory term describing immigrants who are unable to assimilate into the customs, the language, or culture of the host country. Among ethnic minority groups in the U.S., the term is considered politically incorrect and offensive (Sturgeon and Wilson, 2005).

Jasmine's painful experiences as above-mentioned provoke her sense of framing her world in terms of duality. In other words, Jasmine reflects her world in the mode of binarism, which sees the binary opposition in the case of Jasmine. Her views are shaped in a combination of binary opposites. The most obvious binary opposition is White/Non-White or Filipino/American as she is a Filipino-born American against those American Whites. Additionally, Jasmines finds the opposition of upper class/lower class, powerful/powerless and dominant/dominated in contact with the White majority. These binaries become clearer to Jasmine when she meets high-ranking Congressman Blakely, her boyfriend's father, for the immigration support. Jasmine describes the Blakely's world as the opposite of hers. While Congressman Blakely is likely to have political power to overturn the immigration Judge's decision, Jasmine and her family are powerless to persuade the immigration Judge to merely listen to them in the court. Meeting Congressman Blakely simply reflects the binary structure of domination, which is "one counting on the other one intricately" (Ashcroft et. al., 2007, p. 20). Undoubtedly, Jasmine is situated in the 'less' or 'inferior' position, hence 'lower' and 'powerless.' As Jasmine soliloquizes, "his dad is a congressman who thinks all documented immigrants should be deported" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 52). In addition, the conversation she has with Royce, her boyfriend, before the final deportation hearing confirms that she feels inferior and smaller as she says, "I feel like I'll be less of a person if I move back to the Philippines" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 342). In essence, the binary opposition in the eyes of Jasmine is that one term of the opposition transcends the other one (American over Filipino or White over Asian).

Another important aspect in Jasmine's binary view is that Jasmine polarizes people in her life in two groups. She frequently mentions 'like mine,' 'like ours' and 'like yours' when referring to the White and the Rich against herself, as she whispers to Royce, "my parents aren't like yours" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 205). Meeting Royce's family leads Jasmine to believe that she is inferior and viewed as the Other who is not a part of their American society. This is lucid when Jasmine talks to Kayla, her best friend, about Royce, "His family hates families like mine. I can't be with someone like that" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 182). Additionally, her sense of inferiority is clearer being rejected to stay in the U.S., "People like me pour out of it, spilling back over borders because of the way we are all criminalized. We feel like outsiders in our own community, in our own house" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 315). This 'I/You' binary perspective permeates Jasmine's mind and consequently renders the binary concept of Self/Other.

Udah (2019) notes that the perception of self and others is essential in defining oneself and locating one's place in the society. For Jasmine, she and the White majority revolves around the concept of 'Self/Other'—'Self' as the White majority and 'Other' as Jasmine who is the minority—that posits the former as superior and privileged and locates the latter in the inferior and strange position. This idea follows Said's concept of the Other. That is, based on Loomba's (2015) interpretation, Jasmine can be defined as 'the Other,' and the White majority is the 'Self.' With the preexisting notion of immigrants as the invading and unwanted Other (Sorvo, 2015), Jasmine's image of being 'the Other' becomes clearer. Once Jasmine is labeled as 'not

American' among her White American fellows, she feels othered. In this reason, an imaginary borderline between 'us' and 'them' to divide people in two groups in Jasmine's reflection is drawn.

Likewise, Jasmine's binary perspective places herself into another representation of the binary opposition. The Self and the Other within Jasmine's inner struggle can be translated to the Self as the American part and the Other as the Filipino part. In Jasmine's case, she otherizes the Filipino part, considering the part as something that she knows but never as a part of herself. As Jasmine proclaims,

I don't want to go to the Philippines to live. There's nothing there for me. My life is here. [...] I've been here most of my life. I can barely remember the Philippines. I used to think I belonged equally to both cultures, but I'm not really Filipino, and now I'm not quite American either (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 223).

This binary logic of Self/Other causes the overlapping of being Filipino and being American, leaving Jasmine in an obligation to choose between two options. For Jasmine, the fact that she is illegal and not American is a "torture" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 300). Jasmine sees being American as being herself and considers being Filipino as the other part that is not herself. After the court rules that the de los Santos family are aliens and rules in favor of deportation, Jasmine laments, "I know I belong here [America], but the government doesn't think I do. I may look like I belong in the Philippines, but they'll know I'm a fraud too. I can't even speak Tagalog or Ilocano. Neither country will want me" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 301). The frustration shows that Jasmine is caught in a dilemma. She is unable to identify where she belongs and which value she adheres. Her belief is fluctuated and divided into two different parts.

Frustrated and distressed in herself, Jasmine develops a negative evaluation of herself and alienates herself from her White peers because she feels the sense of not belonging. She mirrors herself negatively, "Ha! You thought you were so smart. and now look at you. You suck. You're no one. You're nobody. You're dirt. You're not from here! Go home! Go back to Asia or wherever you're from" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 273). She not only looks at herself negatively but also believes that her White friends and boyfriend thinks of her and her family unfavorably as "a bunch of amusing ethnic people" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 280). Consequently, Jasmine avoids socializing. She admits her own "insecurity about her background" as she confesses to Royce, "I was the one who was embarrassed to be who I was embarrassed about where I come from" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 289). At this point, Jasmine's positive perspective towards her Filipino part is shifted. Her sense of ethnic identity is shaken. According to Kim (1981), this is the result of the increase significant contact with the White society. In order to establish ethnic identity, Jasmine develops new attitudes on herself by eliminating the binary perspective and the vacillation in her mind.

New positive perspective on being an ethnic minority is essential to enable Jasmine to tackle her ethnic identity crisis and remove binary views to progress to the next stage of Kim's Asian American identity development to form her ethnic identity. Kim (1981) states that political understanding and participation in political activity can be important factors facilitating change in self-concept as being a minority. She also notes that there is no one prescribed way to learn from political involvement; being a part of a political action and hearing stories of social-political affairs can be tools to gain political understanding of being an ethnic minority. This idea can be seen in Jasmine's changes in attitudes towards herself and her view on being an ethnic minority. Initially, Jasmine's attitude change is made from understanding being an undocumented ethnic minority through Mrs. Garcia's, the school's collage counselor. She helps Jasmine see a clearer picture of being undocumented in the U.S., as she says, "There are lots of kids who go to this school—and thousands of kids in LA alone—who are undocumented. The sheer number makes it impossible for ICE to deport everyone. You're a good kid. They're not going to bother you" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 246). Mrs. Garcia's words spur Jasmine's realization on being an immigrant. Jasmine opts for positivity and expresses her optimism about her situation after talking Mrs. Garcia: "And talking to Mrs. Garcia is the first time that I really understand there are a lot of people out there facing what I'm going through. I'm not the only one. Or the first. And definitely not the last" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 246). Clearly, for Jasmine, a proper understanding of political circumstance can help make a change in attitude towards herself.

However, major changes in Jasmine's attitudes toward being an ethnic minority occurs because of Millie. She is a prestigious Stanford University alumnus and a patient at the hospital where Jasmine works part-time. Millie enlightens Jasmine on being different through her storytelling as an activist in social political activities in her youth. The story of Millie's engagement in political activities in her juvenile is Jasmine's opportunity to feel relevant and connected to herself in the lens of the other person's experiences. As storytelling enables listeners to understand the core of perplex concepts and ideas (Suzuki et al, 2018), hearing those political acts alerts Jasmine to be positive on herself. She understands that her race is unchangeable, and racism only exists if she allows.

On the grounds of Mrs. Garcia's counselling and Millie's storytelling, Jasmine gains new perspectives on herself as an ethnic minority. Jasmine's self-concept on being an ethnic minority changes from negative to positive, which leads her to defuse her ethnic identity crisis. That is, Jasmine stops resenting herself as an ethnic minority and appears to be proud in herself for being an ethnic minority as well as an immigrant. At this stage, like Kim's ideas, her logic vision on being an ethnic minority finally changes from personal to social perspective. Ultimately, Jasmine is aware that she is an ethnic minority with a mix of Filipino and American essence. She clearly understands and willingly accepts her ethnicity as well as being American to be who she truly is.

Jasmine finally identifies herself as a Filipino American. She is immersed in both Filipino and American parts, which is connected to Kim's idea of redirection to Asian American consciousness. After refocusing on her minority experiences, Jasmine realizes that being Filipino is as important as being American to her but neither leans towards Filipino part nor American part. On the contrary, Jasmine decides to associate herself with both Filipino and American parts. She learns that she belongs to both cultures and consequently works towards defining herself, which is finding a way out of the tension between having to single out one way or another. To find escape from uncertainty, creating her own bicultural identity can be the solution. Having multicultural upbringing and undergoing changes in her attitudes, Jasmine can balance and blend two cultures to make her own place or space. According to Homi Bhabha (1994), living in between two cultures can be referred to hybridity, which is the in-between stage where minorities and immigrants are indeed.

Bhabha's concept of cultural hybridity can be accounted for Kim's idea of immersion in two significant cultures, which is the state where Jasmine discovers her Filipino American identity. This is shown in her speech on the graduation day in which Jasmine addresses, "No one—not the law, not a college admission officer, not your friends, not your teachers or parents or any other people, can define who you are. The only person who can do that is you" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 409). From this perspective, Jasmine allows one space in between her two cultures to create her own place. She clearly develops a full sense of her ethnic identity and represents herself as a Filipino American—the hybrid—who is inseparably positioned between American and Filipino standpoint. Hybridity, at this point, provides Jasmine a way out of her binarism and allows space to structure her Filipino American identity. Jasmine becomes a young confident Filipino American immigrant, who is proud of her rich ethnic history and her uniqueness. She incessantly pursues her American dream and keeps her Filipino tradition. Like the title of the story *Something in Between*, Jasmine finds herself embraced with both Filipino and American identities and firmly places her belief between two values with confidence and certainty. This reflects in a line from her speech at the gradation as she says, "we're all unique creatures" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 408).

As Jasmine develops a clear sense of her Filipino American identity, she can relate herself to all areas in her life without losing sight of her Filipino American identity. This is the final success of Kim's developing Asian American identity development. In this stage, Jasmine is determined to inspire others through her experiences and to evolve as a grown woman with certain and positive attitudes towards being Filipino American. She not only treats experiences as valuable lessons but also attempts to pass on her inspiration found upon minority and immigrant experiences to others. The indication of Jasmine being able to relate herself to different groups of ethnic minorities is first shown after she receives Congressman Blakely's political support:

My mind turned back to the millions of illegal immigrants in this country, waiting and hiding. Trying to stay in American is a game of cat and mouse, a life of working under the table, for less than minimum wage, with no way to report workplace abuses and transgressions. What happens when they get sick? What happened if they're hurt? The sacrifice they are making is enormous. My story is one of many. I feel connected to everyone who has ever tried to move to the United States in search of a better life (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 314).

Her thought reflects that she has compassion and develops a sense of connectedness with others. In addition, Jasmine's strength and confidence in her Filipino American identity is ensured to be rewarding to others as mentioned by Millie who is responsible for Jasmine being awarded a patron grant at Stanford University: "I wanted them to choose an incoming female student who would use her education to give back to the world. The grant committee chose you. You earned it all on your own" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 396). In Millie's faith, Jasmine is a matured young woman whose strong sense of Filipino American identity empowers her to provide love and support for others.

Another compelling evidence is at the end of the story that Jasmine, as a valedictorian of the graduation class, urges her classmates to find their passion, "we need to figure out how to help others too. We have to ask ourselves: what can we do to better ourselves and our country? what can we do to be remembered? who do we want to be?" (De la Cruz, 2016, p. 409). Benefitting from the disfranchised deportations, Jasmine passes on her own profit as a motivation to her schoolfellows to pursue their path of life for personal success and for the prime purpose like the U.S.

Conclusion

The study reveals that Jasmine's approach to Filipino American identity is in relation to Jean Kim's Asian American identity development and in line with Homi Bhabha's hybridity concept, in that she perceives the need of hybridity in regard to defining herself. As seen in the case of Jasmine, she resolves her ethnic identity conflict by forming hybrid identity. Her family plays a vital role in fostering ethnic awareness for Jasmine. Although association with the White majority is likely to distort Jasmine's ethnic pride, her intuitive ethnic awareness and acquiring political understanding are the key factors for her to resort to embrace both American and Filipino elements. She then creates her own space or third space by engrafting upon her two cultures. The space that Jasmine creates is a unique form of ethnic identity located in-between her two influences. The in-between space enables Jasmine to celebrate the difference and diversity and provides her a chance to feel connected with others.

According to Domínguez and López (2003), the third space is "the blending of difference into a whole that does not dissolve the parts" (p. 36). In the study, Jasmine is a good example of a person whose third space or combination of her two parts offers herself the possibility to escape from utter confusion and construct the adaptability to live confidently and interculturally. Clearly for Jasmine, the third space or the creation of a new hybrid entity can help deal with confusion and complication in herself. This can also be beneficial for everyone as all is living in plural worlds these days. Her story proves that ethnic identity—hybrid identity—not only serves as an asset of young ethnic minorities but also functions as a meaningful quality for living in cultural and racial diversity for all individuals.

The findings of this study also show the power of learning through young adult literature. The engaging stories in books stimulate imagination of the lives of others and allow the readers to learn about people as individuals (Rochman, 1993). In other words, young adult literature can be a reminder for readers to explore the lives of others and uncover the feasible ways to master and fulfill lives. Through *Something in Between*, the portrayal of Jasmine can be used as guidelines to teach adolescents. Jasmine can be a role model encouraging young people to discover themselves and form a strong sense of self because it can lead youngsters to have a more fulfilling mindsets and lives. Additionally, young adult novel like *Something in Between* can be added in the classroom of young adult students to teach about diversity and heighten their knowledge in diverse young adult literature. In this way, students can learn through reading the characters' experiences and interpretations of events and characters. Students can apply what they learn to their daily lives.

Notwithstanding that this study focuses on ethnic identity development in a young Filipino American, there are still gaps left for future studies. The further study could focus on other Southeast Asian American groups or other minority groups in other countries. In addition, it will be interesting to study ethnic identity development among different genders to deepen understanding the differences and similarities. Finally, the results and the effects of using diverse young adult literature in classrooms to educate students in diversity should be examined.

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Differences as a Source of Creativity: Friendship between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping

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Abstract

The biography of Wang Hui (1632-1717), a famous seventeenth-century landscapist in China, has been written many times over. While the question of whether to define him as a professional artist or as a scholar-amateur is still being debated, it has not been fully articulated what the sophistication of his identity brought to his work as an artist. Mostly, Wang Hui benefited from his standing at the verge of the professional and amateur realms: he was skilled enough to work professionally on commission, but at the same time, he possessed an intimate understanding of literary nuance. This convergence is evident throughout Wang Hui's career, and particularly in his relationship with Yun Shouping (1633-1690), a more typical scholar-amateur than Wang Hui. Their friendship produced stimulations and inspirations, as well as contradictions and disparities. In realizing the sophistication of Wang Hui himself and of this friendship, both of which represent the intersection of the professional and the scholar-amateur, a new perspective can be revealed in the study of the artist.

Keywords: Wang Hui, Yun Shouping, Chinese Painting, Landscape Painting, Early Qing Dynasty

Introduction

Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717) was born to a family of professional painters in Yushan 虞山 (Changshu, Jiangsu province), in which three generations before him were well-versed in painting.[1] The real turning point in Wang Hui's artistic career occurred when he met the famous literati painters. At the age of nineteen, Wang Hui was accidentally discovered by Wang Jian 王鑒 (1598-1677), an accomplished literati painter from Loudong 婁東 (Taicang, Jiangsu province).[2] Two years later, Wang Jian introduced Wang Hui to his close friend Wang Shimin 王時敏 (1592-1680), another established literati painter. The mentor-protégé relationships and friendships that Wang Hui had formed were very important for the artist in establishing himself as a painter who was active in literati circles.

During the late Ming period, the distinction between scholar-amateurs and professional artists began to blur, which largely resulted from a similar blurring of the lines between commoners and elites in Chinese society.[3] The commercialization of literati paintings further progressed: Suzhou artists who "had once been the exclusive province of the scholar-amateurs now sold their works freely, or produced paintings on commission for the ever-expanding market of the merchant class."[4] It was also in the late Ming dynasty that professional artists began to adopt literati painting styles.[5] During the early Qing dynasty, the possibility of painting as both a literatus and a professional emerged for the first time. It was thus possible that Wang Hui created paintings that appealed to amateur tastes on the one hand, and established his studio to receive commissions and sell his paintings on the other. This is the reason why Wang Hui's presence in literati circles does not seem to have been heterogeneous – his commissioned works were widely accepted and appreciated by the literati.

Wang Hui started by absorbing the calligraphic brushwork of the Yuan masters, especially that of Huang Gongwang 黄公望 (1269-1394), from whom his mentor Wang Shimin had mainly studied.[6] After meeting Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612-1672) and other Nanjing painters, Wang Hui was inspired by their preference for the more descriptive monumental landscape paintings of the Five Dynasties and the Northern Song dynasty.[7] Although he was born in a family of professional artists without formal literary education, Wang Hui showed an aptitude for learning the scholarly interpretation of art and art history, and a deep understanding of the many subtleties of the amateur taste. He gradually found a way to combine the calligraphic and the descriptive, using skillfully rendered forms to represent the poetry from his mind.

The Shadow of the Friendship

Among Wang Hui's contemporaries, he was especially close to Yun Shouping 惲壽平 (1633-1690). By 1656, Wang Hui had already met Yun Shouping, who would later become famous as a poet and a flower painter, and the two became good friends. The earliest record

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1 Wang Lianqi, p. 78.
2 Wang Hui, "Preface," in *Qinghui zengyan*, 1.
3 Smith, p. 35.
4 Yang, p. 12.
5 Fulder, p. 19.
6 Wang Jin, pp. 97-102. Huang Gongwang was one of the Four Masters of the Yuan. His most famous extant work is *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* 富春山居圖, dated 1350.
7 Zhou Lianggong was an art collector and art connoisseur in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties.

of their friendship is dated 1656: on the sixth day of the fourth month, the two young people met at Wang Hui's study, as described in an inscription by Yun Shouping:
春夜，與虞山好友石谷書齋斟茗快談，戲拈柯九思樹石，石谷補竹坡，共為笑樂，時丙申浴佛前二日記。[8]

On one night in the spring, my good friend Shigu (Wang Hui) from Yushan and I drink tea and chat happily at his study. I playfully paint *Trees and Rocks* [in the style of] Ke Jiusi, and Wang Hui adds bamboo and a slope [to the painting].[9] [We paint] together for laughter and pleasure. I record this at the time two days before the Washing Buddhist Statues Day in the Year of Bingshen (1656).[10]

Although many of Yun Shouping's inscriptions, poems, and letters to Wang Hui have survived, Wang Hui is comparatively silent in existing records: his inscriptions were much fewer and shorter than Yun's, and very few of his poems and letters have been preserved. Thus, we cannot learn much about Wang Hui's private relationships and personal feelings directly from his own words. Wang presumably thought about their friendship no less than did Yun, so the disparity in written records is likely due to their differing educational backgrounds and personalities. From Yun's passionate words, a close interaction can be envisioned.

Yun Shouping was no major art collector, but he and Wang Hui elucidated to each other their views on art, which influenced and inspired them both. However, a similar divide would occur between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping: while Wang enjoyed ever more profits from the sale of his paintings, Yun was unwilling to paint for money and spent his later years in poverty. Now it was Yun who could not afford the price of Wang Hui's paintings. While the friendship between the two perhaps cannot be measured by how many paintings Yun acquired from Wang, Yun did complain about the difficulty of obtaining his friend's work. In one case he used an allusion to Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107), regarded as an ideal scholar-amateur of the Song dynasty, to at once satirize and persuade Wang Hui.[11] In an inscription on the mounting paper of Wang Hui's *Autumn Mountains, Red Trees* 溪山紅樹圖 (National Palace Museum, Taipei, Fig. 1), Yun Shouping wrote:
今夏石谷自吳門來，余搜行笈得此幀，驚歎欲絕。石谷亦沾沾自喜，有十五城不易之狀。置余案頭摩娑十餘日，題數語歸之。蓋以西廬老人之矜賞。而石谷尚不能割所愛。矧余輩安能久假。為韞櫝之玩耶。

Shigu (Wang Hui) came from Wumen (Suzhou, Jiangsu province) this summer. I found this painting in his bookcase. I was amazed to death by it. Shigu was also complacent, as if he would not trade this painting for even fifteen cities. I put this painting on my desk and gently played with it for more than ten days. I inscribe these few words and will return the painting. Although the Old Man Xilu (Wang Shimin) praised and appreciated [this painting], Shigu still could not give up his treasure. How can I borrow it for long and enshrine it in my cabinet for enjoyment?

8 Yun Shouping, *Ouxiangguan ji*, 11. 1a.
9 Ke Jiusi 柯九思 (1290-1343) was a Yuan painter who was famous for his paintings of bamboo and rocks.
10 All the translations are those of the author. The Washing Buddhist Statues Day 浴佛日 is on the eighth day of the fourth month, which is said to be the birth date of Shakyamuni Buddha.
11 Mi Fu was famous for his innovation of the conical form of mountains and a dotted pattern which was called "Mi dots."

For a later time, Yun Shouping saw the painting again and inscribed on it for the second time: 偶過徐氏水亭，見此幀乃為金沙潘君所得，既怪嘆且妒甚。不對賞音，牙徽不發。豈西廬南田之矜賞，尚不及潘君哉。米顛據舷而呼，信是可人韻事，真足效慕也。但未知石谷他日見西廬南田，何以解嘲。

I passed the water pavilion of Mr. Xu by accident and found that this painting was obtained by Mr. Pan from Jinsha (Wuhan, Hubei province). I felt strange, sighed, and was very jealous. If one is not faced with a person who appreciates his music, one does not play his zither. How can the praise and appreciation of Xilu (Wang Shimin) and Nantian (Yun Shouping) fail to compete even with that of Mr. Pan? The Mania Mi (Mi Fu) leaned on one side of the boat and shouted; [now I] believe that the charming gentleman made that poetic gesture, and he truly deserved my imitation and admiration. Only I do not know how he will escape the ridicule, when one day Shigu sees Xilu and Nantian?

It is said that Mi Fu was so obsessed with painting and calligraphy that once, to obtain a piece of calligraphy that he loved, Mi Fu shouted that he would jump from a boat into the river if the owner did not give the piece to him.[12] Yun Shouping likens himself to Mi Fu, lamenting that he is so obsessed with Wang Hui's painting that he wants to do the same. However, the allusion is meant not only as a poetic gesture to follow, but also as satire: Yun suggests that he has no choice but to follow Mi's behavior because Wang did not give his paintings as gifts to those who truly appreciated his work, like Wang Shimin and Yun Shouping himself.

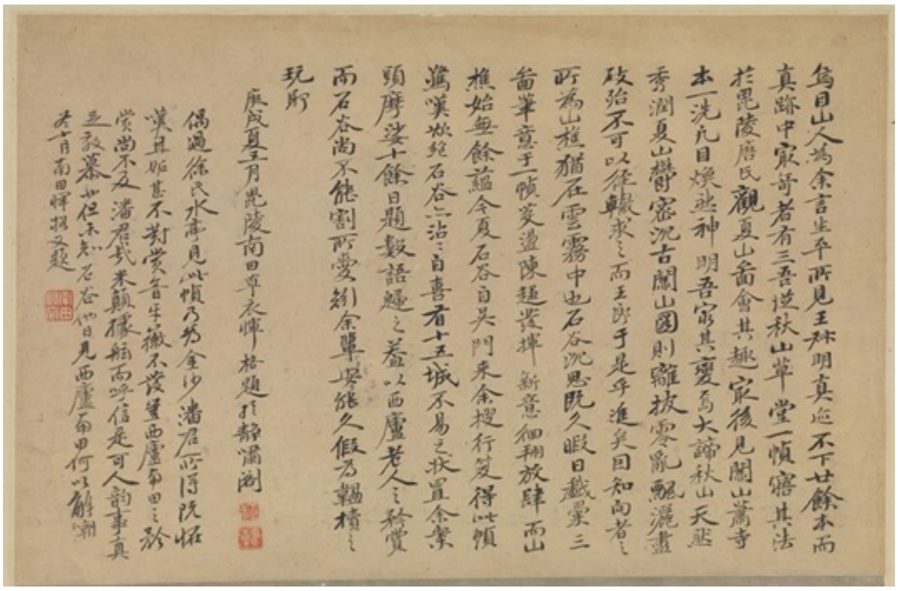

Figure 1: Yun Shouping's inscriptions on the mounting paper of Wang Hui's *Autumn Mountains, Red Trees* 溪山紅樹圖, dated 1670. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 112.4 x 39.5 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

The distinction between the professional and the scholar-amateur, though largely blurred, was still an essential difference between Wang Hui and Wang Shimin. Wang Hui's standing rose along with the market's demand for art, at a time when literati were selling their paintings while professionals were imitating literati aesthetics. The old conventions had changed: painting for profit did not decrease its literary and artistic value. While the ideal of paintings

[12] Zhou Hui, *Qingbo zazhi*, 5. 10a.

done as personal gifts was still appealing to Yun Shouping, this notion held no great significance for Wang Hui.

The Light of the Friendship

Wang Hui might have once responded to Yun Shouping's expectation. Still, few records indicate that Wang commonly made presents of his paintings to Yun. It seems more likely that in most respects, Wang Hui had not changed. Painting to him was still a craft which he had used to make a living throughout his life, and he did not usually give his paintings away even to Yun. However, these differences did not deter their friendship, which continued until Yun's death in 1690. In his inscription for Wang Hui's *Night Parasol Trees, Autumn Shadows* 晚梧秋影圖, dated 1686 (Palace Museum, Beijing, Fig. 2), Yun writes:
与石谷立池上，商論繪事，極賞心之娛。時星漢晶然，清露未下，暗覩梧影，輒大叫曰好墨葉好墨葉。因知北苑巨然房山海嶽點墨最淋漓處，必濃澹相兼，半明半暗。乃造化先有此境，古匠力為摹倣，至于得意忘言，始洒脫畦徑，有自然之妙，此真我輩無言之師。王郎酒酣興發，戲為造化留此景致，以示賞音，抽豪灑墨，若張顛濡發時也。修為先生見而愛之，因以為贈。他日貽之文孫蔚兄以成世契。南田惲壽平。

I stand by the pond with Shigu and we discuss painting. This exhausts the enjoyment of appreciating with our hearts. Now that the constellations are shining and the morning dew has not [yet] fallen, we look at the shadows of [the leaves of] parasol trees in the dark, and we then shout that they are "fine ink leaves, fine ink leaves!" Therefore, we know that [for] Beiyuan (Dong Yuan), Juran, Fangshan (Gao Kegong), and Haiyue (Mi Fu), the most incisive and vivid part of their dotted ink must have been both dense and clear, half-light and half-dark.[13] It is thus Nature that first conceives such images, and the ancient artists tried to imitate them. They finally obtained the traces and forsook the words. They became free from the ordinary fields and paths, conceiving the wonder of the natural features. [Nature] is really our tacit mentor. Mr. Wang drinks wine to his heart's content and his interest is inspired, so he captures this scene of Nature for fun, to show to those who appreciate his tone. He extracts his brush and sheds the ink, just as when Mania Zhang (Zhang Xu) soaked his hair [with ink].

Yun Shouping records this event in words, and Wang Hui records it in his painting. He paints the parasol trees on the right side with the "fine ink leaves" 好墨葉 they discussed, "both dense and clear, half-light and half-dark" 濃澹相兼，半明半暗. The two small figures standing together in conversation at the left must be Yun and Wang themselves. This is a vivid record of the friendship between Wang Hui and Yun Shouping. It reveals how they talked about painting, made paintings, and captured enjoyment from these activities. The act of creation began with their observation and perception of the "fine ink leaves." They must have felt and appreciated the natural scene as they felt and appreciated the paintings of Dong Yuan, Juran, Gao Kegong, and Mi Fu. It was in this spirit that they saw the fine ink leaves, which Wang put his brush to the paper to represent. Each of the two friends must have derived equally intense pleasure from encountering these fine ink leaves, so that they were able to share the same vision and collaborate on the painting. It is interesting that, although at times he satirized Wang with literary allusions, Yun also praised him with a similar allusion, by comparing Wang to the calligrapher Zhang Xu 張旭 (c. 675 – c. 750) in the Tang dynasty,

[13] Dong Yuan 董源 (? - c. 962) and Juran 巨然 were famous landscape painters of the Five Dynasties. Gao Kegong 高克恭 (1248-1310) was a famous landscape painter in the Yuan dynasty.

who drunkenly soaked his hair with ink and created wonderful cursive scripts.[14] Though it seems contradictory, it attests to the sophistication of Wang Hui as an artist and as a person.

Figure 2: Wang Hui. *Night Parasol Trees, Autumn Shadows* 晚梧秋影圖, 1686. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 76.8 x 41 cm. Palace Museum, Beijing.

Conclusion

The answers to questions of whether art should be made for recreation or for a living, for oneself or for others, are not necessarily binary; the disparity between the professional and the scholar-amateur certainly exists, but all human beings struggle to reconcile different situations and intentions in life. Wang Hui could be at times a professional artist who painted for the market, and at other times a literati-artist who painted to entertain himself and his friends. There was not a contradiction within the artist – only differences in time and place. While it is not possible to definitively state that the friendship with Yun Shouping was the impetus for Wang Hui's creativity, the records and resultant works indeed revealed great excitement and pleasure. Wang Hui must have been stimulated, motivated, and inspired by his friend, and his artworks, as products of exchange and collaboration, show more improvised and less restrained characteristics.

[14] Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tang shu*, 202. 11b.

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Disease Selects Its Victims: Inequality in Falling Ill to Infectious Disease in Bleak House

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Abstract
Though unnamed, the infectious disease in Charles Dickens's novel *Bleak House* (1852–53) is definitely smallpox. The spread of smallpox in the story reflects both facts and falsehoods about the medical environment at the time Dickens was writing this novel. In Dickens's lifetime, smallpox was a major killer, and its cause and symptoms were known to the public. The effect of vaccination was already acknowledged. Nevertheless, the public was unaware of the danger of infection and was slow to get vaccinated. There was little that government or medical professionals could do to prevent infection. The spread of infection in *Bleak House* demonstrates the lack of government intervention and the public's limited and incomplete medical knowledge. On the other hand, Dickens's choice of victims of the infection does not entirely correlate with common medical knowledge. Over its long history, smallpox has attacked rich and poor alike. However, in *Bleak House*, smallpox spreads among the poor and servants because they lack medical knowledge and have more exposure to risky physical contacts with the diseased, while their social betters remain relatively safe. The chain of infection in *Bleak House* suggests the inequality of contracting an infectious disease: this disease selects its victims, and the poor and powerless are much more vulnerable than their social betters.

Keywords: Dickens, Disease, Infection, Medicine, Public Health, Smallpox

Introduction

This essay looks at Charles Dickens's novel *Bleak House* (1852–53) based upon the medical standard in his time. It argues the rights and wrongs of the characters' actions when they face infection and points out how social inequality plays a role in who is most susceptible to infectious disease. Contrary to popular assumptions that infection attacks people at random, in Dickens's novel, the poor and powerless are more vulnerable to the disease than their social betters because of their lack of medical knowledge and greater exposure to carriers and to the virus.

Smallpox in Dickens's London

Smallpox had a long presence in human history. Its beginnings are unclear, but they might stretch back to ancient Egypt in 1570 BC (Hopkins 14). Thereafter, smallpox attacked rich and poor, young and old alike, all over the world. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), its mortality rate was as high as 30 percent. Mary Wilson Carpenter notes that by the end of the seventeenth century, smallpox was the major killer in England and Europe (96). According to Jo Abi, in Britain, many of those in the Tudor and Stuart dynasties contracted smallpox, for instance, Elizabeth I (1533–1603, survived), and six died, including Mary II (1662–94, died). Outside Britain, victims of smallpox included famous figures such as Louis XV (1710–74, died), Peter II (1715–30, died), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91, survived), George Washington (1732–99, survived), Abraham Lincoln (1809–65, survived), and Joseph Stalin (1878–1953, survived). In 1979, less than a half-century ago, the WHO declared the eradication of smallpox. It took a very long time to defeat the disease.

Though unnamed, the infectious disease in *Bleak House* is definitely smallpox. The symptoms of the protagonist, Esther Summerson—including fever, delirium, blindness, and scars—are all typical of smallpox. In the 1790 edition of his bestselling medical manual *Domestic Medicine*, William Buchan explained that smallpox was an infectious disease. After a three-to-four-day incubation period, red spots appeared; next, skin eruptions formed, and finally, on the eleventh or twelfth day, scabs peeled off (214–16). He listed chills and fever in turns, pains, and vomiting as early symptoms, and convulsions, a swollen belly, and delirium as later ones:

This disease is so generally known, that a minute description of it is unnecessary. Children commonly look a little dull, seem listless and drowsy for a few days before the more violent symptoms of the small-pox appear. They are likewise more inclined to drink than usual, have little appetite for solid food, complain of weariness, and, upon taking exercise, are apt to sweat. These are succeeded by slight fits of cold and heat in turns, which, as the time of the eruption approaches, become more violent, and are accompanied with pains of the head and loins, vomiting, &c. The pulse is quick, with a great heat of the skin, and restlessness. When the patient drops asleep, he wakes in a kind of horror, with a sudden start, which is a very common symptom of the approaching eruption; as are also convulsion-fits in very young children.

About the third or fourth day from the time of sickening, the small pox generally begin to appear; sometimes indeed they appear sooner, but that is no favourable symptom. At first they very nearly resemble flea-bites, and are soonest discovered on the face, arms, and breast.

It is a most unfavourable symptom when petechiæ, or purple, brown, or black spots are interspersed among the pustules. These are signs of a putrid dissolution of the blood, and show the danger to be very great. Bloody stools or urine, with a swelled belly, are bad symptoms; as is also a continual strangury. Pale urine and a violent throbbing of the arteries of the neck are signs of an approaching delirium, or of convulsion-fits. When the face does not swell, or falls before the pox come to maturity, it is very unfavourable. If the face begins to fall about the eleventh or twelfth day, and at the same time the hands and feet begin to swell, the patient generally does well; but when these do not succeed to each other, there is reason to apprehend danger. When the tongue is covered with a brown crust, it is an unfavourable symptom. Cold shivering fits coming on at the height of the disease are likewise unfavourable. (Buchan 214–16).

These observations are accurate and largely correlate with descriptions of the infection in *Bleak House*. *Domestic Medicine* sold well and was published in Britain until 1846. Many of Dickens's contemporary readers would have had access to these kinds of medical manuals for household use and could easily have identified the disease, as Esther does in *Bleak House*.

Regarding Esther's infection, today's readers might well ask why she has not been vaccinated (Carpenter 92; Armfield). And indeed, it was possible for Dickens's contemporaries to be vaccinated. By the time *Bleak House* was published, over half a century had passed since Edward Jenner's invention of vaccination. Jenner's method replaced variolation (inoculation by pus taken from the pocks of smallpox patients) because it was safer. In 1840, the Vaccination Act was passed in Britain; by this act, infants were offered vaccination at no charge, and variolation was banned (College of Physicians of Philadelphia). In 1853, the Compulsory Vaccination Act was passed, and infants had to be vaccinated by the time they were four months old. However, despite the legalization of vaccination, vaccination-bashing never diminished, because high-quality vaccine was not consistently available, medical skills were poor, and the public was unaware that a booster shot was needed (Carpenter 104; Bennett 101–02, 111). Opponents of vaccination publicized its failures and ineffectiveness (Bennett 113–15). Some believed that vaccination would turn them into a cow; some were afraid that vaccination would contaminate children (Carpenter 104, Bennett 117). Jenner's achievement was widely known, but vaccination was not universally practiced.

Dickens was a supporter of vaccination and lamented the public's reluctance to be vaccinated. In the November 27, 1851, issue of *Household Words Narrative*, he wrote:

At a court of the *City Sewers Commission*, on the 9th inst., the annual sanitary report of Mr. Simon, the medical officer of the city was brought up. It contains statements of great importance. — During the last ten years the population of the city has increased about 3–4 per cent; but in some districts there has been a decrease, so that the ratio of increase in other districts has been far greater. In the whole of East London the increase has been far above the average, and in the St. Botolph subdistrict the increase has been more than 16 per cent. This great local increase represents the continued influx of a poor population into localities already unwholesome from overcrowding by a squalid and sickly population. The mortality was 2978 persons, or at the rate of 2–3 per cent; the average being nearly 2–44 per cent. The deaths, during the three last years have been 9493: of these no less than 3469, or nearly three-eighths of the whole, were children under five years old. As children at this age are about a tenth part of the whole population of the city, this rate proves that they die in the city at four times the rate of their natural proportion to the average mortality of the district. There were 391 cases of fever, and the deaths by cholera and kindred diseases were 292. The deaths by smallpox were 91; of which it would not be harsh to say that 90 were deaths due to culpable negligence in not resorting to the public institutions for vaccination. (273)

From this statement, we know that in impoverished areas in East London, population rapidly increased; that in an overcrowded, filthy environment, contagious diseases were rampant; and that the mortality rate of infants was quite high. Dickens was distressed by the spate of children's deaths and thought that more children could be saved if they were vaccinated. Carpenter says that even after the 1853 Vaccination Act, infants were not regularly vaccinated (104). The gap between the mandatory vaccination and the public's unawareness of prevention is echoed in *Bleak House*.

The Outbreak of Infection

Robert Tracy writes that the four realms of *Bleak House*—the court of Chancery, Chesney Wold, Bleak House, and Tom-All-Alone's—show, respectively, the reality and the failure of England's social structure (386). Chapters 31, 35, 36, 38, 43, and 45–47 of *Bleak House* contain stories involving the spread of the infection and its aftermath. They also describe the powerlessness of parliament, church, police, and charitable institutions in facing infection:

Much mighty speech-making there has been, both in and out of Parliament, concerning Tom, and much wrathful disputation how Tom shall be got right. Whether he shall be put into the main road by constables, or by beadles, or by bell-ringing, or by force of figures, or by correct principles of taste, or by high church, or by low church, or by no church; whether he shall be set to splitting trusses of polemical straws with the crooked knife of his mind or whether he shall be put to stone-breaking instead. (568)

Tom-All-Alone's is personified and compared to the ill person who never accepts any treatment and then becomes a carrier of contagious disease. Society can only talk about the epidemic but cannot take meaningful action to stop it. The result is an increase in the number of dead; Jo says that many people die and the number of dead far exceeds that of the living at Tom-All-Alone's. The narrator further tells of the evil of Tom-All-Alone's:

In the midst of which dust and noise there is but one thing perfectly clear, to wit, that Tom only may and can, or shall and will, be reclaimed according to somebody's theory but nobody's practice. And in the hopeful meantime, Tom goes to perdition head foremost in his old determined spirit.

But he has his revenge. Even the winds are his messengers, and they serve him in these hours of darkness. There is not a drop of Tom's corrupted blood but propagates infection and contagion somewhere. It shall pollute, this very night, the choice stream (in which chemists on analysis would find the genuine nobility) of a Norman house, and his Grace shall not be able to say nay to the infamous alliance. There is not an atom of Tom's slime, not a cubic inch of any pestilential gas in which he lives, not one obscenity or degradation about him, not an ignorance, not a wickedness, not a brutality of his committing, but shall work its retribution through every order of society up to the proudest of the proud and to the highest of the high. Verily, what with tainting, plundering, and spoiling, Tom has his revenge. (568)

Tracey suggests that at the time when Dickens began writing *Bleak House*, he had recently visited the Great Exhibition of 1851, and his discomfort with this event inspired him to start this novel (384). Reinforcing this interpretation is the fact that Tom-All-Alone's is located near Chancery, and its presence seems to ridicule the upper classes' greed and obsession with money and social standing, and their little contribution to prevent the epidemic.

Jo is the first victim of infection in *Bleak House*. He is socially vulnerable―he has no home, no money, no parent or guardian, and no education. He is unwanted everywhere and constantly driven away. He says:

I have been moved on, and moved on, more nor ever I was afore, since the t'other one giv' me the sov'ring. Mrs Snagsby, she's always a-watching and a-driving of me—what have I done to her?—and they're all a-watching and a-driving of me. Every one of 'em's doing of it, from the time when I don't get up, to the time when I don't go to bed. And I'm a-going somewheres. That's where I'm a-going. (391)

All Jo can do is frequent Tom-All-Alone's and then move on somewhere else. His insecurity is a true-to-life portrait of the severe circumstances in the slums of Victorian London, where children like him got only minimal support or help. Helen Amy mentions that at that time in history, because of the government's laissez-faire policy, the only help available to needy children was from individuals, often poor ones (1676, 1690). Moreover, in the neighborhood of Bleak House, public facilities do nothing but bounce him around from one to another, and the care of Jo is left to Jenny and Liz, and later to Jarndyce's household and individuals' charity.

However, despite his pity for Jo, Dickens represents Jo as a spreader of the infection. With his dirty-looking and shabby clothes, Jo looks like "a growth of fungus or any unwholesome excrescence" (573). This description illustrates the fear and disgust people had concerning infectious diseases. For instance, Woodcourt, who has grown accustomed to handling the sick in impoverished areas, has difficulty in getting close to Jo. Jo intends no harm, but he does not understand the danger of his disease and is not aware he can infect others. He is not only a helpless child but, in effect, a sort of biological weapon sent by Tom-All-Alone's to the healthy environment around Bleak House in Hertfordshire.

Risky Nursing and Its Aftermath

The smallpox that Jo contracts is transferred to Charley and then to Esther. Describing Jo's condition, Dickens accurately represents the symptoms of smallpox. Jo complains of chills, fever, headache, and pain:

"I'm a-being froze," returned the boy, hoarsely, with his haggard gaze wandering about me [Esther], "and then burnt up, and then froze, and then burnt up, ever so many times in a hour. And my head's all sleepy, and all a-going mad-like—and I'm so dry—and my bones isn't half so much bones as pain." (391)

These symptoms are common to other diseases but later turn out to be early signs of smallpox. Carpenter surmises that when Jo comes to Bleak House, he has not had rashes on his face yet; therefore, Esther does not understand what disease he has contracted (103).

Skimpole was once in the medical profession and so warns about the danger of Jo's fever and insists on moving him, regardless of whatever disease he has caught. He says:

"... you [Jarndyce] know what I am: I am a child. Be cross to me, if I deserve it. But I have a constitutional objection to this sort of thing. I always had, when I was a medical man. He's not safe, you know. There's a very bad sort of fever about him." (393)

Skimpole is a freeloader, and therefore Jarndyce's household gives him no credit. However, his medical skill is not bad for the standards of Dickens's time. Carpenter writes that in Victorian upper-class households, it was common just to send potential patients of smallpox outside, as Skimpole says, or to a fever hospital, as Bucket does later (104). To accommodate Jarndyce, Skimpole suggests that Jo take a fever medicine, that he be kept warm, that the room temperature be kept cool, and that vinegar be sprinkled for disinfection. These procedures were recommended in *Domestic Medicine* (Buchan 109), and they were the best practices known to Dickens's contemporaries. Skimpole is not heartless, and his advice makes sense. However, his opinion is ignored because he has quit his profession. Other residents of Bleak House take part in nursing under risky conditions.

In Dickens's time, there was no effective cure for infection, and absurd remedies such as bleeding and purging (Buchan 221, 226) were recommended. However, Buchan wrote about effective means of prevention. In Chapter 9, he wrote:

Many diseases are infectious. Every person ought therefore, as far as he can, to avoid all communication with the diseased. The common practice of visiting the sick, though often well meant, has many ill consequences.

The houses of the sick, especially in the country, are generally crowded from morning till night with idle visitors. It is customary, in such places, for servants and young people to wait upon the sick by turns, and even to sit up with them all night.... Experience teaches us the danger of this conduct. People often catch fevers in this way, and communicate them to others, till' at length they become epidemic. (106–07)

He repeatedly stressed the importance of not getting too close to patients, avoiding crowded rooms and making sure not to attend the sick for too long—similar to today's "social distancing."

Together with Jarndyce, Esther condemns Skimpole as heartless and selfish and values the welcome and care that the others in Bleak House give Jo. However, when it comes to the prevention of infection, Skimpole is right, and the others are wrong, because they unthinkingly have physical contact with Jo. Esther and Charley are the most imprudent, because they visit Jo for several hours, touch his body and clothes, and invite him to Bleak House. Jarndyce examines Jo as if he were a physician. Esther, Charley, and Jarndyce intend to perform an act of charity, but in fact they have welcomed a spreader of smallpox virus.

Of the three characters who are genuinely willing to take care of Jo, it is Jarndyce and Charley whose motives are easily explained. Jarndyce simply does not want to listen to Skimpole. As for Charley, she cannot help doing something for Jo, because their circumstances are similar. She is an orphan, and before coming to Bleak House, she was also unwanted in her neighborhood and neglected in filthy lodgings. She is ignorant and does not care about the danger of infection at all. As for Esther, some of her actions are wise, and others are unwise. Unlike Charley, Esther has some medical knowledge; she analyzes her symptoms accurately, understands the necessity of distancing, and knows that people acquire immunity after catching smallpox. Amy Davidson Sorkin writes that "Esther Summerson is one of the great heroines of literature, in part because she understands the vital importance of social distancing and isolation, even when it is hard." Nevertheless, Esther's knowledge serves only to protect Ada from infection, not to protect her own health and safety. Even after red spots appear on Charley's face, Esther—going against medical advice such as Buchan's—frequently hugs Charley and stays with her as long as possible. On the other hand, she frantically keeps Ada away from her. The outcome of her desperate remedy is painful. After suffering a particularly severe infection, she becomes terribly pockmarked, while Charley's looks are unspoiled. Through Esther's infection and disfigurement, Dickens demonstrates that nursing that depends merely on individuals' goodwill is of little help in facing infection.

Esther's Sacrifice

Esther's disfigurement is also result of her habitual self-denial and self-sacrifice. As a natural child of unknown parentage, Esther internalizes a sense of guilt over her own existence:

Dear, dear, to think how much time we passed alone together afterwards, and how often I repeated to the doll the story of my birthday and confided to her that I would try, as hard as ever I could, to repair the fault I had been born with (of which I confessedly felt guilty and yet innocent), and would strive as I grew up to be industrious, contented, and kind-hearted, and to do some good to some one, and win some love to myself if I could. (17–18)

Esther's obsession with seeking love by doing good for others is caused by her upbringing. David Holbrook explains, "Miss Barbary's reaction she assumes to be in obedience to Holy Scripture, 'according to what is written': the stern godmother is invoking the stern laws of the Old Testament. And these make it out that the *child* has to pay, in self-denial and diligence, for the sins of the parents" (56). As Holbrook suggests, to escape her sense of sin, Esther feels pressured to cater to others' convenience and pleasure at her own expense. She does not care about the danger in taking care of Jo and Charley and disagrees with Skimpole's professional advice. For her, being accepted as a good person in her circle is much more important than protecting her health and safety. If she refuses to nurse Jo and Charley based on Skimpole's suggestion, she will be condemned as heartless and selfish. Therefore, she throws herself heedlessly into nursing under risky conditions.

Gareth Williams says that severe disfigurement caused by smallpox scars meant the end of social life, especially for women (24). Guppy's withdrawal of his proposal to Esther exactly represents the hardship which female patients of smallpox had to undergo after they recovered. Even though Guppy is nasty and Esther does not like him, rejection by the man she has jilted leaves her feeling uneasy. After she loses her good looks, her value in the marriage market irretrievably drops, and she is highly unlikely to be courted by any eligible man. As a natural child without beauty, fortune, or connections, she can expect, in the best case, marriage to a man over thirty years her senior, a marriage in which she must always feel greatly obliged to be guided and protected. Her only other option is to work as a governess or companion in a household in Jarndyce's circle. As the fate of Dickens's characters shows, the prospects for a plain, penniless woman are bleak.

By contrast, Ada, Esther's social better, is entirely free of the danger of infection because she is excluded from all nursing-related activity. Ada is an heiress of Bleak House and is not supposed to touch the sick, because that is considered unladylike. However, no one cares about the danger of infection to Esther and Charley if they nurse the sick, because they are servants. In the world of *Bleak House*, smallpox is class-sensitive and attacks people of lower social standing because they have more exposure to the sick due to ignorance or the need to cater for others.

Conclusion

In his depiction of smallpox in *Bleak House*, Dickens criticizes his contemporaries' lack of concern about the dangers of infection. Although a half-century had passed since Jenner invented vaccination, deaths by smallpox did not decrease, and the survivors suffered from lifelong aftereffects, just as Esther does. The public had difficulty in understanding the necessity of vaccination, and people risked their life out of ignorance. Dickens also points out the inability of government and medical professionals to take measures to prevent infection. Public medical facilities were badly organized, and medical advice was not heeded. Esther's sacrifice is a product of such a medical environment.

Infection is not class-sensitive. But in Dickens's story, social inequality influences who contracts the infection. First, those in the underclass, like Jo, have no way of escaping from a hotbed of infection. Public health care does not function at all. Therefore, poor patients must rely on the goodwill of understanding individuals. However, men of means like Jarndyce limit their contact with the sick, and nursing in risky conditions is left to those of lower social standing, such as Esther and Charley. Contrary to common medical knowledge, Dickens shows that the poor and powerless are most vulnerable to dangerous disease, and their health and safety are ignored.

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