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Table of Contents

<i>Scaling Protected Western Fence: The Fate of Nigeria Immigrants to Europe</i> Paul Obi-Ani Ngozika Anthonia Obi-Ani	pp. 1-12
<i>Subjects, Nationalism, And Citizenship in Spivak, Butler, And Balibar's Dialogue</i> Didier Alessio Contadini	pp. 13-26
<i>The Fiction of Fernanda Dias and Senna Fernandes: Revisiting the Colonial Macau through the Lens of Ethnicity, Gender and Patriarchy</i> Ana Maria Correia Vera Borges	pp. 27-36
<i>Boundary Line of the Life: Belonging or Not Belonging to the Culture</i> Kaori Yamashita	pp. 37-48
<i>A Socio-Cultural Explanation for the Difference Between Development Trends of Iran and Japan</i> Shokouh Dibaji Forooshani	pp. 49-60
<i>Causes and Consequences of Acid Attacks on Women: A Case Study of District Lahore, Pakistan</i> Samra Azam Khan	pp. 61-74
<i>Narratives of Mothers who Mother in a Foreign Environment</i> Eglè Kačkutė	pp. 75-84
<i>Diaspora and the Politics of Sameness and Difference: The Korean and the Chinese Diaspora in a Korean Context</i> Suk Koo Rhee	pp. 85-92
<i>Promoting Interculturalism through Non Formal Education: An Evaluation Procedure</i> Sofia Kasola Maja Brkusanin	pp. 93-106
<i>Folklore as a Reflection of a Society: Black Pete and Cheoyong</i> Seungyeon Lee	pp. 107-116

- Pushing Ethnoscape Identity through Taiwanese Movie
Box Office after the Popularity of Cape No.7*
Chen Ying-Ying pp. 117-128
- The Hunger Games: Designing the Girl as a Spectacle*
Jihyun Hong pp. 129-138
- Roald Dahl's Problematic Gender Characterization
of Miss Trunchbull in Matilda*
Ji-Eun Kim pp. 139-146
- Namibia's Emergent Transculturalism: Dissolving Boundaries and
Contestation in the African Global Borderlands*
Thomas Fox pp. 147-160

Scaling Protected Western Fence: The Fate of Nigeria Immigrants to Europe

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Abstract

The world is gradually shrinking that at the press of a button events happening in far-flung part of the earth could be followed live via cable network. Globalization or capitalist penetration of every economy is the new phenomenon. Industrialized nations of the West are growing richer and having access to natural resources of the third world. Most of the third world countries are experiencing harsh economic turn. World trade organization (WTO) continues to harp on the need for free trade which is beneficial to the developed countries. Yet developed Western countries mount an impenetrable fortress to ward off immigrants from their paradise. Nigerian immigrants' device different strategies to scale protected Western fence at great cost. Desperate Nigerians trying to escape economic difficulties at home change citizenship as one changes his clothes. A cabal dealing on sale of international passport of various countries exist in Nigeria and for a good price valid passports are procured that could yield one a place in the enclosed economic safe-havens of the world. While citizens of the West enjoy unrestricted free-movement from one part of the world to the other, even as tourists, Nigerian citizens seeking economic opportunities in Europe are quarantined, threatened with imprisonment, deportation and denied such access. Employing newspaper, magazine reports and other extant secondary materials including oral interviews of those in the business of securing visas in Nigeria and migration theories, the paper will attempt an analysis of this phenomenon.

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INTRODUCTION

In the face of adversity, whether natural or man-made, the survival instincts in man come to the fore. When threatened by natural disasters such as drought, earthquake, hurricane or lava eruptions or tsunami both man and beast strive to escape to a more hospitable environment. Displaced persons during wars also make efforts to move to safe-havens away from the theatre of conflicts. These movements whether induced by natural disaster or man-made are often frowned at by those forced to host the displaced persons. This is due to pressure the additional mouths would add to the inadequate scarce resources at their disposal.

It is due to economic adversity, political turmoil and religious conflict that have propelled Nigerians to migrate to economic safe- havens of Europe in their droves. Their quests have received rude rebuff. Yet the industrialized nations of Europe preach free trade and have unimpeded access to the natural resources of Nigeria. Trade liberalization has been promoted by the International Monetary Fund, IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization, WTO, and its underpinning globalization as beneficial to third world countries. This is indeed a ruse to have access to the markets of these poor developing nations. In 1997, after Nigeria removed all restrictions on the importation of textile in line with the WTO agreements, its textile industry virtually collapsed. The local textile industry suffered job losses of over 100,000 as it operates below 30 per cent of capacity. As Isaac Osuoka (1999:43) aptly stated:

Governments of poor countries are prevented from formulating regulations that will protect local industries, the environment, healthcare and the protection of local culture as such regulations will violate the WTO agreements.

The whole essence of globalization or capitalist penetration of every economy would remain hollow unless it is accompanied by free movement of labour both skilled and unskilled. Globalization has been described as the spread of worldwide practices, relations, consciousness, and organization of social life. It has dramatically transformed the lives of billions of people globally. However; globalization has been criticized for strengthening the economic dominance of the industrialized nations while impoverishing the weak economic base of the developing countries of the south. This is the crux of the argument of Petrella (2007:87) when he opined that "...globalization increases dependence, peripheralization and pauperization of the less developed economies as against the affluence, convergence and integration of the core capitalist states." Critics have also lampooned the recommendation of the same panacea for different economic ailments by the apostles of globalization such as IMF, WTO and World Bank. The Nobel Prize winning economist Joseph E. Stiglitz (2007:575) blamed these monetary institutions for their roles in worsening, rather than resolving, global economic crisis. He singled out IMF for its homogenizing, "One-size- fits -all" approach that fails to take into account national differences. The stringent economic conditionalities foisted on countries facing economic turmoil by the IMF and World Bank has indeed exacerbated economic difficulties in those countries rather than ameliorating them.

This paper will attempt to analyze the different strategies adopted by Nigerians to scale the protected Western fence, the hazards and coping devices of surviving in

Europe and the shattering experience of arrest, detention and deportation as an illegal migrant and way out of the dehumanizing experiences.

DIFFERENT STRATEGIES OF SCALING PROTECTED WESTERN FENCE:

The biting unemployment situation in Nigeria among youths without any social security scheme to cushion its effect ignites the migrating spirit of Nigerian man and woman. Again, the protectionist tendencies of the industrialized nations of Europe make it difficult to procure genuine travel documents or secure visa. These two factors push people into desperate measures to overcome the obstacles to travel. Indeed, even where Nigerians could procure legal document to travel, securing visa interview appointment is a herculean task. Emeka Okeke (6th September, 2009) stated thus:

The embassy would give a telephone number to be called to book for visa appointment. You could call the number for eternity and nobody would respond. Upon discreet inquiry one realizes the embassy had only one hour in a day to respond to request for interviews.

The realities are that dubious embassy officials fill in the quota for the day's interview and leave hapless thousands of applicants struggling to reach them through a telephone line that had been jammed by the thousands of others desperate to get through.

This unnecessary barricade at key European embassies in Nigeria gave rise to the presence of touts. Thus, each embassy had a colony of touts or agents through whom one could first secure an interview appointment and sometimes through whose influence the procurement of visa could be made possible as well.

Besides, someone else passport could be bought, the information page which carries the persons passport photograph torn- apart and replaced with a new information page carrying the new person's photograph who bought the passport. This could be done easily in forgery centres in Lagos – the popular Oluwole street in Lagos where everything under the sun could be forged and something nearly the same as the original gotten. Unfortunately for some migrants they could run into problems: if they were unlucky to come across more careful immigration officials both in Nigeria and outside Nigeria. Nonetheless, there are devices installed in many immigration entry points in some parts of Europe that could detect such forgeries which leads to the culprit being apprehended, detained and deported subsequently. One could imagine the social and economic consequences of such a misadventure. All the money spent buying such a passport, money paid to swindlers, who expunged and replaced parts of the passports and information page would have been in vain. This often led to frustration of the victims, occasional suicide and deaths wish rather than being deported to an unbearable and inhospitable environment like Nigeria (Emeka Okeke, 6th September, 2009).

However, in recent times most visa appointments are secured through embassy websites. Even at that it is still subject to manipulation. Assuming one wants the visa appointment quickly one could go through contacts. In countries where there is no

pressure for people to travel the available window for visa appointment would not be under pressure and the need to bribe anybody would be non-existent.

Another strategy employed by desperate Nigerians to travel to Europe, though the most dangerous, was through the Sahara desert. There are illegal human trafficking agencies that have very powerful connections that nurture illegal migrations. These networks are highly sophisticated illegal migration system ran by organized mafia. They could procure travel papers of all nationalities and can make landing and take-off easy once the pay is good. The Lagos angle of this mafia can take their “human cargo” by road to Cotonou in Benin Republic or Lome in Togo. From either of these cities they travel northwards. From Lome they travel to the town of Cinkasse, a border town between Togo and Burkina Faso. At Cinkasse the migrants would enter the small town called Bittou from where they could board a northward vehicle to Ouagadougou, capital of Burkina Faso (Emeka Okeke, 6th September, 2009). In Ouagadougou they could decide to travel to Mauritania or Libya from where they move towards the Mediterranean shores of North Africa. From those shores the migrants can enter the Spanish islands of Canary or the Italian island of Lampadusa. This hazardous crossing of the Mediterranean by Nigerian migrants on perilous boats have been catastrophic. So many people have perished while the few that survived end up in detention or as political asylum. But as Aderanti Adepoju and Arie van der Wiel (2007:17) opined:

Many irregular migrants who fail to enter Europe settle in North Africa rather than face the humiliation of returning home. But the most costly price of irregular migration is loss of life itself. About 3000 Africans are believed to be drowning each year while attempting illegal crossings to Europe.

Another loophole which the Nigerian syndicate exploited to move migrants to Europe were the visa-free national passports of the Gambia and Guinea Bissau to United Kingdom and Portugal respectively. Until the military incursion in the Gambian politics, the Gambian international passport was visa free to the United Kingdom, UK. Nigerians normally sneak into the country through the assistance of this mafia and procure the Gambian passport, claiming to be Gambians. The Gambia is English speaking and Nigerians could easily pose as Gambians and enter UK unmolested. However, the Guinea Bissau was a different ball game. Guinea Bissau is a Portuguese speaking nation yet many Nigerians brave it to travel with Guinea Bissau international passport. This is fraught with its consequences. Consider this scenario where a Nigerian, an English speaking man and woman, without any knowledge of Portuguese language, flies into Lisbon with Guinea Bissau passport. If he or she is unfortunate that a Portuguese immigration official speaks Portuguese to him or her then the misadventure ends. He would be apprehended and repatriated and all the investment ruined (Ikechukwu Ugwuagbo, 15 July, 2014).

Nevertheless, the most dangerous stratagem desperate young men and women employ to enter Europe is by stow away. As ships that brought goods from different parts of the world discharge their cargos, frustrated young Nigerians in league with dubious dock workers at Lagos ports, Port Harcourt, Calabar and Warri harbours are sneaked into the ships with their bags and food items often without the knowledge of the ship captains on journeys to Europe and other parts of the world. This is one of the most

dangerous means of illegal migrations because many of such migrants have had themselves thrown overboard in the high sea. Often the ship captain in order to avoid being seen as part of the mafia that engages in illegal migration which would make him liable to fine in the country where he was heading had no other choice than to eject the illegal human cargo into the high sea.

According to Emeka Okeke sometime ago a Thailand bound ship captain had to make a detour on the high sea and came back to Tinian Island port, Lagos, to off-load an illegal human cargo of twenty (20) young men discovered hiding in the engine room of his ship when they left Nigeria. They were all handed over to the Nigerian immigration authority for debriefing and possible prosecution (Emeka Okeke, 6th September, 2009).

An informant and a stowaway survivor narrated how economic hardship aborted his secondary school education forcing him to engage in menial works to raise enough money to embark on the journey to Germany. Himself and his colleagues after bribing the dockworkers at Port Harcourt Wharf Nigeria were advised to buy paracetamol drug, bottled water and Cabin biscuit and were hidden in a ship compartment bound for Daura, Cameroon. From there they entered Congo Brazzaville and finally got into Johannesburg, South Africa. It was in South Africa that they met a lady that helped them to procure South African national passport with which they traveled to Berlin, Germany. On the fourth day of their stay in Berlin, his fellow compatriot had high fever and went out to buy drugs and the police arrested him. He revealed where they were staying and both of them were arrested and deported to South Africa the next day (Ikechukwu Ugwuagbo, 15 July 2014). The South African immigration authority after series of interrogation insisted that they were not from South Africa. After months of detention the South African authorities claimed that they were either from Cameroon or Nigeria and deported them to Cameroon. The Cameroon gendarmes felt that they might be from the English speaking part of the country and released them. It was from there they worked their way back to Nigeria.

COPING DEVICES OF SURVIVING IN EUROPE

Many Nigerians equate Europe to a paradise on earth with automated railroad networks, uninterrupted power supply and beautiful castles. The allurements are great and many are prepared to stake everything including well-paid jobs in banks and secure, teaching positions in Universities in Nigeria to drift to Europe. No sooner had they arrived than the illusion is dispelled. Europe is a law governed society and their well- advertised social security benefit is not intended for all particularly illegal migrants. This notion of a land flowing with milk and honey needs to be refuted. Adepoju and Wiel (2007:18) have advocated that Nigerian government should embark on programmes to demystify the perception of youths that the roads of EU countries are paved with gold. This is because many youths rely on information from their peers but such information tends to be distorted, exaggerated and misleading. Indeed, becoming a “been to” – a term that is commonly used to refer to those who have traveled abroad – has become one of society’s cultural ideals. The quest to travel to Europe could be demystified through expanding the economy and enacting similar social security benefits as obtained in Europe to assuage the biting youth unemployment in Nigeria and not through rhetoric.

European legal and political systems have provisions to accept and accommodate people who suffer one form of persecution or the other – political and religious persecution. An asylum applicant must adduce sufficient evidence that he or she suffers political persecution. Political crisis in different parts of Africa give Nigerians the *raison d'être* to change nationality in order to gain political asylum. Political turmoil in the Sudan, Congo Democratic Republic, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Somalia are capitalized upon by Nigerians to apply for asylum in EU countries. They discard their identity and assume the nationality of these troubled spots. There exists a syndicate who procures international passports and travel documents of such nationalities. But even after procuring such documents they still find it difficult to convince foreign office authorities that they are bona fide citizens of those countries. However, these unfounded claims of Nigerian asylum seekers enable them to buy time while their applications are being processed since such application can take months or years to conclude. Nevertheless if it is not in favour of the applicant, then such asylum seeker would be arrested and deported (Emeka Okeke, 6th September, 2009). Thus, it is difficult to use national passport to establish true national identities of migrants. What is even worse, in the case of boat capsized off the Italian coast of Lampedusa and Spanish Canary Islands the nationalities could be varied and true identities of the dead lost forever.

Another method Nigerian migrants exploit to prolong their stay in Europe and avoid being deported is to contract a marriage with a European woman. Through such marriage a migrant can procure resident permit and even work permit. However, more often than not this kind of marriage can lead an immigrant to a lot of problems because 80 percent of such marriages are consummated between the social dregs of European society and migrants. Often, in less than three months after the contractual of the marriage, the migrants are thrown out of their homes by such women who are strongly protected under their matrimonial laws. What is even more, such women can go further to lodge a complaint to the police- complaints of matrimonial violence against such migrant could lead to arrest, trial and eventual sentence and possibly deportation if the sentence is under the penal code (Emeka Okeke, 6th September, 2009). In some cases such marriages are “arranged” with European ladies for a price to enable migrants legalize their stay. Thereafter voluntary divorce is actualized without any altercation.

There are other migrants who do not care to legalize their papers and live in different parts of Europe illegally. These groups of migrants perform illegal jobs popularly called black jobs. This type of job is provided by Europeans who know they are breaking European laws by providing jobs to people who are undocumented labour-wise but are constrained to err because such labour is provided very cheaply. These people work under inhuman conditions in remote parts of Europe. Indeed, some of these migrants including those whose stay had been regularized and those yet to be regularized sometimes for lack of jobs in addition to pressure from homes or the syndicates who bankrolled their trips and assisted in the procurement of their papers, go into criminality: Prostitution and drug peddling. It is easier for women to go into prostitution because of the permissive European laws which recognize the trade of harlotry as a time hallowed business. In Holland harlots pay tax on their income. But those who go into drug pushing have it more roughly as drug is a highly prohibited trade in the whole of Europe. Although drugs and prostitution are businesses with

high turnover dividends they are embedded with risk. And as Olukoyode Thomas (2004:47) pointed out:

there are a few living in affluence, but one needs the heart of a lion to do what they do. The women are into prostitution, while the men hawk drugs. Most of the money the prostitute earns is used to service debt they own their madams or sponsors that is the person who brought them to Italy. They stand on the road half naked in summer or winter. The men hawk cocaine and heroin on the streets. All you need to do this is a mobile phone and a car. The more junkies you have, the more money you make.

The fate of Sisi, one of the characters in the novel *On Black Sisters' Street* (Unigwe:2010:293) who defied the Lagos boss that organizes a prostitution ring in Europe to opt for a more decent way of life, had befallen many other girls who dared to renege on their agreement with their sponsors. Sisi was murdered for refusing to continue to sale her body when she found love. Some who engage in prostitution in Europe are victims of human trafficking. They have been beguiled with promises of well-paid jobs in Europe only to be entrapped in the business of harlotry to defray the cost of their sponsorship. A report noted that at least 60 percentage of foreign prostitution in Italy hail from African countries, the majority from Nigeria. It added that Nigerian and Italian authorities estimated that there are 10,000 to 15,000 Nigerian prostitutes in Italy (Bakare: 2006:28-9). A UN estimates indicated that trafficking in persons generated seven to ten billion dollars annually for the traffickers, the third largest profits for illicit activities behind arms dealing and narcotic trafficking. No matter the subterfuge deployed by Nigerian migrants life in Europe is like a horror tale.

SHATTERED DREAMS OF NIGERIAN MIGRANTS

Despite the strong quest of Nigerians to immigrate to Europe, many have had their dreams shattered and many more never lived to tell their story. The syndicates that run this trade are dubious, deceptive and manipulative. They thrive on the ignorance of their victims, mostly school drop outs, unemployed graduates roaming the cities and those displaced and dispossessed through incessant communal and sectarian violence in Nigeria. Only few greedy Nigerians are caught in the web of these duplicitous ones. These merchants of death make outlandish promises of contacts in every European country capable of offering their prey instant job upon landing in Europe. Many families have been deceived into selling their land in the villages in order to “buy” visa for a member of the family to travel abroad. Unfortunately, these migrants are abandoned in the dark corners of North Africa while a large proportion perishes in the desert journey due to thirst. According to Oghogho Obayuwana (2005:40):

It is the story of modern Slavery, whereby unsuspecting persons, the gullible and beguiled of the dark corners of our cities, towns and villages are prowled upon by urban renegades luring them away from their homes, with the promise of an El Dorado in faraway Europe. But the European destination soon

turn out to be some street corners in Algeria, Cote D'Ivoire, Togo, Libya Morocco, Tunisia and even Sudan.

These stranded migrants do incredible things to survive and many end up in prison. About 4,000 Nigerian destitute live in Libya, many of them engaged as sex workers while others do car cleaning and petty trading. Nigerian migrants do not only change nationality they also change names. According to the then Nigerian ambassador to Libya, Ibrahim Mohammed (2005:41), when they arrived Libya they adopt desert names (Islamic names) and therefore when they ran foul of the laws and they were to have their limbs amputated, they create problem for the Nigerian Embassy in Libya. They would not like to be subjected to justice according to Islamic creed but the host authorities presumed that they were Muslims because of their names. Mr. Mohammed (2005:41), further stated that "if you see them in the prisons here you will weep. They are terribly emaciated with no adequate attention. Most of them are already sick. Our citizens constitute a sizeable percentage of aliens in Libyan jails". It is disheartening that our youths are allowed to be debased and dehumanized by the few disgruntled syndicates engaged in human trafficking. The Nigeria government should uproot this menace and end the scourge. If indeed the youths are the human capital of the nation they should not be allowed to be cattle off into the 21st century trans- Saharan slavery.

Nigerians are routinely hounded throughout Europe and deported on flimsy excuses. Between 1999 and 2000 about 800 Nigerian women were deported from Italy. Also in 2001 about 10,000 were also sent back to Nigeria from Italy (Osita Agbu: 2005:73). In 2012, 62 Nigerians were deported from Rome over allegations of immigration default, drug trafficking and other related issues. Even South Africa, the once beleaguered nation that Nigerian authorities hosted and sponsored in higher institutions during apartheid era now took delight in deporting Nigerians. Over 300 Nigeria's were deported from Johannesburg in September, 2012 (Mbamalu and Shadare: 2012:1-2).

Nigerians' craze to travel abroad and work is giving the country a bad name. Even highly qualified professionals with good degrees from British universities are not treated equally with their white counterparts. According to a Nigerian resident in London (Olukayode: 2004:47):

Forget about my credentials, in my profession, your skin determines your destiny. I did my secondary and other education here. Yet, I can't get cases. I have to rely on a Whitman's chamber.

Many Nigerians are overcome by the feeling of shame to pick their pieces and return home when they realize that the El Dorado is a complete sham. Many medical doctors, engineers, lawyers, accountants are performing demeaning jobs such as cab driving, cleaning and security jobs in European cities rather than return home. It is indeed painful that these human capitals should lay farrow abroad. There is urgent need for Nigerian government to restore the dignity of Nigerians being daily eroded by uncontrolled migration.

CONCLUSION

Migrants are attracted to sources of wealth as moth is to light. Europe is the foremost part of the industrialized world, well endowed, and better governed. It is its fabled wealth that many migrants are irresistibly drawn to. But Europe is a fortress which only the rich and powerful could easily access. In spite of its insurmountable odds, Nigerian migrants, many of them deluded by the grandiose wealth to be attained, stake everything, their patrimony and even life to attain. Many forged travel documents to actualize their quest to partake in this alchemy that would banish excruciating poverty in their lives. Others stow away in ships under turbulent seas to reach their destination-Europe. While a lot more defy the Sahara desert to cross the perilous Mediterranean Sea to embrace the cherished El Dorado more often in vain. The migrants' attempt to get round this fortress Europe has cost so many lives in recent times. Between January and early July 2014 over 500 migrants drowned while trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea on boats off the Italian coast. Survivors of another shipwreck confirmed that about 75 migrants lost their lives trying to cross into Italy. The fixation of migrants to reach Italy is buttressed by an account of a Nigerian embassy official in Tripoli, Libya. He narrated how one of the rafters ferrying some 20 Nigerians capsized and the victims were drowning. When help came from a Maltese military vessel on patrol, one of the six Nigerians rescued eventually regained consciousness. He inquired from his kind attendants where he was and was promptly told. To the dismay of his custodians who were expecting an effusion of gratitude to God and the rescuers, he blotted out from the recesses of his dreamy fixation: "Oh, take me to Italy. I said I'm going to Italy, not -Malta" He had to be taken to a mental asylum (Obayuwana: 2005:41). Many migrants suffer from this fixation and are psychologically wrecked.

Indeed, the European coast guards especially Italy, Spain and Malta have performed chivalrous deeds to minimize the tragedy that would have been associated with migrants trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea with rickety boats and policing mainland Europe from poverty stricken African migrants. The cost of policing Mediterranean Sea from hungry Nigerian migrants is enormous. However it would be more realistic tackling the upsurge of migrants from its source. EU leaders should change their style of trying to protect their paradise from African migrants. They have the ingenuity to replicate the European technological transformation in African without losing their edge in world leadership. Africa is a virgin land where they could establish many of their factories and help stem the tide of migration to Europe. Globalization and free trade would make meaning to the average Nigerian if he is accepted as a member of the global community. Shading of crocodile tears after the loss of African migrants struggling to cross the perilous Mediterranean Sea off Spanish and Italian costal lines would not solve the problem. We are of the opinion that the EU can afford the cost of constructing an underground train linking Europe with sub-Saharan African countries. Europe is like an umbilical cord to Africa. Europeans should take pride in developing Africa.

African population is growing at an astronomical rate because of illiteracy and poverty while the European population is in decline due to technological advancement and high life-expectancy. These young migrants should not be denied access to Europe and other developed parts of the world as they can be useful if properly

engaged. Europe in the Middle Ages faced population crisis which the discoveries of other parts of the world helped to alleviate. According to Siegfried Hagl (2012:14):

Europe with its growing population would have suffered a series of deep economic crises, had it not been for the discoveries of the great navigators.

Sub-Saharan African is passing through political and economic crises. Her people are malnourished, blighted and in dire need of succor. But they do not need self-pity but opportunities to better their lot.



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Subjects, Nationalism, and Citizenship in Spivak, Butler, and Balibar's dialogue

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Abstract

The present political situation shows the fresh wave of nationalisms, of speeches and practices headed for reaffirm closing off identities (cf. Weitekamp, E.G.M.; Kerner, H.-J. 2012). Barriers ready to be radically rethought until some years ago, nowadays they are again sought and contended instruments. This situation produced some relevant theoretical reactions. Some searchers returned to think about the phenomenon of national identitarian claims. The aim of this paper is to articulate the explicit and implicit debate that Spivak, Butler and Balibar develop about the matters of nation and citizenship.

All three, according to different points of view, face the complex theme starting from the problem of the relation between the subject's constitution and the institutional question. Starting from here, they question reciprocally. Spivak and Butler talk about belonging and nation (*Who sings the nation-state?*). Butler criticizes Balibar's theoretical position when he try to articulate together translation and transnational forms of citizenship (*Parting Ways*). Spivak come back on Balibar's theoretical position too (*What is Gender, Where is Europe?...*). She criticize his citizenship's idea too tied with the European background. On the other hand, the open and "elastic" notion of citizenship is needed by Balibar's thought to formulate a subject's conception that would be a third solution compared to Spivak and Butler's ones (*Citoyen Sujet et Autres Essais...*).

It's a matter of a comparison that accepts the present's challenge, allows to face again the relationship among *borders*, *belongings* and *citizenship* and, lastly, to offer us, in their reciprocal questioning, some useful instruments.

Keywords: citizenship, nation, nationalism, Butler, Spivak, Balibar, subject, border

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In the last decades many theoretical studies, which interpret politics just to govern and manage, tend to directly superimpose the economic level with the political one. In this way they catch the same trend for those levels: the always thicker global weave, overfilled with production and exchanges, correspond to an unavoidable political decline of nation- states and to a progressive dismantling of borders.

We will here have a different point of view, which considers the two levels as correlated but autonomous, where the political level is the social organization functional to the production and where the trend towards the full internationalization of markets and capitals (Marx 1973) has its necessary correspondent in the borders' conservation and their specific role (Poulantzas 2000, 97). In their rigidity/mobility and impenetrability/porosity they reproduce separations, distinctions, identities and hierarchies which are functional to defend a certain economic, social and political structure (for instance the range of defences introduced by the state of *denizenship*, affirmed in relation to the penetrable presence of borders).

The European Union represents a paradigmatic example of the complexity of the dynamics involved. Here, although the official efforts to produce a stronger integration, both the foundation project and the more recent treaties reveal a deep fluctuation concerning the way to intend the inner borders that go through the European Union (Rumford 2006, 138). On the other side, the external borders keep a specific role continuously claimed in front of the critical tension caused by migrations (Pullano 2009). So, the will of institutional apparatuses to control the circulation of that complex whole composed by the movement of capitals, persons, goods and services. Secondly, the need to mediate an alterity defined from safety and security criteria and from an uneven stiffening of borders with Frontex emerges. Moreover, the necessity to not completely disavow the right to welcome, one of the basic features of the European Community's identity. Lastly, an internal game among the member states to create a hierarchy develops; a game that is linked to the lack of correspondence between citizenship and political community and between citizenship and territory.

The matters of subjectivity, national identity and citizenship insert their selves these interwoven dynamics. How does the always greater circulation of people create tension in territorial delimitation based on national identity and the function of the idea of nation? How should we intend the actual subjectivizing relations and which relations do they establish? Which role does the citizenship play and which transformations is it undergoing? In this case the cultural, ethical and political level interpenetrate. For this reason we think that it is interesting, firstly, to explore the reflections that three authors, Spivak, Butler, and Balibar, committed to these topics and, secondly, to compare some aspects that emerge from a mutual direct and indirect dialog.

1. Spivak and the deconstruction of the ontological unities

1. Nationalism and nation: belonging and difference

In its main study on postcolonial discourse (Spivak 2009, 79), Gayatri Ch. Spivak recalls the setting proposed by Eric J. Hobsbawm (Hobsbawm 2000); according to it nationalism comes before nations, or better it creates states and nations and, in this construction, it establishes that in the nation everybody's political duty towards the

government prevails on any other obligation. In this sense the nation is an artifact, an invention and a social construction. This means, firstly, that cultural matter becomes the main focus (Spivak 2006b), since it displaces problems in play on a planetary level. This also means that where state borders are crossed, an event that happens for instance in the cultural area with comparative literature studies, it is necessary to pay attention and avoid the formation of disguised nationalist perspectives. It shows, then, that several topics, which the dominant western tradition connects to the couple nationalism- nation, can be re-elaborated in other and different contexts in the literary expressions coming from the “third world” (Spivak 2003, 66). It means, at last, that the production of a subject (*subjectus*) which is constituted *ab origine par différance* (Derrida 1969, 9) and that has to recognize its diasporic vocation (Spivak 2009, 80) is partly shown by an *a posteriori* identification of the nation.

Through these clarifications, the essentialist trend which characterized the dominant thought (Spivak 2010) and which concerns the image of the subjected, dominated, oppressed subject is reduced. Images and dynamics have to be dismantled, deconstructed in order to catch their historical and contingent genesis. The Indian thinker presents, therein, a meaningful example. In the struggle for independence from the British Empire, Indian identity takes shape from several different elements: religious difference fuelled and crystallized by a specific colonial policy, the exemplarity of the Japanese army that was struggling against the English- in this way the European polarization good ones-bad ones is reversed (Spivak 2009, 77)- a contradictory national identity sense which is accentuated by the institutional enlistment among the Allies. According to Spivak, in this point the establishment of a community emerges; a community that, referring to Derrida who quotes Bataille, is “the community of those without community” (Spivak 2003, 31; cf. Derrida 1997). Belonging is already *in-itself* “self-divided” and it deals with “self- identity [...] that claims power and property” (Spivak 2003, 83-84) in the establishing intervention of the other in the self: “What is identity, this concept of which the transparent identity to itself is always dogmatically presupposed by so many debates on monoculturalism or multiculturalism, nationality, citizenship, and, in general, belonging? And before the identity of the subject, what is *ipseity*? The latter is not reducible to an abstract capacity to say ‘I,’ which it will always have preceded. Perhaps it signifies, in the first place, the power of an ‘I can,’ which is more originary than the ‘I’ in a chain where the ‘*pse*’ of *ipse* no longer allows itself to be dissociated from power, from the mastery and sovereignty of the *hospes* (here, I am referring to the semantic chain that works on the body of hospitality as well as hostility [...])” (Derrida 1998, 14).

II. Subject dispersion and lingual processes

We will later consider the opportunity for a concrete action that Spivak identifies in this readiness. Let’s focus before on the impossibilities of the “subaltern”. The example proposed by the Indian thinker is the ritual of widows’ self-sacrifice. Deconstructing the complex frame built on the ritual, whose English name (*suttee*) does not *essentially* coincide with the Sanskrit *sati* (Spivak 1999), shows how the cultural form, which is linked to specific social, ethical and juridical norms, inflects in different ways according to the point of view it meets and which translates it. This other view does not fail after decolonization: it lasts both as a presence of an absence (no longer being) and as a presence of an “other” which distanced itself and from which the applicable heteronomy comes.

The subaltern *subject* (females par excellence), in this double bond “can only be spoken for and spoken of by the transition narrative, which will always ultimately privilege the modern (that is, ‘Europe’)” (Chakrabarty 2008, 41). Explanation and narrative established as norms won. In these conditions, “the oppressed, if given the chance [...], and on the way to solidarity through alliance politics (a Marxist thematic is at work here), *can speak and know their conditions?*” (Spivak 1988, 78). Spivak answers with the example of Gulari Bhubaneswari (Spivak 1988, 103-104; 1999, 306-311), a young independentist activist who, after failing to kill a politician, postpones her suicide waiting for menstruation. The issue is complicated. On the one hand, “Gulari cannot speak to us because the indigenous patriarchal ‘history’ only kept a record of her funeral and colonial history only needed her as an incidental instrument” (Spivak 1999, 308). Nevertheless, the action that claims at the same time its political cause (suicide does not concern a transgression of chastity) and the refusal of the traditional interdict (the prohibition for widows to practice *sati* during menstruation) causes distress to Gulari’s double subalternity condition (Spivak 2010). There is the opportunity to read, between the tendencies of official narrations, inside the *différance* that takes shape between the word and the material concreteness and which can be traced through researches and adopted in new doctrines. In this way Bhubaneswari really speaks and continues speaking, after she “attempted to ‘speak’ by turning her body into a text of woman/writing”.

So, it is true that subalterns can only speak in that prearranged linguistic system and that, in this way, they enter again the symbolic circuit which defines them as subaltern and, at the same time, it mobilizes them, according to a negotiation model, towards hegemony (Medovoi, 1990); on the other hand, though, there is also a way out that goes through the understanding that there is no subject in an individual sense and not even in a collective sense; we are all implicated with in hierarchical and vertical relations: “the colonized subaltern *subject*” is “irretrievably heterogeneous” (Spivak 1999, 270).

This dynamic is based on a linguistic game. Language teaches every human to negotiate the public and the private sphere beyond the public-private discrepancy as it has been inherited by the historical legacy of the European model. Everybody brings a new feature which comes from its own displaced view. Over and above, as it happens in India, the plurality of languages spoken tend to impose on each other, intertwine and dispute for their own room. Translation at this point has to intervene as a practice and as an expression of education. Translation, therefore, as the possibility of impossibility but on which, as a task, being human and human beings are based. There is, in this theoretic passage of Spivak, a positive re-elaboration of Derrida’s deconstruction: “Translation is to transfer from one to the other. In Bangla [...] it is *anu-vada* – speaking after, *translatio as imitatio*. This relating to the other as the source of one’s utterance *is* the ethical as being-for. [...] *Translatio* is thus not only necessary but unavoidable. And yet, as the text guards its secret, it is impossible. The ethical task is never quite performed” (Spivak 2000, 21; cf. Chakrabarty 2008, 90-96).

In this continuous nomadic movement, which floors any type of hypostatization of the subject as well as the national identity and crosses the state’s inner and external borders, Spivak presents her own proposal of an active human action in common sense: “An imagination trained in the play of language(s) may undo the truth-claims of national identity, thus unmooring the cultural nationalism that disguises the

workings of the state –disguises the loss of civil liberties, for example, in the name of the American “nation” threatened by terror” (Spivak 2009, 88). In this way it is possible to produce the enduring attempt to reverse and displace globalization into “planetary”, which refers to “*teleopoiesis*” (Spivak 2003) instead of bringing back to the historical narration.

2. Butler and the opening of power’s governmental weave

I. On Nation and belonging

In 2006, Spivak and Judith Butler debate about the illegal aliens who crossed the entire California, in the previous year, in massive demonstrations where they sang the American National anthem in Spanish, in order to claim their own identity as well as the right to become citizens of the State where they live and work. If it is true, as Spivak underlines, that multinational states always existed, on the other side Butler recognizes in these events an opportunity since this plurality became a lever to dismantle the nationalist dynamics that power uses as an enduring governmental instrument on people. The power that enlivens the relation between state and nation in operational terms (Butler 2007, 12) produces distinctions and functional hierarchizations where there is no room for a “bare life” (Agamben 1998) since belonging is sanctioned and bound according to the simultaneous and paradoxical dynamic of the “juridical belonging” and “non-belonging as a quasi-permanent state” (Butler 2007, 3-4) when we deal with it in the increasingly rigidity of external borders and in a sort of internal porosity. Nobody is excluded from this mechanism. It binds people locating them and wedging them in an antinomy that produces a governmental control: this starts from the physical position of the body, and reintroduces sovereignty “in the very acts by which state suspends law, or contorts law to its own use” (Butler 2004, 55).

In front of this mechanism, the political debate cannot be reduced to a formal citizenship problem (Butler 2007, 39-41). Since it is individualized, citizenship application weakens the action itself of claiming, it atomizes and brings it into a dynamic of subordination and subjection. Therefore, as Spivak clarifies in the discussion, in these demonstrations a “desire for citizenship” (Butler 2007, 74), which we have to deal with, is shown. Indeed, if the desire for citizenship is a wrong and unreflected claim, it is also true that it contains productive sources, it represents the opportunity that the members of the same territory live together and act “with whom there is no necessary sense of common belonging” (Butler 2007, 25).

In some way, citizenship is the complement of the condition of state-less: through juridical procedures, citizenship acts as a turning point through which persons are both constituted and foreclosed (Butler 2007, 22). Disqualification (in its political and economic meaning: Carchedi 1991, 133) makes sure that the Other is necessary for the Self without giving the identification of this limit function. In another way citizenship, as a claim, allows to disturb the governmental weave of power. It is necessary to actively preserve and affirm the not chosen character of inclusive and plural living together that it states, the sole action from which political norms and ethical prescriptions can originate. At this point the right to have rights returns, which “invariably emerges in different forms and through different vernaculars” (Butler 2012, 128). A “‘federating’ of the self” that constitutes “the relational subject” (Butler 2013, 122) exists.

II. On dispersed agency's dialectic

Singing the American anthem in Spanish by who has no rights produces deterritorialization. The claim of “illegal aliens” is paradoxical and for this reason it acts: “Although they have no right under the law to assemble peaceably, because that’s one of the rights they’d like to have as citizens, they still do so” and although “they have no right of free speech under the law although they’re speaking freely, precisely in order to demand the right to speak freely” (Butler 2007, 64).

This “performative contradiction” (Butler 2007, 66) is the only way to exercise freedom and to assert equality in confrontation of the governmental dispositif. According to Butler, the critique of the linguistic majority realizes here and, in its formulation, it also represents the dominant model, in terms that make an active multiculturalism. Even more this *agency* – when someone “speaks, it is not simply that a subject performs a speech act; rather, a set of relations and practices are constantly renewed, and agency traverses human and non-human domains” (Butler 2010, 150)- criticizes the same position of the subject as someone who speaks, who is appointed to speak, delegated or recognized in doing it: the “‘sovereign’ speaker is lost” and the “agency is itself dispersed” (Butler 2010, 151). The subject is always and repeatedly shown in the insurgency of new alternative positions to the dominant dynamics (Butler 2009b, 3) and, moreover, never alone: “It seems at once to be a dimension of conviviality or cohabitation, resistance, and action. This does not mean that everyone acts together or in unison, but that enough actions are interweaving that a collective effect is registered. The ‘I’ is not dissolved in such a collectivity, but its own situation is presented or ‘demonstrated’ as linked to a patterned social condition” (Butler 2013, 180).

This action of claiming is a right to the rights that is worth by itself and that, ethically, implies bodies, declining them in different, in- common, public shapes (Butler 2003, 15). The agency that deploys at this point referring to these coordinates follows “principles of social justice” (Butler 2012, 121) and it moves on the basis of the political and ethical ideal of living “in a socially plural world under conditions of equality” (Butler 2012, 117). In this point it becomes possible to make a further step in assuming the duty to “universalize the interdiction against destruction” as a safeguard of the “‘Other’” (Butler 2012, 119).

3. Balibar and the radicalization of institutional mechanisms

I. Borders and deterritorialization

According to Zygmunt Bauman, Etienne Balibar affirms that borders do not deal only with the birth of nation- states; different types of borders existed, existed and will always exist (Bauman 1997). If it is true, the matter is not only about demolishing borders (Balibar 2007, 51), as much as understanding the plurality of the levels involved, among which the identity that takes shape with the exclusion of the other; and this is just one aspect. Referring to Deleuze and Guattari’s analysis (Deleuze 1980, 17), Balibar remembers that there are two simultaneous but opposite processes that concern borders, those of territorialization and those of deterritorialization (Balibar 1994). Only when power structures “impose on traditions, signs, work organization and productive activities” (Balibar 2005, 100), assigning identities that have to classify and individualize in order to define the single member of the group as

a *subject (subjectus)*, only then anti- political or counter political conditions factually form.

It is therefore firstly necessary to catch the historical root of the border (Balibar 2007, 31-32), through which its institutional function arises: the mechanism for whom separation and distinction, which border produces, joint the routine horizon of *subjects* making them constitutively subjects. Nationalist reasoning on borders hide the real economic- political- social process that is here concealed (Balibar 2004, 62; 2005, 131; 2007, 70): sanctioning risky and permanently insecure situations, producing an “industrial reserve army” (Marx 1982, 781), moving the real division in other places.

II. *Citizenship perversion*

The physical border can be moved inside or outside the institutional one (Balibar 2005, 133-136). Through this movement an anthropological modification is made among the members of a state’s community: there are some citizens that are more citizens than others. The discrimination that Balibar tracked in the original moment of bourgeois citizenship, with the French Revolution, is represented. The revolution detracted citizens from the *subjectus* bond (Balibar 2011, 471-472) producing a difference between the material “man”, the empirical one and “the man of rights”. Citizenship’s formal universality sends back to a separation of the citizen from the real community in which there is a perverse mechanism and on which governmental dispositifs are based (Foucault 1980). Here, formal rights conceal the effective non right (Rancière 1995, 120): classifications based on differences increase and this taxonomy actually becomes the means to disenfranchise certain individuals, even though ideology affirms that it is required so that each difference may not be a barrier but allows everybody to choose *their own opportunity of fulfilment* and the corresponding power *differential*.

And when citizenship is absent, since “human and political [...] are coextensive ‘for right’”, so it is the same “human being” that “is cut out of humanity” so that it is “sent back to an under- humanity or a defective humanity”(Balibar 2011, 467), since only in this missed recognition its access to citizenship can be denied.

III. *Democratize democracy*

Against this idea, Balibar proposes a model of “evolving borders” (Balibar 2005, 124-125) which are able to express a creative power beginning from the historically built identities and a democratic potentiality produced by frictions and *mélanges*. Coherently, citizenship has to be rethought as a “citizenship of borders” (Balibar 2004, 6), a citizenship founded on its own limits, boundaries and not from the center. And, on the borderline, citizenship substantially is “a condensation of impossibility and potentials that we must try to activate”. It is the “ motive force” (Balibar 2012, 165) from which it founds again and continuously a community basic dimension that, in order to survive, has to broaden “the freedom and equality spaces” (Balibar 2012, 167; Balibar 2000).

The process of “democratization” of democracy starts again in relation with these ideas of borders and citizenship. Balibar’s interpretation of the expression “democratising democracy” (Balibar 2012, 160-161) is radically different from the one proposed by Anthony Giddens (Giddens 1998) who defines democracy as “a

system involving effective competition between political parties for positions of power” (Giddens 2000, 86) and so it only arises the matter of broadening participation to the decision-making moment making it less authoritarian (Giddens 1994, 15). Balibar recalls the insurrectional origin of the citizenship (Balibar 2012, 155) to underline how the expression “democratizing democracy” has to deal with the radical value that it has been able to express when it appeared. It brings on a revolutionary request that can be resumed in the following two points:

- Democratizing democracy means that it is necessary that the distance between the current condition of the state’s democratic organization and the opportunities that its limits send back are always clear. For this reason “the limits and the acknowledged institutional forms” must be continuously broken to deconstruct the separations and exclusions that are stated in each institutionalization;

- Citizens have to do a continuous work on their selves (Balibar 2012, 168) so that the movements they have established and directed to contest the different domination relations, can really reveal as constituent. To be so they have to show their selves arising, since the insurrection “is the active mode of citizenship: the one that is written in records”, “it means conquering democracy or the right to have rights, but its contents is always the research (and the risk) of collective emancipation and of the power that this gives to its participants, in opposition to the given order which tends to repress this power” (Balibar 2012, 170).

IV. Translating processes

The founding democratic process can only come from the base and it requires the awareness of a co-belonging capable to pass the obedience that people reiterate (Balibar 2011, 45-50). An important moment of this *for-itself* transformation is the plurality of languages and their mutual translations. Europeans populations are, in fact, “all *postcolonial* communities or, if you will, projections of global diversity within the European sphere” (Balibar 2004, 8). In the European area, already signed by a constitutional undefinedness and renegotiated of its own limits, the identity reformulation beyond the institutional definitions is at work with the translation of languages and cultures. Nation- states policies, which are directed to matching political and administrative borders with the lingual ones, let us remember the importance of the matter. Because of the translating moment, languages can be transformed from imaginary boundaries into *trait d’union* that associate them. Referring to the considerations of Zygmunt Bauman and Rosi Braidotti – translation as a *social practice* (Bauman 1999) and from the idea of the nomad as a polyglot and the polyglot as a nomad of the language (Braidotti 2002)- Balibar brings on the pretension that “a universal regime of translations can and must develop” because only in this way a “*virtual deterritorialization*, which consents to anticipate political transformations and to conquest these ones, where the borders move and where their own meaning changes” (Balibar 2005, 142-149; Balibar 2007, 72-75).

4. On the dialogue between Spivak, Butler and Balibar

Spivak, Butler and Balibar directly discussed in several occasions among them and they often reflect on their mutual positions in their studies. Here we will stop only on some of their reciprocal reflections of this rich weave.

I. About cosmopolitanism and translation

Deconstructing the subject, Spivak rebuilds its possibility to speak through a work of cultural alternative elaboration which is realized by educational processes in which “the epistemic- epistemological difference between the subaltern and the élite is recognized”, “object of a work” and “of an elaboration” (Spivak 2010). From here she starts her critique to Balibar’s idea of cosmopolitanism (Spivak 2000, 25; 2010; Eagleton 2005, 162) and to the possibility to create a sort of common dimension using the direct translation between languages (Spivak 1999, 31; 2010). The subaltern is in a silent place from which he cannot enter the abstract institutions that should be in his responsibility as a citizen. So the “cosmopolitheia” (Butler 2007, 97) and translation do not transform the exclusion and untranslatability view inside discursive realms and cultural codes on which the hegemonic discourse is built. So “we have to pursue what, in our tradition, is shifty” (Spivak 2010). Butler too begins from the cultural/governmental opacity of languages (and of bodies) and from the necessity to consider the devices of power that shape, contextualize and read again both of them, underlining that “the task of cultural translation is one that is necessitated precisely by that performative contradiction that takes place when [...] one who is excluded from the universal, and yet belongs to it nevertheless, speaks from a split situation of being at once authorized and deauthorized (so much for delineating a neat ‘site of enunciation’)” (Butler 1997, 91). But its translation formulation, thought again several times by Balibar, establishes instead a halfway mark between the other two. Butler points out that some possible paths begin towards non- subjects’ citizenship (Zoletto 2009), namely of people that form an in- common and define the democratic dynamics “on popular decision and majority rule” (Butler 2009a, 36). Therefore, unlike Spivak and with Balibar, subaltern have, according to Butler, the opportunity to speak, by opening the tangles of governmental power (Butler 2007, 64).

II. About the subject

The three reflections present, even if with some differences, the passing of the idea which states the supremacy of the individual/individualist atomized dimension founded on the modern model of the *subjectus* (Cassin 2014). Butler expresses the necessity to claim different subjectivities. Spivak works to recover a subjectivity even for the without-part subalterns. Balibar proposes the alternative form of citizenship. If it is true that, as Spivak and Butler critically observe (Spivak 1999, 66; 2006, 5-6), Balibar’s answer based on the *trait d’union* of the languages shows its Eurocentric feature, it is also true that his elaboration makes the reflection on the subject more complex. Spivak’s answer to the question ““who comes after the subject?”- as Balibar asserts (Spivak 2010) – shuttles in a movement of bustle between dominant essentialism and the one of Third World’s woman, between an organization that is bridled inside the postcolonial dynamic of the couple nationalism/nation- the example that we recalled is on the struggle for independence- and the singularity of the demand which wants to be “saved”- Gulari Bhubaneswari’ suicide. The subject that comes after the subject that Butler theorizes, namely the different one that realizes the opportunity to become subject for who is not seen yet as a subject, “who do not sufficiently conform to the norms that confer recognizability on subjects” (Butler 2009, 3) tends to a democratization of the governmental process through ethical requests but without radically reformulating the process itself. Balibar’s answer with the return to citizens (Balibar 2011, 52) tries to rebuild a generative process of his arising organization which is alternative to the established power. It seems that, here, Balibar’s hypothesis, on the one side, gives a more structured shape to the demand

that Butler too proposes and, on the other hand, it gets closer to the development of Spivak's theory proposed by Medovoi, Roman and Robinson. Analyzing the electoral dynamic which was at the basis of the Sandinist defeat in the presidential elections in 1990, the authors show how the impossibility to speak for those without-part has in the incongruity of dominant systems (Medovoi 1990, 141) the way for a confrontation with all types of failures; starting from this, ideologizations can be passed and the contradiction can be acted by an articulated form and which preserves experiences in an alternative memory (Medovoi 1990, 148).

III. About nationalism, state and citizenship

Spivak, Butler and Balibar have their own idea on nationalism as an ideology that fulfils and justifies the double function of borders- which we have dealt with in the introduction- that is its function to create imbalances and unequal developments as well as to produce conflicts in the same group of subjected people (which can be called class, subaltern, without-part, marginalized alterity...). According to this, Spivak and Butler affirm the existence of the unavoidable tendency and already in progress of a complete passing of nation- states, in accordance with the global dimension of free market capitals. Butler thinks of, in ethical terms, the spontaneous gathering of people who organize and hybridize their selves in a here and now of demands in which, with no social identity, they share the critique to the effective model and the demand for a different world. Spivak believes that the idea of belonging always goes together with the violent inscription in a system of power that puts down and in a heteronomous way defines the person and, at the same time, that sharing is possible only from an idea of being shared that comes from interpellation. Therefore, she seems to be able to think the passing of the global level of capitalism supremacy only in a singular behaviour of local education given according to a "planet-thought" (Spivak 2006a, 107-108). Balibar believes that the state dimension is not passed and not passable but that borders should be thought as a continuous transition where belonging, sharing and identity are always in movement because of a common practice.

In this frame, Spivak conceives citizenship as a dead- end path, an institutional form to which subalterns are not able to access. Butler, instead, thinks that the shape of citizenship can be played as a place of demands that act on a critical point of the state structure and of its identity ideology. Balibar, lastly, sees in citizenship a more purposeful feature. Rethought according to his arising formulation it is the common dimension capable to undo and replay state dynamics. The three of them, finally, believe that national identity is in an extremely critical period. They converge thinking that to pass this impasse without falling in global- capitalistic dynamics, it is necessary to articulate alterity spaces where new ethical- political relations can be developed.

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***The Fiction of Fernanda Dias and Senna Fernandes:
Revisiting Colonial Macau through the Lens of
Ethnicity, Gender and Patriarchy***

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Abstract

Macau, the last colonial settlement of the Portuguese empire, inspired several Lusophone writers, though few have captured the intricacies of the Portuguese and Chinese cultural presence. Senna Fernandes and Fernanda Dias are such outstanding voices and the selected authors for the current analysis.

Being a Macanese, a term locally reserved for Eurasian people of Chinese, Portuguese and other descent born in Macau, Senna Fernandes chronicles his own community, picturing the processes of the construction of identity and otherness along multiple lines of class, ethnicity, and gender. He captures the fused historical experiences of the Macanese community at the borderline between the Portuguese colonizers and the majority Chinese population. His novel *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, depicting the strains and conviviality between those of Lusophone descent and the Chinese population, reflects a very conservative social milieu where protagonists remain trapped inside customs whose roots stretch back through the centuries.

The contemporary Portuguese poet and novelist Fernanda Dias presents a self-conscious gaze into a romantic encounter in Macau, perceived as generating a new identity. Featuring a relationship between a Portuguese woman and a Chinese man, she delves into the power strains intrinsic to love, uncovering the subtle games of political implications and allusions to colonial history. A gendered identity is built upon the overlapping of erotic love and aesthetical options.

The two authors reveal the various thin lines of invisible but resilient markers and multiple crisscrossing strategies of either closure and refusal or binding with and accepting various others.

Keywords: Fernanda Dias; Senna Fernandes; literatura colonial; Macau

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Fernanda Dias and Senna Fernandes's writings are distinct from one another in countless aspects. This made the project of analysing their narratives side by side appear unreasonable at first. How can one compare and contrast two writers that have such different standpoints? Setting aside the biographical disparities to solely focus on literary appreciations, Senna Fernandes's fictional works are defined by their external events in a very traditional way, whereas the key to Fernanda Dias's fictional writings is internal and subjective. In the former, the narrative revolves around the plot and the writer shows the significance of the story by just asking the reader to follow the protagonists' actions. However, in the latter, priority goes to central images and epiphanies, around which the lyrical meaning is revealed to the reader. One offers the reader what Roland Barthes calls a "readerly text", the other asks the reader to fill in the plot gaps – what Barthes calls a "writerly text".

The purpose of this essay, however, is not to examine the literary structure and style of Senna Fernandes and Fernanda Dias's fictions, but to analyse the fictional writings of these two authors so as to understand twentieth century colonial Macau and its multi-layered convolutions. Henrique de Senna Fernandes is a prime voice in Macau Portuguese literature. Born in Macau in 1923, Fernandes spent most of his life in the Portuguese colonial city. After a few years sojourn in Portugal where he studied law, he returned to Macau and set up a law office. Besides practicing as a lawyer, he was also a school principal and a journalist. His fiction takes place in a conservative social milieu - the Macau Lusophone community during the 1930s and 1940s. He wrote two collection of short stories, *Nam-Van*, and *Mong-Há*, published respectively in 1978 and 1998, and two novels, *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* (1986) and *A Trança Feiticeira* (1992)¹, both of which were adapted for the cinema. One of his novels, *Os Dores*², was posthumously published in 2012, and another one, *A Noite Caiu em Dezembro*³ is expected to be published in 2014.

The complex relationship between the three main communities in Macau, the Macanese, the European Portuguese and the majority Chinese population is uniquely reflected in the fictional works of Senna Fernandes. This association is illustrated in numerous instances through the idiom of language, religion, gastronomy, music, architecture, and other cultural lexis coming from the West and the East, and generating hybrid cultural expressions in the city.

The vulnerability of Portugal, a country occupying a tiny corner of the international chess board of politics and itself colonized by "Grand Empires" (Santos, 2002), and the nearby silent but impressive China, alert and equipped with a roaring voice when required, made the Macanese defenceless and disquiet as an ethnic minority made of many historical mixtures and re-mixtures. The city was divided in two territorial areas, the Christian and the Chinese, with limited cross-interface between them. The novel *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé* depicts the insecurity of the Macanese with regard to their position in Macau. In the novel (2012, p.50), a playful young Macanese man warned his friends not to tease a Chinese group of street performers in the *cidade chinesa* (Chinese city) because it was dangerous to do so. The district occupied by the *cidade cristã* (Christian city) is regarded as the Macanese social realm, whereas the

¹ The bewitching Braid.

² The Dores.

³ The Night Fell Down in December.

cidade chinesa appears as only a place to go in search of entertainment or to fulfil less honourable and usually secretive purposes. Although co-habiting the same city and being able to communicate with each other, the conviviality between the two communities is thus confined to particular purposes and provides that certain codes of action are met. This is, however, open to variation if categories of class, belonging or gender relations are added to the equation. The social divide can be reduced or expanded under certain circumstances, irrespective of the ethnic origin of the agents. The construct of ethnicity might not be as productive as others such as social strata, gender or patriarchy, when analysing the dynamics of Portuguese colonialism. In fact, the latter concepts, when merged with the colonizer/colonized equation are easily eclipsed.

Within the Macanese community, both social and gender lines display a multitude of subtle though insurmountable divides, evidencing a highly structured and extremely conservative society. In *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, the protagonist Chico Frontaria, a hedonistic son of a traditional Macanese family descendant from Portuguese seafarers, falls down the social ladder from privileged to penniless, and ends up dishonoured and snubbed by his own family and community. He is eventually redeemed by another displaced member of the community, the “spinster” Victorina Vidal. There are heroic deeds in Victorina’s ancestry, though her father was disowned for marrying her mother, a daughter of a Filipino with a shameful occupation - he earned his living treating sexually transmitted diseases. The social secluded Victorina, an independent woman no longer in the marriage pipeline due to her age and physical appearance, would never have been noticed by any male member of the community, including Chico Frontaria. For years, whilst immersed in a carefree and happy-go-lucky lifestyle, Chico Frontaria and his friends indeed had made fun of Victorina. However, the tremendous physical and moral degradation of the latter and the loneliness of the former had put them side by side down on the same road. In this sense Fernandes’ novel is a romantic tale with Victorina coming to rescue the ruined Frontaria, while realistically confirming the social and unbeatable boundaries of the social ladder.

The patriarchal gaze into women as objects of pleasure and decorative display which allow the males to consolidate their position in the social rank, is apparent throughout the novel. The female characters are usually portrayed and evaluated by their external qualities, as in the depiction of Chico Frontaria’s aunt: “[Ela] não tinha atractivos, nunca rapaz algum cirandou à volta dela...”⁴ (p. 23).

Yet the patriarchal gaze does not only target the females - it extends its tentacles to ensure that ambiguous masculinity is not to be tolerated. Victorina’s father is the object of gossip and is belittled by his family for reacting to differences and quarrels in a gentle and quiet manner, thereby attracting the contempt of his own daughter, who states: “[Ela] Preferia um pai bruto como o avô àquela coisa amorfa e abúlica, empurrada eternamente pelos outros”⁵ (p. 217).

⁴ ([She] was chubby, easy going, predestined to the celibacy since infancy. She was no eye-catching, no one else ever wanted to date her...).

⁵ [I] would prefer a father as rude as the grandfather rather than that amorphous and apathetic thing, always pushed by the others.

Another social divide regulates the relationships between the Macanese community and the metropolitan Portuguese temporarily settled in the city, who fulfill administrative, military, or commercial roles. To the Macanese community the mythical homeland gathers unconditional loyalty and its representatives are objects of respect and devotion, as in the passage depicting the encounter between a Portuguese physician and Titi Bitá, the aunt of Chico Frontaria: “O clínico veio, com todo o seu prestígio de português de Portugal. A Titá respondeu-lhe timidamente às perguntas, misturando o vernáculo com frases do mais retinto patuá”⁶ (p. 40).

Too far from and forgotten by Lisbon, the Macanese community experienced a longing that was also ambivalent and contradictory. While the high level metropolitan representatives were accepted and cherished, the local community looked upon the Portuguese soldiers settled by the colonial administration with disdain. What attracted Chico Frontaria to Ermelinda Soeiro, a Macanese woman married to an older man and known within the community for her infidelity, was not her beauty or her sexuality, but revenge - she had shown preference for Portuguese soldiers rather than the *filhos da terra*: “Apontavam-se-lhe os amantes, todos sargentos metropolitanos da Guarnição e da Guarda Cívica. ... Mas, para os filhos da terra, aquela preferência pela gente de fora era uma constante provocação. Todas as tentativas para a seduzir e tirar proveito dos magníficos pomos que pareciam querer sempre saltar do peito, e doutras redondezas opulentas dum corpo extremamente favorecido, baqueavam inúteis. Ela repelia-as com desdém, achava por bem não se comprometer com a ‘sua própria gente’”⁷ (p. 53).

Ermelinda belongs to the lower and most vulnerable strata of Macanese community. Her choices, including preference for a particular type of sexual partner, are ruled by factors other than ethnicity. Her exchange of sexual favors with soldiers rather than Macanese men, although attracting the contempt of the latter, rewards her by increasing her chance of social mobility.

To the Macanese at the highest ranks of the social ladder, the myth of a sacred land infused with aristocratic manners, bravery and pride, is not compatible with the vulgar and illiterate soldiers disembarking in the city from the rural areas of Portugal. Moreover, their behaviour reveals the community’s unspeakable roots: it is not the ethnic divide that puts them apart but the social chasm between poverty and wealth, rudeness and elegance, reality and myth.

Senna Fernandes uncovers the fabricated lineages of the “cream of the city”, a social fabrication laboriously developed over time. His narrative goes back to the founding father of the Frontaria family, a soldier who landed in Macau in the late eighteenth century, and the subsequent trajectory of his descendants: “Para marcar a sua

⁶ The physician came, with all his prestige of Portuguese from Portugal. Aunt Bitá timidly answered to his questions, mixing up the vernacular Portuguese with the totally indecipherable patuá.

⁷ The populace listed the names of her lovers, all metropolitan sergeants from the military and the Civil Guard. ...However, to the *filhos da terra*, her preference for the outsiders was a continuous provocation. All the plans to seduce her and take advantage of her superb breasts that constantly seem to pop up out of the blouse, were fruitless. She scorned them, choosing not to intermingle with her own people.

importância no burgo e para fazer esquecer a origem plebeíssima do ex-grumete, construíram um palácio assobradado à Praia do Manduco, que foi o pasmo da época”⁸ (2012, 20).

Architecture is a territorial status marker that gives the imagined community its second nature. By building a grand home they averted the dangers of exposing a faceless ancestry-line and cemented their solid presence and status in the community. References to people and places, on the other hand, convey the idea of an honourable intangible heritage: “Para justificar a sua empáfia, iam buscar vagas ramificações com alguns nomes mais ilustres da heráldica de Portugal, ocultando ciosamente que entre os seus maiores havia cavadores de enxada escarvando a terra rija de sol a sol.” (2012, 139).⁹

If the mythical homeland serves as the glue to maintain and enhance the community’s standing, the dialect, which developed mainly within the private space of domesticity and spoken within the family meetings and community events, is possibly the strongest line separating the Macanese from the Other. The community absorbed, changed and reinvented the Portuguese language by developing patuá, which strengthened the identity of the group, epitomizing their sense of belonging. Due to its simplicity, the dialect was the preferred language among women in the inner gendered spaces, and the ideal language to communicate feelings and emotions. When a woman chose to speak Portuguese instead of patuá it meant that she wished to be viewed as an educated person, whose education was not confined to the kitchen walls and domestic soliloquies. It might also have meant her desire for social mobility or that she wished not to be associated with the community that speaks patuá, as in the case of Ermelinda, the unfaithful wife (2012, 55): “com o convívio terno dos sargentos, fingia não compreender o dialecto da terra”¹⁰. However, the Portuguese language retained its power and prestige. The educated Macanese men and women from traditional elite families were required to speak Portuguese. Even when life’s trajectories took them away from Macau, they had to return to study their mother language: “Nascido em Macau, filho de um alto funcionário do Consulado de Portugal em Xangai, que se deixara depois ficar na grande metrópole comercial da costa da China, regressara aos doze anos para estudar no Colégio do Seminário de São José, para aprender português como ele devia ser aprendido”¹¹ (2012, 161).

The community meets after Sunday mass, a ritual that reinforced the ties and sense of belonging through its enclosed circles of chatty talk and gossiping. Macanese families of high social status are regular attendants, with many engaging in charitable causes

⁸ To establish his prominence in town and to brush off the modest roots of the ex-soldier, they built an extravagant palace at Manduco beach, which mesmerized the populace.

⁹ They used to assume a few famous names from Portuguese heraldry, concealing the fact that among their ancestors were diggers working with a hoe from sunrise to sunset.

¹⁰ With the tender conviviality of sergeants, she pretended not to understand the local dialect.

¹¹ Being a son of a high-ranking official working in the Portuguese Consulate located in Shanghai, he was sent to Macau at the age of 12 to study proper Portuguese at the Seminary of Saint Joseph, to learn Portuguese as it should be.

as a means to assert their inherited Catholic values and their position in the social rank. However, it acts also as a space where collective control is exerted over individuals, as in the case of the fallen hero of *Amor e dedinhos de pé*. If we consider Senna Fernandes's fiction as a narrative about customs and social mores, the front of the church on Sunday mornings plays the symbolic central stage in it.

Born in Alentejo, Portugal, Fernanda Dias arrived in Macau in her late thirties, earning her living as a visual arts teacher, and lived there for more than 20 years. She published poetry and two volumes of short stories, and she is recognized as a visual artist. Her passion for the Silk Road civilization was like love at first sight, as reflected in her works evidence.

Contrary to S. Fernandes's stories, Fernanda Dias is not interested in portraying mainstream Macau. Her literary universe is the private and intimate sphere of human relationships filled with tensions of a political and gendered dimension. The protagonists of her short stories are revealed to the reader via their emotions and their senses – they are the “unknowable other”. In some tales of *Days of Prosperity* and in her poetry, the interplay between East and West takes place through a love affair between a female Portuguese settler and her indigenous Chinese lover, the latter personifying the dispossessed lord of the land. Both in the narrative and in the poems, the meta-function of the inter-ethnic romantic encounter disrupts the colonial establishment, illustrating political strains, as well as gender and power imbalances. Fernanda Dias's writings challenge the colonial and conservative Macau by focusing on the intimate game of love. Yet by their practices, dialogues and soliloquies, they keep unsettling several forms of social hierarchies.

In *Horas de Papel*, the amorous woman extends her devotion to the Chinese man and from the man to the Chinese land, not regarded as possession. In so doing she ignores her ascribed role in the colonial order: “Eras tu que partias./ E é só tua a terra que deixavas./ Mas era eu, desfeita, que me despedia/ com os olhos febris sorvidos pelas coisas/ que tão cedo não tornarás a ver” (1992, 42)¹². Her lover remains inaccessible with the mystery (and the appeal) of belonging to a different race and a different world. Driven by love, the urge to reach the Other is stronger than the pressure to follow the order of things. It is not power any longer that governs the course of her actions, but the consciousness of a primordial harmony encapsulated in time and waiting to be revealed: “Sentado na minha frente, paraste o tempo,/ e o teu rosto de súbito revela/ que em ti arde a memória de milénios. // Quem me sorri na tua face séria?” (1992, 34)¹³

The writer reveals the loneliness of the enamoured woman, for her lover either has not yet arrived, or he's leaving, or when he stays he still escapes her by being absent minded. She reverses the colonial order while reproducing the gendered hierarchies,

¹² “It was you who went away/And the land you left was yours alone. / But it was me, wrecked, who said goodbye / with feverish eyes absorbed by the things / that you will not see soon again”. This and the following paraphrases in English of Dias' quotes are just that, not a literary translation.

¹³ “Sitting in front of me, you stopped time, / and your face suddenly reveals / that within you the memory of millennia is burning. // Who is smiling to me in your solemn face?”

in which the power apparently remains with the male. The patriarchal system seemingly remains intact, granting the overarching role to the Chinese lover, while the colonial imperative is clearly dislocated within the romantic tale. Because one loves, or has loved, one is suffering. In “Orgulho” it states: “Doem-me os braços de há tanto tempo/ os trazer estendidos ao longo do corpo/ (...) Dói-me a alma de ouvir falar/ a tua língua que não entendo/ e as mãos por nunca as ter pousado/ na máscara serena do teu rosto// (...) Mas nenhuma lágrima assoma/ e nenhum grito me trai// Uso a dor límpida orgulhosamente por dentro// Como um broche de ouro/ num vestido rasgado.” (1992, 54).¹⁴

The beloved is metonymically named through the objects and materials that symbolically represent the civilization to which he belongs: The poet will sing the “opulento jade do teu peito” (1999, 29).¹⁵ Jade, alabaster, silk, lotus and the erhu are thus all names of the beloved, reflecting a strong attachment with the lover’s culture to an extent that one may question if the lover’s ontological being would survive if taken from his cultural and aesthetical context. “... o seu corpo novo e puro parecia incorruptível. E era por isso, para isso, que eu ali estava. Para fazer dele o cerne de um sonho. (...) O seu rosto, que eu não me atrevia a fitar longamente senão em temerários momentos ou quando ele dormia, revelava-me o mistério dos antigos Budas, aqueles cujo corpo é da natureza vegetal dos Lótus e cujo sorriso é o último raio vermelho do Sol a cair no Mar.” (1998, 81) ¹⁶ Through this mediation between the lover and his environment the poet also creates a protective distance with respect to the male beauty. “Dormes, com as flores negras do teu cabelo/ esparsas na esteira lisa./ E a límpida carne adormecida/ revela o anjo torpe prisioneiro” (1992, 32).¹⁷

At the root of Fernanda Dias’s poetic inspiration one also finds one’s longing for the homeland. In this case Alentejo - the land, the scents, the names, which she carries along as fond memories, and that will be summoned in a strange place: “Estou aqui, encolhida num canto/ trago os olhos cheios de estevas e besouros/ que vieram para te ver” (1992, 13)¹⁸. The magical parallels through which Baudelaire theorized in his poetry live in synaesthesia to the places captured in the poetic vision: “Ah, aldeia de Coloane!/ Por entre lágrimas,/ vejo-te, num ápice, alentejana/ roda-pés azuis, alteias cor-de-malva/ e púrpura aflorando os beirais! (...) E ao som das pedras do mah-jong/

¹⁴ “My arms hurt for so long / bringing them stretched along the body / ...It hurts my soul to hear / that language of yours which I don’t understand / and my hands for never having touched/ the serene mask of your face/ / ...But no tears looms / and no crying betrays me / / I use proudly the clear pain inside / / As a golden ornament / on a torn dress”.

¹⁵ “The opulent jade of your bare chest”.

¹⁶ “I did not dare stare at length to his face but in reckless moments or when he slept, it showed me the mystery of the ancient Buddhas, those whose body is of the same nature of the lotus plant, whose smile is the last ray of the red Sun falling in the Sea”.

¹⁷ “You sleep with the black flowers of your/ hair scattered on the smooth mat./ And the pale flesh asleep / reveals the vile Angel imprisoned”.

¹⁸ “I’m here, huddled in a corner / I bring my eyes full of cysts and beetles/ who came just to see you”.

vejo os velhos cabisbaixos/ sentados de lado em cadeiras de bunho/ apascentando aéreos, zumbidores/ ténues rebanhos de asas – vespas e besouros.” (1992, 58)¹⁹

In the unfamiliar landscape, one recognizes colours, sounds, and scents (1992, 14): “Ninguém sabe o meu nome em Macau/ não tenho amigos na cidade/ Mas no Jardim Lou lim Ieoc/ o plumbago azul/ é tão azul como naquela praceta/ no outro lado do Mundo.// Não posso dizer que estou sozinha.”²⁰ Thus, through this recognition the poetry muddles the boundaries between one’s own space and the space of the Other in a way that the two become indistinguishable. Fernanda Dias’s earlier poems seem as various occasions of discovering new areas in the “cidade estranha” (1992, 13)²¹. In fact, they are the result of a mutual presentation - the city is presented to the visitor in the scenes described, the subject presents herself to it, loaded with a past and a knowledge that coincides with the founding space of childhood, Alentejo, a memory of scents and colours, and playing with what the foreign city is offering. Baudelaire’s programmatic synaesthetic associations are the focus of a recognition that eliminates the notion of radical dissimilarity and anticipates the proclamation of an universal equivalence - of feelings, representations and realities that will structure later works such as *O Sol, a Lua e a Via do Fio de Seda* (2011) and *Contos da Água e do Vento* (2013). Fernanda Dias manages to recreate a particular cosmology, geographically identifiable with the Chinese civilization, while at the same time postulating an openly universal epistemology.

In “Sai-kuá”, F. Dias chronicles an idyll in China, addressing ironically the dilemma of a woman who questions her lover’s refusal to carry a watermelon purchased by both of them. She drags the watermelon behind him, lost in her musings: “Como peças de um jogo desconhecido perguntas sucessivas surgem na minha mente. Que secreto tabu o impede de atravessar o mercado carregando uma melancia? Ou antes, que orgulhoso preconceito o impede de caminhar ao lado de uma mulher ocidental, carregando fruta num saco de plástico? Ou então, que norma antiquada o proíbe de atravessar o mercado carregando as compras, seguido de uma mulher? O talvez, que lição quer ele dar-me, obrigando-me a segui-lo, penosamente carregada (...)?”

E que estranho pudor me impede de o interrogar? E que desconhecido atavismo me compele a renunciar ao impulso de largar o saco na berma do caminho?”(1998, 30)²²

¹⁹ “Ah, Coloane village / Amid tears, / I see you, at a glance, Alentejo / blue footers, pink mauve hollyhocks / and purple surfacing the eaves! ...And the sound of mah-jong pieces/ I see the old men droopy / sitting sideways on bulrush chairs / steering air, buzzing / faint flocks of wings / Wasps and beetles”.

²⁰ “No one knows my name in Macau/ I have no friends in town/ But in Lou Lim Ieoc Garden/ the blue plumbago/ is as blue as the one in that little square/ on the other side of the world. / I cannot say I'm alone”.

²¹ ... strange city.

²² “As part of an unknown game successive questions arise in my mind. What secret taboo prevents him from going through the market carrying a watermelon?

Or rather, what old-fashioned proud bias prevents him from walking besides a western woman carrying fruit in a plastic bag? Or else, what antiquated rule prohibits him from crossing the market carrying groceries, followed by a woman? Or, perhaps, what lesson does he intend to give me, forcing me to follow him, painfully loaded...? And

While behaving in accordance with the patriarchal order, the western woman is self-conscious and questions the reasons why she is following such humiliating imperatives, which in the context of her cultural background are considered awkward. Yet her leading goal is to understand the Other's attitude in accepting the patriarchal conventions. The denouement imposes the only possible happy ending: female complacency to the reactions of passers-byes: "Retribuo o sorriso, é como se lhes dissesse: cá por mim, posso muito bem carregar com a porcaria da melancia. (...) Como uma bandeira de submissão, entro no hotel arvorando orgulhosamente uma melancia."²³ Like the watermelon, the woman is now a trophy. They are both spoils of war, a war she wins if he is victorious.

The fact that they belong to different ethnicities and different worlds, only intensifies this unyielding antagonism existing between man and woman. The arrogance, the effrontery, the indifference, and the estrangement are on his side. In "Respirando sem ti": "digo e repito:/ estou aqui e esta é a minha voz./ a terra é tua, a arrogância é tua./ mas o ar que respiramos é de todos nós" (1999, 31).²⁴ Love gives her everything, but it takes everything away from her as well: "com uma mão te dás, com a outra me tiras/ tudo, até o direito de amar o teu país" (1999, 38).²⁵

The narrative is deeply interweaved with colonial Macau and the lovers merely enhance a duality that precedes and overlaps the natural antagonism between man and woman, between the one consenting to love and the one who surrenders to it. The political implications of the moving equilibrium oscillating between colonizer and colonized are never concealed in this script about love: "seis mil anos pesam no meu destino/ é por causa de umas vagas caravelas/ que aqui estamos/ prostrada como uma cativa, sou eu que venço quando a ti me dou" (1999, 43).²⁶

Conclusion

Fernanda Dias and Senna Fernandes have written about slightly different periods, and their perceptions and experiences of the place also reflect this historical gap. Their individual convictions and standpoints seem also vastly different. However, both offer non conventional modalities of gender and interethnic relations, that at some point defy atavisms, stereotypes, social determinism and politically correct outlooks. Both deemed to uncover cross-cutting themes worthy of consideration in the field of Lusophone postcolonial narrative.

what strange modesty prevents me to question him? And what unknown atavism compels me to forego the urge to drop the bag on the side of the road?"

²³ "I reciprocate the smile, as if saying to them: 'It's fine, I might as well carry this crap. (...) Like a flag of submission, I proudly entered the hotel carrying a watermelon'"

²⁴ In "Breathing without you": I say and I repeat: I am here and this is my voice/ this earth is yours, like your arrogance/ but the air we breathe belongs to every one of us".

²⁵ "with one hand you give yourself, with the other you take/ everything from me, even the right to love your country".

²⁶ "six thousand years weigh upon my destiny / It is because of some vague caravels / that we are here / I am prostrate as a captive, but I am the one who is wining when I give myself to you".

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Boundary Line of the Life: Belonging or not Belonging to the Culture

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It seems to be one of important issues for people in Japan whether they belong to their culture or not. For example, there are some expressible and inexpressible cultural standards, which people have or achieve until some certain ages. Although such age categories (e.g. to be a full-time employee, to get married, or to have children) have been shifted with some social movements, it is not so different to feel negative when people cannot catch up with lifetime matters of the majority. Therefore about 30,000 people commit suicide each year because they think about themselves unworthy in the society. Why do they think unworthy? It comes from collective ideas, which have been cultivated by Confucian philosophy. In fact some cultural scholars have researched the influence for a long time. Yet, why do people in Japan choose to commit suicide instead of living with own individual situations? It is “Cultural Socialism” that there are some culturally approved standards for being an accepted person in the society, which are less allowable to have individuality but need to embody their socially allowable matters in themselves. Atmosphere of “Cultural Socialism” has been created in their lives. Through the case study of asthma patients, people in Japan need to have more individuality and flexibility for reducing suicide rate.

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1. Introduction

Asian religious and philosophical ideas seem to introduce that human wisdom can be “perfect” if they strenuously train themselves in good social environments. According to the concept, numbers of people in Asia do not have ideas of the perfect God, which for example general Christians believe. In Japanese culture people have gods, yet their conceptual gods are occasional, and some gods have human-like characters such as the Greek myths. Since their gods are not omnipotent, a great number of people have to rely on human wisdom and to prepare everything with the wisdom. For instance, if a plan is failed by just bad weather, at times someone is blamed. “Who did choose this day?” “Maybe someone is a bad person, and we got this fail!” If some things do not work well, some people are seemingly censured since they intentionally or unintentionally tend to think that human lives should be “perfect” and things work well if people are “perfect”, which human beings should acquire.

Normally people in Japan seek stable life conditions and do not prefer to go through repeated trial and error. Besides, for stability people have to build up a harmonic society. If someone disturbs their harmony, the person is mostly treated as unworthy for the society as if he/she cannot belong to the culture of their society. It comes from collectivistic ideas that people should resemble or do what their culture allows: to belong or not to belong is the boundary line of the life. It is Cultural Socialism. Because of less individual and less flexible ways, they seem to think about “unauthentic” for the society if they hardly belong to the culture. Unfortunately in Japan, about 30,000 people commit suicide each year (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2009, p.1) and later of this paper shows the details by the case study. Belonging to the culture of their society is a matter of life or death for them. They need to be worthy of it for their survival. If people accept more individuality and more flexibility, numbers of them will not choose to commit suicide.

Why do they have serious motivation for belonging? Actually as a general belief, no one can live for oneself, and people seek for their possible belonging entities, which criterion is mainly their similarities. Naturally, people commonly feel comfortable or secured when they are with similar ones since they can easily understand each other and act together. There are many kinds of similarities, such as school, work, hobbies, backgrounds and ages. Yet, the fundamental idea of similarities comes from their thoughts: about what they think as good, bad, allowable, unallowable, necessary or unnecessary. With this foundation, what kinds of manners they create? That is the culture of their society including religions, philosophy, custom, legends and folklore. For instance, because of culture, some societies allow women to have higher positions among them, but other societies are not. Some societies have almost no age limit for their marriages, but some societies have strict rules (even unspeakable rules). Culture of their society actually has influence on characteristic guidance on what people should think and act. In Japan, the most manners of their created thoughts come from Confucianism.

2. Doctrine of Confucianism

Confucianism mentions philosophical doctrine for politics and morality. It is founded by Confucius (Kong Fu Zi) (c.551 B.C.E.-c.479 B.C.E.) who is described as the great Chinese philosopher. Although other late Chinese philosophical ideas have added to

this theory, as Confucianism it has been mostly spread out over North East Asian regions. About from three to four century the doctrine came to Japan, and from the generations, Confucianism has had deep effects on Japanese society. Even though it has more or less received various influences, Confucianism has been used as fundamental political and moral teaching in Japan (Japan-guide.com, 2002) (Maeyama et.al, 1987, pp.102, 144) (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2013). Normally people in Japan do not learn specific Confucianism, however, the theory still has affected the society as culture, which has cultivated them how to think and act. Therefore, when they would objectively study Confucianism, they would realize why they take things as morality or immorality. Factually, some scholars categorize Japan as Confucian affected culture (Hoppe, 2007. p.2) (Hofstede. 2007, p.418) (Hofstede and Minkov, 2010, p.496) (Ham, 2004, p.94).

Original philosophical principle of Confucian theory is humaneness and its practice (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2013). Humaneness should exist without conflicts, and Confucianism respects harmonic society. Current Confucianism is mixed by ideas of other philosophers, and one of them is Mencius (B.C.E. 371-289 B.C.E.) who explained about a belief that human nature is fundamentally good. This belief has expanded into resemblance of people by birth, but they have become different by environments and practices. Since human beings are good by nature, it is necessary to recover their goodness through taking out evil factors and practicing right manners. To keep harmonic society, Mencius applied this principle to authorities that evil rulers need to be excluded from the society when they misgovern the nation (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2013) (Kupperman, 1968, p.177). In other words, evil rulers cannot hold their authorized positions for a long time, and then if they can hold it longer, they are sure to be good rulers with humaneness and morality. This theory also applied to common people that bad entities should not belong to the society if the society prefers to keep good humaneness and morality.

Many scholars have tried to build up harmonic societies by this doctrine. If people rightly use Confucianism principle, the society may work well. However, since they have tried to crate harmony no matter how, their interpretation of moral humaneness laws became less individual and less flexible. For example, it is difficult to have political decisions with fulfilled requests of varied opinions when they do not have enough time. Then, they prefer to have resembling people for conflict avoidance because in Confucianism people are originally good by birth and have likeness. Numbers of people in Western countries or individualistic societies may feel awkward why they seek harmonic decisions for their issues. In many Asian countries, this idea seems to be deeply connected to a fundamental life issue how they produce their staff of life. It is farming. Generally, Western societies are categorized as hunting culture, and Asian society is farming. Although for a large scale of hunting people need to have harmonic team work, they can also do by individuals if they choose small scales. However, for farming especially rice field, it is troublesome if they aim to harvest enough quantity of rice by individuals. Without harmony, people of Asian farming societies would be hard to survive until current mechanized generations. Accordingly, three ideologies are selected from Confucianism, which connect to topic of this paper: 1) Creating admirable models, 2) Having approvals, and 3) Obeying their authorities.

1) Creating Admirable Models

In Confucianism, human beings originally have good nature but have diverged from it by environments and practices. To resume goodness, people are required to have right practices under Confucian doctrine, which are to show humaneness as their philosophical principle. As one of examples, men discipline themselves to be a Confucian gentleman, and Chan mentions what kind of person the gentleman is. The gentleman stands for human culture through its doctrine of propriety and social status. Then, he restrains himself and should not engage in fun-making (1947, pp.164, 168, 169). This “restrain oneself” can explain by an important ideologies of Confucianism: oppressing oneself and restricting own expression. Kupperman delineates that Confucian gentlemen should not have open-mindedness because self-expression will introduce spreading out their feeling and opinions. It leads to uncontrollable atmosphere and conflicts that are dangerous for their society (1968, pp.177, 183). If their situation is a strategic meeting, it is time-consuming and cannot make drastically serious decisions. The situation throws the meeting into turmoil. Moreover, if they cannot fix the turmoil, their uncontrollable atmosphere will be bigger and larger. It produces conflicts, and the society cannot keep moral humaneness anymore. For them it is better to avoid conflicts than to fix conflicts because in conflicts people have hardship to restrain themselves. It is not their gentlemanlike. Therefore they strive for how to avoid conflict by collective ways that by resemblance people do not have different feeling and opinions, which cannot cause any factions or cliques.

People are promoted to become their socially admirable models for establishing social harmony. Becoming resembled entities through admirable models may not produce conflicting atmosphere through resembled feeling and opinions. For them collectives are better than individuals. In Japan, this manner sometimes diverts into survival status that they need to be and have what the society admires so as to belong to the culture of their society. In fact general people in Japan strive to achieve what the society treats as good matters, such as to get licenses for jobs, to study other languages or to stay beautiful. If these matters are from their hearts or somehow their necessities, it is their lives and should be fine. Notwithstanding, a multitude of them forcibly do through checking information or ranking. Moreover, people in Confucian culture are normally uneasy to explain own opinions as stated above. Unfortunately numbers of them cannot explain their own opinions but follow the majority because of fear for non-belonging. After all, if someone has similarity to their majority, he/she cheerfully survives in the society, however, if not, he/she often chooses to adjust oneself or stays away from the main stream culture.

2) Having Approvals

Although people in Confucian culture strive for being socially admirable models, it is difficult to examine their achieved levels by themselves. If they are socially unacceptable entities, unfortunately it is clearly understood by negative attitudes from the majority through neglect or exclusion as non-belonging. If people can calm down and survey their situations in order to determine exact reasons for the consequence, it might be just characteristic differences, and they will have possibilities to reconcile one another. However, since they have been instilled good likeness by birth and necessary belonging, difference is hard to accept by great numbers of people, and then unacceptable entities tend to pursue after approvals of the majority. If people cannot

wipe out their disapproval, many of them may have deep anxiety or upset and eventually lose hope for their future. Because of collectivism it is a boundary line for their lives, belonging or not belonging. They care about what the other people mention whether having approvals or not.

Chan explains this trait as “the Great Affirmation” (1947, p.168). For conflict avoidance their society has to have harmonic integration through Confucian ideologies because human beings resemble one another, which tends not to consider individualistic characters. Instead, they need to have approval from their society. For creating a harmonic society, they strive for being admirable models through Confucian ideologies, and admirable people should be automatically included in the society. It is important having approval for social belonging. This explanation sounds overstating, yet an example in Japan, there are some certain age categories for social approvals: be a full-time employee, to get married, or to have children. Although such age categories have been shifting with some social movements, it is not so different to feel non-belonging to the culture of their society when people cannot catch up with lifetime activities of the majority. For Confucianism, human beings are alike each other and have less individuality. Therefore, to be different among the society seems to be unacceptable, and in an extreme case, they cannot belong to the culture of their society anymore because they will be treated as negative factors for disturbing their harmony.

3) Obeying Their Authorities

As above-mentioned, people in Asia generally do not have concept of the Almighty perfect God, which is monotheism like Christianity, and numbers of them prefer to rely on human wisdom. Simultaneously they need to take responsibilities through the human wisdom. If they fail something, they are often treated as imperfect ones compared with, for instance, Confucian “perfect” figures. Kupperman cites as one of “perfect” figures when Confucius depicted his attaining enlightenment, “at seventy I could follow the desires of my heart without transgressing the right” (1968, p.184). People in Confucianism culture necessarily strive to be their higher admirable models and have social approvals. Such trained Confucian people will be “perfect” and can be also “perfect” authorities with humaneness and also righteousness. At the same time, Kupperman describes Confucian elements as training, culture, intelligent discrimination and refinement, and then “perfect” Confucian people should retain these characteristics (1968, p.178). Therefore, Confucian ideas encourage people to train themselves for becoming the socially acceptable figures with affirmation. With their practices, people will be “perfect” like what Confucius mentioned, and they may have no transgressing the right anymore and can say what they prefer.

Normally only some respectable or prominent people can have authorities. In fact without better characteristics it is hard to be an authority since authorities have a role to lead. This kind of belief turns to that their authorities are “perfect” in Confucian influenced societies. Although this ideology currently seems to be reduced because of globalization, which introduces various kinds of ideologies, it so often works in Japan. They might not believe just their authorities, yet, they have tendency to believe culturally authorized matters or information. Besides, this ideology includes other meaning. People have resemblance by nature but through environments and practices their characteristics are unlike each other. If they have some particular training, they

can be alike and achieve resembled respectable or prominent characteristics with higher abilities. Then if “perfect” authorities say something, it should be “authentic” for the culture of their society and “unauthentic” people should follow that: for building a harmonic society, individual originality is less required because their good nature by birth is alike. If someone shows individual originality, in many cases he/she might be treated as an unusual figure. Then he/she might be non-belonging to the culture of their society, which does not need him/her.

It is not only in politics but also in numbers of areas among societies. Some famous or socially admirable people are regarded as authorities through ideological interpretation from Confucianism that more “authentic” and “perfect” people can have authorities. Then when such authorities mention something, other unauthorized people are prone to follow them without enough examination that because of Cultural Socialism they eager to be culturally admirable and have approvals. These “authentic” and “perfect” includes popular movies, winners of the athletic competitions, current fashions or some popular entities, which impress on people since prosperous and successful atmospheres are treated as the evidence. Moreover, with resemblance ideology, a multitude of people believe without individuality that they can be like them by imitating what such authorities are doing. Many people tend to belong to such “authentic” and “perfect” people and avert to belong to “unauthentic” people. Although their main meaning of “unauthentic” people is individual originality or characteristic differences from the majority including physical or mental traits, such “unauthentic” entities are often treated as unnecessary to the culture of their society. Since many of them believe environmental influences on people, they have tendency to exclude such “unauthentic” entities from their environments in order to avoid further influence. It is Cultural Socialism that without individuality, people seek what the majority of the culture say admirable. Labelled “unauthentic” people are sometimes regards as unsuitable and unnecessary entities: 1) Not being cultural admirable models, 2) Not having cultural approvals and 3) Not obeying their cultural authorities. In extreme cases, they are cut off from the culture of their society. How about such “unauthentic” people’s end? Because of collectivism society, they will struggle with belonging, and some of them face the boundary life or death, and commit suicide.

3. Case Study: Consequences of non-Belonging

Why do people choose to commit suicide? Although there are multifarious causes, mostly people feel themselves useless and valueless with painful matters and have no hope for their future since in many cases if they have hope and keep motivation for life, there can be still some ways no matter how they are. If societies have collectivistic culture, their ratio of suicide should be higher because the causes are not only personal factors but also social ones, which people cannot usually handle by themselves. In contrast, many people in individualistic culture can choose life more since their life criteria are not other people in their societies. Besides, even other people seem not to treat negatively if the reason is just different characteristics: they are not Cultural Socialism. There is statistics of suicide rate of their populations in each country: 1.Lithuania 38.6%, 2.Belarus 35.1%, 3.Russia 32.2%, 4.Slovenia 26.3%, 5.Hungary 26.0%, 6.Kazakhstan 25.9%, 7.Latvia 24.5%, 8.Japan 23.7%, 9.Guyana 22.9%, 10.Ukraine 22.6%, 11.South Korea 21.9%; 12.Belgium 21.1%. In fact, except Belgium, countries with collective atmosphere including previous

socialistic ones have higher suicide ratio than individualistic countries. In the states, China is the number 15, and the suicide ratio is 13.9%. It seems not so huge compared with the first rank Lithuania. However, in China about 287,000 people commit suicide each year (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2009, p.1) (Bi, 2011). If their societies may be Cultural Socialism, it may have a reason for suicide whether socially “authentic“ figures or not as boundary line of the life.

In Japan about 30,000 people commit suicide every year. According to the statistics in 2009, about 59.8% is unemployed people and 37.6% is employed. The worst reason of suicide is health issues 64.9%, and the second is financial and life issues about 34.0%. Consecutively, it is domestic issues and then working issues. Both unemployed and employed, the worst factor was health issues (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2009, p.5). For these consequences, people can see two points of situations from health issues: with illness to have a job and to keep a job are hard. Illness itself causes physical or mental suffering, and with the suffering people cannot concentrate what they do. Eventually, illness causes unproductiveness at work. Some kinds of diseases are chronically sudden attacks, which make people not know how much they can manage their assigned work. Some other diseases require workload limitation, which make people not allow even some important matters in the workplace. After all sick people are hard to belong to the majority at work, the culture of their workplace. With their suffering by illness and non-belong to the working societies, they think themselves unsuitable and unusable. Furthermore, their distressed feeling leads to think themselves useless and valueless for many kinds of socially related matters through Cultural Socialism: “unauthentic“ figures cannot belonging to the culture of their society. They lose hope for their future, and eventually numbers of them commit suicide (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, Preventive measures against suicide, 2002, p.10).

For this case study, although it seems not to be the worst causal disease of suicide, asthma patients are an applicable example because of two reasons. Firstly, the highest suicide ratio in Japan is sick people, and asthma is one of illnesses. Secondly, considering Cultural Socialism, some of characteristics of asthma are treated as unsuitable, unusable and in some cases “unauthentic” for the society, which are largely connected to reasons of suicide in Japan. Unfortunately general people misunderstand asthma patients by their intangible and uncertain disease characteristics as “only a fit of coughing” or “noisy breathing”. Notwithstanding, in reality, it is a respiratory disorder. In other words, patients have difficulty in expiration and a feeling of constriction in the chest. The symptom of asthma attacks is sudden wheezes and suffocated feeling by chronic inflammation of one’s respiratory tract (Dictionary.com, n.d.) (Collins English Dictionary, n.d.) (Asthma and cough phlegm.COM.Genjou, 2011). In short, they are chronically more or less suffocated.

There are generally three asthma characteristic levels: slight, moderate and refractory. Slight level patients can run and go upstairs although it is not always easy and often feel suffocated. In contrast, ten percent of the entire asthma patients are refractory level, which is hard to move, difficult to talk and to have disturbance of consciousness (Nabe, 2005, p.190) (The first asthmatic guide, 2005). When patients have sudden or heavy asthma attacks, they are at risk to die within one to three hours. Actually in Japan each year about 3,000 people die from suffocation (Asthma and cough phlegm.COM.Shibou, 2011). The majority people believe that asthma is only

children's disease, and actually about 80 percent of infantile asthma patients become healthy in their adolescence almost naturally. However, about twenty percent of infantile asthma becomes bronchial asthma although most of them have tried to recover from it by exercises and/or medication. As of April 2014, total population in Japan is about 127,000,000, and the about 4,500,000 people have asthma, and the number is increasing since many of people start to have asthma attacks from their forties to sixties (Asthma and cough phlegm COM.Genjou, 2011) (Statics Bureau, 2014).

The reason why asthma characteristics are intangible and uncertain is generally even patients themselves cannot expect when and how their disease gets worse. Of course many of them have proper medication and try to control it under advice of medical personnel. However, like even trained athletes fall ill, controlling asthma patients get asthma attacks. Besides, once they get the attacks, numbers of them cannot also expect the time of recovery. Moreover, the outside of asthma patients look normal when they are just sitting and stay calm, yet, in some cases when they trot, go upstairs or sing, their asthma suddenly gets worse. Since asthma patients try to avoid heavily choked physical conditions, they often decline when they are asked something including work. Nevertheless, because their outside is just normal, many non-asthma people misunderstand and unfortunately doubt as if they tell lies or "unauthentic" ones. Furthermore, asthma patients often need to decline even social activities, non-asthma people start not to include them their activities anymore. If Japan had had individualistic culture, asthma patients could be fine. However it is mainly Cultural Socialism, what they believe "authentic" matters are mostly what the majority do, and asthma patients cannot do under their chronic suffocated physical conditions. After all numbers of asthma patients cannot belong to the culture of their society, and some of them are also mentally struggling.

Commonly one of "authentic" matters for adults in Japan is to be a regular employee. Many asthma patients have intention to work, however it is difficult. Because of their illness suffering asthma characteristics have socially "unauthentic" figures: intangibility and uncertainty. Drastically, work is commercialism, and employers need to survive in the competitive business world. They need to make elaborate plans and schedules, and employees need to follow them for building productiveness. Notwithstanding, numbers of asthma patients cannot follow them by unscheduled absence and work limitation by asthma attacks. Dr. Nabe explained conditions of asthma patients at work. "It is clear that respiratory dysfunctional patients have wills to work but have no job. Most of no work experience is usually refractory level, however, overall the reason of unemployment is unscheduled absence at least more than once in a month. Therefore, unstable conditions of respiratory dysfunctional patients make their employment difficulties, and also most of the patients abandon wills to work" (2005, pp.187, 191, 193).

Why do they abandon to work instead of their intention? Considering Cultural Socialism in Japan, their sick conditions are "unauthentic" and hard to belong to the culture of their society. Their often unscheduled absences and work limitation are 1) Not admirable models, 2) Not having approvals and 3) Not to obey their cultural authorities since they cause troubles for the majority of other employees and are against the regulation of their companies. Indeed people with intangible and uncertain illnesses are treated as unsuitable and unusable ones. Although there is special paid

sick leave for obvious heavy diseases in Japan, for other diseases, such as five days of flu, employees need to spend from their paid holidays. Moreover, compared with many Western countries, employees are not given so many holidays. For example, the first year full-time employees can have about eleven paid holidays. It means that if they need to leave for a hospital more than once in a month, their paid holidays are quickly disappeared (Nagoya International Center, 2012) (Heymann et.al., 2009, pp.1, 6-9). After that, their absences affect their income and promotion at work. People might think that they can stay in their workplace if they have wills, however, such attitudes are generally less favorable in Japanese culture.

4. Conclusion: More Individuality and More Flexibility

Accordingly, it is one of important matters for people in Japan whether they belong to the culture of their society or not. Their interpretation of Confucian influenced collectivistic culture became Cultural Socialism, and to belong to the culture of their society means the boundary line of the life. When they observe themselves not to be culturally admirable models, not to have cultural approvals or not to obey their cultural authorities, they mostly think about themselves unworthy for the society. And if people are excluded from the majority, in an extreme case, they have no hope and no future. Therefore, a great number of people in Japan commit suicide every year. How can people avoid this devastated life end? It is more individuality and more flexibility, which will allow people to have freedom of their hearts. There are some suggestions for having individuality and flexibility from social and personal sides in order to prevent suicide.

1) Social Sides: Preparation Individuality and Flexibility

Some years ago, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare in Japan suggested for suicide prevention in their bulletin: “to review how to work, to build a society of a possibility for taking on the challenge again and to prepare support and consulting systems for such as unemployment and multiple debts” (2009, p.3). Since culturally fixed their social systems have been practiced so many years, it is actually difficult to repair immediately. Moreover, as described above retrial is not so admirable in Japanese society. Through Confucian interpretation, people can be “perfect” by training, and people are not “perfect” if they need retrials. Although such ideology currently has a little eased, the society has still less flexibility, which leads people to do and achieve something until some certain ages. Because of expressible and inexpressible cultural standards, if approximately more than thirty-five-years-old people resign from their jobs, it is generally difficult to have a new full-time employment. Notwithstanding, individuality and flexibility are needed: not to follow Cultural Socialism. Then employers will find more competent skilful individual candidates and can discuss flexible employments. It will help not only people, who are treated as non-belonging to the culture of their society, but also employers themselves.

2) Personal Sides: Mind Individuality and Flexibility

It hardly denies environmental influences on people, however, it is not always true since people in the same culture and the same circumstances largely do not grow in the same way because of own characteristics in deep insides. If their characteristics

belong to the culture of their society, with moral and lawful consideration other people will allow what they do. However, if their characteristics do not belong to it, because of Cultural Socialism and care about what others think, many people will hesitate to pursue something even morally and lawfully allowable matters. Some people are waiting for their environmental changes, yet, in many cases such fixed collectivistic environment is difficult to change. Indeed, to improve their environments is very important, however simultaneously, people can change some things through mind individuality and flexibility.

When people have difficulties, first they need to examine what it is. If it is physical conditions, they need to understand what they can do and improve. Then, there are possibilities if they do not focus on unnecessary belonging to the culture of their society. In 1965 Dr. Nakamura built up a vocational facility (later named Japan Sun Industries) for disabled people in Beppu city, Japan. In the generation people with handicaps normally stayed in hospitals or homes since it was unusual if they work. They had been sorrowfully treated as “unauthentic” people. Nevertheless, with individuality and flexibility, he introduced social integration, and now more than 1,000 disabled people are working with about 800 non-disabled people at Japan Sun Industries and its related companies (Japan Sun Industries, 2002) (Japan Sun Industries, n.d. pp.3,11). Through individuality and flexibility, they are own “authentic” people who are beyond of unnecessary cultural belonging.

Why are resembled characteristics good? Why do people believe that to have the same ideas can prevent conflicts? Is it possible that everyone has the same ideas in the world? For having real harmonic societies, people need to think critically. Since people have different characteristics including physical conditions, individuality and flexibility are one of essential points for freedom of hearts. Moreover, nothing is stable on the earth. People might be able to belong to some particular cultural society by forcible manners. Nevertheless, when a new cultural group is on the rise, previous ones will decline. If so, previous majority cultures will be minority, and they might be treated as not cultural admirable models, not having cultural approvals and not obeying their cultural authorities. In short, they are “unauthentic” entities and not to belong to the culture of their society. What is real “authentic”? Everyone has own characteristic and should have own better ways. Cultural Socialism is unnecessary. People will find own “authentic” matters and ways with individuality and flexibility.

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A Socio-Cultural Explanation for the Difference Between Development Trends of Iran and Japan

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Abstract

In this study, to address the issue of underdevelopment in Iran, a comparison was made between Iranian and Japanese societies. Historical studies on the comparison of these two countries have shown that Iran had a higher level of internal development in terms of economy in Safavid dynasty than Japan, even in the 19th century. Now, the question that is raised is why development trend was cut and did not continue in Iran in the 18th century. The aim of this research was to present a socio-cultural explanation of growth and development trends in Japan. Results of this research indicated that certain cultural characteristics such as discipline-orientation, mass adherence, and primacy of qualification on kinship were the main and effective factors in the growth and development of Japan. Finally, Japan was introduced as an expert-driven, discipline-oriented, management-driven, and rule-based country.

Keywords: Iran, socio-cultural context, development, underdevelopment, comparative method, Japan

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Introduction

Subject of this research was underdevelopment which have done by comparison of two countries of Iran and Japan. Formation of a trend called development requires a long-term social change, during which labor division, stratification, and political and cultural systems change. Thus, in its progress, practice of social agents, benefits of groups, strata and classes, their tendency to change or resist are involved. Accordingly, it can be said that development and underdevelopment have a resultant nature and their progress in every society has its own history.

Based on the measures by which development is evaluated, in the present century and different indicators of development, Japan has always been classified into the first group of developed countries and Iran into the second group of underdeveloped countries. However, these two societies have similarities in terms of their internal structure and standpoint in the international system (Rajabzadeh, 1999, 1, 2). In the comparison of these two societies, it is worth mentioning that Iran in Safavid dynasty had a higher level of internal development, especially in economy, than Japan under Tokugawa or even Japan in the 19th century. This issue can be tracked in the division and combination of exports and imports of these two countries. In the first half of the 19th century, commodities such as raw silk, cotton, and iron were among the main import items from China to Japan; but, Iran's business during Shah Abbas era with major items such as silk, carpet, handicrafts, and positive trade balance of payments for Iran could indicate higher levels of internal development in Iran than Japan. Given the development level of both countries and their comparison in Tokugawa and Safavid empires, a question is raised that why does development trend continue in Japan, but is stopped and discontinued in Iran in the 18th century? In other words, despite the similarities between Iran and Japan in terms of their internal structure and standpoint in the international system, why have changes in both societies in the 19th and 20th centuries led to two different development and underdevelopment path?

Methodology

Method of the present research is comparison, which it's cases and time of comparison will be explained below.

Comparison cases

To compare developed societies, those societies should be selected that would have a similar situation to Iran before beginning the changes leading to their development. For this purpose, it was necessary to classify developed societies to determine which of them had been traditionally more similar to Iranian society. Therefore, first, societies like the US, Canada, and Australia with the history of utmost several hundred years were excluded and classification of developed countries were performed among those with a long history. Also, it should be noted that structure of European feudal societies like England, France, and Germany is different from that of Asian empire countries such as Japan and Russia.

Moreover, Japan was a better option in terms of comparison with Iran than China, Russia, and India; although there is no doubt about development in Japan, in the case of China, there is no such assurance. Russia is more like European than Asian ones in

cultural and religious terms. Direct colonial history of India would make it inappropriate for comparison with Iran that have not had such an experience.

Comparison time

Conception of development and underdevelopment as a structural change formed in the contact trend of world system in these societies will determine comparison time. World systems history conventionally starts since the 16th century; a period in which attempts for the combination and immerge of many societies. The 16th century was in fact the development period of Safavid dynasty in Iran and Tokugawa empire in Japan (ibid: 113).

Theoretical viewpoint

Two theoretical frameworks of economic development and modernization in its varying forms have some common points; both of these developments are defined and investigated in a single framework of society analysis and considered as endogenous change that may be fulfilled in every society. In this viewpoint, a part of development barriers is attributed to traditional structures of these societies which are called "internal obstacles". On the other hand in dependency perspective, a close look at these obstacles and comparison of Third World societies with western societies before entering development trend indicate that these barriers do not merely belong to traditional, pre-modern structures, but some of them such as "unfavorable demographic situation" and "lack or shortage of capital" have been formed under the influence of growth and development of European societies and their roots must be searched in their relationship with developed societies. Failure of social and economic explanations for underdevelopment, especially in practice, and considering the realities which act like obstacles have drawn attention to transnational factors. These theories, in their raw forms, point to colonial relations, unequal trade, and plundering resources of Third World societies; but, in their expanded forms, they are not limited to underdevelopment investigation in these societies, and also, refer to the past to analyze and explain Western development and its endurance in certain international, especially business, relations. In sum, these theories tend to provide specific historical, instead of general, analyses. Thus, analysis unit is generally changed from society to inter-society relations level. However, in the world-systems viewpoint, transformations of societies in the past few centuries are defined in the light of expansion of capitalism in geographical areas with endogenous development. In this viewpoint, analysis unit is turned from government-nation and society into the world system. Generally, it may be said that a group defines and analyzes development based on cultural components and more abstract structures of the society, while other schools define and analyze development based on economic components and consider more concrete structures, relationships of groups, classes, and government in the society. Some consider development as an endogenous trend in societies, while others do not share this idea and also consider external factors (Pitt, 1999).

Considering the above-mentioned points, the present study as a historic research tried to present a combined theoretical framework in which both internal and external factors were considered. But, to escape from the lack of internal coherence in the presented framework and also the adequacy of views of international system in terms of historic explanation and the role and responsibility of the world system in the

development of studied societies, world-systems viewpoint was selected as the theoretic point of departure and internal factors were also get involved.

Concept of world system, as shaped by Wallerstein and experts of Global-systems school, provides several general approaches in terms of development and underdevelopment. It emphasizes the central and peripheral positions of societies in the definition of development and underdevelopment and defines it based on the structural situation. It considers the formation of development process in the context of societies' international relations and believes that underdevelopment is the product of historic process of integration in the world system which should be studied by investigating history of changes in societies with respect to the world system throughout the history. Therefore, it emphasizes the role and influence of international relations and integration in the world system as a critical factor (Wallerstein, 1974).

It is worth noting that countries which in world economies known as empires will follow different development paths based on their internal structure at the time of establishing a relationship with the world system.

Despite the primacy of politics on economic structures in empires, the process of development and underdevelopment begins and continues with the actions of political elites and change of political structure. Therefore, political structure of empires and their characteristics are among the major factors which influence development and underdevelopment. Indeed, considering that fundamental links of empires are political, political structure is influenced by the variety of cultures and communities in the imperial territories. Accordingly, it can be said that, in the reaction of empires to the expansion of world system, social and cultural cohesion of these societies is considered a major factor (Rajabzadeh, 1999: 76-88).

So, according to the above-mentioned factors in this study, on the one side; international relations, relations with other countries and, on the other, internal factors such as institutions and socio-cultural contexts were investigated.

External factors: International situation

Geographical situation of Japan during Tokugawa period was so that nothing was threatening it. The only adjacent empire of Japan was China, which was not a threat to it, except during Mongols. Also, Sino-Japanese rival over Korea ended in peaceful relations. In contrast, Japan did not have high importance for the governments of the world system until the competitive environment became constrained for colonial countries. All of these factors led to 250 years of peace for Japan. In comparison, during Safavid dynasty, Iran's neighbor on the one side was Ottoman Empire which was trying to conquest Europe and did not care about the neighboring countries like Iran. Russian empire was also developing and had friendly relations with Iran. Also, other European countries did not have a great interest in Iran at that time and were rather interested in African countries, Atlantic islands, and the USA; additionally. All of these factors led to 100 years of peace for Iran, which was followed by the 80 years of chaos. All in all, compared with their neighboring countries, both Japan and Iran were important for colonists in strategic, rather than economic, terms. In general, it can be said that Iran and Japan had almost equal situations in terms of international situation.

According to Katouzian (2003), Iranian society is a short-term one and Iranian history has had no long-term sustainability despite being long and eventful; however, it contains a set of short interconnected periods. Also, since succession right has not been guaranteed by law or tradition, everyone could dethrone and substitute kings, usually by killing them. The result has been unpredictable and unusual insecurity at personal and social levels.

External factors: Interrupting any connection with the outside

Another provision of Tokugawa government was cutting any contact with the outside. This decision was accompanied by banning Christianity inside Japan. Although if Japan had had open borders and a Japanese group (Hans) was in contact with capital centers outside Japan via business relations, it would have a fate like that of China and Iran and each part of this country was influenced by one of the capital centers. However, after the opening of Japanese gates and establishing a relation between its inside-formed trade network and the outside world, Japan assumed a central role in relation with the outside. Moreover, this arrangement prevented the expansion of the political influence of European governments on the elites of empire-centralized structure. As a result, at the time resistance of world system governments such as the USA with Japan, Japanese political elites had an equal reaction (ibid: 148-149).

Internal factors: Institutions

Family institution

In contrast to some development analyses that associate it with the separation of kinship relations, especially family institution, from economic relations, further analyses on different countries including Japan (which are known by some as "new modernization studies" in contrast to classical ones) have demonstrated that the intervention of such relations in the labor division system is not always deterrent and can sometimes have a positive role as well. "Ye" (Japanese family) institution has always had a positive role in various aspects in terms of the development of Japan and its role in the surplus accumulation due to inheritance norms which will be mentioned later. When a "Ye" was formed from a married couple, it was continued during consecutive generations. Every family was only continued through a son, often the eldest one, and other sons and daughters had to leave home. If there was no son in the family, the son-in-law was accepted in the family and became the family heir. If a family did not have any children, a girl or boy was adopted by the family to continue it. Suitability of the candidates for family sustainability was the most important factor. Thus, in the families of business people, if a son were diagnosed to be inefficient for sustaining the family business, the family would be continued through the marriage of a worker capable of its sustainability to a daughter. In fact, "Ye" institution must be more considered as an organization than a family (Nakane 1990: 216, 217).

In villages, this institution constituted an agricultural labor organization. In cities, it was the houses of business people. Samurai privileges were also continued via these institutions. Once "Ye" institution was consolidated in rural and urban areas, after the death of fathers, their wealth would be left in "Ye", which was a kind of production plant and was not divided among children. Thus, it can be said that this institution not only was a sustainable economic organization in Tokugawa era, but also caused the

accumulation of capital in these units. Among the nobles who owned lands and fiefs, this process prevented from the segmentation of land and eternal property and spread of the nobles. Among samurais who constituted army and administration system, although administrative position of a person was transmitted by inheritance, it did not lead to an increase in the number of incompetent salary-earners, because competence of children in continuing "Ye" was also considered besides inheritance. Therefore, this institution led to a situation in which competence and inheritance acted beside each other and as a complement in all parts of social life in Japan (Rajabzadeh, 1999:150).

However, inheritance was not one-sided in Iranian families and resulted in increasing the number of salary-earners regardless of their competence in all administrative and economic affairs.

Education Institution

To evaluate educational institutions in terms of development, education type which is associated with development trend should be considered in terms of objective and function. In an attempt for the typological presentation of types of education, Weber mentions three types of education as charismatic, educated, and expert. These three types of education correspond to three types of charismatic, traditional, and bureaucratic power and authority. In terms of education and training which result in educated people, Weber refers to the objective of education in China, ancient Greece and Rome, and Europe in the 18th century, which was to be a member of elites and high-ranking agents in China, prosperous class in Greece and Rome, and the noble class in the 18th century Europe. Education under religious institutions in Islamic, Christian, and Jewish societies is also classified into this category. In contrast, education with the aim of training professionals, which corresponds to bureaucratic structure and education type of new industrial society, is consistent with bureaucratic authority organization and industrial capitalism based on rational action. Monitoring educational institution by religion, family, and government does not have a substantial role in the consistency of this institution with the development process. The important point is that the mentioned institution in Japan is governed by the institution with developmental tendencies. Accordingly, while comparing two educational systems, Weber considers bureaucracy of all public authority and private relationships as the determining factor, in proportion to which knowledge and professional skill will gain increasing importance. In addition to the mentioned factor that education trend in Japan aimed to bring up professional, rather than charismatic people, another important factor for Japanese development has been comprehensive education of all the people, not a specific class (ibid: 108-109).

Opportunities (stratification) institution

In order to limit samurais, they were ordered to settle in castle cities and were forbidden to engage in farming and business. They were paid a pension by the administrative system and had nothing to do with land and agriculture. They were also forbidden to trade. In contrast, all non-samurais were disarmed and only samurais were allowed to carry weapons. Samurais were banned from getting married to other classes. Thus, accumulation of opportunities was prevented. Separation of samurais from villages had another result in the samurai life. For elites of countries like Russia

and Iran, in which governmental services were associated with land ownership, such services were a means rather than a target by themselves; in contrast, in Japan, once samurais were separated from lands, governmental services would turn into a target by themselves. This issue made leaders apply more control on their subordinates and expect more loyalty than Russia, Iran, and other empires. Bureaucracy of Japanese governmental structures is another expression of the same issue. Separation of samurais from lands along with their high status led to losing land value as the symbol of prestige. During modernization process, this tendency caused merchants and traders to be prohibited from land-dependent groups and thus industrialization process in which economic concentration shifts from agriculture and land to industry becomes easier (ibid, 142-148).

Ownership

Another effective institution for the internal development of Japan is ownership (surplus allocation). In this respect, methods of tax collection, its changes during Tokugawa era, and its impact on the Japanese economy, especially capital accumulation and trade growth, could be referred to. In the early Tokugawa period, about 60% of products were received as tax, which gradually decreased to 32%. Taxation method changed in this period; i.e. first, taxes were closed based on the estimated amount of products; later, a constant amount of tax was received. This issue further encouraged farmers to cultivate in new lands and use new tools for land fertilization and thus surplus accumulation in villages. The result was the formation of a group of prosperous and medium farmers in villages who allocated a part of surplus to the market (ibid, 188).

In sum, comparison and investigation of institutions in Iran and Japan will lead us to several points; first, long-term capital accumulation was not possible due to the short-term nature of society, because even if a businessman ran a long-term investment, his/her efforts would be interrupted during his/her life, after his/her death, or some time later as a result of looting, confiscation, or division. Naturally, investment was short-term and investors sought to achieve their capital and profit within one or two years. In technical terms, investment horizon did not normally exceed one or two years. Although educational institutions existed in any short period and sometimes made spectacular gains, they did not continue in a long run and should have resumed their activities during a short period. In general, the absence of long-term classes and institutions was remarkable in Iran's history. Thus, it was very unlikely to make decisions based on long-term considerations. General outlook toward time, planning, and prediction could be summarized in this Farsi statement: "Come on ... after six months, who is alive, who is dead?" Officials knew they would lose their positions suddenly and without any warning; so, they tried to take the most advantage of their positions; consequently, they treated people under their commands with extreme greed and avarice (Katouzian, 2009).

Internal factors: Socio-cultural context

In addition to institutions, socio-cultural factor is considered one of the important internal factors in the growth and development of Japan. About Japan, some consider the return of Meiji as the political measure of a group in which Samurais were active. In the rational analysis, performance of Samurais after the return of Meiji, whether in

the government or economy, is attributed to Confucian ethics and its influence on Samurais. However, there is another view to reject this analysis, higher strength of Confucius ethics in China has been remarked, which has not had such consequences; instead, relying on virtues as a goal per se, it has made a barrier against the process of instrumental rationalism. It has been mentioned that characteristics such as discipline and following superiors without personal dependence, which is a feature of Samurais in the late Tokugawa era and Meiji order, has a bureaucratic origin rather than being a principle of Confucian ethics, because Confucian ethics has not had such outcomes in China (ibid: 281, 282).

If discipline and mass adherence are considered the outstanding Japanese culture, lawlessness and individualism are evident characteristics among Iranians. Lawlessness means that wealth and power of every member of the society, from princes and prime ministers to low-ranking ones, were in full royal control. As long as kings were at power, they could confiscate properties of any person. If not worshipping kings as heavenly creatures, people undoubtedly considered him as God's representative on the earth. It should be noted that Iranian kings did not receive their legitimacy from aristocratic or clergy classes, but directly through the divine power of God. This concept of monarchy continued into Islamic period (Katouzian, 2009; Katouzian, 2004).

Person-orientation is an Iranian concept and different from European individualism. This concept is an ancient phenomenon, not the product of recent European socio-cultural changes. Person-orientation has two procedures: one is that those Iranians with no family or friendly relations are separated from each other; senses of social cohesion and respect to unknown people are not very strong among Iranians in general; thus, collective activities, party politics, voluntary social institutions, and so on do not have strong roots in Iran. Another feature of person-orientation has a reverse tendency and emerges as abnormal attention or attachment to others. Iranians typically have extreme attachment to their family members, extended family, clan, and close friends and support and defend them and even sacrifices for them in case of need (Katouzian, 2009).

Iran, Japan, and modernizing governments

In the early 19th century, Iran's development conditions were better than Japan's. In terms of internal factors, both Japan and Iran were weak in military at the time of establishing tariff conditions and could not cope with overseas attacks. Tariff trade conditions led to their integration into the world economy and formation of peripheral situations in both countries. Unlike Japan whose political elites have changed its peripheral circumstances during a quarter of century (until the early 20th century) and promoted its situation to a governmental semi-peripheral one, Iran's internal conditions have eliminated such a possibility. The most important effective factors in this regard were lack of socio-cultural cohesion of political elites in Iran and their strong attachment to land and assigned benefits, which was affected by the stratification institution in Iran. Iranian conditions in the 19th century were followed by numerous political transformations, during which political elites and educated bureaucrats established and consolidated their position in Iran's political structure. This group in the Iranian political structure was similar to Japanese Samurais in terms of bureaucratic situation. Therefore, after consolidation in the 19th century and in line

with the benefits of external forces and coup of high officials of Cossack forces, headed by Reza Khan, they completely took over power in Iran. At this stage a government similar to those of Japan and Russia was formed, which was self-relying in terms of legitimacy and power and, like Safavid and Qajar, did not need any outside groups like religious and tribal leaders. Similar to the Meiji government, this government started to reconstruct and renovate Iranian society under the slogan of powerful army and government. Existence of similar basis, ideology, and ideas of Pahlavi regime in Iran and the Meiji government in Japan and their similar performance in terms of modernization, international tendency including modeling Germany and alliance with it, are other similarities between these two governments. Interestingly, from different analytic perspectives, these two governments are classified to have similar titles including fascism, and evolutions of both countries have been identified as revolution from above. But, these two governments have been different in historical and international terms and proceeded their modernization trend in the light of different socio-cultural institutions, the result of which was transition of Japan to a semi-peripheral situation and then central position of capital after some decades; in contrast, foundations of peripheral situation were consolidated in Iran (Rajabzadeh, 1999: 273-275).

Measures of the Meiji environment

In terms of the measures taken by the Meiji rulers, changes in political structure and infrastructural activities including lack of Japanese borrowing from abroad, tax increase, desire to obtain knowledge from abroad, use of foreign advisors and overseas groups, compulsory education, and governmental activities in foreign trade can be mentioned. While evaluating these factors and trying to find their origins, main institutions of Tokugawa era, which provided the possibility for relative economic independence from politics and economic growth, re-emerge. In another part, measures taken by Meiji rulers such as their activities in industry and trade and obtaining technology from overseas can be studied. Furthermore, the underlying transformation-talented conditions such as higher levels of education and population can be referred to. In this case, the comparison of Japan and China shows that the latter was not successful to change the peripheral relation although it had higher population and high education level in the mentioned period (the 19th and early 20th centuries); meaning that effect of these factors should be considered along with other factors, all of which are influential along with the measures taken by Meiji rulers and the will for industrialization of Japan that was itself affected by their competition with west and bourgeoisie (ibid: 291-292).

Different reactions of Meiji rulers and Reza Shah Government to foreign attacks

Despite ideological similarity with Meiji rulers, his claims about modernization and progress Reza Shah followed an anti-modernization approach.

Meiji rulers tended to make investment in industry and follow supporting policies. Before this era, they had turned to trade and industry to compete with bourgeoisie and compensate for governmental weaknesses. When they took control of their country, they started to make a powerful army to deal with foreign invasion and resisted foreign economic invasion by their economic operation. In contrast, the forces that came to power along with Reza Shah in Iran did not have such attitude and

experience. Pahlavi rulers considered domestic bourgeoisie and landowners and foreign powers as their rivals; but, their understanding of power was political. Bureaucrat forces that came to power along with Reza Shah had a different experience which was coping with rivals through political-economic monopoly that demanded political intervention in economy. Therefore, their participation in economy was in the form of establishing governmental monopolies and contributing to economic operation with a reliance on political power. So, with getting closer to the end of Reza Shah's reign, power tends to get absolute and governmental tendency to becoming a place for surplus accumulation is increased. However, in Japan, relative independence of economy from politics had taken place under Tokugawa policy and with domestic mechanism and it continue when Meiji came to power (ibid: 294-298).

Discussion and conclusion

In this study, to investigate the issue of underdevelopment in Iran, societies of Iran and Japan were examined. In this regard, it has been claimed that, although Iran and Japan are currently placed in different development classes based on the indicators which measure development, not so long ago, they were very similar to each other in terms of internal structure and position in the international system. Comparison between these two societies demonstrated that Iran had a high level of internal development, especially in economy, in Safavid dynasty compared to Japan in Tokugawa period and even in the 19th century.

By comparison, consolidated view of development, and reliance on the viewpoint of world system, some factors were identified as the possible factors for the development of Japan. In this regard, Japanese family institution known as "Ye" and primacy of qualification on kinship were discussed. Also, compulsory education in Japan aiming to train experts was mentioned; in contrast, educational institution in Iran which mostly aimed to train elites was run by religious institutions. Another point in Japan was opportunity break point that was against opportunity accumulation in Iran, which caused lack of expansion in trade and industry. Another case was discipline and adherence to superiors as a prominent feature of Samurais in the late Tokugawa era and discipline foundation of Meiji; this factor may be considered the most important development factor in Japan.

In addition to the mentioned cultural factors, other factors such as rulers' policy-making and their different measures could be discussed; but, it is worth noting that different measures and reactions of rulers in Iran and Japan have cultural and historical origins. Katouzian (2009) believes that Iranian society is totalitarian which is historically and culturally originated. On the other hand, he believes that deep person-orientation must be considered in any realistic analysis of Iranian society, because this feature generates two extremely strong feelings in every individual and reflects it in his/her behavior: sense of security and protection in the familiar environment of family and clan and that of insecurity and vulnerability out of that environment, among aliens and in a larger society.

In general, it can be mentioned that, in comparison to Iran, Japan has a disciplined, institution-oriented, law-abiding, and management-oriented society; in contrast, ethnicity and kinship are the most important factors in Iran.

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***Causes and Consequences of Acid Attacks on Women:
A Case Study of District Lahore, Pakistan***

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Abstract

The current qualitative study explores the psychological, economic, social and cultural aspects of acid attacks on women in District Lahore. The study aims to investigate the causes of acid attacks as well as their consequences which have become serious threat of our society. Purposive sampling is used to approach 10 respondents (married and unmarried women). Their age ranged from 15-35. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted to collect the data. An interview guide is used for semi-structured interview which was prepared after literature review. Thematic analysis was done through all transcribed data of interviews. Major themes which emerged were physical and psychological violence. However, occurrence of eternal trauma and social isolation has also been found. The findings showed that most of the respondents who had faced one type of violence had faced other form of violence too. Findings are the contributing source in community awareness programs.

Keywords: Acid attacks, Psychological violence, Social isolation, Physical violence, Eternal Trauma

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Introduction

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women defines gender-based violence as, “violence directed against woman because she is a woman or which affects a woman disproportionately.” It includes physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivation of liberty (CEDAW, 1992).

Acid Survivors Foundation defines acid violence as, “Pakistani women are facing acid violence and most of the cases go unreported. In order to understand the phenomenon of this type of violence one must have good understanding about violence against women”. Its various forms prevailing in Pakistan as well as rest of the world (ASF, 2010).

United Nations Organization defines violence in its report as, “any act of violence that results in or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to a person including threat of such act permanent or temporary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in the public or private life” (UN, 1993).

World Health Organization defines in its report that, “Jamaica is one country where women are reported to have resorted to acid violence against men more often than men against women. In Bangladesh and most other countries where acid violence occurs campaigners say that violence is typically against women, it is only in that countries where there is an Acid Survivors Foundation mobilizing public support and working with the government that action is taken” (WHO, 2011).

World Report on Violence and Health classifies the three types of violence: self-directed; interpersonal; and collective.

- Violence in which perpetrator and victim is the same individual. It is sub divided into self-abuse and suicide.
- Violence between individual and it is sub divided into family and intimate partner violence and community violence.
- Violence committed by larger group of individuals. It can be divided into social, political and economic violence.

United Nations International Children Emergency Fund defines acid violence as, “in the acid attack a person throws acid (the kind found in car) on the face or any part of body of other person. Any number of reasons can lead to acid attacks. Sulphuric acid is ubiquitously being the basic inexpensive ingredient for making lead acid batteries in all motor vehicles all over the world. There does not appear to any way of reducing its availability anyways” (UNICEF, 2000).

Acid violence is a worldwide phenomenon and it is common misconception that attacks are exclusive to the Indian sub-continent or that committers are Islamic fundamentalists punishing women for behaving outside the realms of what is considered as modest behavior. On the contrary research indicates that attacks are being carried out by many nationalities and are not limited by race, religion, creed and location (Vaughn, 2011).

Statistics of violence against women in Pakistan reported that there were 53 cases of acid throwing in 2009 and 29 cases in 2008 recorded. Report also shows that acid attacks have increased (37%) in 2011 which is reached at alarming stage in the society of Pakistan (Press Report, 2011).

Violence is involving the act of causing harm physically or emotionally to one self or other. Typical act of violence includes fighting assaults of all level self-inflicted injuries exclusion of other within peer group (Becker, 2000).

Objectives of Study

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- To find out the causes and consequences of acid attacks on women
- To document the feelings and thoughts of acid burn victims and fears for their families
- To explore the perception about quality of medical services provided to burn victims

Significance of the Study

Acid attack has damaging effects not only on women but also on society. The researcher wants to explore the causes of acid attack and their consequences on victims' lives. The researcher desires to know about the Crime Laws implementations and also wants to fulfill the gaps of previous research taken on this social issue by giving the suggestions based on research findings. By conducting this research the researcher requires to expose the invisible picture of the higher state of incidence of acid attack as well as causes and factors which are responsible for this humiliating act.

Research Questions

Q1: Why acid attacks are gradually increasing and causing the women lives in Pakistan?

Q2: What are the key causes and growing rate of acid burn victims?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the reality and the unseen socio-economic and cultural causes behind the heinous crime of acid attack on women. By working on this topic this research can aware the concerning organizations which are functioning for the eradication of women violence from our society. This topic is selected because there is less work done before on this issue.

Operational Definitions

Violence

“The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person or against a group or community that either results in or has a high

likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation” (WRVH, 2002).

Acid Violence

“Acid violence is deliberate use of acid to attack another human being. The victims of acid violence are usually women and children, and attackers often target the head and face in order to maim, disfigure and blind. Acid attacks rarely kills but causes severe physical, psychological and social scarring, and victims are often left with no legal resources, limited access to medical or psychological assistance and without the means to support themselves” (ASTI, 2011).

Limitations and Delimitations

Limitations of the Study

In the present study there are some limitations as following:

- The study was only conducted in urban areas so the researcher focused to the limited population of urban area.
- The reason of selecting the urban area for data collection was that researcher herself lived in this area and it was easy for her to approach the target population. Although choosing that urban area was a subjective decision but due to limitation of time and resources researcher had to rely on subjective judgment.
- Researcher has not enough resources and time to increase the area of research.

Delimitations of the Study

The following were the delimitations of the study:

- The women who live in Lahore city.
- The women (married and unmarried) their age ranged from 15-35.
- Both educated and uneducated women were selected by researcher for this study.

Literature Review

Page, W. (2005) conducted the research study on “no justice for Pakistan acid victims”. According to the Pakistan Human Rights Commission, the number of acid attacks on women in Pakistan has increased with nearly 400 annually. The main purpose of the study was to report the role of Pakistani police regarding victims’ justice why police discouraged them from seeking justice. The study revealed the story of 26 years old woman, suffered in unspeakable pain. The findings of this study illustrated that acid attacks are most common in rural areas which often the results of infertility, rejected marriage proposals, doubt of illegal relations and in-laws matters. The research study examined the results, the legal centre has been working to encourage greater government participation in looking for prosecutions and federal law reforms, but offer to treat acid attacks as attempted murder and placing limitations on sulphuric acid sales have proved fruitless.

Ali, S. M. (2008) investigated the study on “the acid attack phenomenon”. Incidences of the acid attacks prevail across the world but major amounts of reported occurrences

are concentrated in South Asia, particularly in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. In the study it had observed that no acid throwing cases are reported and even less figure of acid burn victims are provided any justice; acid is measured an extremely accidental tool and as such often harms not only the planned target but also eyewitnesses. The main findings of this study explained that ordinary causes of acid attacks related to close and familial relationships where the doubt of an extra marital concern or other power tussles becomes inspiration for the act, moreover; some incidents have been known to take place because of land disputes which also effect other forms of gender violence such as honor killing, although acid attacks can rise above the gender lines, women are not only disproportionately represented among the survivors, but are also known to be perpetrators of acid attacks. The purpose of this study was to explore that why this phenomenon is so common in our region seems to be the ready accessibility of cheap acid; in order to know, with just a small number of rupees anybody can purchase this weapon to run another person's life in just a few seconds, to know more, there are various chemical shops on both sides of famous GT road Lahore where acid sold openly. The results of this study indicated that acid attacks impact the physical, emotional, social and economic surface of survivors lives, these victims often need to experience a long-lasting process of surgical treatment and psychological rehabilitation, furthermore, physical consequences of acid attacks can be severe, depictive survivors blind and disabled in other ways. Acid burn scars are not only painful but lead to physical distortions which lead many survivors to feel so embarrassed that they become victims of isolation.

Network, T. I. (2009) carried out a research on "Pakistan acid attack victims suffer in silence". The report uncovered the story of a woman aged 25, burnt from face down to her thighs. The intention of this report was to find out that whether burn centers of hospitals in Pakistan are really worked for burnt victims or not. The objective was to explore the recorded cases that were referred to hospitals by Progressive Women's Association (PWA). The target population of this report was women acid victims in age of 18-25. In this report, in-charge of the intensive care unit of the Burns Centre at Civil Hospital reported that one of the most horrifying forms of gender-based violence in Pakistan is throwing acid usually sulphuric acid on women with cruel aim to take revenge, deface and damage them which has long-lasting physical and psychological consequences. The findings of this report revealed that causes strengthened morbid jealousy, unkindness, proposal refuse, betrothed and vengeance intended to eternally punish the women.

Base., A. (2010) had conducted the study on "acid attacks and their consequences". Statistically, the main purpose of this study was to discover figure of acid attacks on women are rising all through the world at the present time, particularly South-East Asian countries and Middle-East countries; some of countries passed very severe punishment to those who do this matter. In 2002, Bangladesh introduced the death sentence for throwing acid and severely controlling the sales of acids. Under the Qisas Law of Pakistan, the assailant may undergo the similar destiny as the acid victim and possibly punished by having drops of acid poured in his eyes. In this study it has observed that acid throwing is a form of physical attack. Assailant of such attacks fling acid commonly sulphuric, nitric or hydrochloric acid at victims, frequently at their faces. The objective of this study was to know causes and consequences of acid attacks. The findings of this study demonstrated that love relationships among a female and a male, bitterness between divorced a husband or a wife, attractive of a

female, opposition between two groups lead to acid throwing between them, religious extreme. In addition, there are various other reasons for which acid attacks take place. It has also found that (80%) of victims are women which almost (40%) victims are under the age of 18. The consequences of these acid attacks are most common including long-term surgical treatment, psychological challenges, anxiety, depression, loss of sight, enduring disfigurement of the face and body. In this study it had measured that acid attacks are more common in Cambodia, Afghanistan, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and other countries of the world. This fact is also very ordinary in African and Latin American countries, doesn't matter the country is rich or cultured.

Yusufzai, A. (2010) conducted a study on "Pakistan moves to counter acid attacks". This study described that country enacted a law that increases punishment for perpetrators and is restricting acid sales in an effort to get better defensive women. This research study exposed the story of a girl aged 18, suffered from disfiguring acid assault after rejected the marriage proposal. The purpose of this study was to explore the awareness regarding the government passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 2011, according to this law; attacker would tolerate the penalty of 14 years to life custody and a fine of Rs. 1 million (US \$9, 400). Furthermore; passing that law the provincial government has controlled the sale of an unadulterated acid. In this study it had investigated that the traders frequently import additional acid than the lawfully allowable, which caused the various problems; 50 drug inspectors have taught to make sure a total forbid on the sale of acid apart from for its legally allowable commerce use. The limitations of this study were to demonstrate how the new law was working to bring justice to the victims. The objective of this study was to explore the major causes of domestic and gender-based violence. The findings showed that gender-based aggression is common adding that acid attacks against women who rejected marriage proposals are frequent. Additionally, in this study it had found that the sale of pure acid should ban except for special authorized holders. The results of this study revealed that acid attack is a crime it doesn't only disfigure a face and cause burns, those who undergo it suffer eternal psychological trauma.

Methodology

Technique / Method of Study

The current qualitative study focused on major causes of acid attacks. The study aims to investigate the consequences of acid attacks on women at psychological, physical, socio-economic and cultural level. The case study technique is used for this study.

Population of Study

Population refers to all constituents of clearly describe objects and group of people who for research purpose are designed as being the focus of an investigation. To define the population of study:

Geographical Area

- Diplex Smile Again Foundation
- Jinnah Hospital

- Mayo Hospital

Human Universe

Human universe of the study was victim women of acid attacks.

Selection of Sampling and Sample Size

The current qualitative study focused on married and unmarried women of District, Lahore. The study aims to investigate the causes of acid attacks as well as their consequences which have become serious threat of our society. Purposive sampling is used to approach 10 respondents (married and unmarried women). Their age ranged from 15-35.

Tool of Data Collection

Interview schedule is used as a tool of data collection. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted to collect the data. To conduct semi-structured interviews an interview guide was prepared after literature review.

Data analysis

Thematic analysis was done through all transcribed data of interviews. Major themes which emerged were physical and psychological violence. However, occurrence of eternal trauma and social isolation has also been found.

Results and Discussions

Interviews were analyzed descriptively and thematically. The present research focused on the causes and consequences of acid attacks. Amongst total population, (60%) females were married; (30%) were unmarried and (10%) were divorced. The age of the respondents varied from 15-35 years; (60%) of respondents were living in joint family, while (20%) each of respondents were living in nuclear and extended families respectively. Almost (40%) respondents were illiterate; (30%) studied up to matriculation; (20%) were intermediate, whereas (10%) were primary passed. (This information is given in tabular form in Annexure-I).

Transcription of data was analyzed through thematic analysis which resulted into major themes: Physical violence, psychological violence and social isolation. Most of the respondents experienced more than one form of violent behavior at the same time.

History of Burning

The results of the present study highlighted the history of burning; approximately half of the respondents (60%) reported that they had same kind of acid burn reasons in which doubt on character, refusal of marriage proposal, drug addiction, marital affair and dowry were very severe.

A female respondent reported,

My cousin burnt me because he wanted to get marry but my family refused his

proposal. He threw acid on my face and body when I was alone at home. My parents took me to hospital and I am under treatment for 3 weeks. This incident was immediately reported and the police arrested him (cousin). I demand strict punishment for the perpetrator.

Most of the respondents were suffered from aforesaid situations. Whereas the occurrence of second marriage threat, marital disputes, land disputes, jealousy have also found.

One female respondent said,

My husband always used to beat me and have hatred feelings towards me. He wanted to get second marriage and threaten to pour acid on my face. One day he threw acid on my face and body and cut my nose cruelly. He used sulphuric acid.

According to media monitoring by Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, until the end of year (2013) 44 women became targets of acid attacks in the country, seven of whom had died due to their injuries, and another 44 women were set on fire; 11 had died in such attacks (HRCP, 2013).

Psychological Effects

Majority of the respondents (70%) that they had to face psychological effects which included sympathetic behavior of family, ignorance of children and taunting behavior of relatives. The findings reflected that females were mentally disturbed and they trying to reduce their stress through weeping and shouting on others. Following transcriptions of different respondents indicate the nature of *Psychological Effects*.

A female respondent said,

My relatives used unbearable words for me and say my parents to stop my treatment and let me die in hospital. My relatives mock at me and have hatred feelings towards me. I usually start to shout and cry but in vain. I want to get die due to this bitter condition.

Other psychological effects like eternal trauma, social isolation and suicide plan were also found. While other belongings like fear, threatening and frustration were very high.

One female respondent reported,

When I looked at me first time after acid attack then I had planned to suicide. Psychologically I will feel free when I punish my husband with same pain as I am bearing. I am depressed and appeal for justice.

Major findings indicated that acid attacks adversely impact all aspects of the survivors' lives. The psychological consequences were severe in many instances rendering the survivors mentally retard and eternally shocked.

Social Isolation

Social isolation emerged as sub them of psychological effects. Majority of the respondents (60%) reported that they feel themselves isolated from their society. Many respondents said that they were being ignored by their family members and relatives. Most of the respondents were facing loneliness and isolation. It might be due to the fact they are not allowed by their parents and siblings to move outside with them.

A female respondent said,

I am disturbed and isolated by ignorant and impolite behavior of my family and relatives. After burning incident I never used to go for family functions just because of unkind attitude of family members.

Other social isolation factors like ill-mannered behaves, lack of courage, people gossips and children's unkind behavior were also along with helplessness and hopelessness.

Present Condition and Treatment

Majority of the respondents (80%) reported that they had scars on their bodies and faces. Many of the respondents are under treatment and some of other respondents were recovered (20%) while others were satisfied with their treatment. Most of the respondents were getting the facilities of cosmetic surgery from Deluxe Smile Again Foundation free of cost.

One female respondent reported,

I am treated in hospital since seven months. Though cosmetic surgery was required but I could not bear expenses for that treatment as it was very expensive. So I took help from Deluxe

Smile Again Foundation. DSF is still bearing my expenses. I am (70%) burnt and (20%) recovered.

Most of the respondents reported that they were burnt head to toe while some of them lost their eyes. Many of the respondents' nose and lips were melted. Majority of the respondents (50%) were having hateful feelings towards their perpetrators. Rest of the respondents' children behavior was very unkind and hurtful.

Future Planning

Majority of the respondents (70%) reported that perpetrators were their husbands and they do not want to compromise with them in any case while other respondents reported they have appealed for severe punishment and demand for justice. One female respondent said,

I demand strict punishment for committer (husband). I want to get divorce. How could I compromise as he (husband) done very bad with me.

Many of the respondents were reported that in future they would never get marry again as they have hateful feelings for committers while some of them were interested to re-marry. Most of the respondents were unable to take legal action against perpetrators as they belonged to poor families. Some of the respondents were required the custody of their children and have desired to take legal action for their protection.

Women Violence and Role of Media

Majority of the respondents (60%) were reported that major causes of women violence in our society is authoritative behavior of males, gender gap, and illiteracy. Almost all of the respondents were said that women violence could be eliminated from society by giving strict punishment to the perpetrators and by improving judicial system of our country.

A female respondent said,

Women violence takes place because judiciary system is not strong in Pakistan. Women violence can be eliminated by giving strict punishment to perpetrators and implementation of crime laws in our society.

Many of the respondents reported that media and judiciary is playing very positive role to address and eradicate the acid violence against women. Most of the respondents said that Government, private agencies and media should take collective measures to eliminate the evil of acid throwing and provide awareness among women about the Acid Control Act and Acid Prevention Act, 2010.

The study of Welsh, J. (2009) stated that acid violence is a form of premeditated violence, usually against women involves throwing corrosive acid at the face of the victim. Acid throwing has traumatic physical, psychological and social consequences. The data of this study revealed that acid attacks rarely cause sudden deaths but it always destroys lives often young lives. The intent behind the attacks is to permanently disfigure.

The study of Rather, P.B. (2012) identified that acid throwing is another form of violence against women which is increasing at alarming rate. The findings of this study revealed that the young and teenage girls are victims of acid burn because of refusal of marriage and rejection of love proposal, personal revenge, family disputes and kinship.

Conclusion

Acid violence is widespread and prevalent in our society that remains often invisible. Women are unsafe and are frequently victim even in their homes and often by their immediate family members. Women are vulnerable to every form of violence.

The researcher concludes that acid attack is present in society of Lahore, which has been reported in different appearances like history of burning, psychological effects as well as social isolation. The study aimed to investigate the causes of acid attacks as well as their consequences. Refusal of marriage proposal and family disputes are one the major causes of acid attacks practiced against women. Another major cause reported by respondents was they did not bring enough dowries with them. This present study uncovered that our society is lacking of sense of belongingness which often results in insecurity and unstable environment. That is why women of our society are much suppressed.

The findings showed that most of the respondents who had faced one type of violence had faced other form of violence too. Findings are the contributing source in community awareness programs.

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The logo for the International Association for Cultural Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of two overlapping, semi-transparent arcs: a red one on the left and a blue one on the right, which together form a partial circle around the text.

Table No. 1: Age of the Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage%
15-20	2	20
21-29	7	70
30-35	1	10

Table No. 2: Marital Status of the Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage%
Married	6	60
Un-married	3	30
Divorced	1	10

Table No. 3: Qualification of the Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage%
Illiterate	4	40
Primary	1	10
Matriculation	3	30
Intermediate or above	2	20

Table No. 4: Family System of the Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage%
Joint	6	60
Nuclear	2	20
Extended	2	20

Narratives of Mothers who Mother in a Foreign Environment

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Abstract

In the last three decades there has been a growing number of mothers' own narratives of mothering in contemporary women's writing throughout Europe and North America. Narratives of mothers who mother in a culturally and linguistically foreign environment are part of this trend, they are also relatively recent and can be seen as both a result of and a reflection on the reality of growing global mobility in the last two decades, especially in Europe. The powerful emotional link between the language and the self puts motherhood and the language of mothering in a special relationship that is essential to mother's subjectivity. Most fictional narratives of mothering in a foreign environment engage with this phenomenon to a greater or lesser degree and allow for some classification of mothers according to their linguistic preferences in relation to their children. They fall into the following types: silent mother, multilingual mother and trans-lingual mother. In this paper I will be drawing on several texts in different European languages mostly British, possibly American English and French, but also Lithuanian in order to try and understand how and why mothers fall into one category or another, how that affects their maternal subjectivities, their bond with their offspring, how it impacts their intimate experience of mothering, and how much mothering experiences and maternal subjectivities are influenced by culturally determined roles assigned to mothers in their country of origin and their host country.

Keywords: women's writing, motherhood, migration, maternal subjectivity

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Introduction

Exploring complicated relationships between gendered experience and artistic practices is one of the central principles of feminist literary criticism. Fictional texts produced by women both reflect on contemporary female experience and actively participate in constructing and/or perpetuating modes of culturally as well as socially productive subjectivities for women. As editors of a recent book on contemporary French women's writing put it "recent women's writing in France is connected to, responds to and engages with real-life issues and socio-cultural trends both within and beyond France" (Rye, Damlé, 2013:1). This is arguably true about most European countries and literatures. For the last fifty years, but especially since 1990 European women have confidently established themselves as subjects of their own fictional narratives, enjoying a plethora of different narrative voices, points of view, genres and artistic strategies to symbolize their experiences, tell their stories, express and assert their subjectivities and points of view.¹

In her book *Narratives of Mothering* Gill Rye singles out one aspect of the general trend and demonstrates that among all the different women's literary voices "mothers are becoming narrative subjects in their own right, as authors, as narrators" and that there is a growing number of "mothers' own narratives of mothering" in contemporary French women's writing (Rye, 2009:5). This too is arguably largely true about contemporary women's writing of most European countries and languages.²

Narratives of mothers who mother in a culturally and linguistically foreign environment are part of this last tendency of proliferation of mothers' own narratives of mothering. They are also relatively recent and can be seen as both a result of and a reflection on the reality of growing global mobility in the last three decades, especially in Europe. Although it has to be pointed out that these narratives are few, they are generically diverse featuring such literary genres as novels, plays, memoirs, and essays. It is important to note that they are mostly autobiographical. As such, they are an important contribution to the totality of contemporary women's efforts to experience, think, imagine, represent, and thus shape the rapidly changing nature of motherhood in the Western world.

Inspired by the afore mentioned developments in women's writing and critical approaches, my current research draws on narratives of expatriate, voluntarily exiled, and/or migrant mothers in different European languages mostly British English, French, Lithuanian, and American English. It aims at trying to understand the workings of one of the most essential and extremely complex aspects of mothering in a foreign environment, namely, the language, and its impact on maternal subjectivity. How does the language the mother speaks to her offspring – her native or that of the

¹ See Gill & Damlé 2013; Hoft-March & Sarnecki, 2009; Hutton, 2009; Mitchell, 2008; Giorgio & Waters 2007; Helimann & Llewelyn, 2007; Jordan, 2004; Parker, 2004; Gill & Worton 2002; Neumeier, 2001; Sellars, 2001; Armit, 2000; Christianson & Lumsden, 2000; Sonya 2000.

² See for instance papers featured at the major interdisciplinary conference *Motherhood in post-1968 European Women's Writing: Cross-cultural and Interdisciplinary Dialogues* held in October 2013 at the University of London, Institute of Modern Languages Research, School of Advanced Study convincingly testify to that.

host country, sometimes, it turns out, neither of the two – affect her maternal experience and who she is as a mother? How and why mothers make their linguistic choices of mothering, how that affects their bond with their offspring, how it impacts their intimate experience of mothering, and how much mothering experiences and maternal subjectivities are influenced by culturally determined roles assigned to mothers in their country of origin and their host country.

Most fictional narratives of mothering in a foreign environment engage with the mother's language choice *vis a vis* her children to a greater or lesser degree and allow for some classification of mothers according to their linguistic preferences in relation to their children. So far I have identified the following types: silent mother, multilingual mother and trans-lingual mother. The silent mother is the mother who does not pass her own language to her children and/or does not learn the language of the host country enough to adequately communicate with her children and socialize them in that language. The trans-lingual mother is the mother who mothers in a language of the host country, the so-called "stepmother tongue" and not her own mother tongue. The multilingual mother is the one who mothers in several languages simultaneously, her native language as well as that of the host country and/or a third or fourth language according to circumstance. The scope of this paper only allows me to deal with two different linguistic mother types through two respective texts. I will look at them in greater detail now.

Silent Mother

The silent mother features in my fellow Lithuanian Dalia Staponkutė's essay *The Mother's Silence* written in Lithuanian and translated by Darius Ross (Staponkutė 2007).³ Dalia Staponkutė was born in Soviet Lithuania. With the fall of the Berlin wall she moved to Cyprus, where she started a family, taught at the University of Cyprus, translated from Modern Greek to Lithuanian and has continued to write in Lithuanian. In her essay she explores the figure of a "silent mother" based on numerous migrant Lithuanian women round the world "who are unable to talk to their children in their native language". In the essay, a long legged, longhaired Lithuanian blond married to a Greek husband most vividly personifies the silent mother. The couple are said to live in "mystical linguistic circumstances. Their children don't speak Lithuanian; the mother speaks no Greek though she's picked up a smattering of English...", which she presumably uses to communicate with both her husband and children. What is surprising in this set up is not the fact that the children do not speak any Lithuanian, but that the mother does not speak any Greek. I argue that Staponkutė's silent mother is a victim of double trauma – the one deriving from her silence in relation to her children and the one to do with her own national and historic background – and that she is unable to overcome either of them because of the powerful national myth which puts the responsibility of safeguarding the Lithuanian language and by default the Lithuanian state on the shoulders of mothers.

Throughout the essay, the silent mother is portrayed as pathologically unhappy. Her inner world is said to be "turned into permafrost", she "feels a piercing nostalgia", her "every step is marked by sacrifice and loss". She is unable to connect emotionally with the people in her immediate environment.

³ The essay in translation <http://iwpu.iowa.edu/91st/vol6-num3/the-silence-of-the-mothers>

“Mummy, are you by any chance a mummy?” mocks the snotty child of a Lithuanian mother and a Greek father while she, during a lively Greek conversation, keeps strangely mum. [...] Children born outside the space of their mother’s native language or their mother’s homeland “disavow” their mothers as soon as they learn to walk. Children, even little pip-squeaks, manage to jump across the chasm separating their mothers from their locale with such alacrity that the mother from a strange land ends up stranded on the other side before she can even manage a gasp.

The silent mother is portrayed as absent from her family life, a mere speechless and powerless spectator of the family performance, stranded, cut off, and alone. Staponkutė’s silent mother seems to suffer from the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, including linguistic amnesia of her native Lithuanian. The mother’s inability to engage in the embodied language play with her children and partner partly originates in her failure to pass on her native language to her children and is seen here as a threat to the mother’s existence, which I would like to consider in the light of some aspects specific to Lithuanian historical and post-Soviet psycho-social context, which is marked by mass emigration from Lithuania and specifically emigration through marriage. Let us first look at a brief outline of Lithuania’s traumatising history. Up until the restoration of independence in 1990, Lithuania was always, with the exception of a 30 year period between the two wars, occupied by a foreign force or formed joint states with neighbouring countries. The 20th century during which Lithuania changed hands three times, each time one repressive regime succeeding another, and was subjected to the Soviet system for nearly half of that century, resulted in a society suffering from extremely poor psychological health (Gailienė, 2008). Moreover, neither of those regimes, especially the Soviet, was particularly sympathetic to women. Dalia Leinartė’s research shows how women’s private lives were shot through with internalised Soviet ideology which encouraged women to be educated, socially and professionally active (women in the Soviet Union had no option not to work) as well as loving and caring wives, housewives, mothers and sex objects in equal measure (Leinartė, 2010). Considering Lithuanian history, limited and unsavoury set of gender roles available for Lithuanian women, it seems to me that many, including Staponkutė’s silent mother, might have wanted to opt for a better and emotionally more fulfilling life for themselves and for their children. Seen in this light, the silent mother’s choice to be silent in her native Lithuanian, to sacrifice her children to what Staponkutė metaphorically calls the place-cannibal “which gradually replaces the mother and [...] welcomes its new ‘pupil’” even if it comes at a tremendous personal loss can be explained by her wish to distance both herself and her children from her native language-place which is marked by repression, suffering and mourning. However, the question as to why she keeps silent in the new language remains. The first sentence of the last paragraph of Staponkutė’s essay reads: “As I observe the *agonia* (the battle of the death) of my native language on my children’s lips, I behold the image of my own vanishing...”. The mother’s failure to pass on her native tongue to the children is directly linked with the idea of death, although the children, as we know it, are perfectly socialised in Greek and therefore safe in every sense of the word. As it has already been pointed out, the legitimacy of the Lithuanian state has always been in question. With the Lithuanian National movement resulting in the establishment of the Lithuanian national state at the beginning of the 20th century, the Lithuanian language became a powerful symbol of resistance and served as one during the Soviet times. Traditionally, it has always been the mother’s role to ensure the maintenance of Lithuanian. The idea of the mother as a guarantor of

perpetuation of the Lithuanian language is perfectly immortalized in the sculpture by Petras Rimša entitled *Lithuanian School 1864–1904* portraying a mother sitting at her weaving wheel with a reading child next to her. It is an iconic image based on historic reality. The idea of the mother as a guarantor of perpetuation of the Lithuanian language is intrinsically linked with the idea of statehood and profound insecurities in the Lithuanian psyche to do with the fear of losing it, which in turn is associated with the fear of change of regime, violence, and trauma that issue. For the silent mother to leave her native language and swap it for a foreign one would be a suicidal act of betrayal of not only her own role as a Lithuanian mother, but of the entire nation. Having chosen a different path on a personal level, the silent mother is held back, petrified by the power of the collective punitive myth of one traumatised nation.

Translingual Mother

Let us now move to France and look at the work the French Canadian writer Nancy Huston who was born in francophone Canada, as a child and a young adult lived in the US and moved to Paris, France at the age of 23 as an exchange student, but never came back. She started writing and publishing in French and was quickly established as a French author. She now translates herself into English and writes simultaneously in English and French, often the same piece in both languages at the same time. I suggest we look at her book *Lettres Parisiennes. Autopsie de l'exil* (*Parisian Letters. Autopsy of Exile*) published in 1986 by Nancy Huston and French-Algerian writer Leïla Sebbar (Huston & Sebbar, 1986). It is a collection of thirty letters exchanged between the two writers during a period spanning just under two years. As Kate Averis observes: “They write to each other explicitly on the topic of exile, in a dialogic quest to explore their exilic condition” (Averis, 2008:3-4). In this book and in her other autobiographical writing Huston often confides that her life was suddenly and radically changed after her parents’ divorce, when she was six. While her parents were busy with the divorce, Huston’s German stepmother took her and her sister to Germany for two months and on their return the mother was no longer there. In all accounts, it comes across as a traumatic and life changing event in Huston’s life. Thus, in the autopsy of her voluntary exile to Paris she writes:

I went into exile because I was sad and I was sad (at least this is how I explain things to myself now) because my mother “abandoned” me when I was six, it’s from that moment on that, according to the photos, something wounded and melancholic transpired in my look... Later I started abandoning others with implacable regularity. [...] But this time round and without knowing it (thinking that it was a passing fad: studies in Paris) I performed Abandonment par excellence, Abandonment as big that it was going to suffice me for along time, possibly for the rest of my life: the abandonment of my country and my mother tongue. Symbolic revenge to my mother who initiated the series? (Huston & Sebbar, 1986, p. 116).⁴

⁴ Translation into English here and thereafter mine. “Je me suis exilée parce que j’étais triste, et j’étais triste (du moins est-ce ainsi que je m’explique les choses maintenant) parce que ma mère m’a ‘abandonnée’ quand j’avais six ans; c’est dès ce moment que transparaît dans mon regard, d’après les photos, quelque chose de blessé et de mélancolique ... [...] j’effectuais l’Abandon pas excellence, un abandon si énorme qu’il allait me suffir pendant longtemps, peut-être le reste de ma vie: celui de mon pays et de ma langue maternelle. Revanches symbolique contre la mère qui inaugure la série?”

The personal history that preceded Huston's arrival in Paris is heavy with emotion and it is a negative emotion marked abandonment and revenge that both directly linked with the childhood trauma. Pavlenko's book *Emotions and Multilingualism* provides a number of compelling examples of people who distance themselves from their native language in order to liberate themselves from painful and/or traumatic experiences associated with and lived through in that language and reinvent themselves, construct alternative identities and lives in different languages and foreign countries (Pavlenko, 2005). Huston textual alter ego seems to fall into this category of people who use a different language in order to overcome trauma and thus preserve their sanity. Huston constructs a complicated, double, exiled, "nomadic", as Kate Averis calls it, but coherent identity for herself in France, in French as a woman (she is married to an eminent French philosopher and critic Tzvetan Todorov of Bulgarian origin, but with whom she speaks French), writer (she writes in French), and mother (she speaks French to her daughter) (Averis, 2008). Huston writes:

I've recently felt with a new force how living in the French language was *vital* to me; how this artifice was indispensable to me in order to function on a daily basis (Huston & Sebbar, 1986, p. 138).⁵

Her identity in French comes across as a survival strategy. In this context, her choice to mother in French comes as no surprise. However, this choice turns out to be less straightforward than it seems at first site. The powerful emotional link between the language and the self puts motherhood and the language of mothering in a special relationship that is essential to mother's subjectivity. Julia Kristeva's notion of *semiotic chora* helps illuminate this relationship. *Semiotic chora* is the realm of language that is tied to maternal body, the structure that makes it possible to articulate the mother's relation to the child (Kristeva, 1984). Kristeva writes: "The mother's body is therefore what mediates the symbolic law organising social relations and becomes the organising principle of the semiotic *chora*" (Kristeva, 1984:27). In other words, the semiotic *chora* is what helps construct the subject in its emotional socialisation and is essentially dependent on the mother's embodied linguistic instruction and bodily presence. For Huston, her adopted French seems to be the only language in which she can mediate the social relations and communicate with her daughter. She says:

I've tried speaking English to Léa. [...] It terribly disturbed me. [...] I stopped immediatly. It was impossible. Something swells up in me, resists and gives up. [...] It's as if my voice really became the voice of my mother. [...] books, children, I can only do them in a language that is not my mother's (*Ibid.*, p. 139).⁶

In order to develop a sustainable and linguistic relationship with her daughter, Huston's alter ego needs to detach herself from her own mother and mother tongue, to distance herself from her own mother's voice, body, embodied linguistic instruction and draw from the "artifice" of French. However, the artifice of French in Huston's

⁵ J'ai senti récemment avec une force nouvelle à quel point le fait de vivre dans la langue française m'est *vital*; à quel point cet artifice m'est indispensable pour fonctionner au jour le jour.

⁶ "J'ai essayé de parler en anglais à Léa. [...] ça me troublait drôlement [...] je me suis arrêtée net. C'est impossible. Quelque chose en moi se soulève, résiste et cale [...] C'est comme si ma voix devenait réellement la voix de ma propre mère. [...] les livres, les enfants, je ne peux les faire que dans une langue non maternelle".

case is also embodied on more than one level as an unexpected meeting with her own mother reveals. Huston includes an episode in her book in which she describes an episode of taking her mother to a hammam:

“The mother” that I rejected with my country and my mother tongue is actually a mirage. [...] We spent three hours massaging and soaping one another, the bodies (naked together for the first time in twenty five years) voluptuously surrendered to steam. I saw that the sensuality that I looked for in Europe, I’d inherited it, quite simply, from my own mother (*Ibid*, p. 193).⁷

This suggests that France as Huston’s country of choice and French as a language of voluntary exile is more than a random choice. She must have chosen it also for the properties associated with the French culture – namely sensuality – that she found reminiscent of her own mother, her own semiotic bond with her mother and therefore, French as a language of mothering is also, at least partly generated from Huston’s own bond with her own mother.

Conclusion

Mothers’ narratives of mothering in a culturally and linguistically foreign environment are part of a larger trend of multiplying narratives voices of mothers in contemporary literary field. Linguistic choices of mothering can be read and interpreted on a personal and individual as well as a national level. On the personal level, it is the mother's unique and emotional way of living her motherhood that is taken into account. As languages are naturally, intrinsically and strongly linked with national identities and narratives they hold a powerful grip on individuals, including and especially mothers. The two types of linguistic mothering I evoked today, a silent and a trans lingual mother, are both marked by trauma, in the case of the silent mother it is collective trauma, in the case of trans lingual mother, personal trauma. Both of their linguistic choices of mothering directly stem from their stories and conditions that led to their emigration and their ways of dealing with their respective traumas. The silent mother doesn’t seem to be able to overcome her trauma and remains distanced from herself and her children, whereas, the trans lingual mother reinvents herself in an adopted foreign language, namely French, which she later comes to associated with her own longed for mother.

⁷ “‘La mère’ que j’ai rejetée avec mon pays et ma langue maternels est en fait un mirage. [...] Nous avons passé trois heures à nous masser et à nous savonner l’une l’autre, les corps (nus ensemble pour la première fois depuis vingt’cinque ans) abandonnés voluptueusement à la vapeur. Et j’ai vu que l’intensité sensualité que j’ai recherché en Europe, je léai héritée, tout bêtement, de ma propre mère.”

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***Diaspora and the Politics of Sameness and Difference:
The Korean and the Chinese Diaspora in a Korean Context***

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Abstract

In this research, I would like to start with mapping out current theories on diaspora from Safran to Homi Bhabha; and then I will proceed to analyze the significance of two diasporas in relation to their homelands: First, Korean Americans in relation to South Korean politics, and second, Chinese diaspora on the Korean peninsula. What I hope to achieve through these case studies is to expose the schism that splits a single diaspora from within, or to expose the inner heterogeneity that paradoxically composes and, at the same time, deconstructs the ethnic minority as a monolithic cultural entity. The conclusion of this study is that the historical differences within a supposedly single diaspora need to be addressed more seriously by diaspora scholars; and in order to avoid reifying diaspora, they should always place their object of study in its specific historical context.

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Introduction

Diaspora has established itself as one of the major topics in the literary and cultural studies of the twenty-first century. If earlier scholarship defined diaspora in a paradigmatic way, classifying it into a few models such as catastrophic and trading diaspora, later scholarship has become more inclusive. One of the classic theories on diaspora was elaborated by William Safran. In this research, I would like to start with mapping out current theories on diaspora from Safran to Homi Bhabha; and then I will proceed to analyze the significance of two diasporas in relation to their homelands: First, Korean Americans in relation to South Korean politics, and second, Chinese diaspora on the Korean peninsula. What I hope to achieve through these case studies is to expose the schism that splits a single diaspora from within, or to expose the inner heterogeneity that paradoxically composes and, at the same time, deconstructs the ethnic minority as a monolithic cultural entity. The conclusion of this study is that the historical differences within a supposedly single diaspora need to be addressed more seriously by diaspora scholars; and in order to avoid reifying diaspora, they should always place their object of study in its specific historical context.

Old and New Views

The key concept of Safran's theory on diaspora, which has influenced almost all of the subsequent studies on diaspora, is "homeland attachment." Our conventional understanding of this phenomenon derives from it. In the so-called man on the street's view, diaspora is understood in terms of an immigrant group's desire to return to its homeland. It is characterized 1) by dispersion from the center to the periphery, 2) sharing of myths and memories about the homeland, 3) the belief that the immigrants are not genuinely accepted by the host society, and 4) idealization of the homeland (Safran 83-84). If the dispersion is attributed to great disasters like an enemy nation's invasion, it is categorized as a "catastrophic" one. Diaspora may also be caused by people's voluntary move for profit-making. A most prominent example of the first type is the Jewish diaspora. There are, of course, other catastrophic diasporas such as Cuban diaspora, modern Armenian diaspora, and Palestinian diaspora. The Jewish diaspora, along with Greek diaspora, being probably the oldest in human history, has become a prototype upon which classic diaspora theories, including Safran's, are based. Ironically, the solution the Jewish diaspora took in the form of a Jewish state creation after the World War II, as is well known, gave birth to another catastrophic diaspora, the Palestinian diaspora, also known as "al-Nakba." However, diaspora is not always forced but could also be voluntary, as mentioned above. The Armenians who started spreading out all over the world for trading since the 4th century BC exemplify the trading diaspora.

If the old perspective on diaspora focuses on the immigrants' attachment to the homeland, the new perspective highlights their relationship with the host society. According to one of these new views, diaspora is regarded either as a liberating space unmoored from the repressive national identity-formation or as a state pregnant with rebellious energies against the authority of the assimilative host society. One example is Homi Bhabha's theorization of the culture of an ethnic minority in a metropolis as a subversive space, or what he calls "a third space." This theory is premised on the alleged non-conformism of an ethnic minority. Another example is Stuart Hall's conceptualization of "the cultural difference" of ethnic minorities as making a

“disrupting” effect upon the homogeneity or the “naturalizing effect” of the metropolis (Hall 221-22).

Another new perspective on diaspora is voiced by Rogers Brubaker. According to him, the meaning of this transnational movement has lately proliferated so much that diaspora the term itself has gone through a semantic or conceptual diasporization. As a solution to the confusion evolving around diaspora, Brubaker suggests that we should speak of diasporic instances, projects, claims, idioms, and practices instead of speaking of “a diaspora” or “the diaspora” as an entity (13). These old and new views have, of course, both merits and limitations in accounting for the numerous historical occurrences. And I would like to show in this paper where these views, old and new, come short.

Harboring a Wish to Return?

Unlike Safran’s classic model of catastrophic diaspora, the modern diaspora is not necessarily predicated on the immigrants’ desire to return to their homeland. What is worth noting here, however, is that this does not mean that the immigrants are not interested in the social situation of their place of origin. For instance, in 2008, the South Koreans fearful of the mad cow disease protested against their government’s decision to open its market to the beef from the US cattle 30 months and older. The South Korean government tried to push the import bill by assuring the public of the safety of the US beef. As a counter-discourse to the proliferating scare stories about the American beef, the government argued out that the Americans, especially the Korean Americans who have been eating the US beef for many decades, did not have any single known occurrence of the deadly disease. What is interesting takes place after this. A group of Korean American women, members of an internet club called “mizworld” (<http://club.limeusa.com/mizworld>), countered the South Korean government’s official discourse by spreading through the internet the information that the Korean government did not want its public to know, that is, the fact that the beef from cows under 24 months only is allowed for consumption in the US. According to this revelation, the South Korean government agreed to import the kind of beef whose sale is forbidden in the U.S. market.

These Korean American women, mostly homemakers, made a tremendous impact on the politics of South Korea during 2008 – 2009. Their counter-information, released in early May of 2008, added fuel to the already volatile political situation of South Korea. On the days like June 6th of 2008(Korean Memorial Day), the number of the people who took to the streets holding candle lights in protest reached 200,000.

These Korean American women engaged in South Korean politics not because they harbor a wish to come back to South Korea. Although they have no desire to return, they were still deeply concerned about the social and political agenda of their homeland. In this regard, they constitute a diaspora deviating from both Safran’s and Bhabha's models. Anderson once remarked of a group of immigrants who act as a kind of "absent patriots" in relation with their home country:

[E]lectronic communications, combined with the huge migrations created by the present world-economic system, are creating a virulent new form of nationalism, which I call long-distance nationalism: a nationalism that no longer depends as it once

did on territorial location in a home country. Some of the most vehement Sikh nationalists are Australians, Croatian nationalists, Canadians; Algerian nationalists, French; and Chinese, Americans. The internet, electronic banking and cheap international travel are allowing such people to have a powerful influence on the politics of their country of origin, even if they have no intention any longer of living there. This is one of the main ironic consequences of the processes popularly called globalization. (42)

Anderson's long-distance nationalism and Safran's classic model of diaspora, despite their apparent differences, converge on some kind of homeland orientation, whether it takes the form of a teleological desire to return or a patriotic engagement with the social agenda of the motherland. Despite the prominence of these diasporas, however, attachment to the homeland does not account for all of the numerous, diversified phenomena designated by the single term, diaspora.

Differences within Sameness

The new perspectives on diaspora, such as Brubaker's and Bhabha's, point to a new direction in understanding the phenomena by suggesting that homeland attachment may be a necessary condition for diaspora, but not a sufficient one. Yet, one major problem I have with Bhabha's theorization is that it does not ask why the ethnic minorities do cling to their cultural difference. The culture of an ethnic minority, simply because of its difference from the hegemonic culture, is equated with resistance and subversion in Bhabha's account. The question that Bhabha fails to raise is raised and answered by Marlon Ross in the following terms:

People do not struggle to survive as a group in order to possess a culture--that is, they do not struggle to survive in order to preserve their cultural identity. To the contrary, they struggle to preserve their cultural identity as a way of surviving, as individuals, the acts committed against them as a cultural group. They recognize that to survive as individuals depends on their ability to cohere, politick, and speak as a collective body experiencing assault because of their group identity. (836)

Seen from this perspective, the priority of immigrants is not to preserve their ethnic identities but to survive. And what maximizes individuals' survival is for them to live and fight as a collective body.

Another crucial dynamics of diaspora that neither Bhabha nor Brubaker encapsulates in their theorizations is the presence of heterogeneity within the one and same ethnic collectivity. The cultural homogeneity, which a diaspora is believed to preserve at all costs for the sake of the continuity of self-identification, becomes an insidious cause for intra-group repression, an ideological straightjacket so to speak. The historical trajectories of immigrants can be starkly different from one group to another, depending upon the period of immigration and the place of arrival. For instance, the overseas Chinese in South Korea, in the U.S. and in Singapore are very different from one another in their attitude towards China as well as in their self-identification. A fine example of the overseas Chinese's disaffection with, or detachment from, China is witnessed in an episode at an international conference held in Singapore years ago. After an American scholar gave a presentation on the topic of diasporic/transnational Chinese, one Chinese Singaporean scholar stood up and maintained that he is only a

Singaporean, neither diasporic nor transnational (Dirlik 173). This incident illustrates that homeland is no longer a point of reference in self-identification among certain diasporas. Of course, this Singaporean scholar does not speak for the overseas Chinese who have lately emigrated to the U.S. and thus retain a relatively stronger attachment to China.

The overseas Chinese in South Korea present a little more complicated case than this. First, there are two separate groups of overseas Chinese in South Korea: Kuhwagyo (舊華僑) meaning the old overseas Chinese, and Shinhwagyo (新華僑) the new overseas Chinese. The former group is composed of the descendents of those who migrated to the Korean peninsula over the period from 1881 to 1949, the period roughly covering the late Joseon dynasty and Japanese imperial rule. Some of these Chinese migrants settled in what is now North Korea; while others came further south. The year of 1949, when People's Republic of China was established, marks the cessation of Chinese migration to the two Koreas. The new overseas Chinese in South Korea are those who came to South Korea since 1992, the year when South Korea established diplomatic ties with China. These three migrant groups' points of national identification are quite interesting to compare: the nationality of the new overseas Chinese in South Korea is Chinese; that of the old overseas Chinese is Taiwanese; and the old overseas Chinese in North Korea is either Chinese or North Korean. The difference of homeland for these groups indicates the presence of stark difference within the same ethnic minority. What is worth noting about the old overseas Chinese in South Korea, is that they have lately started to speak of the possibility of changing their nationality from Taiwanese to Chinese. This is due to the discrimination that they have received from the Taiwanese government. Unlike the Taiwanese in Taiwan, this group finds it very difficult to receive a travel permission from their government; the benefits of the no-visa-treaty, for instance, that Taiwan made with other countries are not available to this particular overseas group (Hwagyodul i). If the old overseas Chinese's difference from their new counterpart indicates the heterogeneity that splits the allegedly monolithic entity of the overseas Chinese, the discrimination that they receive from their homeland exposes a hierarchy within the same ethnic group. And this hierarchy is, in turn, responsible for the changeability in the diasporic group's national/homeland affiliation.

Speaking of hierarchy, differentiation and discrimination are found operating even within the same diasporic group. Differences do exist in gender, sexual orientation, politics, religion, and family backgrounds within the same ethnic group. It is a universal phenomenon. However, some of these differences may be tolerated while others are not, depending on the group's situation and political agenda. Within a diaspora, for instance, explorations of different cultural values and new identities are more severely repressed than those of other differences, partly due to the minority group's strong desire to hold on to their collective identity as a kind of asset or resource to fight against the hostile host society with. In other words, discrimination within is generated by discrimination without. Lisa Lowe speaks of this intra-group hierarchy within the same racial minority in the following terms:

[C]ultural nationalism's affirmation of the separate purity of its culture opposes assimilation of the standards of dominant society. Stories about the loss of a "native" Asian culture tend to express some form of this opposition. At the same time, there are criticism of this cultural nationalist position, most often articulated by feminists

who charge that Asian American nationalism prioritizes masculinity and does not account for women. (75)

Conclusion

What diaspora studies of today should be weary of is to understand and use diaspora in an abstract way, dissociated from the historical context. When the scholars put down their guards, they run the risk of allowing one particular diaspora to speak for other diasporas. And the regional and historical differences of a diaspora are drowned within a few universalized occurrences. This study suggests that diaspora should be understood as a continuum or spectrum of historical phenomena stretching between two points, with Safran's classical model at one end and localization at the other end. After surveying classic and latest theories of diaspora, this study discussed the Korean diaspora and the Chinese diaspora in relation to their respective homelands. These two Asian diasporas, I hope, help to bring out the elements within the ethnic sameness that resist a reified structure, in other words, the presence of what Derrida might call "différance" that contests, destabilizes, and delays totalization. This study ultimately aims to foreground the schism, irregularity, and heterogeneity that split diasporas from inside and, in so doing, it hopes to issue a warning against the reification of diasporic occurrences. Perhaps, one way of drawing a balanced picture about diasporas is to loosen up a little the hyphen that connects the origin and the national membership of the immigrants and place them back in a historical context. Understood this way, the politics of diaspora often gestures towards a post-ethnic horizon rather than the predetermined teleology of return to the homeland or even cultural survival.

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***Promoting Interculturalism through Non Formal Education:
An Evaluation Procedure.***

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Abstract

Interculturalism is an area that was officially recognised as a teaching subject in formal education in several countries all over the world just over the last decade. This research paper focuses on the results of evaluating a non-formal education process. The general objective was to promote intercultural and intergenerational dialogue through cooking within a group of native and migrant women belonging to different age groups (young and 50+). This innovative idea entitled Appetite for Learning Comes with Eating – ALCE project was funded by Lifelong learning programme in the framework of Grundtvig action (adult's education). In the pilot procedure (implemented in 5 EU countries) there were 84 young migrants and senior native woman attending. The pilot procedure included 6 learning modules. The modules included activities such as sharing about women's own traditions related to food, cooking and natural remedies, sharing recipes and creating fusion recipes using traditional ingredients from different countries, exchanging ideas on how to create an intercultural cookbook that promotes intangible heritage involving migrant communities. The evaluation procedure included pre and post phase in order to compare attitude changing's before and after the involvement of the target group in this non-formal education experience. The evaluation tools were structured questionnaires suitable and adapted to the needs of the target group. The results from the evaluation show that interculturalism can be promoted through structured activities integrated into non-formal learning pathways.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Interculturalism, Intergenerational dialogue, migrant & native women, cooking, traditions, intangible heritage.

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Introduction

The movement and migration of people have created new circumstances and conditions where states are called upon to deal with it. Today's society is characterised by cultural diversity. The last decades have noticed a particular increase in multiculturalism. As a result, countries preserve the traditions of their people in the new condition and environment. Interculturalism can be understandable by people through cultural studies as these have been adjusted under the conditions of our century (Barker, 2008). Intercultural dialogue and exchange are tools to help people to develop a deeper understanding of cultural beliefs and practices different from their own, foster mutual understanding, foster interpersonal trust and cooperation (Barett, 2013). Adopting the main principals, as was described in the "Convention against Discrimination in Education" (UNESCO, 1960) full access to educational activities were given to migrants in all European Countries. Additionally in the "Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities" (1992) the United Nations recognise their role as a protector to the preservation of interculturalism and invites all members of the United Nations to adopt policies for protecting and promoting interculturalism.

The initiative also reflects a number of priorities as these were described under the Lisbon Strategy (Lisbon European Council, 2000). It was pointed out that intercultural dialogue may contribute to the achievement of the objectives of Lisbon Strategy. For example, the knowledge-based economy needs people who can adopt, revise, change and create opportunities of all possible sources of innovation (Lisbon European Council, 2000). According to the Lisbon Strategy, European countries will adopt policies in order to achieve and cover the need to build a "knowledge and learning society", a society that to be competitive in a global environment is characterised by constant and rapid changes.

Europe understanding the need for awareness appointed 2008 as the "European Year of Intercultural Dialogue" (EYID). This was designated by the European Parliament and the Member States of the European Union. It aimed to draw the attention of people in Europe to the importance of dialogue within diversity and between diverse cultures. The overall aim of the EYID was to raise the profile of intercultural dialogue, among all European countries, which is essential for creating respect for cultural diversity and encouraging active European citizenship (European Parliament, 2006).

On the other hand, ageing is one of the greatest social and economic challenges of the 21st century for European societies. It will affect all EU countries and most policy areas. By 2025 more than 20% of Europeans will be aged 65 or over (Ageing Policy, European Commission, 2014).

This paper present results of an educational pathway, designed for young migrant and native senior woman. The methodology structured for an active learning training course is based on the learning needs of both target groups and possibilities for peer learning that exploits resources of one target group to create benefits to the second target group and vice versa. Thus the needs and challenges identified were:

- Ageing population
- Cultural diversity

- Enduring discrimination against women particularly from groups at risk, senior and non-EU migrant young women
- Declining knowledge on culinary and curative traditions
- Recognition of competences acquired through non-formal and informal learning
- Need to increase quality in adult education.

The official curricula in formal education systems in many European countries and non – formal adult seminars, workshops, conference and learning activities etc, took place at national and European level in order for intercultural dialogue to be enhanced. Non formal learning activities were adopted by many European governments in order to sensitise young people and adults in multicultural issues. If we want to describe non formal education, we can say that it's any organised, systematic, educational activity delivered outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular sub-groups in the population, adults as well as children. Thus defined, non-formal education includes, for example, agricultural extension and farmer training programmes, adult literacy programmes, occupational skills training given outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational purposes and various community programmes of instruction in health, nutrition, family planning, cooperatives, and the like (Coombs & Ahmed 1974).

The Piloting procedure

Having the above in mind a project idea was born and was applied for funding under the Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP 2007-2013) and more specific in the framework of the Grundtvig multilateral action managed by EACEA. One of the main provisions of LLP 2007-2013 was *“to reinforce the contribution of lifelong learning to social cohesion, active citizenship, intercultural dialogue, gender equality and personal fulfilment”* (European Parliament and Council, 2006). *“ALCE – Appetite for learning comes with eating”* is a 24 month project starting from 01/11/2012. The partnership consists of five partners from five European countries: Italy, UK, Austria, France and Lithuania. The overall scope is the use of cooking to promote interculturalism, intercultural and intergenerational dialogue. The ALCE project aims are mostly to:

- Facilitate the inclusion of vulnerable social groups suffering from multiple discrimination.
- Improve the acquisition, recognition and validation of key competencies acquired through non-formal learning processes.
- Develop and consolidate innovative Lifelong Learning practices based on the intercultural and intergenerational transfer of fundamental non-tangible knowledge through active non-formal learning processes.
- Strengthen inclusive notions of European identity and citizenship through non-formal learning.
- Improve European wellbeing and health through a better knowledge of culinary traditions and natural curative methods.

On the other hand the main objectives of the ALCE project are to:

- Facilitate key competences acquisition of direct target groups (migrant and senior women) through training course, learning mobility, active training during the preparation & the implementation of the cultural roadmap of events, development of

products (“Our European culinary traditions and natural curative methods”) and dissemination actions thus promoting their inclusion

- Transmit an inclusive European identity and bring learning closer to learners by implementing a European roadmap of cultural knowledge transmission events (open to the public) focusing on food and natural curative traditions remedies
- Increase awareness in decision makers about the importance and relevance of recognition and validation of key competences acquired through non-formal learning processes and propose strategies for validation in dissemination actions and products (pedagogical manual).

The main idea was to involve migrants and senior native women from different countries. The ALCE partnership seeks to increase social inclusion of senior and migrant women through key competences acquisition (literacy, civic, entrepreneurial) and thus their wellbeing and re/integration into society and labour market and European communities valorising the role of senior and migrant women to their learning. Also, to increase awareness of food traditions and natural curative methods and to disseminate a book that includes traditional recipes from different countries (ALCE, 2012). To achieve the above aims and objectives, 6 modules were designed (Table 1).

Active Learning Training Course (ALTC) Implemented in Innsbruck (Austria), Paris (France), Palermo (Italy), Kaunas (Lithuania), Liverpool (United Kingdom)	
Module 1 1 session	Community Mapping and Intercultural Learning
Activities	Introduction of the participants from different cultures, <i>Team-building games based on valorising the differences within the group,</i> <i>Making a map of our reality.</i>
Module 2 2 sessions	Learning on culinary traditions & natural curative methods
Activities	Kitchen tools , <i>Sharing stories about kitchen tools related to traditions and personal memories.</i> Culinary traditions and natural curative methods, <i>Cooking and presenting recipes and natural curative methods.</i>
Module 3 1 session	Knowledge transmission
Activities	Spreading and sharing our knowledge, <i>Creating new multicultural recipes-fusion recipes.</i>
Module 4 2 sessions	Ideation of the Book
Activities	Recipe book, <i>Designing and making the recipe book about Culinary traditions and natural curative methods</i>
Learning Mobility 1	European Active Learning training course (Innsbruck, Austria)
Modules 5 and 6 2 sessions	How to create a cultural event
Activities	<i>Organising and promoting cultural events;</i> <i>Creating a cultural event in Palermo about culinary traditions and natural</i>

	<i>curative methods opened to the local community; Preparation of participants who are taking part in Learning mobility 2.</i>
Learning Mobility 2	Roadmap of cultural events (3 women from each group are going to another country of the Consortium)
Module 6 2 sessions	Evaluation of Modules and local event
Activities	Exchanging experiences from Learning Mobility 2 with the group using photos and presentations. Evaluation of all learning Modules using non-formal education activities.
Learning Mobility 3	Final seminar (Kaunas, Lithuania) Two participant from each national group will take part in the final seminar.

Table 1. Scheme of Learning Modules and Learning Mobilities

The modules took place in each partner country from April 2013 until January 2014.

Photo 1 represents the cooking sessions during the Cultural event and Learning Mobility in Kaunas Lithuania. Italian group participated in the organisation of the event supporting the group from Lithuania.

Photo 2 represents cooking session in Kaunas Lithuania, during Module 2 of Active Learning Training Course in Lithuania.



Photo 1. Learning mobility – Italian group visiting the group in Lithuania during Roadmap of cultural events

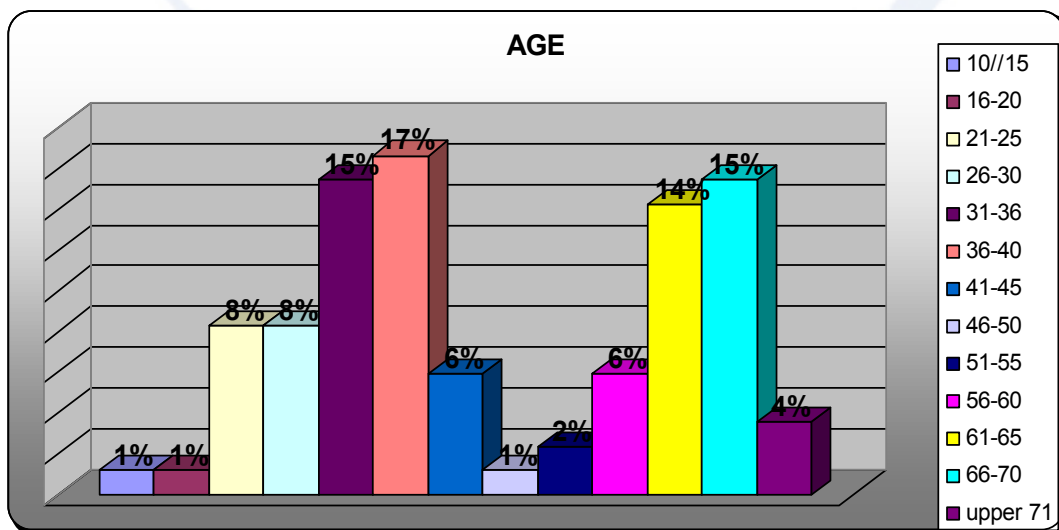


Photo 2. Cooking workshop in Kaunas, Lithuania

Participant Profiles

In the piloting 100 migrants and senior native women participated. In the evaluation procedure 84 learners feedbacks has been analysed. The Migrant women were from several countries. From Colombia, Palestine, Bangladesh, Russia, Ukraine etc. The partnership succeeded involving women from different countries but also with different ages. The common characteristics of all participants were:

- Seeking educational and work opportunities
- At risk and/or victims of social exclusion and discrimination the youngest woman was 12 and the oldest 77 years old. The majority of the participants belong to the age 36-40, 31-35 and 66-70. On graphic 1 we can see the percentage of each category and the ages of the involved persons.



Graphic 1

Additionally we asked the participants if they had participated in a similar activity. From the involved woman, 68 had not previously participated, 16 women have had a previous similar experience. 6 of the positive replies mention that their previous experience was in a seminar/workshop/conference about cooking. 4 participants pointed out that they are a professional cooker/chef dealing with the traditional cooking of their country (for example chef in a restaurant in UK cooking traditional Latin American dishes) and 6 that they have worked in a restaurant.

Evaluation Method

The overall aim of the evaluation was to analyse if interculturalism and intercultural dialogue was promoted. Specific objectives of this evaluation were to check the impact among the target group from the piloting procedure and if the participants had improved their personal skills and key competences.

In order to check the impact on the target group a specific evaluation tool was used. Pre and post structured questionnaires were given to the participants (migrants and senior native women). The questionnaires were divided into 4 parts.

The first part was about personal details (Age, country of residence and other demographic information).

The second part referred to personal skills related to reading, writing and communication in their mother language and in a foreign language, ICT skills, cooking abilities and collaboration with others. The participants scored themselves using the Likert scale (Poor = 1, fair = 2, good = 3, very good = 4, excellent = 5).

The third part consisted of 9 questions referred to personal attitudes. Likert scale was proposed once more in order the participants to score their attitudes (Likert, 1932) and more specific they used a scale of 1-5 (Not at all = 1, a little = 2, enough = 3, very = 4, very much = 5).

The final part included an open question asking about potential problems they believe that will face during their participation in the modules and the same question was included in the post questionnaire in order for the participants to feel free and write the problems they faced during the piloting procedure.

The pre questionnaires were given to the participants before the beginning of the modules and during the first information meeting. On the other hand, when all participants completed the piloting procedure the post questionnaire was given. The questions were exactly the same for the pre and post evaluation tools. Also the scoring method was the same in order for the researcher to be able to export the results by comparing the values in the pre and post questionnaires.

Findings and discussion

The participants scored themselves before the beginning of the procedure in the frame of the ALCE project, about their ability to read, write and communicate in their mother language but also in foreign language, in ICT skills (using PC, Internet communication, etc.), in cooking abilities and finally collaboration with others.

According to their replies reading, writing and communication in a mother language is something that the participants felt very confident as 63% of the group scored themselves with a 5. On the other hand, reading, writing and communicating in a foreign language was extremely low as 12% scored with a 5 and 4, 25% with 3, 30% with 2 and 21% with 1. Low skills seemed to have the majority of the participants in ICT skills and more specific using a PC, internet communication, social media etc. Only 6% gave a 5 mark, 31% gave 4, 37% grade 3, 17% gave 2 and 10% gave 1. Cooking abilities are average a strong point as the majority scores with 3 (37%), 4 (26%) and 5 (24%). A good level is their ability in collaborating with other as 40% scored with 4 and 42% scored with 5. The results of the pre questionnaires for the entire group appear in Table 2.

Pre Questionnaire results	Poor = 1, fair = 2, good = 3, very good = 4, excellent = 5				
Personal skills	1	2	3	4	5
Reading, writing and communication in mother language	2%	2%	11%	21%	63%
Reading, writing and communication in foreign languages	21%	30%	25%	12%	12%
ICT skills (using PC, Internet communication etc)	10%	17%	37%	31%	6%
Cooking abilities	4%	10%	37%	26%	24%
Collaborating with others	1%	1%	15%	40%	42%

Table 2

At the end of the piloting the same questionnaire was given. Comparing the post questionnaires we notice that the percentage of participants having personal skills for reading, writing and communicating in a mother language was increased as 76% scored with 5. Even their skills in communication in foreign languages were improved in an important level as 34% scores 3 and 22% scores 4. On the other hand 27% believe that they improved their ICT skills when in the same pre questions only 6% scored with 5. Cooking abilities was enhanced with their participation in the modules as now 34% scored 5, 31% scored 4, 27% scored 3, only 7% scored 2 and no one scored 1. An important factor is the fact that 64% gave 5 grade in the post question collaborating with others, 24% scored 4, 12% scored 3 and no one gave 2 or 1. The results of the post questionnaires for the entire group appear in table 3.

Post Questionnaire results	Poor = 1, fair = 2, good = 3, very good = 4, excellent = 5				
Personal skills	1	2	3	4	5
Reading, writing and communication in mother language	0%	3%	4%	16%	76%

Reading, writing and communication in foreign languages	12%	21%	34%	22%	10%
ICT skills (using PC, Internet communication etc.)	3%	16%	30%	24%	27%
Cooking abilities	0%	7%	27%	31%	34%
Collaborating with others	0%	0%	12%	24%	64%

Table 3

Additionally, the majority express the positive feeling in participating in cooking activities as 61% scored 5 in this question in the pre questionnaire as we can see in table 4.

Pre Questionnaire results	Not at all = 1, a little = 2, enough = 3, very = 4, very much = 5				
	1	2	3	4	5
Personal attitudes					
Do you like participating in activities relative with cooking and preparing remedies?	1%	2%	12%	24%	61%
Do you think that you need special skills in order to participate in an activity relative cooking and preparing remedies?	12%	19%	26%	20%	23%
Do you think that trough ALCE you will have the chance to inform other people for your culture and your cultural heritage?	0%	2%	19%	25%	54%
In which level do you enjoy being involved in activities collaborating with people from other countries and cultures?	0%	0%	7%	29%	64%
In which level you enjoy to collaborate with people from different generations?	0%	0%	5%	29%	67%
Do you think that participating in activities like ALCE you will improve your skills and competences?	0%	0%	21%	30%	49%
At what level do you think you will learn new things?	0%	1%	18%	31%	50%
You believe that through ALCE your professional qualifications will be improved?	1%	13%	29%	20%	37%
Do you feel that your participation in ALCE will help you to improve your position in labour market?	17%	15%	23%	20%	25%

Table 4

After the end of the piloting the positive answers scored with 5 marks reached 88%. The results for the post questionnaire are present in table 5. In these tables we can also see that before the beginning of the piloting the average of the participants believed that they will need to have some special skills in order to participate in an activity relating to cooking. These percentages changed after the completion of the procedure.

About informing others about each participant's culture and cultural heritage the percent was approximately the same in the pre and post activities. The whole procedure was in general a pleasant time for the participants as they liked to collaborate with people from other countries and cultures. We draw this conclusion as 64% scored 5 in this question in the frame of the pre questionnaire and 85% in the post questionnaire. Similarly, the fact to collaborate with people from different generations as in the pre questionnaire 67% scored 5 and in the post questionnaire 85% scores 5.

Through the ALCE project, the participants had the chance to improve their skills and abilities as we can conclude according to the results based in their personal opinions. More specific in the pre action 21% scored 3, 30% scored 4 and 49% scored 5. After the end 60% scored 5. The improvement was translated as learning new things through this procedure. In the pre questionnaire 1% scores 2 about thinking that will know new things, 18% scored 3, 31% scored 4 and 50% scored 5. The post questionnaires increased and change their attitudes with more positive answers' as 9% scored 3, 37% scored 4 and 54% scored 5. The average was kept almost the same in the questions about if their professional qualification was improved. Also the score of 5 grade was increased 14% in the question if ALCE helped them to improve their position in the labour market.

Post Questionnaire results	Not at all = 1, a little = 2, enough = 3, very = 4, very much = 5				
Personal attitudes	1	2	3	4	5
Did you like your participation in ALCE relative cooking and preparing remedies?	0%	1%	0%	10%	88%
You needed special skills to join ALCE?	25%	16%	18%	18%	22%
Did you have the change through ALCE to inform other people for your culture and your cultural heritage?	0%	6%	13%	30%	51%
In which level did you enjoy being involved in activities collaborating with people from other countries and cultures?	0%	0%	1%	13%	85%
In which level you enjoyed collaboration with people from different generations?	0%	0%	1%	13%	85%
Your participation in ALCE improved skills and abilities?	0%	4%	7%	28%	60%
At what level do you think you learned new things?	0%	0%	9%	37%	54%
You believe that through ALCE your professional qualifications were improved?	1%	9%	13%	36%	40%
Do you feel that your participation in ALCE helped you to improve your position in labour market?	16%	12%	12%	21%	39%

Table 5

The pre and post evaluation procedure were completed with an open question. The question was referring to potential problems that they believe they would face during the piloting (in the frame of pre activity) and what were the real problems faced (in

the frame of post activity). In the pre activity the main problems was focus on social obligations such as maternity and marital reasons, lack of time and working obligations. Languages and the way of communication was another problem that concerned many from the target group. At the post activity it was mentioned that the entire procedure was very pleasant and fruitful and the support was substantial. Having this in mind, the participants managed to find the time for participating even when sometimes their schedule was very tight. Lack of time was a problem that still remained. The positive thing is that difficulties related to the languages and communication was solved as they improved their language and communication skills.

General Conclusions

An important challenge was faced in the frame of the piloting of the ALCE project. To promote intercultural and intergenerational dialogue through the exchange of traditions related to intangible heritage, such as cooking and natural remedies within a group of native and migrant women belonging to different age groups (18-40 and 50+). From the results of the evaluation procedure, we can describe and summarise the following conclusions:

- A structured non-formal educational pathway that uses the exchange of intangible heritage elements such as cooking and natural remedies can contribute to increase personal skills and key competences.
- By organising a team with participants from different countries and from different generations intercultural and intergenerational dialogue can be promoted.
- Educational activities that include cooking with the aim to enhance the exchange of traditions and cultures can be the means of promoting intercultural dialogue.
- Through non-formal education activities that use cooking as the mean to include all, participants can improve their skills on a personal and social level such as communication in mother tongue and foreign languages, social and civic competences, sense of initiative and cultural awareness.
- New knowledge, skills and competences can grow through such non-formal learning procedures.
- Activities that foster intercultural and intergenerational dialogue can contribute to the social inclusion of vulnerable social groups suffering from multiple discrimination.
- In order for the participants to be able to inform other people from other cultures about their traditions and cultures, activities based on cooking can be organised.
- Intercultural dialogue through the exchange of recipes and traditional cooking can be a pleasant and enjoyable experience.
- Activities that foster active participation and actively involve learners in a learning pathway that enables them to develop transversal skills in a non-formal learning environment can contribute to the social inclusion of vulnerable social groups suffering from multiple discrimination.
- In some cases, participants can become more competitive in the labour market as a result of participating in such activities.

Cooking and natural curative remedies can be a main factor behind the understanding of diversity, multiculturalism and interculturalism and at the same time it can promote intercultural and intergenerational dialogue.



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Folklore as a Reflection of a Society: Black Pete and Cheoyong

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Official Conference Proceedings**Abstract**

Folklore is not completely imaginary, in that it originated from facts in history, and history cannot be completely invariant in that it is often tailored to serve a certain group or nation. In such a sense folklore and history are closely related each other and both serve to engender national identity. It is interesting to note that such semi-invented folklore from historical facts mirrors the contemporary multi-ethnic society; at the same time, it mirrors how the majority deals with the minority in the nation. This paper attempts to investigate two figures from folklore, respectively: Black Pete in the Netherlands, and Cheoyong in South Korea, to investigate how the minorities are represented in the national discourse. This paper explores whether the difference between the two narratives can be explained by the process of national identification in the two countries, and posits that the narratives of the majority groups of both commit epistemological violence to the minority by either including them in the master discourse yet reifying them as figments of colonialism, or dismissing the possibility of the minority to be a part of history so as to marginalize its existence and strengthen ideas of homogeneity. This paper also notes how folklore changes with the society, as it is reflective of the society.

Keywords: Black Pete, Cheoyong, national identity, folklore, ethnic homogeneity, Netherlands, Korea

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Introduction

It is often said that if one knows their history, then one will know one's identity. It is not overstated that due to this reason, history is regarded as invariant and is considered to be a barometer of how one perceives oneself. This may be precisely the reason why history is constituted in such a way to bind people with similar thought together. In other words, history can hardly be invariant in the sense that the intention behind it is to engender a group that imagines the same story. It is as E.H. Carr (1964) has suggested, that history is what the historian has cooked with the facts from history to make it appealing to him (Carr, 1964, p. 9). This perspective implies that the events in history are told with the teller's intention, and it is decorated in a way that satisfies the audience. Keith Jenkins (1991) also regarded history as a job of historian but he further assumed that the work is after all related to power relations, in that those who have the knowledge would be in the lead of the work. To him history is a contested discourse, an embattled terrain wherein peoples, classes, and groups autobiographically construct interpretations of the past, literally to please themselves. As he defines history in his book *Rethinking History* that history is "a shifting, problematic discourse, ostensibly about an aspect of the world, the past, that is produced by a group of present-minded workers" (Jenkins, 1991, p. 31). The fact that the work is from the past is interesting to note, and that the past has been interpreted to please the present should also be noted. Likewise, a nation's tradition also is involved in its history, and folklore contributes the foundation of the tradition, or vice versa. These traditions and folklore are often embedded with historical facts, and sometimes it brings the old practices of the past into present practices. In this sense, Eric Hobsbawn (1983) has stated that traditions are invented; furthermore, he writes "inventing traditions, it is assumed here, is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (Hobsbawn, 1983, p. 4). In other words, such traditions are invented on the basis of history to form or to present social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, which in a broader sense can symbolize the nation (Hobsbawn, 1983, p. 9). However, the notion of 'one's belonging to a community based on the homogeneity is what Stuart Hall defined 'an old identity'. In globalized societies, the definition of 'nation' has been harder to clearly enunciate, as a nation does not necessarily mean a group of people whose skin color is the same. What is interesting is how the invented tradition from the sources in history has been reinforced and its narrative transformed to fit their national identity making. In other words, as there exist a number of minorities with different histories and cultures, it is often seen that traditions and folklore are tailored to necessarily shape the thinking of the nation. Then the choice of the minorities should be either to accept the thoughts, or to raise a question to the degree to which they can afford to do so. Under such a hegemony, according to Hall, it is 'a war of position' in Gramscian terms, which means to find a ground to be positioned in order to speak (Hall, 1991, p. 51). He argues, therefore, that identity is always in the process of forming itself. (Hall, 1991, p. 47). And if identity is always changing, it means that the holder of the identity also keeps changing; in this sense, the society, being the holder, is also continuously changing.

Given the fact that traditions can be invented based on the facts from the past, it is interesting to study the tradition to observe social change, and how tradition asks the members of the society to have a certain 'national' or 'group' identity within a broader community of 'groups' or 'nations'. In other words, the traditions are

engendered to solidify the sense of belonging to the group, and they imply the hierarchy among the different groups of the nation because in most of the cases traditions are made by the majority, and if the concept of the minority is included, then it is a question of how the minority group is represented. Therefore, it is interesting to see how the society is formed by investigating these traditions.

It is with this reason that the traditions and folklore on the basis of history are, what this paper will investigate as a reflection of a society. Folklore can be seen as white lies; in a sense that the tradition and folklore makers create such an illusion to strengthen the sense of collectivity, and the minorities in the collective group can also identify themselves in the imagined community, as Anderson (1991) has argued. However, folklore and tradition are not entirely lies due to its origin from history. The constituents of the folklore and tradition are real, even though they have been selectively chosen. Then the question remains: how folklore contributes to the tradition, and how they selectively endanger the identity that fits the majority. This paper will look into two different distinctive characters from two folklores: Black Pete from the Netherlands, and Cheoyong from the Cheoyong Narration in South Korea. These two pieces of folklore have one characteristic in common in that they are transmitted to the next generation through a somewhat institutionalized means of education: textbooks or collective festivals. What this paper would like to tease out is how the traditional folklore can be seen from the perspectives of the minorities in both countries, because the two figures are considered or represented as minorities, and what the folklore actually presents to us.

Black Pete

The issue of identification is heatedly debated in the Netherlands on their celebration of Saint Nicolas known as Sinterklaas (Saint Nicholas) day in a sense that it is a question of 'which identity' one holds and where one would position politically. As Hall has stated, a process of identification is always constructed through ambivalence, and so the Dutch tradition of St. Nicholas can be ambiguous in definition in that it seems like citizens of the Netherlands position themselves on a fence to see which part rightly refers to their identity: pro or con to the concept of Black Pete. It is also interesting to see how the folklore was created and was formed throughout time. To briefly introduce, it is believed that St. Nicolas comes to the Netherlands by a steamboat from Madrid, Spain. What makes it unique and controversial is that he accompanies helpers whose name is Zwarte Piet, which means 'Black Pete'. Black Pete is an important figure in the Dutch Christmas tradition, and has a significant role to give out presents to good children and punish those who behaved badly in the previous year. The Black Pete character is part of the annual feast of St. Nicholas, usually celebrated on the evening of 5 December (Sinterklaasavond, that is, St. Nicholas' Eve) in the Netherlands. The characters of Black Pete appear only in the weeks before Saint Nicholas's feast, first when the saint is welcomed with a parade as he arrives in the country. The tasks of the Black Pete nowadays are mostly to please children, and to scatter traditional candies for those who come to meet the saint as he visits stores, schools, and other places. Alison Blakely (1993) pointed out that the tradition did not change for so many years and is still celebrated, yet it is interesting to note that the roles of the characters have changed throughout the times. John Helsloot (2013) wrote that the role of Saint Nicholas's at first was for him to give presents to the good children and punish the bad. Even after the introduction of Black Peter in

1850, it was St Nicholas himself that castigated the naughty children. Helsloot stated that the role of the bad guy befell on Black Pete, with the description of him as gruesome, frightening. Allison also explained that the figures of Black Pete symbolize the devil, with traces of belief in paganism and Christianity (Allison, 1993, p.45). But since the 1960s the pairing of opposites has been attenuated to the point that Black Pete became the center of the tradition with much affection because of his wit, friendliness and fun. (Helsloot, 2013, p. 125)

What can be noted from these changes of characterization of Black Pete is that the figure of Black Pete represents the typical perception of the Other in the host society in that it is scary, slightly stupid, and lacks the ability to speak properly. Interestingly, it would not be a coincidence that the time, when the descriptions of Black Pete got toned down, and the role increased to the degree that these unique yet friendly figures became the center of the festival, is when the voices of self-criticism and of African-descent people got louder. This can be analyzed as the tradition has been interacting with social opinions, thus inventing and changing details continuously. Then how has this collective participation in the tradition been an issue of racism? According to Helsloot (2013), it was when a large number of people from Suriname, a former Dutch colony, moved to the Netherlands to reside in the 1980s, and some progressive white people who objected to the racial stereotyping manifest in the 1960s. Through these times, Black Pete seems to have evolved, and this could be partially the reason that the journal *Economists* (2013) could analyze in the article *Is Zwarte Piet Racism?* that "with his fantastical role and antique costume, Zwarte Piet seems disconnected from modern racial stereotypes. He made it through the Netherlands' politically correct 1990s without raising many eyebrows." However, according to the same source, it recently has become even more of an issue than before when a Curaçao-born Dutch performance artist, Quinsy Gario began to protest by wearing a T-shirt reading "Zwarte Piet is racism" and was arrested. Gario explains how this tradition still represents the typical perception toward black people. According to the *Economist* article, he started to protest because his mother was insulted by a person at work saying to her: "we were wondering where our Zwart Piet was and there you are." This shows the thought that is outdated, and is still discriminating the Other as it easily undermines the Other to be a figure in the children's festival. It is in a country where other ethnicities have immigrated for decades, and lived with the majority. It is precisely in this sense that Gario asks for the attention: "We began this project because we [sensed] a want of historical knowledge about the figure of Zwarte Piet. It aimed at starting a 'sane dialogue, based on facts.' We don't say: 'stop celebrating Sinterklaas.' We say: 'study the origin of the phenomenon of Zwarte Piet and ask yourself the question if that is still acceptable in today's world'" (*Is Zwarte Piet Racism*, 2013). With this in mind, Allison has argued that the figures of Black Pete, which is "born evil, elevated to innocence over the centuries," have again faced the crisis of their "innocence" (Allison, 1993, p. 49).

As it can be seen in the argument that the tradition of Black Pete in history may imply how the view toward the black immigrants changed, yet Gario still asks that it be reconsidered and redirected to join the other members of society. There are however some attempts to sooth the anger, which consequently caused other issues as well: one article written by Arnon Grunberg in the *New York Times* (2013) stated that one of the movements as an alternative appeared in an attempt to keep the tradition without the controversial issue of racism, which is to paint Pete to be rainbow colored. It,

however, resulted in an outcry of adults, and had to be stopped since some deadly threats have been made to those in favor of Black Pete to be colored otherwise. (Grunberg, 2013)

What is interesting in this debate is whether or not it is racism. However, if it is viewed from the discussion on national identity construction, it can also be considered impressive that the representation of the minority group in the folklore is quite prominent. In other words, when the tradition was invented and reinvented, the Other was considered as a participant in the society, although it is a point of criticism due to the generalization and ridiculization of the figures. Still it has evolved throughout history and it is actively involved in the "master concept" (Hall, 1991, p. 46) of the national identity. Yet what is regrettable to see then is the fact that the voices of the alternative cannot be heard by the majority. The gesture of the majority toward the issue can seem condescending in that the acceptance of being difference means dual to the major group. In other words, this core sense of national identity lets the Other to be a part of the group because it can admit its difference, yet forces the Other to leave because the group cannot accept any other alternatives than what the majority set as a standard. Grunberg in the *New York Times* (2013) well stated that "Yet the general tenor among the Dutch public was that "they" should keep their mitts off "our tradition," an opinion you can hear in any number of variations on any street corner. By "them" people mean the United Nations and "unnatural" Dutch citizens, by both birth and naturalization, who want to put an end to this admittedly dubious tradition."

Cheoyong Narration

The case of the Netherlands is in the narrative of ambivalence of the national identity. It is a question of where one positions oneself in, to be a team of 'us' or an outsider of 'us'. This 'we and they' narrative seems clearer in the case of Korea, since Korean society has been known for its emphasis on homogeneity as it is often called *Hanminjok* meaning 'one nation'. It is not surprising that the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination urged in a statement in 2007: "that the emphasis placed on the ethnic homogeneity of Korea might represent an obstacle to the promotion of understanding, tolerance and friendship among the different ethnic and national groups living on its territory" (as cited from the article on *Joongangdaily* by Lee, 2007). As the same source revealed, it is interesting that the UN committee urged the Korean society to take immediate actions on some fields such as teaching, education, culture and information to recognize the multi-ethnic character. It cannot be enough to emphasize that through education the national identity is strengthened, and therefore it should be revisited to see whether or not the emphasis is rightly put. For example, Park (2007), as cited by Hong (2010), examined elementary social studies and civic textbooks and argued that they tended to reproduce the myth that Korea is a land of homogenous people sharing the same culture and history. Many textbook descriptions, according to Park, were based on ethnocentrism and often provided biased and distorted images of other peoples and cultures (Hong, 2010, p. 391). This suggests that the concern of the UN committee has not been a mere interference of domestic governance.

It is interesting that Korean society has focused on homogeneity so long. Has the world ever been not a globalized community? Pheng Cheah (1998) has argued that cosmopolitanism is not a new concept which rises with the advent of globalization,

which means that the world has been globalized for a long time. Stuart Hall (2000) also pointed out that multi-cultural societies are not new, and even long before the European expansion, which made the movement more intensive, the world was ethnically or culturally 'mixed' (Hall, 2000, p. 212). It is a phenomenon that has been around for centuries. That is to say, a society that claims to be homogeneous is a community with its identity based on an imagination; it is, as Anderson (1991) stated, an imagined community that attempts to winnow out the traces of the minority from the majority group. One of the examples that this paper brings is the traditional folklore; at the same time, the traditional song and dance of Korea: the Cheoyong Narration. It is about a man called Cheoyong, who supposedly was one of the seven sons of the Dragon King. Cheoyong followed King Hungang to the then capital of the Shilla dynasty, Gyeongju, after the King built a temple for the Dragon King at a port area called Gaeunpo. The King bestowed a position and a wife to Cheoyong as an extension of gratitude. His wife was very pretty, which tempted the goddess of smallpox to trick his wife to spend a night with him. When Cheoyong came home, he found four legs under the bedding. He grieved and expressed his sadness by singing and dancing. The goddess of smallpox got greatly touched by Cheoyong's tolerance over the affair and promised Cheoyong that he would never appear again if Cheoyong's picture is on the door of a house. For this reason, the story has been transformed into folklore that is sung and danced, to eradicate misfortune. However, what is interesting is that there are scholars who doubt whether or not, among many other theories¹, Cheoyong is indeed a Korean, as the folklore implies between the lines. This question is raised due to the historical fact that Cheoyong might be a Muslim merchant who traversed through China to Korea (Lee 1969; Jung 2005, Lee 2012). In Yong Su Choi's analysis (1993) of the studies on the Cheoyong Narration, an interesting contrast appears between different views. He described Yong Beom Lee's study (1969) on Cheoyong as that of "interpretation focused on the Chronicles of the Three States and the scholars description in the late period of Goryo, which contributes to the view of Cheoyong as an Islamic merchant who was active throughout the area from Guangzhou to Yangzhou," and in response to Lee's argument, Choi also wrote Gi Baek Lee's claim (1972) stating "it seems to be an over-interpretation to relate an Arab merchant's financial prowess to state affairs." (Choi, 1993, pp.13, 15) It is a clear contrast where a sense of nationalism can be hinted. Furthermore, it is all the more interesting in the line with the movement in the post-independence period to re-establish the national identity. Kon Taek Lim (2012) stated that the traditional three-verse Korean poem, *Sijoh* had been faded after the colonization mainly due to its relatedness to the Joseon dynasty which was followed by the hardship and shame under Imperial Japan. To people's mind, *Sijoh* was rather outdated and reminded of the dynasty that collapsed; in consequence, the nation was lost. To raise the nation's spirit after the dreadful period, Lim wrote, the Korean folk songs from the Silla dynasty to early Goryo dynasty, *Hyangga* and *Hwarang* spirit, which is the spirit of chivalry of Silla, replaced *Sijoh*, which struggled to find its fame back. According to Lim, the Korean folk songs, *Hyangga* became the 'inevitable

¹ Yong Su Choi (1993) analyzed papers on the study of the Cheoyong Narration, and the papers published vary from 1918 to 1992. He listed the different views on the Cheoyong's identity as a fisher, Buddhist, Hwarang (a Silla knight), hero, shaman, son of a powerful local clan, Islam merchant, person from a tribe in the border of Yongseong country, immigrant from the south, God of solar eclipse, sea and house guardian deity, symbol of summer, symbolic figure of the nation, ideological product, and consciousness etc. It is interesting to note that there are three possibilities that could suggest Cheoyong to be a foreigner, and the rest seems fairly related to the mystical figure.

peoplehood' replacing *Sijoh* after going through the colonization and the Korean war (Lim, 2012, p. 238).

Combining these interesting findings from two studies of Choi and Lim, it can be assumed that the trend to find the traditional Koreaness from the Silla dynasty could have raised the importance of *Hyangga*, such as the Cheoyong Narration. Therefore the tradition of *Hyangga* has been revisited and reinvented to form a different identity from the colonial period, and to reinforce the nationhood. It may also carefully be suggested that it is because of this reason that the narrative of the identity of Cheoyong could be no more than a discussion, and rather to be left as a myth which leaves little space for the minority in Korea to relate themselves in the discourse of national identity. It should be a point to doubt whether the discussion on the identity of Cheoyong should never be clearly sorted out due to the lack of historical facts, or the lack of willingness to acknowledge the history of 'mixed blood'.

Implications

These two cases of traditional folklore show how a tradition can be embedded with historical facts. The folklore involves the participants who are the narrators and listeners, and these draw a voluntary or tacit participation in the discourse. With the example of Dutch folklore, it shows how a Gramscian hegemony is in operation in that the existence of the big community makes it possible for the members of the society to mingle inside, what Hall called a "concerted agreement". Borrowing from Stuart Hall's example of a British tea cup, the case of the Dutch can be described similar in that of the cup which allows its ingredients to be a part of the tea as long as it agrees to be the tea, as in Dutch. While the differences are acceptable, the tea cannot be other than being Dutch, and the ingredients should agree on that. However, the second example with the Korean folklore, the difference is hardly seen because, figuratively speaking, if the possible pigment is detected through the screening lenses it seems to dilute it to be the like, on the process of re-establishing the nation. Simply put, if one is different in the tea cup, the choice is to stay outside of the tea cup to be labeled an exotic dessert, or to be in the cup as other Koreans. Therefore, the two different folklore ask their members of society where 'they' are standing, and show how 'we' perceive 'you'.

The differences lie on the discourses of each case. In the Dutch case, the discourse was inclusive in that the minority group, politically black as Hall defines, is in the process of identity formation and was "in the tea cup". To simply put, the minority group was included in the narrative of the national identity, which can be argued to be positive and negative at the same time, in that the representation of the minority was distorted from the view of the majority. While the minority was included in the discourse in the Dutch case, the possibility of the existing minority group in the Korean case is marginalized as much as possible, and often excluded in the narrative of the national identity despite the fact that historically it has seldom been isolated from the invasion or interaction with other countries. It is that 'we' know who 'we' are, from the history of the Other in the Dutch case, and 'we' should keep 'ourselves' in the history from the Other's invasion in the Korean case.

Even until now, the issues related to this traditional folklore are ongoing. Most prominently, the recent article on *Aljazeera America* revealed that the Dutch case is

significant because of the recent ruling of the Amsterdam court stating that Black Pete indeed is offensive to black people in the Netherlands, due to its stereotyped representation (De Bode, 2014). Now what this could mean is that from this year's celebration, Black Pete may have to be some other Pete, which would not represent any of the minority groups. There have been some voices of criticism both from inside and outside of the Netherlands that if the color of the Pete is what causes the problem then they should change it to green or purple etc, but that was not practiced in the Netherlands, whereas it was by some Dutch expats in the U.S. However, because of the ruling in Amsterdam, some change will be made in the traditional celebration. What could this mean to the folklore figure of South Korea, Cheoyong? With the recent study of scholar Heesu Lee (2012) on the interpretation of a Persian epic poem, *Kushnameh*, the identity of Cheoyong could be uncovered. The epic poem describes a story of the Persian prince Abtin, who is said to have moved to Silla and got married to a princess, which accords with the story of Cheoyong. Then, it is a question of whether the majority could think of the minority as a part of a culture or group, without making the minority into a complete Korean. That is to say, the question of having other ethnicities in the society do not necessarily harm the nation, and thinking Cheoyong's possible identity as an Arab without a question that goes: "how dare one can think of such thing to our ancestor?"

Changing of the tradition is a powerful tool of analysis because history and tradition are reflective of deep social attitude, and in this case we can study the attitude toward the minorities. Given the fact that tradition is something that can be invented from history, if history is revisited, then the nature of the tradition can also be changed, which is yet another form of reflection of the society, which keeps changing. The fact that both societies are changing, it shows the changes in the perspectives toward the minorities, the changes that are occurring in the Netherlands can also occur in South Korea. Koreans will reevaluate Cheoyong as Dutch are reevaluating Black Pete, which is possible with the change of the perspective toward the minorities.

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The logo for the International Association for Cultural Studies (iafor) is centered on the page. It consists of the lowercase letters "iafor" in a light blue, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of two overlapping, semi-transparent arcs: a larger, light blue arc and a smaller, light red arc that overlaps the blue one.

***Pushing Ethnoscape Identity Through Taiwanese
Movie Box Office after the Popularity of Cape No. 7***

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Abstract

New Media offer Taiwanese as an alternative to explore their ethnic group identity when other mainstream media fail to present their image and imagined community as the way they want to be presented. After the popularity of Cape No. 7, Taiwanese Movie Box Office shows that almost only movies with good production which can present daily lives, collective memories, community issues, dreams or shared social emotions of majority Taiwanese can beat Hollywood movies in Annual Taiwanese Top 10 Movie Box Office or Top 1 in Lunar New Year's film schedules from 2010 to 2014. This article treats popular local movie text as a new way to present Taiwanese ethnic group identity. How and why online fans as cultural agents to push ethnoscape identity through Taiwanese Movie Box Office after the popularity of Cape No. 7 are explored. This article argues that the concept of consumers' rights of cultural sovereignty is helpful to explain these movie fans' online behavior which pushes box office of local movies with lower production budget to lead that of Hollywood movies.

Keywords: ethnoscape, Taiwanese Cinema, imagined community, identity/difference, consumers' rights of cultural sovereignty

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Introduction

Appadurai (1996) analyzes ethnoscape and finds a growing number of diasporic public spheres when media increasingly link producers and audiences across national boundaries as these audiences themselves start new conversations between those who move and those who stay. He describes a central fact of ethnography that the social, territorial, and cultural reproduction of group identity is changing in the 20th century as groups migrate, regroup in new locations, reconstruct their histories, and reconfigure their ethnic projects (p.48). Taiwanese identity has also been changing drastically. In a public opinion survey report published in July 2014 by the *National Cheng-chi University Election Study Center*, when people in Taiwan were asked about their identity, 60.4 percent reported seeing themselves as Taiwanese, with only 3.5 percent regarding themselves as Chinese and 32.7 percent thinking of themselves as both, the lowest percentages on record¹.

Appadurai (1990) uses the concept of “here and now” to explore image and the issue of locality and nation-state, their history, crisis and prospects in the context of globalization. Castells (2010^a) distinguishes three kinds of collective identity: legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity to explain the flow of identity in the context of post-modern style and globalization. Chen (2013^a) applies the concept of consumers’ rights of cultural sovereignty and asserts that the public and nationals in a state have the need for consolidating their collective identity through consuming popular mass media as vehicles for their cultural practices of everyday life. Chen argues that in the process of the globalization, the public as consumers of local film industries can pursue their resistance and create their special interpretation of their experience of modernization by building up momentum of local culture. She explores why Taiwanese government should focus on enlarging the local market of its local film industry rather than focus majorly on Chinese film market.

Under the influence of cultural discount or cultural relevance consumers may choose the domestic products they like as their first choice but choose the foreign products if those domestic products could not meet their needs (Straubhaa, 2000) and through the context of globalization and glocalization, consumers can seek their different levels of identity such as identities of personal, social groups, communities, and nations. However, these observations cannot explain how and why some nations can dominate their domestic movie market and deter the invasion of Hollywood movies. Through the experience of film markets in Japan and Korea we can find that the two domestic markets have significant changes when their film makers target their local audiences’ preference and their local film distributors regain top 3 titles in their local movie markets (Chen, 2013^a). Based on these observation this article argues that consumers might create a momentum to pursue their national identity as the need to pursue their collective memories and production of their collective cultural symbols through media consumption behavior. The governments need to maintain and build media system to make sure their nationals as consumers have available cultural products to satisfy their needs for collective consumption. This concept is defined as consumers’ rights of cultural sovereignty which is different from protection of culture right of minorities. Chen (2013^b) uses both social and cultural perspectives to argue how

order is formed by solidarity/attachment from a social perspective and by autonomy/authenticity from a cultural perspective. She explains that based on McQuail model, concepts related to order include public order, consensus, national/subgroup identity, empathy, quality (improved by education and science, aesthetics) and bad taste (facing the uncultural facts by exploring social reality). Global industries produce cultural products that makes nations worried about their cultural invasion. In contrast, several nations such as Japan and South Korea have shown that emphasizing their national cultural characteristics help develop their national brand and national pride which increase the heterogeneous characteristics of globalization(Chen, 2013^a).

Chen (2012) explains that a paradigm shift of cultural consumption indicates that a nation's domestic cultural products have a bigger market share than foreign competing products after that nation had failed to do it for many years. She demonstrates what we can learn from these nations' strategies of winning a cultural paradigm shift and provides evidence to argue that cultural negotiation in local market is important to both glocalization and globalization. In addition, protecting domestic cultural products without a deadline to avoid market competence may hurt a culture if local cultural products no longer attract locals and their market share shrinks. The scenario of protecting local products without an aim to expand their competence is not the practice of consumers' right of culture sovereignty.

Movie Images Representing Ethnoscape in Taiwan

Ethnoscape in Taiwan changes when different groups settle down and dominate this island. Since the second half of the sixteenth century, Chinese, living Fukien a southeastern province of China, migrated into Taiwan, before that several groups of aborigines of Southeast Asian had inhabited Taiwan and it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that Han Chinese settlers dominated the island (Ch'en [1966] 1979a:452-453, cited by Hsiao, 2004). During Ming Dynasty and Ch'ing Empire, people in Taiwan only had the local consciousness as "Changchou people," "Chuanchou people" who speak Hoklo and "the Hakka" who migrated primarily from Kwangtung and spoke the Hakka language (Hsiao, 2004, p.5; 黃俊傑, 2006). Taiwanese consciousness appeared the first time during Japanese ruling period because of confrontation between the colonized and the colonizer; the categories of tai-gu (Taiwanese people in Hoklo) and tai-oan-oe (Taiwanese language in Hoklo) were created (Hsiao, 2004, p.4). Taiwanese consciousness (1895-1945) then were considered as struggling not only for nationalism but also for equal right of class (黃俊傑, 2006). After 1945, Taiwan turned to be under the KMT's ruling and members of KMT became new settlers from mainland China. After that, Taiwan turned to be four great ethnic groups in Taiwan: Taiwanese, Waishengren (Mainland Chinese), the Hakka, and the aborigines. Taiwanese consciousness then developed as against KMT's authoritarian regime (p.4, 黃俊傑, 2006). After Martial Law in Taiwan was abolished in 1987 and new democratic systems have been adopted, Taiwanese consciousness turns "New Taiwanese" identity discourse against the political regime of Communist China (p.4, 黃俊傑, 2006). Anderson's *Imagined Communities* argues that all communities larger than promordial villagers of face-to-face contact are imagined

and communities are to be distinguished, “not by their falsity/genineness but by the stye in which they are imagined” (1983:6). Billig’s banal nationalism (1995) explains nationalism as an endemic condition rather than just intermittent mood; Fox and Miller—Idriss indicate processes of building everyday nationhood as talking the nation, choosing the nation, performing the nation, and consuming the nation (cited by 高奇琦, 2012). Movie images of ethnoscape usually reflect official dominant culture such as top-down control and solidarity or peoples’ choices such as bottom-up resistance, attachment and pleasure. For example, after analyzing two popular movies *Victory* (1976) and *A City of Sadness* (1989), Lo (2002) finds differences between the two movie text when the former describes “the other” as Japanese but the latter refers to “the other” as Chinese mainlanders; in addition, languages the former used are Mandarin and Japanese while the latter also uses Hoklo, Cantonese. Lo indicates that *Victory* appeals to “assimilation” with a strategy to construct national sameness; in contrast, *A City of Sadness* applies the strategy of “dissimilation” to construct intranational differences (p.22). Taiwanese and Chinese identities coexist harmony in *Victory* but in *A City of Sadness* conflict and difference exist between the two identities. He also examines TV dramas in Taiwan from 1971 to 1996 and finds that Mainland China turns to be “absent presence” but Taiwan turns to be “present absence” in the programs he analyzes; therefore, Taiwan turned to be a place where lacked the in-depth history then. Lo (2002) explores the identity/difference of Taiwan as hybrid nationhood and finds a hybrid yet Taiwan based identity. A commonly shared ‘structure of feeling’ emerges to sustain this peculiar form of hybrid nationhood by way of conjunctural mediation process through audio-visual media to negotiate an “imaginary homeland” (China) and the “inhabited home” (Taiwan) (Lo, 2002, p.21).

However, when globalization makes progress, more ethnoscape in Taiwan turned global and identity in movie text developed toward private perspective. Castells (2010²) describes about Taiwan around 1990s that consumption and the search for identity increasingly shift from the public to the private, from nation to family and the individual, from the impossible Taiwanese cultural identity to the daily personal identity of Chinese people struggling in the island (p.307). Another development is that scholar (林文淇, 1998) indicates that the difference of identities depicted in Taiwan movies are changing: in city movies the national identity of Chinese disappears and turns into a post-modern style in 1990s. Phenomena of portable nationality is related to postmodern hazy spaces with an unclear meaning of rupture historical landscape, Lin observes (林文淇, 1998). Storey (1999) states how characteristics of traditional identity are different from postmodern identity— the former self as fixed/limited, unfolding without change, singular, centered, complete, constituted outside culture, and universal; the latter self as performative self, self as powers of change, multiple self, decentered, incomplete, constituted in culture, historical (1999 , p.135) (cited by Lee, 2003). As electronic media provide resources for self-imagining as an everyday social project, Appadurai (1990) indicates that the global flow of images, news, and opinion now provides part of the engaged cultural and political literacy that diasporic persons bring to their spatial neighborhoods. He uses ethnoscape, financescape, technoscape, mediascape, and ideoscape to stress different streams or flows along which cultural material may be seen to be moving across national

boundaries. He indicates that “today's ethnoscaapes interact irregularly with finance, media, and technological imaginaries” (1996, p.198). To explore ethnoscape, images and narratives of different ethnic groups represented in media are important to the concept of ethnoscape. By comparing film industries of the Republic of Korea, Japan with that of Taiwan, Chen found that the Republic of Korea and Japan persist in their local cultural practices and connect them to globalization is the key for their success. As a result, their domestic film markets that were dominated by Hollywood movies in the past are changing now after their nationals shape their nation’s collective imagination through their own film industry.

National identity and Popularity of Local Media Production

Greenfeld (1992) explains that nationalism “locates the source of individual identity with a “people”, which is seen as the bearer of sovereignty, the central object of loyalty, and the basis of collective solidarity.’ Yoshino (1992) explains that “the common denominators of nationalism are the belief among a people that it comprises a distinct community with distinctive characteristic and the will to maintain and enhance that distinctiveness within an autonomous state” (p.6 ‘ cited by Hsiau, 2004). Although narrowly-defined ethnic nationalism is commonly criticized by the fact of historical mistakes such as racial cleansing, war or discrimination against ethnic groups, this paper argues that nationalism with characteristics of multicultural, syncretistic, and civic perspectives should not be considered as a negative way of connecting nationals together for cultural economy. Throsby (2001) explains culture economy that the cultural impulse can be seen as “a desire for group experience of collective production or consumption” that cannot be fully factored out to the individuals comprising the group (P.13). Ethnoscape interacts with media which implies whether local media products are popular is important. A similar idea discussed by Silj about how media, market, cultural values can work together (1992): national public broadcasters’ maintaining enough market shares to claim the impact in local market (over 50% ratings) ; their locally produced programs helpful to their nations to compete with programs imported from other nations; local programs good enough to deepen audiences’ nation identity or cultural identity when programs were produced locally and themes of these dramas relevant audiences’ daily life or historically collective memories in their nations; programs to be exported with a purpose of economical meanings and culture values because a nation’s image, values and belief were sent to regional or global audiences. Straubhaar (2003) found that there was an increasing trend for the percentage of prime time television occupied by nationally-produced programs from 1962 to 2001 in East Asia such as Japan, South Korean and Taiwan; in contrast, there was a decreasing trend for the percentages of prime television occupied by US-produced programs in the same period. In contrast, low budgets and competition in a low-profit market has been leading to a bad production cycle for TV programs in Taiwan and TV markets recently are gradually taken over by Chinese-made TV programs which imply high budgets and better quality. However, Taiwan’s cinema market is in a different condition. After the popularity of *Cape No. 7*, Taiwanese Movie Box Office shows that almost only movies with higher budgets which represent Taiwanese daily lives, collective memories, community issues, dreams or shared social emotions of majority Taiwanese can beat Hollywood movies in Annual

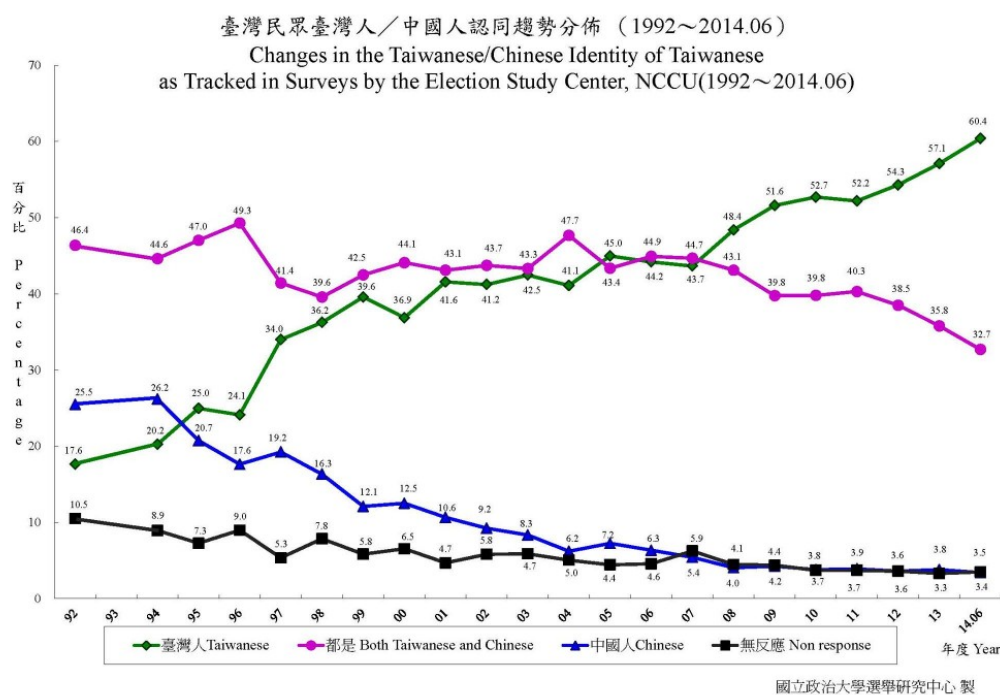
Taiwanese Top 10 Movie Box Office or in Lunar New Year’s film schedules from 2010 to 2014. Chen (2012) explores how directors, managers of art direction, and financial control in movie production for three movies - *Monga*、*Zone Pro Site*、*Twa-Tiu-Tiann* - create new Taiwanese cultural aesthetic experience and represent Taiwan’s subjectivity.

When the majority of Taiwanese movies are produced with lower budgets or careless about their audience’s responses, they fail to represent Taiwanese images to maintain their imagined community as the way Taiwanese want to be presented. To many Taiwanese, these popular movies offer them as alternative media to explore their Taiwanese identity. This article explores how fans as movie push hands can achieve that goal through local Movie Box Office after popular movie professionals create Taiwanese-center paradigm symbols to call for their fans’ reaction for Taiwanese narratives.

Collective Identities in Taiwanese Popular Movies and their Fans

There is changing trend of Taiwanese collective identity of when 60.4 percent of Taiwanese consider themselves as Taiwanese this year, a huge jump from only 17.6 of Taiwanese saying this in 1992. In contrast, 25.5 of respondents saying they are Chinese in 1992 but dropped to 3.5 percent in 2014.

Table 1: Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese identity of Taiwanese



Retrieved on July 2014 from Election Study Center of National Chengchi University, <http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/course/news.php?Sn=167>

In terms of collective identity, there are major differences regarding Taiwan's history. The conflict between these two ideologies is called China-centered or Taiwan-centered paradigm (Hsiau, 2005). One of the China-centered basic assumptions is that Taiwan's history should be viewed from a China-centered perspective; in contrast, the latter emphasized the idea that Taiwan's history should be viewed from a Taiwan-centered perspective (Hsiau, 2004). Hsiau explains that based on a Taiwan-centered paradigm, all foreign rulers left some legacies, for better or for worse, and are in indelible feature of Taiwan's unique history and culture (p.75). Taiwanese most popular movies seems to reflect what Taiwanese think about themselves. This study choose three movies *Twa-Tiu-Tian*, *Kano*, and *David Loman* to explore how and why their online fans support them for their Taiwan-centered paradigm plots. All three movies list as Annual Taiwanese Top 10 Movie Box Office or Top 1 Movie Box Office in Lunar New Year's film schedules from 2013 to 2014. This study explains these movies are popular for they are of Taiwan-centered paradigm, explore Taiwanese subjectivity, and connect Taiwanese with their local languages, moods, issues, culture, and modern consumption experience such as life style and aesthetic experience. Fans of the three movies show a strong motivation to persuade other Taiwanese to watch them by asserting how many times they have been watching the movie. They show a determination of pushing "cultural paradigm shift" (Chen, 2012) to help the movie win the best box office at its first opening week.

Twa-Tiu-Tiann and *Kano* represent two stories Taiwanese rarely experience in locally-produced movies. Although the background is both under Japanese rule around 1920's to 1930's and Taiwanese then were discriminated by Japanese, both directors in the two movies mention that it was a "golden" or "wonderful" time period in Taiwan. At that time, more Taiwanese started to experience the spirit and products of modernity such as western art, music, movies, department stores, coffee shops, and sports as a result that they develop their pride and confidence in different ways such as challenging famous baseball games or participating public reform. In *Kano*, an underdog baseball team from the south performed beyond all expectation by advancing to the championship game and won Japanese respect because three ethnicities- Han people, Taiwanese aboriginals and Japanese- worked together when social inequality then made it hard for them to co-play. However, earning the respect of Japanese is also criticized by some as enslavement and this movie is called as an evidence that some Taiwanese still miss Japanese colonial era. Wei Te-Sheng, co-producer and co-screenwriter of the movie, explains that good things should not be ignored and denied just because it happened during the colonial era. Based on Jian Nan's description (Hsiau, 2004, p.63), the textbooks in Taiwan for a long time was largely ignored the Dutch rule of Taiwan and the Japanese era except for some local uprisings against Japanese. Therefore, most Taiwanese still have not enough knowledge about how Taiwan contacted modernity before the KMT's ruling. In *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, rich, beautiful, educated, and young Taiwanese are seen in Japanese colonial era to struggle for their prides in a comedian and upbeat way. For example, its trailer sets the happy mood with a confident style by saying "everyone is taking efforts to earn big money by starting business." In fact, scholars and professionals have been online debating these two movies. For *Kano*, a scholar with a China-centered paradigm in mind argues that this movie erodes Taiwan's subjectivity² while another defends it by emphasizing the director's

humane approach with a characteristic of public subjectivity rather than ethnic subjectivity³. The Taiwan Historical Association claimed that Taiwan as a sovereign country must maintain their subjectivity, devoting itself to promoting a historical view that embodies Taiwanese subjectivity in 1995 (Hsiau, 2004, p.165). *Kano* is heavily criticized as flattering Japanese because it is presented almost all in the language of Japanese and treat Japanese baseball games as “ours” rather than enemies’ creation. However, fans search historical evidence to prove that it is right for the players to speak Japanese then and confirm that Japan helped Taiwanese to learn modernity then. For *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*, this movie describes a college boy’s time travel, back to Japanese colonial era, and he turns from an absent-minded young man to a brave, determined, and responsible adult after he helps organize a colonial protest and saves Dr. Chiang Wei-shui who piloted the modern thought of Taiwanese, opened up their world view and new cultural movements.⁴ This movie also encounters disputes about whether history is presented accurately⁵ and how stereotypical it is to present Japanese official. However, fans are trying to promote the film by arguing against these criticism and saying it is more important to let more Taiwanese know about Dr. Chiang Wei-shui and his spirit than explore all the historical details in this movie. In the movie scenes, crowds are shouting “We are Taiwanese.” “We are from *Twa-Tiu-Tiann*.” The movie has a strong historical view of Taiwan-centered paradigm. Another popular movie *David Loman* beats Hollywood movies by narrating a comedy about a gangster and the actor who playing him is good at using homophones to present funny but wrong meanings especially implying obscenities or curses as a result of showing a comedian Taiwanese versus Chinese bi-lingual environment. Scholars and art movie critics criticize this movie greets low taste of movie market but the fans of movie support the funny plots by admitting curses are the way their friends to greet each other. While series critics focus on curses in a movie should be presented in a meaningful way and grass roots is not equal to low taste⁶, the movie fans counter back that how they use Taiwanese curses in their daily life⁷ is similar to what the movie describe⁸ and they enjoy this movie a lot. Scholar Chen Fang-ming said that he believed that the language of Taiwanese is still deeply rooted in Taiwan and he believes that Gou-liang Chu, actor playing that gangster, finds a way out for this language; in fact, his program has been popular with a background that the language of Taiwanese have long been repressed⁹.

The three movies explore new possibilities of describing Taiwan-center paradigm history, ethnic groups’ relationship, and fun of using bi-lingual languages as multicultural background in Taiwanese daily life and all of which connect the idea of imaginative collective identity originated from movies. Applying the concept of consumers’ rights of cultural sovereignty, for Taiwanese hybridization sometimes is not good enough for locals’ cultural needs because “we the people” want to share with “our” national identity by telling “our” own version of history and truth (Chen, 2013^a). This research recommends future studies to explore the fundamental issues about how this approach may not be good enough to explain local movie production and movie box office based on movie genre, collective identities as movie audience’ needs, and the scale of market.

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The Hunger Games: Designing the Girl as a Spectacle

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Abstract

Since Suzanne Collins's *The Hunger Games* was published, many analyses have pointed to the political, monetary, and even religious allegory of the text. Overlooked, however, is the central character Katniss and the effects of her control under the image-obsessed Capitol. In the televised world of the Hunger Games, Katniss is commodified by the Capitol to be stripped of her young innocence and changed into a spectacle. She must mask her natural beauty under makeup and flamboyant dress, inadvertently suffer starvation for the anorexic appeal, and ultimately lose her autonomy by sacrificing her body and emotion to titillate the audience. By scrutinizing Katniss's mental and physical transformation, I argue that *The Hunger Games* can be interpreted as a socio-cultural phenomenon of girls in popular culture today that have fallen victim to the idealized image set by the entertainment industry that confines them in the state of liminality: existing in two spaces of being an adult and child.

Keywords: *The Hunger Games*, child actor, popular culture, entertainment industry, sexualization, liminality, commodity.

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Introduction

Untainted innocence has always attracted the public to the image of a child. The pervasive fascination of the child dates back to Victorian era which boasted the idealization and idolization of little girls that were for some authors, means of reconnecting with his own lost self (Robson, 2001, p. 3). Sadly, the gentle image of young girls is barely hanging on as the consumer culture of childhood has distorted the image of children to capture the consuming gaze. Fostered by the upsurge of mass media, commodification or objectification of children has been more prevalent and has alienated children to sway between 'normal' childhood and adulthood.

Since the popularity growth of Susan Collins's *The Hunger Games*, the young adult fiction has been discussed as an allegory of modern politics of power, global food crisis, economy and entertainment. In many of these analyses, the young girl Katniss Everdeen who is at the center of the chaos and the image-obsessed Capitol is overlooked. In the televised world of the Hunger Games, Katniss becomes an amateur actor, commodified by the Capitol to be a spectacle. The rigid makeover and training negate the young girl's natural beauty and ultimately her autonomy under the dominion of the higher power. By scrutinizing Katniss's mental and physical transformation, I argue that *The Hunger Games* unfolds the hazardous transition of children in today's entertainment industry that strips children from their normal state of growth and arrests them in a liminal state which is the main appeal for adult audiences viewing such child actors.

Autonomy at Home

Living in one of the poorest districts in Panem did little to help Katniss's bare conditions after the death of her father followed by her mother's depression. With the inevitable tragedy, young Katniss had no choice but to substitute for the role of the breadwinner in the family.

Despite her duties, Katniss is unbounded by the domestic sphere, venturing out to the forest to hunt, forage for food and collect medicinal herbs. Nature is where Katniss feels she has control over her actions, "unencumbered by gender norms or the expectation to conform to them" (DeaVault, 2010, p. 192). According to Korpela and Hartig (2007), young people acquire natural sites as their 'special places; "the attachment to these places supports self-regulation and renewal of cognitive capacities needed to process events and experiences that challenge and balance pleasant and unpleasant emotions" (as cited in Lester & Maudsley, 2007, p. 48). Like so, not only does nature secure Katniss's identity by connecting her to the memories of her father which produces tranquility and confidence, but nature in the company of Gale also evokes Katniss to feel that "[she] can be herself" (Collins, 2008, p. 7)

Once Katniss volunteers on behalf of her sister to enter into the Games, her self-assuring lifestyle is cut short. By her selfless act, Katniss signs away her voice to the Capitol and such decision to protect and support her family by entering the Games parallels young individuals who enter into the modern labor market between ages of 16 to 19 (Sum, Khatiwada, Trubsky, Ross, McHugh, & Palma, 2014). Since there is no dispute that the Hunger Games is structured in a reality television format, Katniss is ineluctably the child actor within the frame of reality TV. However, the

consequence of her self-effacing decision to give up her autonomy to be obsequious to the rulings of the Capitol consists of exploitation and complicated experience at the threshold of adolescence. The performance and the Games created, packaged, and presented for the audience by the Capitol ultimately captures Katniss to be in the stage of liminality: not yet an adult but not quite child.

Redesigning the Child's Exterior

Katniss's transformation as a child star starts as soon as she arrives in the Capitol. Since the in-between child or adult categories is seen as sacred in the entertainment (O'Connor, 2008, p. 116), Katniss cannot protect herself from the ruling of the Capitol of Panem. She must follow the rules and expectations according to the Games if she wants to survive. The moment Katniss and Peeta arrive in Panem, they marvel at the actual place they had watched on television:

The cameras haven't lied about its grandeur. If anything, they have not quite captured the magnificence of the glistening buildings in a rainbow of hues that tower into the air, the shiny cars that roll down the wide paved streets, the oddly dressed people with bizarre hair and painted faces who have never missed a meal. All the colors seem artificial, the pinks too deep, the greens too bright, the yellows painful to the eyes, like the flat round disks of hard candy we can never afford to buy at the tiny sweet shop in District 12. (Collins, 2008, p. 59)

Contrast to the flashy society, Katniss originates from a society where no one has the remotest idea about style. Rather, District 12 is preoccupied with greater longevity and obtaining a rounded figure, a symbol of achievement. Gresh (2011) rightly presents Capitol's infatuation of style over substance with that of the current society where "plastic surgery is a given, and without the touchups, air brushing, and other artistic flourishes . . . they can look beyond freakish" (p. 85). Like many celebrities or reality stars that undergo surgery or a complete makeover, Capitol is obsessed:

They do surgery in the Capitol, to make people appear younger and thinner. In District 12, looking old is something of an achievement since so many people die early. . . But [in the Capitol] it is different. Wrinkles aren't desirable. A round belly isn't a sign of success. (Collins, 2008, p. 124-125).

In this 'artificial' place, Katniss becomes the byproduct. Though looks are not the central aspect of winning the Games, it is significant in pulling in sponsors and procuring essentials for survival. Sponsors send useful tools such as food and medicine for the tributes as donation during the Games. Similarly, Katniss is first assigned to a manager Haymitch. In the world of acting, managers will help the child access the best acting classes, the perfect photographer and the right agents to mold their careers (Gubernatis, 2010, p. 33).

To attract more sponsors, Katniss enters the Remake Center where her prep team waxes her hairs, primps her nails, and scrubs her body clean. The stylists do not disappoint the Capitol with their "dyed, stenciled, and surgically altered grotesque" look (Collins, 2008, p. 63). Venia, one of Katniss's stylists illustrates the influence of flamboyant style in the Capitol as she is described to have "aqua air and gold tattoos above her eyebrows" (Collins, 2008, p. 61). Caesar Flickerman, the host of the Games, conceals himself "under a coating of pure white makeup" and always dyes his

hair in different color for every Hunger Games (Collins, 2008, p. 124). Clothes also have to be extensively ornate, skimpy, and showy to grab the attention of viewers. Katniss who wore leather hunting boots, trousers, a shirt and a dark long braid with a forage bag in District 12 is designed to conform to a standardized image on camera. To please the crowd for the opening ceremony of the Games, Katniss is forced into wearing a florid dress that will be lit on fire on the chariot ride into the streets:

I'm in a simple black unitard that covers me from ankle to neck. Shiny leather boots lace up to my knees. But it's the fluttering cape made of streams of orange, yellow, and red and the matching headpiece that define this costume. (Collins, 2008, p. 67)

As if attending a pageant, Katniss also undergoes rigorous training before she is sent out the raw arena. In reality, young girls go on rehearsals with their prepared acts to attract and acquire an agent to help them further their aspiring career. Such method of "dressed to the hilt, fed at banquets, tributes are interviewed in an *American Idol* fashion where like so, winners and runner ups tributes become television celebrities" (Gresh, 2011, p. 164). Coach Effie trains Katniss to relearn her walk and posture. She, however is not gentle with a young girl completely novice in this field. Instead, she smacks Katniss's hands when she tries to pull up her long dress that keeps getting caught under her heels.

The way to survival consists of constant remodeling of self even though it means being exploited emotionally and sometimes physically. In this regard, Katniss's rising status as a child star starts to demonstrate a "dangerous category in terms of its relation to the boundaries of social order" (O'Connor, 2008, p. 80). Unlike the society's understanding of natural behavior for children and what are 'normal,' Katniss and fellow young tributes are designed to sexualize their appearance.

De-sexualizing the Child

However, it is not just the sexual appeal but the childlike characteristics that Katniss maintains which inevitably places her in an ambiguous status of a child star that is the real appealing factor for audiences. In reality, the central appeal of child stars is the smallness or immaturity of the child that makes them seem like any other 'normal' child in contrast to the size of her talent of success (O'Connor, 2008, p. 109) so the child is an object under adult control rather than subject of his or her own agency.

Likewise, Katniss and other young tributes' autonomy drown as the Capital remains the puppeteer of their move, even their consumption patterns. In the Hunger Games, cornucopia contains food and supplies essential to surviving in the Games. Yet, the amount and types of goods are regulated by the Capitol, by the wealthy and old who have no prior experience in the Games themselves. Cornucopia, a symbol of nourishment and abundance, ironically victimizes children of constant hunger and malnourishment. Katniss is kept extremely slender and small like the model child actress that after seeing the reflection of her emaciated body she confesses it is in a worse state than after her father's death.

By controlling her daily diet and also denying natural biological development, the Capitol de-sexualizes Katniss by seizing her potential curves. Layers of skin are scrubbed to expose younger skin and all her bodily hair, telltale signs of girl's bodily

development, are plucked out. Thus, Katniss enters into a state of an arrested child feeling “intensely vulnerable” (Collins, 2008, p. 61):

[The makeover process] has included scrubbing down my body with a gritty loam that has removed not only dirt but at least three layers of skin, turning my nails into uniform shapes, and primarily, ridding my body of hair. My legs, arms, torso, underarms, and parts of my eyebrows have been stripped of the Muff, leaving me like a plucked bird, ready for roasting. (Collins, 2008, p. 61)

After the completion of the body modification, the stylists exclaim “Excellent! You almost look like a human being now!” (Collins, 2008, p. 62) as if they only saw the young girl as an animal to be groomed and exploited. To exacerbate her status, Katniss hunts and hurtles through obstacles as part of the Games while consuming almost no nutrition. Her habit of eating significantly less compared to the intense level of exercise harms her body. Especially for a young girl, excessive exercise on top of a low body weight can delay puberty (New, 2011). Such molding of the body to embody physical perfection is one of the qualities associated with the ultimate archetype of the “wonder child, or child star” (O’Connor, 2008, p. 105) that the entertainment industry seeks for.

Contrast to the disoriented Katniss, Flavius envies her “full body polish” and describes her body as having “not a flaw left.” The grotesque look Katniss once disparaged has now consumed her own, but she holds the gaze of the Capitol. The odd reaction by an onlooker on Katniss’s disfigured body is a spectacle on par with the main motivation of Hollywood as confessed by commentator Ellen Goodman: “The biggest success story of the entertainment industry is our ability to export insecurity: We can make any woman anywhere feel perfectly rotten about her shape” (as cited in Kale, 2011, p. 9). Thus, Katniss, as a symbol for young girls in the industry may suffer from such side effects that are obligated by the rulings. This is the life or death for the young in Hollywood. Objectified for the viewers while biologically being downsized by the control of the Capitol, Katniss stays a precocious child, trying to find herself.

Sexualizing the Child

As the exalted child star, Katniss performs in the platform for entertainment to survive. Under the Capitol’s pervasive surveillance, Katniss adopts a public persona. She establishes a brand out of herself at the City Circle to impress the sponsors in the opening ceremony who will determine her fate. She disguises her true self in order to survive because “what matters to those who come for the show isn’t being, but seeming” (Coatney, 2012, p. 180).

Katniss spends rigorous time and effort on preparing for the competition to win the Games. In her dramatic entrance into the city, Katniss is instructed by Cinna to hold hands with Peeta. Feeling comfortable, she improvises by blowing a few kisses to the crowd who in turn showers her with flowers and cheers. Gradually understanding the strategy — to create drama to tantalize the crowd — Katniss plans to lure Peeta as her prey to make herself more likable by kissing his cheek and builds her own narrative in front of the camera.

One of her strongest performances is playing the role of star-crossed lovers regardless of her true feeling towards Peeta. Katniss has to constantly remind herself of the “romance thing” (Collins, 2008, p. 260) while caressing and kissing Peeta because under the confines of the Games, it is about life and death. The intimacy between the two teenagers, steps out from the boundary of innocence. The performative act of star-crossed lovers parallels the current society's use of tabloids to obtain fan favor or camera time that will help bring in more endorsement deals. Such is the desperate measures celebrities will undertake in defense of their going extinct from media. Katniss is a celebrity and a commodity that is a constant subject of gaze by the audience to survive in the Capitol, or in reality, in the limelight that she has to fabricate stories to advance publicity. Surprisingly, the star-crossed lover plays an unexpected device for Katniss to discover her womanhood:

[Peeta's] hand brushes the loose strands of my hair off my forehead. Unlike the staged kisses and caresses so far, this gesture seems natural and comforting. I don't want him to stop and he doesn't. (Collins, 2008, p. 260-261)

The unsuspected sexual tension perplexes the child actress since Katniss never questioned her sexuality prior to the Games. Her asexual relationship with Gale was only a pure sense of comfort and friendship. Starting to feel uncomfortable picturing Peeta naked may suggest her growing sexual feelings for him. Also, overwhelmed with fear that she might lose him, Katniss impulsively kisses Peeta and wishes more to protect him. Thus, with the realization that she can use her sexuality to garner power for her survival, Katniss begins to wonder if Peeta's actions are genuine or not. In playing the role of a grown-up by becoming the sexual object for the audience easily mentally and physically challenges the sixteen year old and her own identity.

Until near the end of the 74th Hunger Games, Katniss is sexual in her performance. After Katniss and Peeta's win, they sit on a single plush red velvet couch which reminds Katniss of a love chair. She sits so close to him that she feels “practically on his lap” (Collins, 2008, p. 354). To add to the steam, Katniss leans her head against Peeta's shoulders to which Peeta automatically puts his arms around her. The pose they are in evokes Katniss to remember the comfort she felt during the Games when the couple tried to warm themselves together. Once unmoved, Katniss unexpectedly faces her female status and thereby adheres to the traditional gender roles.

The True Girl Remains

Because the readers know Katniss's inner thoughts as she acts certain scenes for the crowd, they get a full access pass to the exploited innocent Katniss behind the scenes. In the beginning stages of the interview, the young actor captivates the crowd through her awkward appeal. Her inability to lie, act arrogant, witty, funny, sexy, or mysterious characterizes Katniss's childlike innocence and occasional awkwardness. Such natural and innocent performance of child stars is the crux of their power (O'Connor, 2008, p. 110).

During her rehearsal for question-and-answer session of the pageant, Effie instructs Katniss to fake it to make it. Katniss is puzzled and angry that she has to force herself to please the crowd. She cannot be true to herself or the crowd. Hence she evades personal questions about her life, family and her interests during practice because the

past is her identity, her keepsake not to be shared among strangers. She states that in the end, "I am no one at all" (Collins, 2008, p. 118).

Katniss's inability to perform may be the greatest virtue and alibi in proving she is a suppressed, untainted girl who is well aware of herself amidst the empowerment of the Capitol. She is placed on the outskirts of her home where her identity and care has been developed thus she is in a liminal stage, her identity questioned. Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued that humans were naturally good and anything that is not natural has corrupted the natural state. Thus, in this argument, Katniss cannot disguise herself because her natural self of goodness overrides her artificial one.

Rousseau distinguishes between natural and physical inequality that influences one's characteristic. He believes that people in their natural state of being are primitive and prone to be drawn to what he refers to as "self-love," or *amour de soi* (Rousseau, 1923, xvii). This connotes the pursuit of self-interest not at the expense of others and concern for other's well-being with compassion that becomes the source of virtue. In contrast, "vanity," or *amour-propre* coined by Rousseau (1923) arose later in history in which man privilege himself over others and domination became a pleasure of the rich (p. 219).

Following Rousseau's argument, Katniss is the former; her character has been formed due to her environment—a place that "puts a premium on the unaffected virtues that are rooted in her nature (Coatney, 2012, p. 185). Her efforts to uphold herself and proclivity toward compassion—protecting her family while in Seam and protecting Peeta and Rue during the Games—fit the traits that Rousseau marks as being a "natural person," untainted by the wickedness of the society. Thus while the Capitol relentlessly attempts to have full control over her, Katniss also ruthlessly pursues to "preserve [herself, and consequently become [her] own master" (Rousseau, 1923, p. 6).

Restoration to her natural state is portrayed through the state of Katniss at the end of the Games. After her victory, Katniss no longer needs to impress the crowd. She can be herself outside the arena because it is not about life and death, it is about her. Unlike her blinding fire dress in the beginning, she wears an outfit that is reminiscent of candlelight to look as "girlish and innocent as possible" (Collins, 2008, p. 353). The rest of her grooming process has been significantly toned down, allowing her to look and act her age — the harmless girl:

My hair's loose, held back by a simple hairband. The makeup rounds and fills out the sharp angles of my face. A clear polish coats my nails. The sleeveless dress is gathered at my ribs, not my waist, largely eliminating any help the padding would have given my figure. The hem falls just to my knees. Without heels, you can see my true stature. I look, very simply, like a girl. A young one. Fourteen at the most. Innocent. Harmless. (Collins, 2008, p. 348-349)

Fortunately, the memory of family balances Katniss throughout the Games. She was constantly conscious of her end game that the moment she concludes her transient life in Panem and moves back to home, she regains her autonomy, a free space to reflect back on her identity: "I begin transforming back into myself. Katniss Everdeen. A girl who lives in the Seam. Hunts in the woods. Trades in the Hob. I stare in the mirror as I try to remember who I am and who I am not" (Collins, 2008, p. 363-364).

Not all girls in front of the camera are as lucky as Katniss. Girls in the entertainment industry are forced to grow up fast not because they want to but because the environment they have been pushed into produces them to be so. Adored child actress like Lindsay Lohan and Amanda Bynes are now in the tabloids for their infamous and sordid lives mixed with pills, drugs and alcohol. Once sheltered under parents and free of rigid laws, a girl must mask herself to act mature in front of the public and fellow entertainers and sometimes give into the pressure of their environment. The minute she comes in contact with the real world of entertainment where image is everything; she starts to lose her identity and become absorbed in the act of being in favor of the crowd rather than to love herself.

Conclusion

Katniss Everdeen was amidst the process of learning to grow up through experience in her childhood home but had little choice but to sacrifice herself to the ruling of the Capitol. By entering into the Hunger Games, Katniss becomes the child actor and embodies features that many audiences seek in a child star: she is mysterious, bold like an adult but awkward like a child.

The Hunger Games draws upon the sequence of a young life interrupted by the corrupt society that polices her every move and aims to reshape and redesign her mental and physical features to appeal to the public. Katniss's subjection to the system of Capitol is analogous to real life experience of young aspiring entertainers that must acclimate to the standards of the society or entertainment industry to secure a position in the media. Whether real or performed, these girls stir up drama to be on demand by the public. In this sense, they are made into a brand through forceful transformation as spectacles by tending to the needs of the spectators and the industry.

Unfortunately during the remodeling process, girls are silenced while they are instructed in what to eat, how to act, and placed in a situation to confront gender stereotypes and even sexuality. Such case augments the already existing problem amongst young adolescent girls who enter the stage of identity crisis. Consequently, child stars become enslaved in the industry to inhabit the middle-zone.

Susan Collins has written a book that condemns modern consumerism's praising the spectacle of children as objects. The mental, emotional and physical abuse Katniss endures in her way to survival is disgraced in real society. Yet, through the novel, the objectification of a girl and the dangers of the public gaze is a reminder that the phenomenon is still highly persistent in pop culture and children are sufferers of their restrictions.

There is a limit to the correlation between the real world aspiring child actress and Katniss, however. Katniss survives against the barbaric and oppressive culture of the Capitol. Underneath her struggle, she constantly battles to retrieve her autonomy and independence she once had prior to the Hunger Games by means of recapping her motive behind the participation and who she is through her father's words that "as long as you can find yourself, you'll never starve" (Collins, 2008, p. 52) and her mother's "calm demeanor . . . when handling particularly bad cases" (Collins, 2008, p. 252). As she soliloquizes her name repeatedly as Katniss instead of "Girl on Fire,"

Katniss remained cognizant of her identity. Unfortunately in the modern society, only a few girls succeed without losing herself.



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Roald Dahl's Problematic Gender Characterization of Miss Trunchbull in Matilda

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Official Conference Proceedings**Abstract**

Despite the popularity of Roald Dahl's last major work, *Matilda* (1988), there seems to be comparatively few scholarly criticisms about the main antagonist figure of Miss Trunchbull. *Matilda* is a story about the struggle against tyranny, specifically Miss Trunchbull. Also known as "The Trunchbull," she is described as "a fierce tyrannical monster" but is also a woman who is a principal of a school where she is the voice of authority. Her monstrosity is highlighted in her aggression against the children, especially the little helpless ones such as Matilda. Part of this monstrosity might be attributed to Miss Trunchbull's lack of childhood and her ambiguous gender. When Miss Honey reasons that the Headmistress was once a "little girl," Miss Trunchbull barks back by saying that "not for long anyway" and says that "I became a woman very quickly." This signals that Miss Trunchbull might have been deprived of a childhood or not given enough time to play and develop in her childhood. From Judith Butler's argument from *Gender Trouble*, I argue that the performativity of gender ends up constructing a problematic figure of Miss Trunchbull whose monstrosity is highlighted. This essay examines the consequences of the deprivation of childhood in Miss Trunchbull and her ambiguous gender.

Keywords: Roald Dahl, *Matilda*, Miss Trunchbull, childhood, gender

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I. Introduction

The popular children's book author, Roald Dahl, is known for his works such as *James and the Giant Peach* (1961), *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* (1964), *BFG* (1982), *The Witches* (1983) and his final major work *Matilda* (1988). While Roald Dahl's works for early adolescents have drawn millions of teens to his books, and many people applaud his gut-punching and slapstick sense of humor" and "crude sense of fun and delight in Jockey phrases," many parents have also felt uneasiness about the content of his books. As Dieter Petzold points out, sceptics of Dahl's works were "[c]onvinced that every book a child reads will leave a lasting impression on the child's mind," fearing that "Dahl's books will put quite wrong ideas into children's heads" (p.185). What makes people or especially parents uncomfortable is that Dahl sides with children who are oppressed by authoritative adult figures and punishes them so that good children triumph over comparatively evil adults.

Matilda (1988) is such a book that pits children against bad parents and a headmistress, "The Trunchbull" who is more than just bad; she is plain evil. Despite the popularity of Roald Dahl's last major work, *Matilda* (1988), there seems to be comparatively few scholarly criticisms about the main antagonist figure of Miss Trunchbull. *Matilda* is a story about the struggle against tyranny, specifically Miss Trunchbull. Throughout the novel there is a theme of positive image of children and negative view of adults. Most of the story is about the wonderfully gifted child prodigy, Matilda and how she masters reading at the age of three and her triumphs against her neglectful parents at home and Miss Trunchbull at school. Her parents, the Wormwoods, constantly deride her, yell at her and even rip the library book that she values so much. Her father, Mr. Wormwood, is characterized as using dishonest measures to succeed in his used automobile business. Both her mother and her father value watching TV and are disgusted by Matilda reading books. In order to get back at her negligent parents who fail to understand or value her, Matilda puts glue on the bottom of his father's hat, and dyes his hair, which is the pride of Mr. Wormwood.

Meanwhile, the tyranny would be against her parents but Miss Trunchbull, the main antagonist in the story is far more threatening in terms of violence (she uses corporal punishment), abusive language and monstrous character. As Kenneth Andrews so succinctly puts it, she is "[a] grotesque figure who rules Crunchem Hall with a rod of iron, the Trunchbull is a sadistic monster, and every schoolchild's worst nightmare" (Andrews). Kathleen Massara rates Miss Agatha Trunchbull as a "holy terror" and delegates her as a "megalomaniac villain" in her article titled "Roald Dahl's Best Villains." Deriving from Judith Butler's argument from *Gender Trouble*, I argue that the performativity of gender ends up constructing a problematic figure of Miss Trunchbull whose monstrosity is highlighted. I problematize the way Trunchbull is delineated and how the way she is delineated contributes to produce or undermine certain "normative" gender roles.

II. Miss Trunchbull's Monstrosity and Denial of Childhood

In an interview with Mark West, Roald Dahl was asked whether he found it more satisfying to write for children or adults. Roald Dahl replied with the following words:

It's more rewarding to write for children. When I'm writing for adults, I'm just trying to entertain them. But a good children's book does much more than

entertain. It teaches children the use of words, the joy of playing with language. (West, 1990, p.65)

Roald Dahl can be credited as doing an amazing job of using humorous descriptions and gives the readers imagery of Trunchbull that they cannot forget easily. “When she marched – Miss Trunchbull never walked, she always marched like a storm trooper with long strides and arms aswinging...” (Dahl, 1988, p.67). On the same page, there is a metaphor about her that causes one to chuckle with glee and horror at the same time: “Thank goodness we don’t meet many people like her [Miss Trunchbull] in this world...If you ever do, you should behave as you would if you met an enraged rhinoceros out in the bush – climb up the nearest tree and stay there until it has gone away” (Dahl, 1988, p.67). This simple comparison of Miss Trunchbull with “enraged rhinoceros” gives readers an entertainingly horrible character that is indeed a monster.

Trunchbull’s monstrosity is highlighted in her aggression against the children, especially the little helpless ones such as Matilda. Her method of punishment on children is astounding. According to Hortensia, a rugged ten-year-old, “The Trunchbull” is notorious for placing children in the Chokey. Hortensia describes graphically what kind of a place the Chokey is:

The Chokey is a very tall but very narrow cupboard. The floor is only ten inches square so you can’t sit down or squat in it. You have to stand. And three of the walls are made of cement with bits of broken glass sticking out all over, so you can’t lean against them. You have to stand more or less at attention all the time when you get locked up in there. It’s terrible. (Dahl, 1988, p.104)

Hortensia frightens Matilda and Lavender by telling them that “[t]he door’s got thousands of sharp spikey nails sticking out of it. They’ve been hammered through from the outside probably by the Trunchbull herself” (Dahl, 1988, p.104). Trunchbull seems to intuitively know what kind of punishment is terrible to children. Making Matilda and Lavender curious about her experience in the Chockey, Hortensia tells them her anecdotes about her fight with Trunchbull “with the air of an old warrior who has been in so many battles that bravery has become commonplace” (p.106). Hortensia joyously relates her pranks that consist of pouring a half tin of Golden Syrup on the seat of the chair the Trunchbull sits, and how she snuck into Trunchbull’s room and The Skin Scorcher, a “very powerful itching-powder” (p. 107), on her knickers.

In another instance, the Trunchbull force feeds Bruce Bogtrotter because he stole her chocolate cake. In her dynamic voice, Trunchbull points a riding crop at Bruce Bogtrotter and calls him “this *blackhead*, this *foul carbuncle*, this *poisonous pustule* that you see before you is none other than a disgusting criminal, a denizen of the underworld, a member of the Mafia!” (Dahl, 1988, p.120). She even goes further by calling him “a thief,” “a crook,” “a pirate,” “a brigand” and “[a] rustler” (p.120). When Bruce ends up eating all of her rich chocolate cake, Trunchbull violently throws a plate over his head making the plate pieces flow all over the platform (p. 133).

Trunchbull refers to the children as "garbage" or "warts." She uses derogatory language such as "slug," "witless weed," "empty-headed hamster," and "stupid glob of glue," to show her condescending attitude and utter dislike of children. Miss

Trunchbull is not only cruel to the school children; she bullies other teachers in school, especially her niece, Miss Honey, and takes over their classes once a week and humiliates students and staff alike.

All this imagery and metaphors to highlight her monstrosity is entertaining but there is something problematic in having Miss Trunchbull described as “a gigantic holy terror, a fierce tyrannical monster” that “frightened the life out of pupils and teachers alike” (Dahl, 1988, p.67). Miss Trunchbull is the epitome of the masculine female. According to Eliot Glenn, Miss Trunchbull’s gender identity is a concern since “Dahl paints [her] as male inside and out” (Glenn, 2014). Even her physique is masculine: “her great horsy face,” “massive thighs,” “bull neck,” “big shoulders,” and “powerful legs.” In yet another scene, her athletic power and physical strength is shown as she hurls Amanda Thripp for wearing her hair in pigtails which Amanda's mother so prides in. The school children compliment her as a male rather than a female crying out “Well thrown, sir!” (Dahl, 1988, p.116).

Kristen Guest offers up another interpretation that Miss Trunchbull can be seen as a representation of Margaret Thatcher, Britain’s first female prime minister. Coincidentally as Guest points out, Miss Trunchbull was created at the height of the Thatcher era (Guest, 2008, p.251). Thatcher was the “iron lady,” who had “steely determination and hard hearted lack of concern for society’s most vulnerable members: children, the elderly and the poor” (Guest, 2008, p.251). Guest makes a persuasive argument that Trunchbull was modeled after Thatcher.

If Miss Trunchbull is "monstrous" she is still anything but a boring one dimensional character. Miss Trunchbull fascinates the children in the school. She is a woman who excels in sports (at one point she is described as an Olympic athlete), and she is also a principal of a school where she is the voice of authority. She is a career woman, a headmistress, who has an authoritative voice and she gets away with all the corporal punishments and derogatory language used to her students, because as Hortensia casually relates, she goes by the principle of “Never do anything by halves if you want to get away with it. Be outrageous. Go the whole hog. Make sure everything you do is so completely crazy it’s unbelievable” (Dahl, p.117). Miss Trunchbull also has an uncanny sense of human nature: Hortensia confesses that “The Trunchbull has a nasty habit of guessing. When she doesn’t know who the culprit is, she makes a guess at it, and the trouble is she’s often right” (Dahl, p.108). If one looks into Miss Trunchbull’s past, even she might have her weak points in terms of how she became this monster.

Part of the monstrous behavior can be attributed to Miss Trunchbull's lack of childhood. When Miss Honey reasons that the Headmistress was once a "little girl," Miss Trunchbull scornfully barks back saying that "not for long anyway" and says that "I became a woman very quickly" (Dahl, 1988, p.86). Miss Trunchbull denies ever being a child but if Mrs. Trunchbull was robbed or deprived of her childhood, Roald Dahl might be saying that this deprivation of childhood or in this case, girlhood, contributed to her monstrous behavior. As Judith Rich Harris points out in her essay, “From the Nurture Assumption: Why Children Turn Out the Way They Do,” childhood is a time when “children learn to behaving the way people of their age and sex are expected to behave in their society” (p.298). Also as Simone de Beauvoir articulates in her book *The Second Sex* in the chapter “Childhood,” “the passivity that

essentially characterizes the “feminine” woman is a trait that develops in her earliest years... it is a destiny imposed on her by her teachers and her society” (p.294). Simone de Beauvoir argues that

“While the boy seeks himself in his penis as an autonomous subject, the little girl pampers her doll and dresses her as she dreams of being dressed and pampered; inversely, she thinks of herself as a marvelous doll. Through compliments and admonishments, through images and words she discovers the meaning of the words “pretty” and “ugly”; she soon knows that to please, she has to be “pretty as a picture”; she tries to resemble an image, she disguises herself, she looks at herself in the mirror, she compares herself to princesses and fairies from tales” (p. 293).

If Trunchbull skipped or tried to bypass “her earliest years” that make her “feminine” through socialization then this certainly can explain her growing up to be a masculine woman. Seen from this way, socialization of what is “feminine” and “masculine” is the process of adapting your behavior to that of other members of society. Experience in childhood modifies children’s personalities in ways they will carry with them to adulthood. If Miss Trunchbull did not have a proper childhood and was deprived of a chance for proper socialization and play, this could account for her violent and monstrous behavior of disliking or even secretly being jealous of little children and venting her dislike of them through violent means. The small girls such as Matilda and Lavender, and Amanda with the feminine pigtailed may remind Miss Trunchbull of the stage that she believes that she somehow skipped or disliked. If she became “a woman” quickly, she might have felt the overwhelming effect of what Simone de Beauvoir posits that “for the woman, from the start, a conflict between her autonomous existence and her “being other”; she is taught to please, she must try to please, must make herself object; she must therefore renounce her autonomy” (p. 294-95).

III. Trunchbull’s Problematic Gender Politics

Miss Trunchbull may be Roald Dahl’s comic and yet satiric representation of power and authority that dominates the educational institution. Although Miss Trunchbull is a woman who should be a traditional figure of nurturing and cultivation through her job as headmistress, she uses the unrelenting exercises of her authority given by and entrusted to the institution:

“The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender is an act which has been rehearsed; much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again (Case, “Performative Acts,” p. 272).

The two incongruous qualities are put into one person just as she is a masculine woman or a man trapped in a woman’s body. And this makes her monstrous. Also Trunchbull is another “child” – gigantic and threatening, and yet still needs maturing as she is constantly at war with children at her school. Dahl would agree with Simone de Beauvoir that claimed that “she [the adolescent girl] cannot become “a grown-up”

without accepting her femininity” (p.340). Since Trunchbull hates everything associated with femininity, it might be the case that she does not accept her femininity and therefore cannot grow up.

Eliot Glenn in her article, “The Dangerous Transphobia of Roald Dahl’s “Matilda,”” argues that Roald Dahl’s *Matilda* is a book that punishes Miss Trunchbull for acting like a man and rewards the traditionally feminine Miss Honey. Glenn posits that “a transphobic message about the dangers of straying from traditional gender roles” is given in the book and that “a conservative parable about the “right” and the “wrong” kinds of women are introduced to children, making it a problematic text. Glenn articulates that Miss Trunchbull’s physique is “gigantic,” “formidable,” with “big shoulders,” “thick arms” and “powerful legs.” She has a “deep and dangerous voice” and rather than wearing dresses she wears breeches and also flats rather than heels. Glenn makes a good argument that while Miss Trunchbull has a “pathological hatred of femininity” quoting the passage “If there is one thing the Trunchbull can’t stand, it’s pigtails” referring to Amanda, the little girl that gets hurled across the playground due to her pigtails. What is most persuasive about Glenn’s argument is that her name evokes masculine rage in that “Trunch” means “small post” and is a phallic reference. Also “bull” is an emblem of unrestrained male aggression as Glenn argues. Glenn ends on a note of premonition that girls who love sports and not dresses, who are tall and muscular and are tomboys who identify themselves with boys rather than girls will get the subliminal message that being “masculine” or not feminine should be shameful and this is not the message that should be given to children.

Moreover, looking at Judith Butler’s theory in her most influential book, *Gender Trouble* might give some readers what to glean on from her theory of gender performativity. Butler asks readers the rhetorical question of “what is a woman? what is a man?” (*Gender Trouble*, 1990, xi). Butler argues that traditional feminism is wrong to look to a natural, “essential” notion of female, or indeed of sex or gender. In her first chapter of *Gender Trouble*, Butler collapses the sex/gender distinction in order to argue that there is no sex that is not always already gender. While all bodies are gendered from the beginning of their social existence, there is no ‘natural body’ that pre-exists its cultural inscription. Butler states that ‘gender proves to be performative – that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to “pre-exist the deed.” (Butler, 1990, p.25). A crucial statement is that ‘There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very “expressions” that are said to be its results’ (Butler, 1990, p.25).

In Butler’s argument, she basically says that ‘the masculine’ and ‘the feminine’ are not biologically fixed but culturally presupposed. As Sara Salih puts it, “If we accept that gender is constructed and that it is not in any way ‘naturally’ or inevitably connected to sex, then the distinction between sex and gender comes to seem increasingly unstable” (p.49). Butler argues that gender identities that do not conform to the system of ‘compulsory and naturalized heterosexuality’ – the dominant order in which men and women are required to be heterosexual (Salih, 2002, p.49). From Judith Butler’s argument from *Gender Trouble*, I argue that the performativity of gender ends up creating a problematic figure of Miss Trunchbull whose monstrosity is emphasized.

IV. Conclusion

While *Matilda* can be seen as a text that makes children rebels against their parents or other adult figures that they do not like, it can also be seen as a text that empowers children by having them confront their fears of punishment by these adults and indulge their fantasies for revenge. Hortensia's metaphor on the plight of the war against Trunchbull in the school sums up how children are up against the seemingly evil adults:

We are the crusaders, the gallant army fighting for our lives with hardly any weapons at all and the Trunchbull is the Prince of Darkness, the Foul Serpent, the Fiery Dragon with all the weapons at her command. It's a tough life. We all try to support each other. (Dahl, 1988, p.109)

While children cannot retaliate or openly take their revenge in real life, they can do so vicariously through *Matilda's* daring pranks to her parents and revenging Miss Trunchbull for making life miserable for *Matilda's* sweet tempered teacher, Miss Honey. Although *Matilda* is supposed to take place in the real world, it could also be classified as being in the fantasy genre because the story itself contains magic and fantastical aspects. *Matilda* has extraordinary mental power so that she can move inanimate objects such as a cup of water, or a piece of chalk. As Dieter Petzold points out, many commentators have seen the story as a fairy tale in disguise (p. 186). In that sense, Miss Trunchbull is like a fairy tale dragon and Miss Honey is a princess in need of being rescued (Petzold, 1992, p.186).

There seems to be an unending list of things to despise about "The Trunchbull" and every reader cheers for *Matilda* when she uses her special powers of telekinesis to write a message from Miss Honey's father telling Miss Trunchbull to give her back the house and money entitled to her niece. Although there is never a testimony or a chance to give Miss Trunchbull her side of the story regarding the possibly forged will and the death of Miss Honey's father, Marcus, it is implicated that she is the culprit of all these crimes. After she is scared badly by *Matilda's* chalk message on the blackboard, Roald Dahl's narrator has her skip town and silences her altogether. Looking at Miss Trunchbull from her past endeavors, there are no redeeming characteristics in "The Trunchbull." Even if readers view Miss Trunchbull as not exactly life-like but as caricatures, figures that are made ridiculous through exaggeration, the portrayal of her gender is problematic. At one point, she is characterized as "totally unpredictable. One never knew what she was going to do next" (Dahl, 1988, p.123). If she turned out to "become a woman" quickly but is only assigned an ambiguous almost masculine gender role as a "woman," Roald Dahl surely did a good job of making his representative villain, "The Trunchbull" a monstrous female that deviates from the gender norm of femininity. Moreover, if one looks into Trunchbull's brief statement of denial of ever having a childhood and how she became "a woman" quickly and a monstrous woman for the record, readers can somehow picture her as a literary figure that might have her own untold story that was silenced by Roald Dahl.

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***Namibia's Emergent Transculturalism:
Dissolving Boundaries and Contestation in the African Global Borderlands***

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Abstract

The rapidly growing presence of new media in postcolonial Namibia since the turn of the Millennium has significance for cultural and lifestyle transformations in the country. Earlier entrenched social identities shaped by former colonialism, indigenous tradition and current postcolonial political power relations, are under pressure in the face of cultural globalisation. Anzaldúa's idea of 'borderlands' is regarded here as valuable in establishing a metaphor for the type of negotiated cultural space Namibian youth encounter. This article examines the characteristics of change from the perspective of young Windhoek adults' experiences of Internet social networks, and presents empirical grounded theory evidence of their cultural practices and ambiguous response to what they find at the cultural edges of the global outside. How youth negotiate mediated relations of power emanating from global culture is established through affirming three conceptualisations of actor orientations to media: cultural expropriationist, cultural traditionalist and cultural representationalist. The study concludes that new media is active in identity and cultural change, while in the same instance social tension over matters of culture appear to be emerging in the country.

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Introduction

This article focuses on youth cultural interactions in Namibia, made possible through Internet communication, and considers the sociological consequences of new media in terms of recent cultural shifts within Namibian contexts¹. It provides recent evidence on youth linkages and electronic interactive sociability with ‘others’ in distant external global settings. It asks: “what are youth doing” with electronic media, while at the same time wishing to know how youth are changing themselves and their identities in terms of social and cognitive outlooks. In cultural terms, is this new-found and novel means of communication impacting on the identities and outlooks of young people? Is the Internet changing Namibian culture? If the answer is ‘yes’, then through what specific practices is this occurring?² This youth interface with global culture can be argued to represent a ‘borderland’ territory between local and global imaginings. Gloria Anzaldúa (2012) has provided a useful conceptualisation here.

Anzaldúa’s borderland idea represents an ethos or idea about edges of social space which, while initially representing places of isolation from core centres of culture and power, come to be ‘third spaces’ of identity maintenance, opportunity and critique. They emerge as meeting places of negotiation, sites of transformation and new life formation where postcolonial identities are forged and established. This is an idea for a global world in which peripheral nations - formerly isolated or excluded - meet the borderlands of international culture, where actors explore, assess and negotiate the ideas, symbols and power ideologies they find there. I see a borderland somewhat differently to Anzaldúa, and I supplement it with a reflexive negotiative dimension. In her original account (1987), it refers to marginalised people and groups of the oppressed and the exploited, seeking recognition of their existence and rights against power at the core. While I retain this essence, borderlands can also be seen as ‘meeting places’ where people look outward, as well as where others are looking in. Borderlands are places where cultures touch, intermingle, experience fusion; but also represent points of negotiation and reflexivity, and even spaces of resistance toward cultural globalisation. While global culture can potentially flow into borderland spaces, on into present cultural localities and existences, borderlands may become defensive spaces where lines of resistance and rejection of global forces comes into play. More complexly, they are areas where local meets global, where actors seek experiences of the larger world than the one they know, where novelty and knowledge are sought, and where inclusion and visibility are strived for. I would like to use borderlands in this manner. Borderlands can never be just resistance sites and places where traditional or other localised identities fight for prioritisation and exclusivity,

¹ Namibia lies at the south-western Atlantic edge of the African continent just above South Africa, stretching north almost 2000 kilometres to the borders of Angola. It shares a eastern border with Botswana. Namibia has two deserts, the Kalahari and the Namib. Seventy percent of Namibia is arid or semi-arid, agriculture being possible mostly in the most northerly regions. The country has twelve ethnic groups, the largest being Oshiwambo speakers (50%) followed by the Herero, Nama and Afrikaans groups. The Oshiwambo led the struggle against South African apartheid from 1966 to democratic independence in 1990. The last Census (2011) recorded a population of 2.3 million, with sixty percent of people living in the rural areas, although rapid migration is shifting the balance from traditional rural life toward urban living. Windhoek, on which this paper is based, is one of the most favoured migratory destinations.

² The present discussion is based on analysis of extensive qualitative fieldwork utilising grounded theory methodology undertaken in the capital city of Windhoek in 2010-2012.

where local culture alone monopolises control over communities and citizens by denying the Other and gate-keeping culture. Namibians, living in a former geographically and globally isolated nation during a hundred years of very recent colonialism, increasingly express a cosmopolitan desire for greater external connection – as their engagement with media reveal.

Virtual global connections: Rise of the Internet & social networks in Namibia

From around 2007, the possibilities for connecting with the global ‘outside’ through Internet connectivity became markedly enhanced with the introduction in Namibia of 3G communication networks (Larsen 2007). This has taken a further step forward with the recent launch of 4G technology. From less than 1% of Namibians connected in 1999, there were estimated to be 148,414 Internet users, or 6.9% of the population by December 2011. In the country, cell phones are a significant part of the trend for ever-closer contact nationally and with the global beyond. From just 20,000 cell phone users in 1998, there was over 1.5 million in 2011 (Economy Watch 2013). Mobile telephony has resulted in a revolution in personal media communication, in that multi-tasking phones allow for broader communication potential than was previously possible, including public debate and civic exchanges that bypass restrictive official state media (Sarrazin 2011; Tyson 2007). Given the pace of these changes in Internet access and the devices used to attain it, the 2012 6.9% official national figure may be a serious under-estimate of people with a working Internet connection. Internet has expanded exponentially in terms of access, with Namibians gaining rapid entry and considerably enhanced improvements in data-access speeds through desktop computers, laptops and, substantively, through cell phones. Cell phones have emerged as the cheaper prime platform for poorer citizens to use the Internet (Campbell & Park 2008; Van Binsbergen & Van Dijk 2004). The Internet outdoes traditional media which have represented more passive consumer practices, by allowing interactive, participatory, and even reflexive involvement.

Internet use has come to represent considerably more than a technical activity, emerging to signify profound novelty, and to occupy a new practical space in the lives of younger Namibians. Related to this, the phenomenal rise of social network sites such as Facebook, MySpace and ‘chat and comment’ destinations such as Skype, Twitter and a plethora of online news publication sites, have established virtual communication inroads into societies and cultures beyond Namibia and Africa, entrenching opportunities for unique forms of instant, globalised social interaction. Such mediated contacts and actions provide the means to transcend the narrow knowledge and opinion base of people’s immediate cultural locale. The consequences of these new social media practices are as yet poorly understood (Boyd 2008a), and barely researched in Namibia (Fox 2012).

Social networks can be defined as media forums found on the Web that allow for contact, sociability and virtual interaction with others who are distant and not physically co-present. They are meeting places where views and opinion on lifestyle and fashion, relationships, social, political and general interests, can be shared and debated online. Many Namibian social network users tended to be in contact with people in other parts of Namibia, other African countries or, just as commonly, in Asia, Europe or the Americas. Moderately well-off and, more obviously, affluent young people in Windhoek have a Facebook account, while knowledge of YouTube,

Twitter and other social network sites was generally high. There proved to be surprising interest and even some participation in social networks by lower-income individuals; for example, an informal economy car guard had a Facebook account which he exclusively accessed on his cell phone. All experienced a general fascination in other options that the Internet provided such as film and music downloads and access to news and entertainment (Fox 2012).

Self-celebrity: Presentations of self online: “*They don’t want to see the real you*” (Diane)

How do Namibians ‘culturally practice’ within the new borderlands? One of the chief attractions was Facebook, and for participants it represented the opportunity to engage with media that allowed actor self-identities to be publicly displayed. Couldry (2003:107) has written of the emergence of modern self-celebrity, first created out of reality show formats such as the heavily-exported *Big Brother* franchise. He argues that this and similar shows combine “ordinariness and celebrity” generically comparable to social network sites. Social networks extend the reality television premise that anyone can be a celebrity, be visible ‘out there’ before large audiences, establishing platforms for public self-presentation. Goffman’s centrally relevant sociological premise, that modern actors in their daily public relationships ‘present’ themselves in the dramaturgical manner of an actor on a stage, takes on a new dimension in social networks. Goffman (1998 [1959], p.77-78) believed that individuals socially presented idealised versions of themselves to others through self-managed performances that carefully concealed defects of character or imperfection that might spoil ‘perfect’ public identities: “contrived performances we tend to see as something painstakingly pasted together... Some performances are carried off successfully with complete dishonesty, others with complete honesty.” The best of ourselves is displayed while the worst is hidden in a performance that is always a contrived social drama.

Such strategies of Windhoek youth to present idealised selves and unspoiled identities were apparent in their Facebook interactions. The participant, Twama, said that self-display was one of the obvious purposes of Facebook and social sites. She liked this aspect, stating that: “*I like Facebook for the displaying of yourself. I change the picture each month if I have time, and I update my status according to the things that have happened to me. My life is out there, and I share it with those other people.*” Diane valued it also for identity displays with online friends, stating candidly “*it’s not about being in touch with relatives for me. For me it’s more about popularity, being popular and seen. You can only do that on Facebook. It’s presenting your photo and lifestyle to the world and say ‘here we are’. It’s showing off really, but it’s fun. People want to be popular.*” She added: “*it’s interesting how perfect people want to appear on Facebook. They wouldn’t want any old picture, but they want you to see this perfect picture; no mole, no freckle, they wouldn’t want a normal face. They don’t want to see the real you.*”

Sonny was a self-proclaimed conservative-traditionalist participant who disliked this type of self-identity exposure. It was not ‘cultural’ to do that, but ‘a new Western thing’. He said: “*These social networks like this Facebook, I just don’t like them. I just don’t want everything about myself to be exposed out there for all to see. I am private, a bit reserved. Why expose myself so publicly like that? I don’t like my things*

to be known.” He added that Internet should be policed and controlled by the Namibian government.

These represent brief examples of how social network participants expropriate global media for their own ends. While power is being directed at them from institutions of Western media, we should not underestimate the degree to which youth capture and use media for shaping their own cultural practices and identities, irrespective of the power processes from media institutions which they also undeniably encounter (Rantanen 2005; Van Binsbergen, & Van Dijk 2004). However, Turkle (2011) has warned of the loss of real-world social community resulting from spurious and unsubstantial online ‘friendships’, bemoaning the perceived decline of meaningful face-to-face interactions.

Sharing cultures and global lives

Social network interactivity was a window into other people’s worlds, lives and cultures. Making contacts in other parts of Africa, Europe, the United States or China proved to be a significant attraction to the Windhoek research participants. They provided a great deal of discussion on the cultural possibilities of sites such as Facebook. Miller’s (2011) study of Facebook in Trinidad also reported this culturally attractive side to people in that country. A small Caribbean island was effectively linked to people in various nations in some sense, either to connect to families who had immigrated to the United States or Europe, or to be part of the greater global community in the culture sharing possibilities the Internet provided. The opportunities for these intense interactions frequently gave insights into how people lived elsewhere in the world. The participants became temporary roving ethnographers discovering ways of life that were sometimes a revelation to them. They frequently compared other unfamiliar lifestyles with their own.

Diane mentioned how surprised she was in discovering facts about India through her Indian Facebook friend. She heard about caste discrimination, the low status of women and “India’s rape problem”, the intense situationality of Hindu religious beliefs in the lives of many, and about social problems such as intense poverty for many Indians. She had also become aware that India was now a major emerging economy. She admitted that she ‘knew nothing’ about these things before her Facebook contact: *“I used to know only Namibia. I didn’t have any knowledge of elsewhere. Now I know about India, the US, places like that. It has opened me up.”* Discovery of other matters, such as insights into economic catastrophes in rich Western nations following the crash of Lehmann Brothers in the United States, emerged from social network communication. Talia, a white Afrikaner, gave a picture of the reality of the global economic crisis or ‘credit crunch’ that first hit the United States economy in September 2008, quickly spreading to other parts of the globe. She said:

“my US [United States] friends have told me a lot about the economic problems. It really comes across when you talk with them. They say the economy is really bad there. They’re so depressed sometimes. One person’s dad recently lost his family business, and he says they are struggling financially now, where they were very well off before. It was tough for them, and I can relate to that, as my own family depend on a business.”

Grace gave specifics on cultural differences which were a topic of Facebook conversations. She described social networks as being a means to “culture share”. While Miller (2011) confirms this desire of participants to gaze into other societies and share global cultural options, potentially generating cultural change, other studies are sceptical about the far-reaching effects of this. Kung, Picard and Towse (2008, p.94) state that “there is no overwhelming proof that globalisation or cultural change is taking place because of people getting online and using Internet”, adding that domestic websites remain the most popular in many countries. This assertion is doubtful, and the writers do not anyway address social networking practices, which seems a different order of mediated cultural possibility altogether.

Family interconnectedness through social media: resolving diaspora

There proved to be a powerful connection between the Internet and modern international migratory patterns. Several participants used social networks to make connections with family members who had moved to other parts of the world. ‘Keeping in contact’ was an important ontological and emotional need for Windhoek participants. Internet social networks were found to be a means to overcome diasporic displacement and dispersal of family members through emigration, becoming a means to reconnect and to re-establish interconnectivity with relatives thousands of miles away. According to the International Organisation for Migration (2010), emigration out of Africa achieved historic proportions from 2000 onward. Many Windhoek participants now had friends or family living permanently or for long periods in Europe or the United States. Most used the strategic opportunity of social networks as the chief device to maintain contact. The young student Happy explained its advantages, speaking of the ‘rediscovery’ of lost family members:

“I have found lost relatives in other parts of the world by looking for people with my name. I found a lady who I discovered to be a relative in the USA. I talk a lot to my brother who lives in Canada on Skype, and you no longer have to write letters to keep in touch. Very few write now since social networks. I think it’s a very good thing. It allows us to live as a family even though we are scattered and not seeing each other. It helps with a sense of family belonging.”

Strong evidence presented itself that participants used social media as a counter-diaspora strategy. This well explains why Facebook is experiencing a greater expansion of take-up in the developing world compared to the developed (*The Financial Times*, 15 June 2011). Mass migration to other areas, primarily Europe and North America, over the last 15 years has fragmented African families, scattering kin members globally (United Nations Development Programme 2009). Facebook represents a strategic resource to locate, contact and maintain interaction with relatives across this global diaspora landscape (Tsagarousianou, R. 2004).

It follows that an important function of Facebook is to bring the diasporic global family ‘virtually’ together. Adeyanju and Oriola (2011, p.22) state that the ‘insatiable desire’ of Africans for a new life in Western countries, and subsequent large-scale migration, has created a fragmentation of the African family. Diasporic Africans use social online sites to communicate legitimising performance impressions of their

‘successful’ lives abroad, while needing at the same time to suggest they maintain ‘culturally appropriate’ Namibian lives away from home.

Abrasive media & the ‘stranger’ in online encounters

An area of cultural conflict on social networks arises from how people culturally address each other, converse or generally interact on them. Namibia is a country where formality is mostly carefully maintained in social encounters. However, online communication often displays a raw approach in discussion, frequently resorting to harsh criticism and unrestrained language or prose, including abuse (*The Guardian*, 24 July 2011). Certain cultures may find such discourse hard to accept. This type of encounter with media can be described as *abrasive media*, which typified how Windhoek participants experienced certain individuals on the Internet. Andrew was a participant who had an interest in conspiracy theories which he debated with others online. He found these encounters sometimes severe, and at times hard to take. He provided an example based on a significant news event, which had occurred a few weeks before his interview:

“After the alleged assassination of bin Laden, I commented on this. I said how much I thought it was a staged event, that he was killed to raise Obama’s ratings. Gradually, it went on to a war of words [with other commentators]. Then it got personal, insulting each other. It got to abuse and swearing with some guy from the [United] States. He was saying ‘what do you fucking know? Excuse me, you’re from a fucking third world country’. That sort of comment. I would say that bin Laden has been dead for years already. The situation was invented to increase Obama’s ratings. I told this to the American guy but he was quite rough.”

Andrew expected discussion to be confined to ‘reasonable bounds’ that excluded insult and swearing, while admitting that it was difficult to meet those expectations out on the Web. He said that *“if you met some of those people in real life, you would be fighting them.”* Lebius, a conservative participant, liked Facebook but reported that he restricted contact with people outside the country because they were ‘always too rude’. He mentioned past abrasive encounters as an unpleasant downside of the Internet, but also people that ‘reveal your secrets’, presumably people who knew him. He explained: *“some bad experiences have happened. People try to irritate you with their comments. They can be very direct. They talk about people in a bad way. That I don’t like. Things like Facebook can often be culturally inappropriate. I may stop it soon.”* Social media were widely perceived in Windhoek to breach culturally-accepted standards, being criticised on several occasions on cultural grounds. Over-expressive language displayed publically on the Facebook ‘wall’ or through close friends via the inbox, shocked some Namibian users. It was culturally difficult for Namibians to overcome these reservations and fall into this spirit of fierce, even aggressive debate. It was just ‘not Namibian’. Yet in other ways the participants could transcend such conservative coyness in surprising ways when it came to the internet strangers they encountered.

‘Strangers’ online where another unexpected problem, long ago described by George Simmel as the core fact of industrial modernity: “The stranger is close to us, insofar as we feel between him and ourselves features of a national, social, occupational, and generally human, nature. He is far from us insofar as these common features extend

beyond him and us, and connect us, only because they connect a great number of people” (Simmel 1950[1908], p.98).

Windhoek participants were often reserved individuals, yet they had the courage (even foolhardiness) to be questioned in depth online by a stranger about their lifestyles, and were able to engage with unfamiliar in the global outside. Simmel regarded the stranger as a fact of modern life which had replaced ‘community’. In large-scale societies where impersonal social relations had become the norm, so too had strangers. They were people we meet or usually only see in passing that come and go in our lives, or are glimpsed from a distance. They are those we never entirely comprehend. They represent what Simmel labels ‘the larger unknowable’ or greater society beyond the immediate locales of ‘familiar’ such as family, friends and work colleagues. Simmel says we are curious and wonder about them, because they are also ‘us’, and to others we too are strangers. Maybe the Internet is changing this social configuration, as the unknowable ‘other’ is increasingly integrated, often unpredictably, into our evermore mediated lives.

Social networks brought the strangers to Namibian youth’s laptops or their cell phones from great distances. As Simmel said, strangers are close to us and far from us. The Internet offers the option to bring them intimately, frequently uncomfortably, closer. Hilma said of her more benign encounters: “*Maybe they are strangers, yes, but I feel I know them well. They share my interests with them from Brazil to Japan.*” Less benignly, several female participants mentioned uncomfortable experiences on Facebook involving implicit or explicit sexual suggestions from people they had never met. Strangers tried to probe about their sexual lives, tried to meet and date them. The term for this in the United States and Britain is ‘cyberstalking’, and it has been cited as a major Internet problem in the perceptions of many (*The Guardian*, 8 April 2011). Most participant experiences did not result in a face-to-face meeting: in the case of Mumba, it did. She mentioned an incident that had led to her trusting no one on social networks, and this had made her extremely reserved. She explained that she had ‘foolishly’ met someone she had previously spoken to online, resulting in an unpleasant sexual assault. Understandably, she was unable to say more.

Boyd (2008b) has written of the radical implications of social network sites for previously held social values and codes of behaviour. Lines between openness, and former practices of concealment of personal information, have blurred and broken down online. The private becomes a domain open to all, with Internet participants imagining greater degrees of anonymity and protection than they actually have. Friendship loses its generic meaning, as those with profile accounts on social networks tend to have fifty, five hundred or sometimes a thousand or more ‘friends’ with whom they imagine they can share intimate secrets and discuss deeply private information. Boyd (2008b, p.14) argues that many young people are now aware of and experience trepidation at this disintegration of private space, stating that social networks “rupture people’s sense of public and private by altering previously understood social norms”. A sense of exposure and invasion has set into people’s attitudes, leading to demands that sites like Facebook provide better architectures of privacy to curb the free flow of private information. To date, there is little sign of this emerging.

Youth as ‘Natives of Chaos’

How can the Windhoek research presented above be equated with and contextualised within wider international studies of youth and media? Miles (2000, p.70) writes of the omnipresent positioning of media in the consuming character of contemporary youth, stating that no viable studies of youth can today ignore this. The mass media have emerged as important for the young, and they have shown remarkable technical abilities in mastering each new communication innovation. Youth tend to show strong reflexive skills of utilisation, while revealing uneven degrees of resistance or submission to its commercial pressures. Media represent a world where youth can be largely free of adults (Miles, 2000, p.84), although they may be vulnerable to entertainment and advertising which has a vested interest in maintaining a certain type of consuming consciousness and identity among them; but this is not to say they are automatically manipulated dupes.

On how youth sociologically engage with media, Willett (2008) says that young people use new media as a symbolic resource to build their own centres of sociability and youth identities. Television and music have arguably done this for some time in African and other contexts. Rushkoff (1997, p.13) refers to the young as 'natives of chaos' who in an individuated and complex age are better adapted to the demands of the rapidly shifting contours of an uncertain modernity than most adults. Their immersion in modern popular culture has prepared them to cope with and manage the social changes occurring around them. Media provides the paradigm and the practical means for their negotiation through contemporary worlds that border their immediate localities.

Mediated youth abilities do not automatically shield them from the powerful capitalistic commercial pressures they daily confront in media and beyond. Willett (2008:50) states that any study of youth and media is required to explore the tension between young people as acted upon by societal forces, and seeing them as independent actors in their own right. Willett (2008, p.54) adds that:

"it is undeniable that youth constantly come into contact with commercial pressures and imperatives, whether using new or old media ... young people can be seen as "bricoleurs," appropriating and reshaping consumer culture as they define and perform their identities, and in some instances rejecting or simply ignoring marketing techniques and discourses."

Yet their agency is framed within commodity spaces that are deeply conditioned. In her own field of study, online Internet, Willett sees this as an important area for expression, development and access to alternative cultures for youth, albeit one where virtual spaces may be deceptively less free and open than many may realise. In relation to the Internet, Subrahmanyam, Greenfield and Tynes (2004) say that it is critical to view this as a highly valued new social environment for youth in which universal adolescent issues pertaining to identity formation, sexuality, and self-worth are explored in a virtual world. Going online for accessing and discussing with others intimate information relating to sex and personal relationships has not been available to such a degree previously. Chatrooms and social networks, as confirmed by the 2011 Windhoek research, offer enormous potential to shape both personal and social identities. New media provide the space for interactive and constant contact with others via mobile phones, the Internet and email, essentials now that social life is

virtually networked and human contact is more and more 'distanced' rather than conventionally face-to-face. Larsen, Urry and Axhausen (2008, p.656) call this 'networked capital' which is described as "the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with people who are not necessarily proximate, and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit." Youth, including in Namibia, are increasingly skilled in accessing and exploiting networked capital. Yet their responses to mediated institutional power proved more diversely ambiguous and uneven.

Three reflexive positions on global media power

McMillin has stated that "examining globalization processes from the ground, from the level of lived experiences, is a very different endeavour from examining it from the perspective of institutional power" (McMillin 2007:180). Institutional media power emanates from multi-national media corporations who distribute monopolistic cultural and symbolic products worldwide, ostensibly for profit but also arguably to ideologically disseminate cultural and social agendas. Institutional power, on the other hand, can have a local presence as commercial and state media collude with or resist global media in line with national ideological goals. According to McPhail (2010), Western media are a key aspect of international communications which have been defined in the context of contemporary globalisation as the flow of norms, values, culture, information and effects between nations and people. Western global media are commercially very powerful. But what are the *reactions* or lines of resistance to global media in the 'borderland' reception countries? Postcolonial theory tends to suggest uncomplicated reactions to power as either passive acceptance (a Marxian false consciousness) or favoured resistance, focusing exclusively on challenges to globalisation (Ashcroft 2001; Mongia 1996; Bhabha 1994). The problem with uniform theories of power is that they lack nuance and tend to downgrade local power discourses and the way these complicate general flows of power and, more importantly, actors' varied and diverse responses to them. In Windhoek, the research established three general positions, with each representing diverging relationships with media power: *cultural expropriationists*, *cultural traditionalists* and *cultural representationalists*.

Namibians who were 'cultural expropriationists' viewed Western media in favourable terms for its novelty, richness, pragmatic potential and cosmopolitanism. The quality, imagination and sophistication of many film and television productions and the array of possibilities of Internet sites such as Facebook were valued. They prized global media's ability to connect them with other cultures and otherworldly experience, while recognising possibilities for integrating media-based global knowledge into their self-development. It was a strategic option for them, representing opportunity for new outlooks and identity negotiations that transcended local possibilities. To suggest advantages of reflexive opportunities for actors is not to adversely underestimate contexts of restraint or power that will be encountered (Zegeye 2008). Perhaps on the other side of the argument, optimists like Tomlinson (2003) tend to downplay the rapidly corrosive effects of global media on valued local culture and identity, that may itself lead to genuine ontological crisis and insecurity for more traditionalist actors.

In polar opposition, *cultural traditionalists* in Namibia were resistant or belligerent to the expanding media environment in Namibia, frequently being disapproving of the cultural expropriationists' enthusiasm for global culture. Cultural traditionalists raised

fears about perceived erosion of existing ethnic or national cultures by foreign media. In class terms they were what might be termed 'middle class', often as a result of socio-economic position gained by parents who tended to be recent beneficiaries of rapid social mobility through acquiring government jobs or patronage. Many retained strong links with existing rural-ethnic networks. Some participants in this traditionalist position were also from black working class backgrounds who were recent arrivals to urban settings. Cultural traditionalists did not reject modern media, but thought it should be used as a neutral practical tool for, first, development and, second, entertainment. They were the most likely to talk about the need for media regulation including state surveillance of media to ensure what they called 'appropriate' content. However, there were genuine concerns expressed about culture that were not automatically anti-progressive, and which appeared to represent valid defences against infringing commercial, cultural or other manipulative global discourses. Cultural traditionalists should not be regarded as unreflexive puppets of cultural tradition. On one level, the existential security of a cherished traditionalist worldview was genuinely under threat, and they responded disapprovingly, with trepidation at future uncertainties.

Cultural representationalists occupied a more ambiguous position. They had the same fascination for diverse global media as cultural expropriationists, yet harboured doubts about the *presence*, or absence, of their cultural heritage in mediated products. These were distinctly not the same concerns as those of the traditionalists who sought maintenance and regulation of their cultural viewpoint in power defence terms. Cultural representationalists desired or demanded modes of *representation* of their Namibian lives, lifestyles and culture that they felt were missing from much of what they viewed and listened to. They rarely found this in Western film or television, but local media also failed them. Cultural representationalists desired *representational media* that mirrored and confirmed their social contexts. It has been argued that media are cultural tools that are used by individuals to reflect, approve or reorder lives and cultures (Boyd & Ellison 2007:34). Where their society and culture was not represented on their border locales, they asked why.

Conclusion

This discussion has attempted to establish both a picture and an analysis of Internet social network 'borderland' engagements in relation to patterns of cultural transformation in Windhoek among youth. While Anzaldúa's borderland metaphor is applied in principle to empirical findings, the article has used its imagery and philosophy as a guiding conception only. The conclusions reached are that the Internet has moved decisively over international borders into the lifestyles of young Windhoekers as a resource, as a form of self-presentation or a window into other cultures, as entertainment or to access novel or sundry ideas and experiences, and even for sensual or intimate possibilities. Social networks and new media generally, are a portal to a vast realm of intriguing global possibilities, at the same time emerging as an increasingly normalised social phenomenon in everyday experience. The final overriding outcome of these cultural shifts appears to be a cosmopolitan one for Windhoek youth, despite reservations and resistance of more traditionalist Namibians. Namibia's cultural borders increasingly reveal emergent conflict over matters of culture, especially via growing 'traditionalistic' state regulation of media and Internet in an attempt to police these global cultural contacts. Yet there is, in turn,

a strong reaction from those youth who demand their borders 'open' to global culture, wishing to be free in their reflexive negotiation of what they find. Which side is likely to prevail in the debates over power and Namibian culture, remains at present a contingent question.



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