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Culture, Language and Applied Linguistics: Language Teaching and Cultural Awareness

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Abstract

The role of culture in a field as vast as applied linguistics is so pronounced and vital that even a highly selective overview might not be sufficient to be comprehensive. What follows might be a synoptic account of the role of culture in the realm of applied linguistics. The enigmatic point which even makes the vast field of applied linguistics goes to unbeaten tracks is the similar nature of culture. Due to the aforementioned point, here the canonical overlap of them is emphasised. Moreover, as culture and language are intrinsically intertwined, it's decided to have a more cultural stance rather than a linguistic one. In this presentation, major studies in connection with language and culture will be considered first. Then, it'll be tried to unravel, or better to say, to come to grips with this enigmatic riddle, culture. It will be explained that it is hard to give a clear-cut definition for culture. However, it might be possible to shape or even make what it must be.

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Introduction

The role of culture in a field as vast as applied linguistics is so pronounced and vital that even a highly selective overview might not be sufficient to be comprehensive. Put another way, whenever there is a language, there exists a certain culture with it, and having a negative view towards that culture might cause failure in the learning.

The prime example could be the term acculturation coined by Schumann (1978). The term came from an often-quoted case study of a 33-year-old Costa Rican who could not acculturate to the target language community. Moreover, the reason was his antagonistic view towards the new language, which in this case was the English language.

He (1978: 34) then came to the conclusion that ‘Second language acquisition is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which a learner acculturates to the target-language group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language.’

Nevertheless, acculturation has its own limitations. For example, ‘For some theorists, one limitation of the acculturation model, as a theory of SLA, is that it does not explain the internal mechanisms of how an L2 is acquired; it is a sociopsychological model rather than a cognitive-processing model’ (Barkhuizen, 2004: 562).

As mentioned earlier, it is not possible to raise all the issues of culture that these days we are dealing with. Also, two crucial factors should be taken into account. First, although here I focus mainly on English, the purpose is any language in power which might be another language in the future. Second, considering English as accepted norms might be called into question. Concerning the first issue, Halliday (2006) points out:

It is naive to imagine that if the United Nations had decreed, back in 1950, that some other language – say Esperanto, or even Malay or Korean – was to be adopted as a world language, the global situation would have been any different: whatever language was adopted would soon have been primed to function as a medium of corporate power. In that case English would have continued to serve – as French does today – as a highly-valued international language in certain cultural regions and with certain clearly defined spheres of activity. (p. 362)

On the other hand, regarding the second issue, Kachru (2006) does not accept that English should be called international. He argues that:

It is in that diverse, cross-cultural sense that English is *international*. I have avoided the term *international language* with English. The term “international” used with “English” is misleading in more than one sense: it signals an *international* English in terms of acceptance, proficiency, functions, norms, pragmatic utility, and creativity. That actually is far from true – that is not the current international functional profile of the English language and never was. (p. 449)

The role of culture in the realm of applied linguistics is going to be discussed at this point. To this end, first, I go through the major studies in connection with language and culture.

These studies might fall into three broad categories, namely 1) those relating to epistemology of culture, 2) those relating to its relation to language, and finally 3) those relating to its presentation through a given language.

Furthermore, the relation between applied linguistics and mind as is going to be considered as a starting point. 'The field of applied linguistics, born in the fifties, at a time when the relationship of language and mind was the primary concern of formal linguistics, had a natural affinity to the brain sciences as they were developed then' (Kramsch, 2004: 235). But the relation between language and thought or better to say culture and thought has its origin in early nineteenth century (Kramsch, 2004). If one wants to know the relation between language and thought, s/he may refer to the often-quoted statement by Sapir. Sapir points:

Language is a guide to "social reality" . . . it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society . . . The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached . . . We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. (1962: 68–9)

A hotly debated issue related to language and somehow thought is the hegemony of language. Kachru (1985) considers three circles regarding the use of English, namely inner, outer, and expanding circles.

English speaking countries comprise the inner circle. The outer circle is composed of the countries where English is their second language. And the expanding circle refers to the countries where English is neither their first nor their second language.

However, not surprisingly, the inner circle is creating norms for the other two circles, which in a way could be a matter of hegemony.

Epistemological look

Few might know that one of the striking similarities between applied linguistics and culture is that there is no unanimity on what they are. Put another way, these two broad concepts are known to us through their impacts on our lives. That is why it might not be surprising that more than 156 definitions for culture exist (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1963).

For instance, for Chastain (1988) culture is viewed differently by different people.

Furthermore, she emphasises the differences between small c culture and big C culture. The former is related to the culture the students of language are in touch and try to come to grips with, while the latter pertains to major effect of it.

Kramsch (2013) believes that three critical features of culture in relation to language are its relational, historical, and symbolic mediation.

It can be implied from what Allameh Jafari (2003), an Islamic philosopher, thinker, and scholar, argues that instead of searching what exactly culture is we should try to create a pioneer culture. That is to say, regardless of what culture these days mean, we have to hunt for what culture must be. To him, a pioneer culture improves human lives, and it helps human beings achieve their final goal.

In a similar vein, Dahmardeh, Timcheh Memar and Timcheh Memar (2014) hold that what is going to miss in culture is ethics. They believe that ethics and culture are two twin concepts, and regarding their pedigrees, ethics precedes culture. In other words, culture is the variations of ethics which come to existence soon after certain concept of ethics is born.

On the other hand, some researchers have tried to reveal different aspects of this umbrella concept and make it more tangible. These scholars have provided a number of metaphorical models such as culture as an atom, an onion, a tree, and an iceberg (Bennett, 2013). From among these metaphors, the often-quoted metaphor of culture as an iceberg likens culture to an iceberg because only a small portion of culture is visible, while its line share is not easily visible (Weaver, 1986). Moreover, based on the iceberg metaphor, those invisible aspects of culture are included in deep culture, whereas the visible aspects lend themselves well to surface culture.

Its relation to language

Maybe, not long ago, culture was viewed as a periphery part of language which was quite like an additional and separated skill. For instance, in Chastain's (1988) book, though one specific chapter is devoted to just culture, it implied that culture could be at least like one of the traditional four skills at push. In fact, although she emphasises the role of culture by devoting one chapter to it, she regards it as, more or less, a separable part of language. It goes without saying that that kind of notion was quite common at that time, but times have changed.

Culture has witnessed more terms and metaphors. Wallace (1988) introduced the term Cultural Competence by which he stresses out the complex package of the beliefs, ideas, knowledge, and so on.

Intercultural competence is another metaphor which has found itself in a good many of studies today. Byram (2000) holds that intercultural competence has the following characteristics: attitudes, knowledge, skills of interpreting and relating, skills of discovery and interaction, critical cultural awareness.

Now, culture is viewed as an inseparable part of language. It plays so vital a role that Kramsch (1998) argues that culture is more than a skill in that it cannot be separated from language. In other words, the atomistic view of language has been discarded.

Neither any of the skills of language nor its culture is considered as a divisible part of language. Joseph (2004) maintains that:

Language teaching and learning, which occupy a privileged place within applied linguistics, are political in the sense that they always involve two languages with differing cultural prestige in the world at large and in the particular situation in which the teaching and learning are taking place. (p. 348)

Quite similar to what Joseph (2004) mentions regarding the political nature of language, Kachru (2006) holds that 'in the new millennium culture wars, the English language has indeed become a vital weapon for articulating various positions and visions' (p. 449).

Dissanayake (2006) goes further and talks about politicisation. He points out:

Cultural Studies and politics of culture are inseparably linked . . . As a matter of fact, one of the readily identifiable influences of modern Cultural Studies has been this politicization, and the concomitant desire to challenge the hegemonic power of the nation-state, multinational corporations, main stream and entrenched scholarship . . . Our inquiries into the works of world Englishes will benefit greatly by delving more deeply into these imbricated issues. (p. 558)

How it should be presented

The way culture should be presented in books has long been a subject of controversy. To Risager (1998) there are four ways of teaching culture namely, 1) intercultural, 2) multicultural, 3) trans-cultural, and 4) foreign-cultural.

In short, Foreign-cultural approach solely emphasises the target culture and does not take into account the comparison of the target and source culture, as it does not care about source language at all. This has been losing ground since the 1980s.

The intercultural approach emphasises the idea that culture is better learned once the comparison of the target and the learners' own culture is at work. This has replaced the foreign-culture approach, and is the dominant one today.

The multicultural approach is based on the idea that every given culture consists of some sub-cultures. This has made its appearance since the 1980s, but still is in marginal position.

The trans-cultural approach regards the foreign language as an international language, and thus for this approach it does not stand to reason to add any specific culture to the foreign or target culture. This approach is just beginning to appear as a result of internationalisation.

Overall, there are or better to say used to be at least four types of the presentation of culture. First, the target language, for example English, should be taught without its culture.

Here the author definitely believes the separability of culture from language. However, such an idea has received virtually little attention.

Second, only the culture of the target language should be taught.

This type of presentation on its own might split into two strands. That is to say, for example regarding English, the presentation of culture could be restricted to what Kachru (1985) calls inner circle, the countries where English is their first language, or in addition to inner circle, it might include what Kachru (1985) calls outer circle, the countries where English is their second language or official language. In this regard, India could be a prime example. Viswamohan (2011) describes the stance of English in India as follows:

The socio-cultural transitions have ensured that English is accepted as a regular mode of communication in Indian songs and no hackles are raised anymore about the so-called purity of lyrics. Evidently, the pronounced use of the English language in media and society has expanded the linguistic repertoire of the film songs, where English seems to seamlessly blend with the rest of the lyrics. (p. 22)

Moreover, he (2011) believes that the language spoken today in India among the youth is English. In other words, in a way, the new generation in India has accepted the culture of English without thinking of conflicts.

The same story might be true for Russia where seldom any attention is given to variants of English, let alone to outer and expanding circles. For example, Leontovich (2005) believes that:

According to the Russian linguistic tradition, scholars doing theoretical research on different aspects of English in most cases do not make a clear distinction between its numerous regional variants. They usually refer to British and American English as “subcultures” within a unified culture of the English-speaking countries. All the other regional variants are seldom taken into account, which can be easily explained by the fact that the contacts of Russians with people from Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, etc. are very rare.

In the teaching of English at Russian schools and universities very little attention is given to the differentiation between the world Englishes. (p. 523)

Not dissimilar to Russia and India, English is considered, more or less, a language of high prestige in Saudi Arabia, and it is of great importance for the employment. Moreover, quite often people in Saudi Arabia send their children to bilingual schools where they can learn English in addition to Arabic (Al-Rawi, 2012).

In Iran is also other variations of English are rather unknown, and little attention, if any, is paid to them. Mainly, two so called standard variations of English, American, have drawn attention.

Third, the presentation of culture, for example of English, is not even restricted to outer circle, and the culture of the source language, for example Persian, should be included.

Fourth, the presentation of culture even is more expanded and might include the world culture, the given author of the book might include all the cultural points he or she deems necessary or interesting for the learners regardless of boundaries and borderlines of countries.

Now let's take the above-mentioned types of presentation of culture into account. Obviously enough, the first type is not valid anymore, as the duality between language and its culture has long been proved to be virtually of no validity. Among the other types mentioned before, teaching target culture has drawn more attention. More specifically, in practice, the first strand of the second type, stating that the inner circle culture of the target language should be taught, is more common. For instance, as regards English course books, the majority of them have focused on inner circle to the exclusion of outer circle. However, there is a growing concern regarding to the inclusion of outer circle or even the world culture, one of which could be the book series titled *World English* written by Johannsen and Chase (2011) which has somewhat been adjusted to Asian countries, mainly Islamic countries.

Trends

As there might be no mainstream for culture, its relation to language, and its presentation in books, introducing the trends seems to be a bit a matter of taste. From among the three broad categories regarding culture, the last category has drawn more attention, and a good many of studies have been carried out in this regard. The reason might lie in the fact that the first category, the epistemological view of culture, seems to be an unfathomable issue. The second category, the relation between language and culture, has virtually been proved to be inseparable. In other words, few might want to call such a notion into question, and there is almost unanimity among the scholars of the field. Now the last category pertaining to the presentation of culture is hotly debated. These days, the growing concern in connection with English is not just germane to inner circle; people are now talking about world Englishes. Let's go through the practical dimension of the trends, and see some of the seminal and influential studies concerning different presentations of a given culture. Having investigated two textbooks in terms of culture in Hong Kong, Ka-Ming (2011) found that the textbooks favoured English speaking countries. More specifically, after counting the frequency of the cultural points of different continents and countries, he maintains that the frequency of English speaking countries in the course books is quite above others. Not dissimilar to Ka-Ming's (2011) conclusion, Alptekin and Alptekin (1984) came to the conclusion that a balance between the target culture and students' native culture should be stricken. Another practical trend might owe itself to the emergence of intercultural competence which roughly may fall into the category of the presentation of culture. Among different scholars of intercultural competence, Piller's (2011) book entitled *Intercultural communication: A critical introduction* has mainly accentuated the importance of understanding different cultures. As a matter of fact, by the emergence of the term, intercultural, studies of language and culture have taken a new leaf.

Conclusion

Given the situations in India, Saudi Arabia, and to some extent Russia portrayed by Viswamohan (2011), Al-Rawi (2012) and Leontovich (2005) respectively, one might

come to know that English has come to be a language of prestige, especially American or British English. Moreover, by extension, outer-circle countries are going to replace their mother tongues with English, and the expanding circles are becoming the outer-circle and eventually replacing their languages with English. As mentioned earlier, it is hard to give a clear-cut definition for culture. However, we might be able to shape or even make what it must be. In line with what Allameh Jafari (2003) believes, we should have a pioneer culture, a culture which is based on high standard morality and ethics. Put it simply, we might be unable to change what culture is, but we will be able to make what culture be.



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The Mother Goddess in Kerala: Discursive Struggles and Contested Signifiers in a Popular Faith Phenomenon

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Abstract

Mata Amritanandamayi faith is a popular faith phenomenon that began in Kerala, South India during the late 1970s. Over the years, Mata faith has undergone changes informed by and in response to the debates and discussions in the Kerala public sphere, and the sensibilities of an expanding middle-class. The central character of the phenomenon, devotion of and in the godly figure Mata Amritanandamayi remained the same, although the faith practices became intense and widespread in the turn of the century. However, the image it represents acquired cultural signification of a mother over the years through various biographies, anecdotes, testimonies and visual practices. I argue that the central character of the Mata faith is the iconisation of a certain image of mother already represented through cinema, literature and other journalistic media as the ideal mother. This devotee-mother, I argue, personifies the image of a virtuous mother in the perception of the dominant upper-caste traditions in Kerala.

Keywords: popular culture, faith, icon, representation, Kerala

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Introduction

India is popular across the world for what is known as its cultures of spirituality. Many practices such as yoga, meditation and satsang are followed abroad, meticulously in various non-traditional contexts. Also, many gurus have emerged in the last fifty years in India, many of them, having several transnational bases and huge followership. Among these Satya Sai Baba, Mata Amritanandamayi, Amma Karunamayi, Baba Ramdev, Sri Sri Ravi Shankar, Asharam Bapu are some of the most popular. Looking at these gurus from a global perspective might lead one to imagine all of them as another instance of evangelical practice, which has been already manifested in Christianity in the US and parts of South Asia.

However, such an imagination is very spontaneous. The meaning of so-called spirituality at the global level is significantly different from the meanings that produce it at the local level. Many minor histories, sensibilities, struggles and power relations are involved in the formation of some of these spiritual organisations in their place of emergence. They are popular abroad as a deterritorialised entity, and reterritorialised regionally in negotiation with local political setting. By understanding the point of emergence of the 'gurus' one I wish to see its specific location within the local configuration of sensibilities and meanings.

Earlier studies of such phenomena within the nation use the frameworks of 'social movement', 'syncretism' and 'cultural translation', or 'practices of modern self-making' (Srinivas, 2008; Srinivas, 2010). My study focuses on the phenomenon of Mata Amritanandamayi spirituality in Kerala. Mata Amritanandamayi is the leader of the spiritual organisation named Mata Amritanandamayi Math. Unlike its influence in other parts of the country or across the world, the Mata Amritanandamayi phenomenon claims a space in Kerala's popular culture mainly through its Malayalam TV channel, the special features on the Mata in popular newspapers, the bhajan communities and neighbourhood gatherings such as *Amritakudumbam* and *Amrita Ayalkoottam*, the local accounts of the Mata's divinity and the relatively small followership of women from lower castes and classes. In order to understand the cultural struggles that go into the shaping of it, I examine the Mata faith as a popular cultural formation.

Stuart Hall defines popular culture as "one of the sites where this struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged: it is also the stake to be won or lost in that struggle. It is the area of consent and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises and where it is secured. It is not a sphere where socialism, a socialist culture—already fully formed—might be simply expressed. But it is one of the places where socialism might be constituted (Hall, 2005; 71).

Context

Conceptualising a phenomenon as cultural text enables the genre identification and through it, the intention of the author. According to David Morgan a text "is something written, published, stored, read silently or aloud, purchased and shared, traded, and displayed. It is cited, edited, rewritten, compared with other texts and taught" (Morgan, 2005; 89) As a cultural text the Mata Amritanandamayi phenomenon occupies a multidimensional sphere comprised of such aspects of a

spiritual event as its organisation, architecture, objects, performative practices, travels, technologies, mediations and subjects. *Mata Amritanandamayi Math* is a spiritual institution (*atmeeya stapanam*) of a particular social genre. Social genres are located in the cultural practices, discourses and sensibilities that mark a period for a community, and arise from exigencies.

The biographies of Mata Amritanandamayi portrays the childhood of the Mata from accounts of her relatives, teachers, parents, friends and neighbours, and also from the stories the Mata tells of her early life. Those stories mark a period of crisis in her life when she was taken out of school and put to work in the households of relatives (Cornell, 2002, 17). They also speak of the abusive treatment from parents young Sudhamani (the Mata's childhood name) suffered and her transgressive acts such as stealing money from home to help the poor, feeding hungry neighbours and mingling with the untouchable castes (Cornell, 18).

To locate these transgressive acts of Sudhamani as a lower caste woman I look at the historical changes that mark the period in which she began to identify herself within the socio-cultural domain that constituted her life world.

Nationalism, Democracy and Spirituality

Mata Amritanandamayi was born into a lower caste family of fishermen community on 27 September 1953, Kollam district in Kerala. She grew up as Sudhamani, in one of the most eventful times of the national history that witnessed various kinds of mobilisations of the subaltern groups. The period was one of intense nationalist and democratic fervor marked by many characteristics of state formation, such as reform movements, ideological clashes between communities and classes, identity assertions and strategic experiments in governance.

As a linguistic region, Kerala had been consciously forming its boundaries by developing a literary culture and linguistic identity distinct from the neighbouring regions, since the pre-modern times. In an attempt to create a separate identity, Sanskrit texts were given commentary in what is called a new language they tried to establish- *Manipravalam*. In opposition to this was another movement known as the "*pattu*" form made from the local metrical styles. Both forms were practices that merged different elements from local folk performative genres and sanskritic text. This shows that since the pre-modern times mixing of the folk and the classical formed the dominant method of inventing new genres for a national/regional identity of the largely Malayalam speaking territorial group. (K. Satchitanandan, 2010; Freeman, 2003).

Social Movements in Kerala

The anti-caste social reform movements in Kerala were largely indigenous in origin, and began in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Charismatic lower caste leaders such as Narayana Guru, Ayyankali, Vagbhatananda, Pandit K. P. Karuppan, Poikayil Kumara Guru, Sahodaran Ayyappan were revolutionaries who fought against the caste system and oppressive norms imposed by the dominant castes. Although, many of these reforms took to faith as a premise upon which self-knowledge and assertions of dignity were conceptualised and practiced, and people were mobilised, they were

mainly lower caste conceptualisations that stood in resistance to the upper caste culture.

Although Mata faith does not share the discursive field created by these early movements, it tries to mobilise a syncretic domain. This syncretic domain subsumes under a dominant Hindu discourse, the faith oriented aesthetic sensibilities of early lower caste movements. However, the discourse of resistance to the caste order that formed the politics of the social movements is ignored by this syncretic practice. Hence, many signifiers that the faith text uses in order to address the particular characteristic of lower caste devotional self do not share the meaning they have among the subaltern groups.

Argument

In this context of cultural struggles I look at the implications of two signifiers “spiritual guru” and “divine mother” that Mata faith text uses to represent its central figure, Mata Amritanandamayi, and their contested nature. A spiritual guru or master is generally understood as a visionary who perceives the schema of individuals, beliefs, sensibilities and practices within a community of which he/she is part and can give advices on how to conduct oneself in time of crisis based on his imaginative reasoning. Since this means the guru has to envision the community with all its individual elements he or she is expected to possess an egoless perspective with regard to the community. In other words, his/her ego is taken to be that of the common identity of community and not an individual ego.

However, egolessness is also a weakness, an impasse when it is acquired as a result of oppression or subjugation of the ego by another individual or group. What it indicates here is a continuing threat against the sovereign self the oppressed desires to achieve. In this case egolessness is required to curb individual desires and drives that would threaten the oppressor and incur his/her anger or hatred.

What this situation leaves for the oppressed is a meditative interior, a strong sense of the virtual, and a performing body that engages with the outside world, all of which may together make a schema of truth in order to create imaginaries for change.

Not only are the dalit and lower caste women two of the most oppressed category of the country, they are also the culturally marginalised other. When the image of spiritual woman and divine mother is represented by a lower caste woman the question that emerges is if this image is her choice or the nature of her oppressed subjectivity. If it is the former, it should be easier for Amritanandamayi to come out in public to speak on her behalf. Instead, in many interviews the Mata denies her agency by saying that she is what her “children” wants from her.

In the traditional ritualistic performances of the spiritual or the divine, the performer remains in the so-called “spirit” consciousness only during the performance. But Mata Amritanandamayi’s representation of the image of “divine mother” is a life-long performance. This means she embodies the essence of the idea of mother as it is described or perceived by her devotees or as she addresses them, “children”.

Many criticisms in the public sphere by subaltern groups also show how motherhood cannot be essentialised as the spiritual nature of woman. J Devika surveys the contestations to the traditional idea of motherhood historically, in Kerala by various women writers. She says that these contestations show that the idea of motherhood is not ahistorical (Devika, 2010).

As we see in Mata Amritanandamayi's biographies the crisis she faces as a child is the crisis of a lower caste woman subjectivised by capitalist patriarchy and "new brahminic values imposed upon the lower caste woman" (Devika, 2013; 82). Here, the asexualised labouring body of the lower caste woman is sustained for its productivity and controlled within the caste and gender limits through such images as the *bhakta* and mother. However, as some of these biographical accounts show the Mata's family did not approve of these images first and were afraid that the expressively affective practices of their daughter might get them alienated from the rest of the community to whom such practices may appear as symptoms of madness (Cornell, 2002; 32).

The image of mother as a spiritual being was not part of the lower caste culture they belonged to. Instead, what existed was mothering as a material practice of nurturing the children until they are capable of caring for themselves. The inner spiritual realm of motherhood is the construct of the nationalist discourse that locates the spiritual as the domain where the essential difference between the East and West rests (Chatterjee, 49).

In the writings by various devotees, Western and native, we get different descriptions of the divine mother. When the western devotee comes in search of the mystic woman in the orientalist narratives, the native devotees seek the ideal spiritual woman in the nationalist discourses who is the comforting nurturer as opposed to the man who is the child ever in need of care (Chatterjee, 69).

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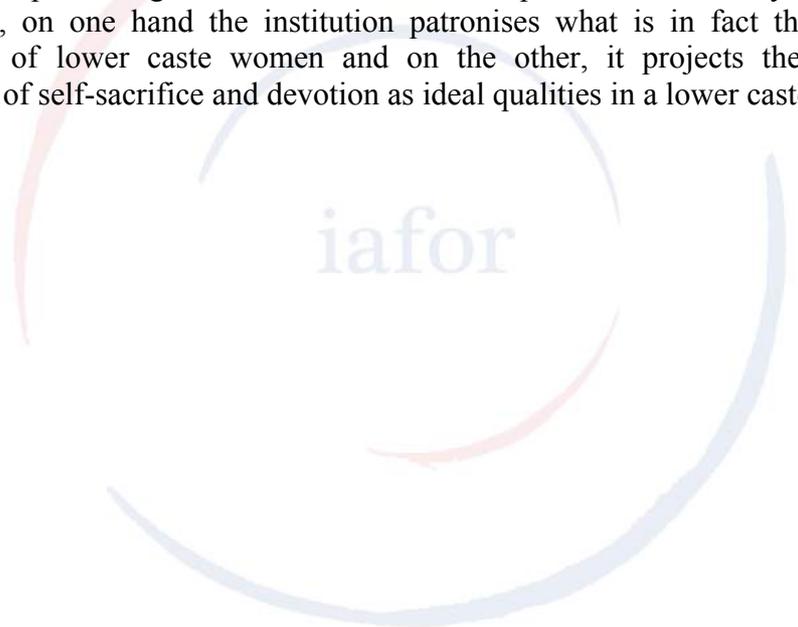
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In her article “Mammies, Matriarchs and Other Controlling Images” Patricia Hill Collins talk about the objectification of black women as the other (Collins, 2000). She writes that the images of mammies and matriarchs were used as controlling images of black women. Although, historically dalit and lower caste women were not treated as mothers, caste practices made their dark “asexual” labouring body an object of shame and contempt (Rowena, 2012). This produces the continuing stigma of dalit and lower caste women’s bodies in contemporary times too. In this context ascribing the spiritual meaning of motherhood to a lower caste woman and her being worshiped for the characteristics of selflessness and seva serve as controlling images that sustains the earlier caste discourses on her body.

To conclude, I argue that the image of divine mother represented by Mata Amritanandamayi is a contested signifier in popular culture. It is the nature of her subjectivity as an oppressed lower caste woman and not an ideal image of empowered woman. By representing a lower caste woman as spiritual and embodying universal motherhood, on one hand the institution patronises what is in fact the oppressed subjectivity of lower caste women and on the other, it projects the oppressive sensibilities of self-sacrifice and devotion as ideal qualities in a lower caste woman.

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

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Intercultural Education of Pre-graduate Teacher Students from the Perspective of Intercultural Sensitivity: Comparative Insight into the Czech Education

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Abstract

The paper focuses on the issue of Czech pre-graduate teacher training students' intercultural sensitivity within a comparative insight into the Czech educational system. The main applied techniques include: a) intercultural sensitivity-oriented content analysis of the Czech Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education, b) a questionnaire particularly consisting of Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS, Chen, Starosta, 2000), c) qualitative open item monitoring understanding the concept of 'other people, other cultures'. The paper provides an insight into what the sampled Czech teacher students in the pre-survey understand by 'other people, other cultures' as a key concept of intercultural sensitivity and education but also specifies basic terminological and methodological settings of intercultural education within the Czech education at the level of school curriculum documents.

Keywords: intercultural sensitivity, pre-graduate students, pre-service teachers, intercultural education, multicultural education, educational policy, Czech educational system

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Introduction

The contemporary Czech society faces a wide variety changes: social, economic, educational, in particular. This trend does not seem to be exceptional and its framework as well as effect, causes and consequences, are of multiple and most probably global character, though numerous regional cultural conditions are highly recommended to be taken into consideration. The paper follows to fulfil two key aims: a/ to provide an insight into Czech educational curriculum documents, particularly *Framework Education Programme* (FEP), from the perspective of multicultural/intercultural education articulated as a key, cross-sectional educational topic in basic education; b/ to provide an insight into the phenomenon of intercultural sensitivity of pre-graduate students of teacher studies. The pre-survey took place at the Faculty of Education University Hradec Králové (Czech Republic) in spring 2016; the proposed Czech version of *Intercultural Sensitivity Scale* (ISS) will be modified on the grounds of the pre-survey and further statistical processing.

Intercultural sensitivity as a concept: features of the applied approach

As to the concept of intercultural sensitivity and features of the applied approach, intercultural sensitivity represents the main scope with a view to how much focus this component needs generally as well as in the field of teacher professional education. The need for more attention, care and support to intercultural sensitivity is intensified by turbulent and complex social change undergoing contemporarily in the world globally as well as in numerous, though not completely, separated local regions of the world. Turbulent, dynamic, and complex social changes appear to be nurturing grounds for contemporary turmoils and proclamations or attacks based on xenophobia (fear of strangers) and heterophobia (fear of difference) as two types of fear which push societies to behave in a self-closed way (Temizkan, 2007, In, Akıncı, Kule, 2014, p. 205).

New conditions of the globalised world accentuate the plural identity marked by names such as multicultural citizenship or transnational citizenship. Nation-states can no longer continue to claim that the cultural structure in their own boundaries is homogeneous (Yücel, 2006, In Akıncı, Kule, 2014, p. 207); it is difficult to find a real homogenous state, due to the fact that neither transferring solely technology cannot be accompanied with preserving its own culture to a full extent (Temizkan, 2007, p. 254, In Akıncı, Kule, 2014, p. 208). This form of heterogeneous world increases demands upon intercultural sensitivity, upon schools and teachers. Contemporary world needs: interculturally competent teachers, or rather interculturally aware, sensitive, and adroit teachers. This saying alludes to Chen, Starosta (2000) differentiation of intercultural competence into three fields:

- *intercultural sensitivity* – affective aspect of intercultural competence, subjects' active desire to motivate themselves to understand, appreciate, and accept differences among cultures,
- *intercultural awareness* – cognitive aspect of intercultural competence, understanding of culture conventions that affect how we think and behave,
- *intercultural adroitness* – behavioural aspect of intercultural competence, ability to get the job done and attain communication goals in intercultural interactions (Chen, Starosta, 2000, p. 4).

Intercultural sensitivity is viewed as an affective construct effecting also seemingly-only dominantly cognitive processes of misunderstanding/understanding. According to Chen and Starosta (2000) intercultural sensitivity stands for '*ability to develop a positive emotion towards understanding and appreciating cultural difference that promotes an appropriate effective behavior in intercultural communication*', and it is measured to the levels of five domains: interaction engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, interaction enjoyment, interaction attentiveness. For the purpose of measuring intercultural sensitivity Chen and Starosta have developed *Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS)*. *Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS)* developed by Chen and Starosta has been applied into a survey among pre-graduate teacher students at Faculty of Education (University Hradec Králové) in spring 2016.

In a more complex and contextualised way for example Zerzova (2012) applies the term in an overview of relevant studies and instruments/models in relation to intercultural sensitivity within intercultural competence. Among the Czech students the 24-item *Intercultural Sensitivity Scale* has been used for the first time within a pre-survey to monitor and have first feedback on perceiving of the Czech translation and Czech wording; there will be done partial retranslations. The 24 item scale was used in the structure resulting from Aydogan and Akbarov (2014) factor analysis and differentiation of five fields of intercultural sensitivity: interaction engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, interaction enjoyment, interaction attentiveness. After readjustment of the translation and wording all of necessary procedural steps will be done within the instrument adaptation.

Apart from the standard ISS, which cannot be used as an instrument for presenting valid and reliable data in Czech environment at this moment, there is space to comment on one qualitative question that was asked within the pre-survey, the question is asked in part one of the questionnaire: "*In the following statements a – x there are mentioned formulae: 'people/members of other cultures/of diverse cultural features, culturally different people'. Who, what people, what groups of people, do you have in mind upon hearing these words/concepts?*" For more see below, section: Pre-survey: How do Czech pre-service teachers perceive concept: 'other cultures' in 2016.

Intercultural sensitivity in the context of Czech education and school change

Intercultural sensitivity in the Czech education belongs to quite new concepts in the Czech Republic and should be viewed also in a wider context of the Czech school curricular reform undergoing since the beginning of the century. The key change aspects include: *framework educational programmes (FEPs), school educational programmes (SEPs), pupils' key competences, electronic evidence of pupils, state-level of matura examination, school optimization (merging and closing down of schools), school self-evaluation, teaching standards, innovative teaching technology*. The Czech school curricular reform might be divided into three stages (Janík, 2013): 1. systemic reconstruction (1999 – 2004), 2. general implementation (2005 – 2011), 3. reform modification (2012 -). The stages can be dated and specified briefly in the following way (for more see Vrabcová, 2015).

The stage of systemic reconstruction (1999-2004) might be considered to be initiated in 1999 by *Educational Strategy (Konceptce vzdělávání, MŠMT, 1999)* as one of the

key documents. Another key document that is often described as the one initializing the reform and the stage is the White Paper (*National programme for Education Development*, MŠMT, 2001). Among other documents forming the base for this stage of systemic reconstruction we can enumerate: *Long-term Conception of Education and Educational System Development in the Czech Republic* (authorized in 2002), and consequent school-curricular documents called 'framework educational programmes' specified for all types and stages of school education in the Czech Republic: *Framework Educational Programme for Pre-primary Education* (2002), *Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education* (initial pilot version: 2002, authorized obligatory version: 2004) etc. In the year of 2002 the first versions of some of the framework educational programme for vocational secondary education originated at the level of wider training fields, and in accordance with the proposed Education Act. Between the years 2002-2003 *National Institute of Vocational Training (Národní ústav pro odborné vzdělávání)* realized a project "Posun – Move: Let's help school to teach differently" aiming to assist editing school educational programmes. (Phare NUTS II). In 2003 the modified conception of framework educational programmes are peer-reviewed, and these steps result in modified manual/guidebook and further rules for further creating other set of framework educational programmes for vocational training. It was only in 2004 that all framework educational programmes of vocational training started to be conceived. This stage is to be closed by the *Education Act No. 561/2004* and Act No. 563/2004 Collection of Law, on Pedagogical Staff.

Within the stage of general implementation (2005 – 2011) there can be traced some other projects aiming to support implementing the new curricular documents in the field of secondary vocational training (marked with letter S); this project was divided into three waves marked by end-years 2006, 2007, 2008). The versions of curricular documents from this second stage of general implementation are/were specific by inconsistency and improperly specified relations between concepts, such as objectives, competences, standards, in particularly. Inconsistency was apparently proved even on the basis of partial content analysis focusing key competences and cross-curricular topics within four framework educational programmes (for pre-primary education, basic education, grammar schools, and secondary vocational training). Supporters of extreme subjectivism or those prioritizing content creating model of education projecting might equate this inconsistency with the positive effects, might see it as a sign for existing pluralism in educational environment. However, it rather represents an obstacle to identifying key competences as well as competency-oriented teaching practice (Vrabcová, 2007).

The third stage called reform modification (2012 -) is considered to start in 2012, opens the current situation and is mostly related to the intended revision and modification of FEPs, as well as other activities in the field of educational and curricular policy (including preparation of the *Educational Strategy 2020*). This stage is specific with the following documents:

- *Framework Educational Programme for Pre-Primary Education (revised version, 2012)*,
- *Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education (revised version, 2013)*,
- *some FEPs for Secondary Vocational Training (2012)*,
- *Education Policy Strategy of the Czech Republic for 2020 (2014)*,
- *Act No. 472/2011 (School Act Amendment, 2011)*,

- *Act No. 370/2012 (School Act Amendment, 2012),*
- *Act No. 197/2014 (Act on Pedagogical Staff, Amendment, 2014).*

Nonetheless, this stage is specific by supplementary re-orientation of the curricular reform (Janík, 2013).

The following lines present selected findings of 2016 pre-survey into issues: 1/ How do Czech pre-service teachers perceive concept: 'other cultures'? 2/ How is intercultural sensitivity implemented into Czech compulsory education via *Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education (revised version, 2013)*, one of the key documents of the reform modification stage?

Pre-survey: How do Czech pre-service teachers perceive concept: 'other cultures' in 2016?

Table 1 shows structure of how the respondents (n = 69: 29 males, 40 females; age mode: 20; mean length of teaching practice: 4.8 months, mode: 0 months) in the pre-survey sample answer. Respondents could write any associations to the monitored concept. Among the answers respondents mention 52 different types of answers; these are categorized according to the type of group combined with local-knowledge on how some of the scale employed concepts are used, including the colloquial usage and implicit meanings.

Groups - types	Students' terms	Frequency	Percentage
Roma people (16.6 %)	<i>Roma people</i>	33x	16.6 %
States (22.5 %)	<i>Other nationalities, national minorities</i>	7x	3.5 %
	<i>Ukrainians</i>	7x	3.5 %
	<i>Vietnamese</i>	15x	7.5 %
	<i>Russians</i>	4x	2.0 %
	<i>Slovaks</i>	3x	1.5 %
	<i>Americans (US citizens)</i>	3x	1.5 %
	<i>Afghans</i>	2x	1.0 %
	<i>Turks, Poles, Libyans, Germans, Hungarians</i>	1x each Total:5	2.5 %
Continents and continent parts (6.5 %)	<i>Asians</i>	5x	2.5 %
	<i>Africans</i>	3x	1.5 %
	<i>Coloured/ black people</i>	3x	1.5 %
	<i>Europeans</i>	1x	0.5 %
	<i>People of Middle East</i>	1x	0.5 %
Indigenous people (1.5 %)	<i>Native Americans, Celts, Maasai people</i>	1x each Total: 3	1.5 %
Religion (15 %)	<i>Religious minorities and groups</i>	5x	2.5 %
	<i>Religious people generally</i>	1x	0.5 %
	<i>Muslims</i>	16x	8.0 %
	<i>Christians</i>	1x	0.5 %
	<i>Jews</i>	5x	2.5 %
	<i>Buddhists</i>	1x	0.5 %
	<i>Any other denomination</i>	1x	0.5 %
Socioeconomic (7.5 %)	<i>homeless</i>	2x	1.5 %
	<i>immigrants</i>	6x	3.0 %

	<i>Asylum seekers - refugees</i>	6x	3.0 %	
Sexual orientation (2.0 %)	<i>Sexual minorities</i>	1x	0.5 %	
	<i>homosexuals</i>	2x	1.5 %	
Language (0.5 %)	<i>People of different languages</i>	1x	0.5 %	
Explicitly non-specified or based on more criteria - Groups related to implicit and/or biased meanings due to which cannot be ranked to any of the above categories (28.0 %)	<i>foreigners</i>	14x	7.0 %	
	<i>Erasmus and other international students in our country</i>	8x	4.0 %	
	<i>other cultures and members of other cultural values</i>	7x	3.5 %	
	<i>Islamists</i>	7x	3.5 %	
	<i>Arabs</i>	6x	3.0 %	
	<i>tourists</i>	3x	1.5 %	
	<i>Other: mothers with children, young men, hosting people in foreign countries on holidays, terrorists, teachers, actors, Czech Slavia football team fan, school mates, friends, parents students, tribes</i>	1x each Total: 11		5.5 %
		52	199	

Table 1: Sample’s associations to the concept ‘other people/other cultures’

From Table 1 it is evident that there are 10 groups that were articulated by more than 3 % to substitute and symbolize ‘other culture’ from the respondents’ individual point of view. For more see Figure 1.

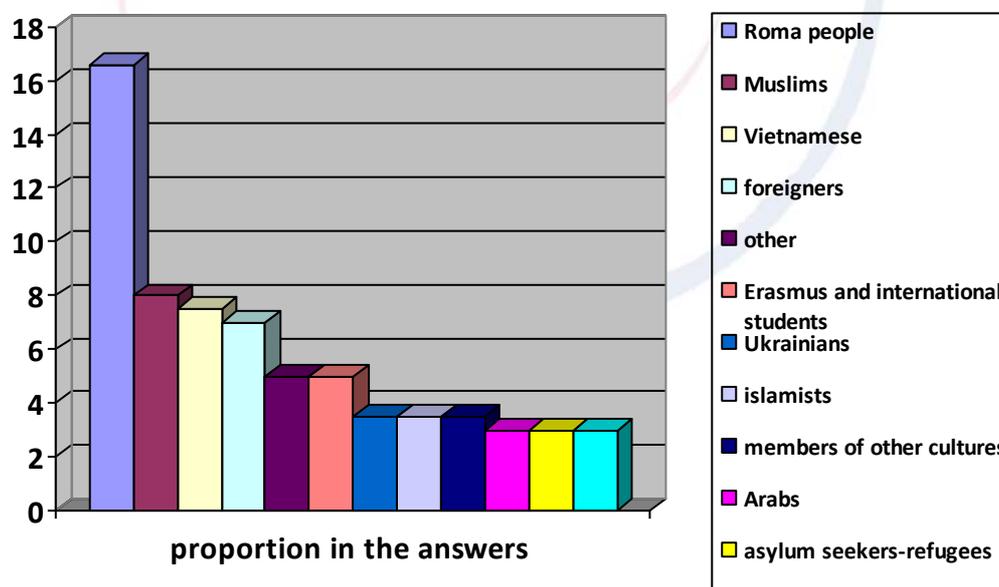


Figure 1: Prevailing types of groups perceived as ‘other’ by the sample of Czech teacher education students (pre-survey)

Intercultural Insight into Czech Framework Education Programme for Basic Education

To provide an insight into how intercultural education and intercultural sensitivity is viewed and articulated in the *Czech Framework Education Programme for Basic Education* (FEP BE) as one of the key educational curriculum documents it is necessary to mention cross-curricular topics (Czech: *'průřezová témata'*) as a category.

The Czech Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education defines this category of topics as a means of schools focus on six topics taught at the schools obligatorily but in an optional way: either as separate subjects or as cross-curricularly intertwining topics taught not solely in a subject called as each of the six cross-curriculum topics but in cooperation with several teachers teaching across different subjects. Cross-curriculum topics in the FEP BE are related to current issues and represent a kind of core of basic education and they are articulated as (FEP BE, 2013):

- personal and social education,
- democratic citizenship,
- education towards thinking in European and global contexts,
- multicultural education,
- environmental education,
- media education.

Cross-cultural topics are designed to provide pupils opportunities for individual engagement and teamwork in one of the six topics, and thematically to promote pupils' personal development, primarily at the level of concerns, attitudes, and values, not only facts. All cross-curricular topics are organised similarly; comprise characteristics of the cross-curricular topic, description of its relationship to educational areas, and specified benefits that are potentially to be attained by pupils at the level of each of the cross-curricular topic at the level of knowledge, skills and abilities as well as their attitudes, and values. The recommended content of the cross-curricular topics for basic education are divided into educational areas. Each educational area contains an available range of themes (activities, ideas). The selection of themes and the manner in which they are operationalised into the syllabi is up to the individual schools' decision and it must be articulated by each school in their *School Educational Programmes* (SEPs). Cross-curriculum topics represent a mandatory part of basic education. Schools must include all cross-curricular topics contained in the FEP BE in any of the year-form within Stage 1, and in Stage 2.).

Basic Characteristics and Benefits of the Cross-curricular Topic: Multicultural Education

At the level of basic education, the cross-curriculum topic of Multicultural Education aims at awareness of diverse cultures and their traditions and values as an instrument for increased awareness of the pupils'/pupil's cultural identity, traditions and values. Improvement of mutual understanding as well as developing their specific cultural identity is also targetted at according to the *Framework Educational Programme for Basic Education*. It is designed to develop sense of justice, solidarity and tolerance. Multicultural Education is conceived as topic deeply affecting interpersonal relationships at school, including teacher-pupil relations and relationships among

pupils, between school and family, and between school and local community. Consequently, Multicultural Education according to FEP BE is supposed to contribute to mutual understanding between groups, tolerance, and to eliminate or minimise animosity and prejudices towards the *'unknown/the other'*. Conception of Multicultural Education in FEP BE is designed to penetrate all educational areas. It is particularly closely tied to the above mentioned educational areas, particularly: *Language and Communication through Language, Humans and Society, Information and Communication Technologies, Arts and Culture, Humans and Health.*

However, there is observable culture-standard approach and focus on awareness and cognitive level with less intense or systemic focus on affective level and intercultural sensitivity, and low attention to transcultural or at least intercultural approach. These withdrawals are evident from these points, based on content analysis of the explicit benefits specified in FEP BE (2013), particularly:

- Members of the majority are supposed to learn the fundamental characteristics of other nations living in the same country, and both groups thus can find common points of reference for mutual respect, joint activities and cooperation.
- As an environment which brings together pupils from various social and cultural backgrounds, the school should ensure an atmosphere in which all will feel equal, in which minority pupils are successful in a majority environment and in which majority pupils learn about their minority classmates' culture.

Success seems to be measured by succeeding in a majority environment, members of majority group are viewed as members of hidden superiority culture (majority pupils learn about their minority classmates culture). There are still conceived on the grounds of polarized world: *'we'* and *'they'*, *'majority/minority'*, and vice versa.

Conclusion

Teachers' adequate openness towards changes, flexibility and pro-innovative involvement have become a part of new value system necessary and specific for the teaching profession and modern *'dream teachers'* (Vrabcová, 2015). Significant findings used in the field of pro-innovative involvement of Czech teachers also result from the survey by Světlík (2004) with the aim to trace the influence of cultural dimensions and values upon the Czech teacher. Attitudes - inner components of subjective evaluation of school as well as more general societal and social reality substitute also key element of school culture and society.

Apart from some rather exceptional communities, pluralism at the level of population structures appears to be omnipresent. Communities and population structures consist of different ethnic, religious and linguistic communities. Apart from some very few regions or locations of monocultural character, it is far from reality if someone proclaims multiculturalism can be skipped and abandoned on the grounds of that history proves multiculturalism does not work; multicultural societies at the level of human diversity in majority of population structures exist; another issue is how political, economic, social and other types of systems approach to the diverse reality. Teachers' intercultural sensitivity appears to be of crucial importance.

Harding (2005), for example, points out that according to The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE, 2001) teacher candidates must develop proficiencies for working with students from diverse backgrounds; dispositions that respect and value differences, and skills for working in diverse settings, which is easier said than done because many teacher education students have little experience outside of their own culture. It is known that all students (not only of teacher studies) bring to class their own biases and stereotypical points of view, and the best natural way to increase awareness of their own beliefs as well as being culturally sensitive lies in culturally diverse classes. This expanded understanding and awareness is a chance for improving teachers' work with diverse students. (Harding, 2005) In Neito's words (2000, In Harding, 2005), one must become a multicultural person before they can become a multicultural teacher. Understanding oneself in relation to culture of others is a long-term if not lifelong process. Becoming a multicultural teacher is no less than a self-transformation, it needs time, and students – prospective teachers need to develop intercultural sensitivity continually and the best way is to base it on the natural, positive (at the ideal case) everyday experience with diverse community, diverse and multi/intercultural education at schools. It is also known that young children are less prejudiced and stereotyped and that they are under strong influence by prejudices/stereotypes as well as attitudes of their parents.

Czech society used to be quite homogeneous in the past; a milestone is represented by Velvet Revolution and consequent opening of the borders. Currently the Czech Republic as well as other regions of the world faces highly increased migration, in a longer time-span, globalization of the world increases demands upon intercultural communication competence and its component: intercultural sensitivity. Intercultural sensitivity must be focused more at the level of basic education and obviously in teacher education. Teachers' intercultural sensitivity is a key prerequisite of developing teachers' intercultural competence necessary for relevant teaching diverse, globalised, plural societies of today. Intercultural communication competence needs to be developed systemically as other teaching competences are. Culturally standard approach based apart from other attributes on 'we-they' identity aspects, needs to be developed further in the direction of transcultural approach where individual human being is recognized and fully respected in its uniqueness not primarily as a member of a group. Multicultural education articulated in the *Framework Educational Programme* needs to be innovated to the level of intercultural or even transcultural approach, and teacher education must work on more effective, informal though systemic real-life, intercultural professional development.

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Religious Tattoos Symbols amongst the Underground Musicians and Fans in East Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

This research objective is to understand the functions of the tattoos amongst the underground musicians and fans by using ethnographic analysis. This approach is used to understand the context of tattoo production in its natural meaning since tattoos are the reflection of the wearers' life story and history (internal narrative). I also re-write informants' opinions from my perspective as a researcher by tracking and locating specific concepts within the scope of the underground music communities' life, in which I use tattoo as a means of looking into those conceptual dimensions (external narrative). The finding is the social and cultural dimensions have affected on how the underground musician and fans chose religious symbol tattoos and given meaning on them. The visual elements of tattoos: images, symbols, and typefaces have functions relate to religiosity/spirituality expressions and group identity.

Keywords: Religious, underground, tattoo, Indonesia

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Introduction

The term of underground music in Indonesia first appeared in *Aktuil* magazine in 1970. This term was aimed at extreme rock music style. However, the term of underground music as a movement emerged in the 1990s to the last years of Suharto's New Order regime. Styles of Indonesian underground music genres are divided into punk, hardcore, metal, and alternative. Each of these genres then evolves into several subgenres (Wallach, 2005:18). For example, the genre of metal has a subgenre of death metal, black metal, and grindcore. A blend of metal and hardcore became the metal core and the blend of ska and punk become ska-punk. Ideologically, the early years of Indonesia underground music were characterized as a form of resistance against the system that was not considered to rakyat (people). Wallach examined the role of underground musicians in bringing the discourse of suffering of rakyat through the lyrics of their songs, even before the 1998 reform that marked the fall of the Suharto regime as was the title of the song of Surabaya-based death-metal band Slowdeath Entitled "The Pain Remain the Same," which described the corruption, collusion, oppression, and propaganda that eventually afflicted the people of Indonesia.

The nature and attitude of anak bawah tanah (underground kids), according to Iverson was slengean (grungy), brutal (aggressive), vulgar, with all their untidy performance such as their dyed and spiked hair, tattoos and piercing (Iverson, 2011:67). For the majority of the people, the kind of appearance is associated with disorderly youth. Hence, tattoo and tattooing act among the conservative residents are not accepted since they are associated with delinquency or felony, especially if it is related to religion doctrine – that still can be debatable. For instance, in the end of December 2011, several punk rockers were caught by police since their untidy appearance of punkers that links with crime and un-sharia morality. Their appearance was in the spotlight, such as their style of dress, hairstyles, and for sure, their tattoos. The Banda Aceh Deputy Mayor argued that because of their tattoo they were not able to perform mandatory prayers. For this reason, the local police had frequently raided punk hangouts (Hotli Simanjuntak, 2011). Interestingly, through my field research, I found some of underground musicians and fans wore tattoos such as Jesus Christ, St. Mary, even the Arabic phrase of 'Allah' and 'Bismillah ir-Rahman ir-Rahim.' It rose the question in my mind what was the purpose of some youngsters in underground music community wore religious symbols as their tattoos? Did they know that tattoos are forbidden by religious scriptures, especially in Islam and Christian?

Interfaith Leadership Council Of Metropolitan Detroit (2014) on their website explained about the practice of tattooing amongst Hindu. In Hindu, there are scriptures called Vedas mentioned about the plant that was called Mendikha and Haldi (Turmeric) that used for marking the body (tattoos). The sun was the symbol that used to be popular that represented the "light within". Some other verdic symbols have been used to represent Peace, Strength, Divinity, and Chastity, fertility, royalty, and happiness. In the North-West part of India, amongst the Tribal Community tattoo is called Godna. Many Hindu men and women have the tattoo of Om on their hands or arms. It said that Om represents "the primordial sound of the universe and is the symbol of divine consciousness." This tattoo will bring Good Karma and protect them from evil forces. Many Hindus also tattoo their bodies with pictures of Gods or Goddesses and other religious symbols. In the South of India the art form is called *Pachaikuthikiridu*. The tribal communities in North-Eastern parts of India traditionally use tattoos to distinguish themselves from other tribes.

Amongst the Muslim, as in Christians, tattooing is prohibited. Yet, according to the history, Christian religious symbol tattoos used to be used by Christian during in the middle ages, Agnieszka Marczak (2007: 16) explained that a Dominican priest named Heinrich Suso (1295-1366 AD) tattooed the name of Jesus over his chest. In 1503 also appeared in the public a heavy tattooed German girl that according to Van Dinter (in Marczak, *ibid*) used to heal the girl from suffering/illness by using the power of religious symbolism. European pilgrims tattooed many Christian symbols as the proof of their journeys to the Bethlehem and Jerusalem. In the Middle East practice of tattooing amongst the Muslims existed, commonly for healing purposes (Göran Larsson). Most recently, Syria's civil war (that broke out in 2011), has revived tattoos in between religious and political issues, as shown in Lebanon, especially amongst the Hezbollah supporters. The most popular tattoos are '313.' In Shia, '313' is the number of the commanders of Al-Mahdi's army. The other popular tattoos are the name of Ali, who was Prophet Muhammad's son in law. Hezbollah members, like most Iranian people, belongs to the Shiite (Shia) Sect. Unlike the Sunni Sect, they consider Ali as extremely important. the most revered saint in Shiite Islam (Ynet news.com). The practice of tattooing is something that is opposed by almost of the Sunni Muslims, including the Sunni, muslims in Indonesia.



Figure 1: Tattoo on the body of Hezbollah Supporter.
(Ynet news.com, AP Photo)

According to Wohlraba, Stahlb, and Kappeler (2007: 89) in their modern Western literature research about motivational for getting tattooed and body pierced, there were ten functions of tattoos, namely beauty, art and fashion; individuality; personal narrative; physical endurance; group affiliations and commitment; resistance; spirituality and cultural tradition; addiction; sexual motivation; and no specific reason. In addition, tattoos also a signifier of disaffiliation with mainstream society (DeMello, 2000: 137; Adler and Adler in Irwine, 2001: 55), and a protection for the wearer as was shown in my research of tattoos amongst convicts in the city of Yogyakarta-Indonesia that tattoos in prison functioned as self-protection, especially for those who had a smooth/light skin for being a victim of sex abuse because their 'beautiful' body would attract other fellow inmates (Handoko, 2010: 113). Broadly, this paper describes the functions of the religious symbol tattoos and practice of tattooing among underground musicians and fans.

Research Method

My research is based primarily on participant observation fieldwork in Surabaya and Sidoarjo, East Java Province, Indonesia. To obtain preliminary information about the existence of tattoos among musicians and fans of underground music, I make observations and make friends with them. My encounter with Njet, vocalist of Njet Doesn't Cry opened the wider door of discourse to the underground music scenes/communities. He showed me where I could find and how to approach them. Then I started my adventure by visiting the studios where the communities of underground music used to practice and hang out, approaching them in a humble coffee shops, distros, their home and boarding house, music and tattoo studios and campus. Finally, I found 7 musicians of punk rock, hardcore, metal (metal core, death metal, black metal), and ska-punk (rude boy) that wore religious symbol tattoos. I recorded the conversations and occasionally I made small notes during the conversation. To obtain data about underground music, I visited gigs or local underground music events in Sidoarjo and Surabaya. During the show I had little time to chat with the musicians or the audiences because of the noisy condition of the show. However, from my visit to the gigs I can get the contact number of the musicians who performed that night. To get the atmosphere of underground music events as visual data, I took pictures of the musicians stage actions, audience behavior, the characteristics of the audience in terms of age and gender, and interesting incident during the gigs.

Interview approach in ethnography study, as is explained by Hammersley and Atkinson, is able to use by the researcher to know people's views, the larger subcultures, and cultures to which they belong. It can be a means of evidence and their perspectives and cultures will often become a crucial element of the analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007: 98). In my research, the use of interview is to find the answer related to the question of the factors that affect the existence of tattoos among musicians and fans of underground music in Surabaya and Sidoarjo and the functions of tattoos in terms of icons/symbols and typography that were portrayed on their bodies and what the tattoos mean to them. I also got interested in the concept of why they chose some particular locations on their bodies for their tattoos.

Analysing the Data

Fruh and Thomas in Allhoff (2012: 88) explained that tattoo could be both personal identity and social identity as people acquire tattoos as a way of sublimating their individuality, to further integrate their identity into a social group, alongside tattoos being connected to personal identity. To show those perspectives, I give an example of the use of anarchy tattoo symbol between two punkers, Gamble and Rifky. Both said that anarchy symbol was one of the symbols of anak punk (punk kids) but personally, an anarchy symbol tattoo on Gamble right palm, was a commemoration of the clash between anarcho-punk community, his group, with nazi-punk in the late of 1990s in Surabaya. For Rifky, his anarchy symbol on his right hand was a symbol of rebellion. In the other places, we may find many similar tattoo symbols of anarchy but with their own personal interpretations. Social and cultural dimensions, in this perspective, have affected on what, why, when, and how the underground musician and fans make their decision to be tattooed and how their tattoos have meaning. In the context of the social dimension, interaction of oneself within the group may lead him to adapt to a specific concept of living and ideology.

Findings

In many cases, the tattoo wearer using tattoos for special purposes. Gentong, a tattoo artist who is also a underground musician, revealed that his tattoos were a picture of his life's journey from adolescence to adulthood. In his adolescence time, he lived on the streets. Various acts of delinquency he did with his gang. He got his nickname *Jahanam*, means devilish. in Arabic it means a hell, which could then be interpreted as cruel. One day he talked with his friend who was also a member of the gang. He suggested him to tattooed a Jesus figure. The reason, he felt that both of them should leave the gang and live in a normal life. After thinking and feeling tired to live on the street, Gentong finally decided to return to home and back to school. His friend then became a catholic priest, while Gentong chose to study in the field of Visual Communication Design and now he is working as a tattoo artist. On his right and left arms there were opposite kinds of tattoos. Jesus, Mother Mary, and Cupid as well as a photo of himself along with his mother were tattooed on the right arm. On his left arm there were some tattoos of demons and skulls. These tattoos represent of life transformation. Currently, he has been more active to the church to attend a mass. His brother, who has a tattoo of Jesus on his right breast used to accompany him to the church every Sunday. Spiritual phenomena as shown here is a common feature when a sense of faith begins to appear. According to King (2003: 200) spirituality gives young people the opportunity to experience himself in a relationship with God, the community of believers, or the environment.



Figure 2: 'Blasted Gentong': Jahanam means devilish. Typographic tattoo that represents Gentong's past lives (Gentong is a nick name). He repented and chose to spend his lives devote to God will (symbolised with Mother Marry tattoo).

Ninik, a young mother. She has been active in the punk community since she was fifteen years old. She chose the community because she wanted to live a free life. Her family background was a broken home. At the age of 17, she tattooed the first time as the expression of her anger/emotion because of a broken home life and her dissatisfaction of the family rules. She poured her sadness through tattooing. The pain during tattooing process made her emotion subsided and for a while she was satisfied. The tattooing process had made her annoyance disappeared. Her first tattoo was a black cat, which she described as 'hell cat'. She then decided to drop out from high school and lived nomadic. She travelled to some cities in Java island such as Malang, Jakarta, Kediri, and Lumajang with her street punk group. She earned money by becoming a street singer. The money used to spend to buy some *topi miring* (a cheap and famous alcohol drink brand) and got drunk every day. Tired to live on the street,

she tried to deepen her understanding of punk ideology and its meaning. She went to city of Blitar in 2008 and stayed there within the 'positive' punk community to learn printing and design as well as how to recycle waste into eco-friendly products. Once, when she visited the island of Bali, she dreamt of being baptised by Jesus. It reminded her of the time in the high school when there was a question from her teacher about why the students in the class were Muslims. Her friend replied because their parents were Islam. Her teacher question and her friend answer rose question in her mind. She felt that every person had a right to choose her/his own belief. Two days later, after she dreamt of being baptised, she sent a message to the prayer service on the internet was called by CBM, questioned about the meaning of her dream. CBM said that God wanted to help her and used her as His 'tool'. Reading the CBM's reply, she was hitting by peace in her heart that never felt before. At the age of 18, she decided to tattoo her body of the Virgin Mary figure. After having this tattoo, her spiritual feeling grew rapidly and then she learned about Catholic and then was baptised. What happened to Ninik, is similar to what happened to Gentong that the religious symbols represent their spirit of becoming a new person and life.

Tattoo of a religious picture does not merely represent a religious feeling. As what happened to Sony. He has a tattoo of Leonardo da Vinci's 'The Last Supper,' a picture when Jesus in the midst of his disciples. This tattoo reminded Sony (21) of his missing in life, a father and a loving spirit in his family. He always longed for togetherness because he rarely spent his time at home and only went home when he needed money and clean shirts. A common thing in Indonesia, one lives with his/her parents until they decide to get married. Even sometimes, after marriage, they live with their parents. Not coming home to see the parents in a long period of times means there is a less harmonious relationship within the family.



Figure 3: The Last Supper.

Besides I found many of Christian symbol tattoos, I also found Arabic letter tattoo. As was found in Aji's chest. Lies over the picture of an eye in the centre of his breast, there is a holy verse of Qur'an of "Bismillahirrahmanirrahim". In English means "In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful." For Muslims who obey God, are encouraged to always read or say "Bismillah" before doing works or positive actions or deeds. Aji realised that the tattooing activity was forbidden in the religion of Sunni Islam. But according to him, his tattoo was a work of art and self-expression. As far as what he did was good and right in the eyes of God, then the act was blessed by him. What he experienced in his life at the moment was the best thing he achieved. Currently, he has been working as a staff engineer in the state-owned company. That is a very rare position because his body is full tattooed. In the selection process, the committee knew that his body was covered with tattoos but could pass

it and he was accepted working in the company. He said God was very kind to him as he mentioned as well that he conducted five times praying as an Islam follower. To note, the majority of people in Indonesia still see the practice of tattooing as an uncommon act that is not fit in accordance with existing social rules. This perspective especially amongst the conservative ones. Uniquely, Aji married a girl from a family of devout Muslim. It was a difficult thing to convince his girl friend's family, but finally he could do it by showing his seriousness and achievements in life. He and his girlfriend married according to Islamic custom.

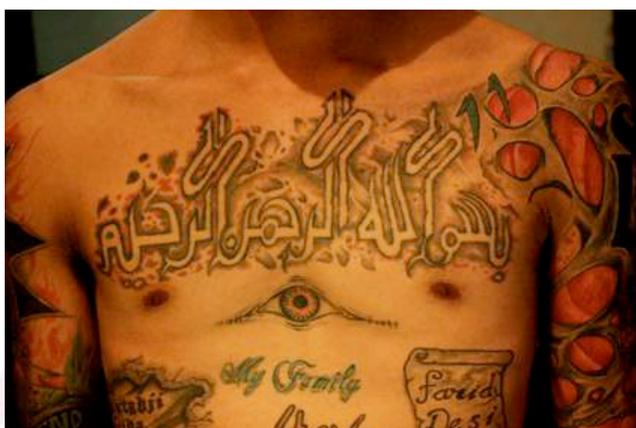


Figure 4: "Bismillahirrahmanirrahim" tattoo is a personal identity that also represents the tattoo owner as a devout muslim.

Tattoo Locations

There is specific locations to place tattoos relates to religious tattoo symbols. Tattoo of demons, skulls, naked women, and hells were placed on the left side of the body, while the illustrations that depict angels, Jesus, Mother Mary, and other common symbols of deities were placed on the right side of the body. These are representations of the world that splits between good and evil, heaven and hell. Dichotomy concept of left which is associated with sinister and right as a good one can be traced from the habits that are inculcated from childhood by parents to their children, which is prohibited from giving or doing good deeds with his left hand, because the left hand is used for wiping when completed defecation. This is the dominant habit prevailing in Indonesia relate to hands' using concept. Other reason why using right hand is recommended as explained in the religious teachings of Islam, the majority religion of Indonesia, as appeared in Saheeh Hadeeth which was narrated by Abu Dawud "That the Prophet used his right hand in the purification and eating. As for the left hand, is used to clean the dirt from the former shitting and matters that are najis (unclean)" as quoted by Musthafa in <http://almanhaj.or.id>. Other concept relates to good and evil meaning, also appears on the leather puppet (*wayang kulit*) show, where a good character is placed to the right of the stage, while the villain is placed opposite. Although these examples are not absolutely justify about the concept of profane and sacred related to left and right sides in the context of the local culture, it can be the common sense reason why most people in Indonesia associate the left as a symbol of evil and the right side as a goodness. However, in some other informants, there is disagreement about it as well. They put tattoos which are associated with crime in their right hands because all of their activities are done through the right hand even when they do something that is not good; they do it with the right hand.

Conclusion

Amongst the underground community, the religious tattoos are symbols of repentance, belief in the power of God, to remind the person of a force beyond human in life. Socially tattoos are showed as the religious identity of the wearers. In relation to the value of family life, the tattoo does not preclude the owner to coexist with other family members. Yet in Indonesia, tattoo as a form of personal identity is inseparable from the process of interpretation of society to the tattooing activity from time to time. Until now, still there is a difference views of tattoos amongst the wider community. A special effort has to be made by the tattooed persons to demonstrate high achievement in life so that people become enlightened that the tattoo is not a symbol of 'dark' life as in the conception of society in general that tattoo and tattooing activity are something useless and harmful. However, this study still needs to be deepened further, particularly how to explore other values associated with the theme of tattoos as religious symbols especially relates to the underground music community in Indonesia.



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*The Good German: Consensus and Dissent in the Development of British Wartime
Subversive Propaganda*

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Abstract

With particular attention to the Political Warfare Executive (PWE), this paper discusses a cultural-historical perspective on the conception of German mentality in British foreign propaganda during the Second World War. While British subversive propaganda was largely the work of journalists and civil servants, a small but valued contribution was made by social scientists. Archival documents pertaining to British foreign propaganda are frequently expressed in scientific rhetoric, particularly the tropes and terminology of psychology and psychoanalysis; further to this, PWE's Brondesbury propaganda school, which was staffed by social psychologists, economists, and political scientists as well as seasoned propagandists, strived to articulate a scientific view of German mentality. In the context of a teleological understanding of German history and mythology, PWE was able to develop through the social sciences a psychological subject that they believed was particularly susceptible to morale subversion. After historicizing the PWE conception of German mentality, this paper will argue that, owing to a combination of factors, the social sciences functioned to justify convenient perspectives on German mentality rather than to problematize long-held prejudices.

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The Good German: Consensus and Dissent in the Development of British Wartime Subversive Propaganda

In March 1944 a group of British and American officers attended a lecture by a Lieutenant Colonel R.L. Sedgwick entitled "Note on a Method of Attacking German Morale." According to Sedgwick, the secret to undermining the German will to fight was "to be found in the psychological theory that the fundamental attitude to life of all Germans is really Defeatist" (TNA: FO 898/99). He turned to "the mythology of the German race" for proof: "Study [a nation's] mythology and in this will be found its way of living and thinking, its beliefs, and in a very real degree, its destiny... German mythology is exceptional because its tales end throughout in defeat and decay" (TNA: FO 898/99). This was the German "Achilles Heel" to be exploited by Allied subversive propaganda.

This lecture was arranged by the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) as part of the Brondesbury Training School, a three week course on propaganda intended to instruct occupation forces ahead of D-Day. Other lectures in the series covered such diverse topics as German soldiers' opinions based on prisoner interrogations, or the propaganda value of psychological conditions peculiar to Germans such as Anticipation-Neurosis. One lecture pathologised German national character via the perceived "[c]lumsiness, violence and power of [the German language]" (TNA: FO 898/99). The Brondesbury lectures articulated what was dogma within PWE in 1944, but as late as 1941 many British propagandists saw Germany along different lines and for very different reasons.

PWE oversaw all propaganda from Britain to enemy and occupied Europe, including open, or "white," propaganda such as the BBC European Service, and clandestine, or "black" propaganda, which disguised its British origins and was disavowed by the Government. PWE was a powerful medium of cultural influence in both Germany and Britain but the PWE perception of Germany, a historically contingent and dynamic topic, has not yet been the subject of significant research. Without a consideration of the intellectual heritage of PWE's Germany, the story of British wartime propaganda, and of German wartime experience, is necessarily incomplete.

In defining a German subject, PWE engaged in a creative act. This isn't to say that the Germany PWE addressed was fantastical. Rather, it was derived from extensive research and experience. However, the imaginative construction of Germany correlates with more than simply developments on the continent. The volatility and systemic weakness of the organisation allowed for strong personalities to steer the direction of foreign propaganda. PWE's changing perception of Germany demonstrates the fickleness and ease with which tropes of Germanism could be deployed to further personal interests. Departmental politics, characterised by the influence of popular discourse, of strong personalities, and even the influence of an oblique kind of patronage, were brought to bear on the inconstant conceptualization of the Germany to which Britain spoke. The careers of propagandists Richard Crossman and Sefton Delmer speak to this point.

Previous research into British foreign propaganda does not adequately account for PWE's mutable construction of Germany. As such, the aim of this paper is to address a lacuna in our understanding of wartime Britain and make a small contribution to the discourse on twentieth-century Anglo-German relations. This paper draws on a contextualised close reading of extant archival material. The PWE files are problematic, a significant volume having been deliberately destroyed after the war, which accounts for some of the gaps in the literature. The surviving documents amount to tens of thousands of pages. Contextualising and interpreting this archive is an ongoing project.

PWE's files were declassified in the mid-70s, which led to a handful of authoritative narrative histories. These accounts focus on the broader strategy of political warfare, and the tactics with which the strategy was implemented. Philip M. Taylor summarises the conclusion made by these texts: "[t]he main reason why PWE failed to emulate the experience of 1918 was the policy of Unconditional Surrender announced at the Casablanca conference of January 1943" (Taylor, "Introduction" to *Allied Propaganda in World War II*, 11). Whatever the merits of this thesis, it forgoes any serious interrogation of PWE mentality and methodology. Michael Stenton's 2000 monograph on PWE's involvement in European resistance amends this to some degree; however, he largely ignores PWE's German section, which is the focus of my own research.

Established under the Chamberlain government, Britain's first foreign propaganda service was the imaginatively named Department for Enemy Propaganda. Churchill's election saw this department replaced in July 1940 by SO1, the propaganda arm of the Special Operations Executive under the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The Foreign Office and the Ministry of Information were not happy with this arrangement. After a year of Ministerial disputes, SO1 was separated from SOE to become PWE on 11 September 1941 under a tri-ministerial committee comprised of Foreign Office, MOI and MEW. In 1942, however, the Minister for Economic Warfare was promoted out of office. His replacement had no interest in propaganda, which left PWE to MOI and Foreign Office. This arrangement held until VE day when PWE was shut down. Throughout the war there was some continuity of staff across these organisations, but each change at the top came with its share of hiring and firing.

Good Germans and Naughty Nazis

For British propagandists, the Germany of the Phoney War was a land of good Germans and naughty Nazis. At this early stage, there was a hope that the German people might find an alternative to Nazi rule and so propagandists were tasked with persuading "the non-Nazi nation to yearn for a possible peace" (Stenton, *Radio London*, 7). The advent of Churchill's National Government in May 1940 meant significant changes in propaganda policy, leading to organisational instability, which persisted until early 1942. This dynamic period correlates with a number of shifts in the departmental picture of Germany.

In July 1940 the old Department of Enemy Propaganda was replaced by SO1, under the Special Operations Executive. Vocal opponents of Appeasement replaced the senior staff. New blood included Rex Leeper and Robert Bruce Lockhart of Foreign Office and

Robert Vansittart, advisor to the socialist Hugh Dalton, the Minister for Economic Warfare. These men were old friends with Germanophobic pedigrees who provide a tidy example of partiality within the new organisation (Taylor, *The Projection of Britain*, 32). Michael Stenton's research reveals that Leeper had in fact recommended Vansittart to his position at MEW; returning the favour, Vansittart then recommended Leeper to the Executive of SO1 (Stenton, 17). Dalton had intended to reinstall the old director before Churchill himself intervened (Stenton, 16). Associations with appeasement carried an undesirable taint.

An appreciation for the Germany that the anti-Appeasers brought to subversion is illuminating. For example, Rex Leeper defended the use of pornography in propaganda, arguing that "[t]here is a sadism in the German nature quite alien to the British nature... and German listeners are very far from being revolted by the sadistic content of some of these broadcasts" (TNA, FO 898/60). Hugh Dalton's advisor Vansittart published in 1941 a polemic entitled *Black Record: Germans Past and Present* in which he argued that Nazi aggression and criminality represented the will of every German and that "Hitler is no accident. He is the natural and continuous product of a breed which from the dawn of history has been predatory and bellicose" (Vansittart, *Black Record*, 16). And in 1941 Dalton pre-empted the mythohistorical stereotypes that were later de rigeur within the department, arguing that in subversive propaganda "[we] should... appeal to [Germans'] instinctive feelings of 'doom' or ineluctable fate, culminating in a 'Gotterdammerung'" (TNA, FO 898/13). This anti-appeasement set identified something in the German people that was previously indiscernible.

"Vansittartism," incidentally, became shorthand for a broad anti-German sentiment in Britain. Despite a stark difference in ideology, conservative Vansittartism was not anathema to Dalton's ardent democratic socialism; Dalton wore two hats comfortably. He owed his portfolio under Churchill to his anti-Appeasement stance and, as historian Isabelle Tombs demonstrates, he was one of three highly placed Labour Socialists with persistently strong ties to Vansittartist groups throughout the war.

The increasing hostility towards Germans, rather than the Nazis, was felt most strongly by idealistic propagandists such as Socialist Oxford Don Richard Crossman. In a 1941 paper Crossman wrote: "[i]t has been suggested that we have insufficiently exploited the motif of Fear in our propaganda to Germany: in particular that the distinction frequently drawn between the Regime and the German people removes from the German people a sense of their responsibility and guilt" (TNA, FO 898/178). According to Stenton, it was Crossman's avowed opinion "that there was nothing much wrong with Germany that a free election and a natural socialist majority could not put right" (Stenton, 72). This echoes the Phoney War sentiment and later places him in a minority. Crossman's paper was one of the last attempts to rescue the good German from obscurity within PWE.

Although Crossman was hired prior to Dalton's tenure, his rise to prominence in the early history of the department - he became Director of PWE's German Section in very short time - can be understood only through Dalton's socialism. From October 1940 Richard Crossman was running Radio of the European Revolution, a black agitprop broadcast

operation staffed by former members of *Neu Beginnen*, a revolutionary arm of the German Social Democrats (Garnett, *The Secret History of the PWE*, 42). Crossman's revolutionary radio boasted no great successes, but continued broadcasting up until June 1942. In February 1942 it happened that Dalton was promoted out of MEW to the Board of Trade. Ellic Howe, a PWE contemporary, suggests that the station owed its longevity to Dalton because, in Dalton, Crossman had the support of a politically likeminded patron (Howe, *The Black Game*, 76). Whatever the case, Dalton's departure left PWE in the hands of Tories Anthony Eden and Brendan Bracken. Shortly thereafter Crossman's agitprop station was shut down. In early 1943 Crossman himself was promoted out of PWE to work on propaganda with the Americans in North Africa. Without the Socialist Dalton, Leftist propaganda withered.

According to Ellic Howe, Rex Leeper's executive became convinced that "what was required for the Germans was a more robust dose of subversion than the political idealism of Crossman's 'revolutionary socialists', who addressed their remarks to a vague audience of 'good Germans'" (Howe, 102). Contemporary to the termination of Crossman's revolutionary radio, a document appeared restating the "general objective of black propaganda to Germany." It claimed that "[w]e do not appeal exclusively to their higher instincts or their idealistic opposition to the regime. We try to exploit against the German war effort the ordinary German's 'Schweinehund', his desire for self-preservation, personal profit and pleasure, his herd instinct to do as others do and his ordinary human passions of fear, lust and jealousy" (TNA, FO 898/67). The document was left unsigned but it echoed the argot of another prominent propagandist who came to dominate the organisation.

Military historian Charles Cruickshank argues that "experience" steered the propagandists away from resistance or opposition radio programmes toward "a more subtle approach," namely the style of propaganda developed by Sefton Delmer in a subversive broadcast operation called Gustav Siegfried Eins (Cruickshank, *The Fourth Arm*, 104-105). Gustav Siegfried professed patriotic support for Hitler and the Wehrmacht, while decrying the corruption and criminality of the SS; it was dependent on, and tailored for, a coarsened, bellicose German mentality. To quote one of his contemporaries, Delmer had a "phenomenal capacity for 'tuning in' to, or penetrating the German mind and its mental processes, almost as if he himself resembled an ultra-sophisticated radio receiving set" (Howe, 19). Vansittartism sat comfortably with the cynical spirit behind Delmer's new style of black propaganda. Delmer's conception of Germany – fine-tuned while working as Berlin correspondent for Lord Beaverbrook's tabloid, *The Daily Express* – was integral to the admiration felt by those around him. Drawing on the concept of the *innere Schweinehund*, the inner pigdog, he articulated a capricious, low view of the average German (Delmer, *Black Boomerang*, 41). Angela Schwarz argues that, for British travellers in the Reich before the war, there was "a constant temptation" to engage in "commonly accepted images and stereotypes in confronting the German dictatorship" (Schwarz, *Image and Reality*, 400). Delmer, the tabloid veteran, bowed to this temptation like it was a voaction.

Delmer quickly won the favour of his employers. He had early support from both Leeper and Vansittart who found his work highly amusing (Delmer 63). According to Muriel Spark, employed as duty secretary for Delmer's unit, "His brilliance and ingenuity stimulated admiration" (Spark, *Curriculum Vitae*, 148). Crossman's biographer goes so far as to field a rumour that Delmer had "royal protection" owing to a visit by George VI, during which the King "had apparently been very impressed by what he saw of the 'black' propaganda side of the business" (Howard, *Crossman*, 99). As it happens, the Queen's brother, David Bowes-Lyon, also worked for PWE and held similar views to Delmer, particularly with regards to the ungratefulness and senseless idealism of socialist German exiles in British employ (TNA, FO 898/60).

Even without royal patronage, Delmer's work drew admiration from all the right places. This admiration was not based on evidence of successful morale subversion. Delmer's cynical essentialized conception of Germany was Right Thought, which anticipated and articulated the developing PWE dogma. As this perspective moved into the ascendant, expressly ideological operations such as Crossman's revolutionary station became unfashionable. Germany was no longer something to reason with, but rather something to seduce and manipulate. After Crossman's departure for North Africa, Delmer became Director of PWE's German Section and ultimately Director of Black Propaganda to Europe (Pronay and Taylor, *An Improper Use of Broadcasting*, 8). His promotion meant a damnable Germany and a consistent Germany.

Behind the Beastliness

PWE's own research suggests that while black productions were the subject of much German barrack room gossip, the BBC German Service enjoyed a far greater audience (TNA, FO 898/65). Despite a paucity of evidence speaking to its efficacy, black propaganda was expanded from 1940, with the largest growth experienced after Delmer joined the Department in mid-1941. Delmer's line prevailed but it wasn't for a weight of evidence.

PWE faith in black propaganda was affirmed by "evidence of reception" reports, which routinely demonstrated that they had an audience, but gave little consideration as to how the audience interpreted their propaganda. PWE faith in the power of subversion was terrific; a proposal put to Eden for a new subversive station hosted by captured German General Thoma, for example, argued that PWE radio was "so demonstrably popular with the rank and file that there are grounds for hope that the virus they contain will work to the advantage of the United Nations on and after D-day of OVERLORD" (TNA, FO 898/51). PWE imagined a passive audience who would listen to black broadcasts uncritically. Intention and effect were frequently confused. A similar issue with regard to propagandist intention and audience interpretation, incidentally, plagued the Ministry of Information's domestic propaganda (Fox, *Careless Talk*).

Cruickshank's argument stresses the effects of experience and increasing professionalism in improving the quality of British subversive propaganda as the war progressed (Cruickshank, 74-75). While holding true, this argument glosses over the underlying

ideas - often taken as axiomatic - that were at play in British propagandists' perception of Germany. Writing about Britain's tacit pre-war acceptance of Nazism, diplomat and author Harold Nicolson stated that

[the] average Englishman can endure almost anything except cerebral discomfort; when faced with conditions involving tremendous and most unpleasant mental effort, he escapes from that effort by pretending that these conditions are easily remediable, or much exaggerated, or actually non-existent (Nicolson, "*Is War Inevitable?*" 2).

All irony aside, this statement could be taken as a fair assessment of PWE's ongoing problem of understanding and speaking to Nazi Germany. The inconstant but frequently essentialised conceptualisation of German identity effectively provided PWE with a means of circumventing so much unpleasant mental effort. Sincere PWE engagements with racial science, for example, or empathetic considerations of the effect of a police state on individual behaviour are quite rare. The *innere Schweinehund*, meanwhile, went unquestioned when it entered the PWE discourse as a trait of the working classes generally and the German working classes in particular. Delmer's Germany was an easy sell.

Conclusion

Experience may have been a driving factor in the development of new modes of propaganda as Cruickshank argues, but the Germany addressed in subversive propaganda was an imaginative construction, the product of a creative act that was preceded by an environment in which influence, patronage and a congenial attitude could determine a career just as easily as talent. Vansittartism and the inner pig-dog conception of Germany, once established within PWE, preceded, or at the very least polluted, intelligence on their German audience so that by 1944 Delmer's Germany meant a stable audience first and a subject for study and consideration only second. The essentialised but mercurial nature of PWE's Germany betrays the political expedience with which it was deployed. Delmer's cynical approach to propaganda was ingenious and much praised, but it can no more claim to have undermined German morale than a straight news bulletin on the BBC. Despite this, Delmer found growing support from the conservative elite surrounding PWE, to the point where his Germany came to dominate the outlook of the organisation.

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