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Table of Contents

<i>The Migrant Protagonists in Ignacio del Moral's La Mirada del Hombre Oscuro and José Moreno Arenas' La Playa</i> Eugenia Charoni	pp. 1 - 15
<i>Transracial Adoption: Love and Pain</i> Michelle Elmitt	pp. 17 - 28
<i>'Cross-Temporal Icons: Amazonian Globality'</i> Blanca Barreto Puente	pp. 29 - 36
<i>Legal Measures to Waive Abortions in ASEAN Countries</i> Chanin Maneedam	pp. 37 - 45
<i>Representation of 411 Protest in Jakarta in the News: A Transitivity Analysis</i> Muchamad Sholakhuddin Al Fajri Maulana Malik	pp. 47 - 65
<i>Silk Road as Political Metaphor: Quest for an Ideal World in Ancient Korea</i> Jong Yoon Doh	pp. 67 - 74
<i>Registration of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage and Contestation of Belongings in Northeast Asia</i> Sunhee Park	pp. 75 - 86
<i>New Introspection on Cultural Policy Regarding Urban Regeneration</i> Saemee Kim	pp. 87 - 96
<i>Exploration of Justice in the REDD+ Project Implementation in Indonesia</i> Marsya Mutmainah Handayani	pp. 97 - 110
<i>The Platonic Doctrine of Untruth: Heidegger's Interpretation of Plato's Theaetetus and the Natural Possibility of Opinion</i> SangWon Lee	pp. 111 - 122
<i>Ordinary Interaction and Disconnection - Relationships Between South Koreans and North Korean Refugees –</i> ChunHeung Mo Junsung Han	pp. 123 - 131
<i>The Realities of North Korean Resettlers: The Affective Politics of Citizenship in Reality TV Programs Featuring North Korean Resettlers</i> Soochul Kim	pp. 133 - 145
<i>Theoretical Implications of Cosmopolitanism and South Korean Social Studies Textbooks Analysis</i> Choi Seoungin	pp. 147 - 159

The Migrant Protagonists in Ignacio del Moral's La Mirada del Hombre Oscuro and José Moreno Arenas' La Playa

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Abstract

The constant movement of populations in the search of better living conditions has been observed since the early days of the human history. In recent decades Europe has been facing an ongoing migratory wave that has been shifting the social, political, cultural and economic dynamics of its countries. Spain has experienced the impact of this movement by accepting migrants from Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. In an effort to better portray the migratory situation in the Iberian Peninsula, Spanish playwrights stage characters who are either torn by stereotypes confronting the unknown Other or who turn their back to the cruel reality of drowned bodies. Ignacio del Moral in *La Mirada del hombre oscuro* (1991) and José Moreno Arenas in *La playa* (2004) give their Spanish characters sharp and provocative language while they question their judgement toward the Other. The migrant characters of both plays remain silent, immobile and unable to react or communicate with the Spaniards. This presentation aims to discuss the silence and immobility of migrant characters and portray how they become the point of reference and overpower the protagonists. José Moreno Arenas and Ignacio del Moral invite the audience/reader to reflect upon the accuracy of certain judgements toward the Other, to reexamine the way each one of us perceive ourselves and the ones around us and to gain a better understanding of what common humanity embraces.

Keywords: Immigration, silence, drowned, beach, Africa, theater, stereotypes.

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Introduction

The movement of migrant populations to the Iberian Peninsula has been of special interest in Spanish theater since the end of 1980's (Doll, 17). Spain became member of the European Union in January 1st, 1986 fact that had a positive impact on its economy. Numerous employment opportunities attracted immigrants from Africa, Latin America and European countries who came with the hope to find a job and a better life. As seen in Figure 1 in January 1st, 2001 there were 1.3 million registered foreigners and in 2010 5.7 million, a number that represents an increase of 319%. According to the National Center of Statistics Spain went from having a migrant population of 2% in 2002 to approximately 12% in 2011. Figure 2 depicts the countries of origin of the migrant population as by 2012. The largest number of European immigrants comes from Romania. Morocco is the African country with the most immigrant representation due to its proximity with Spain. As it is expected and due to the common language and religion, there is also a large representation of Latin Americans with first being the citizens of Ecuador followed by those of Colombia.



Figure 1: Immigration in Spain 2001- 2010.^I



Figure 2: Immigrants' counties of origin (2012).^{II}

^I Source: <http://www.ine.es/>

^{II} Source: <http://migracioneseuropeas.com/inmigrantes-en-espana-de-la-acogida-a-la-comunion>

In the two plays to be discussed in this presentation, *La Mirada del hombre oscuro* written by Ignacio del Moral (1957 -) in 1991 and *La playa* written by José Moreno Arenas (1954-) in 2004, the migrant characters are Africans. They either do not speak at all or they speak in their native language, which does not allow them to communicate with the Spaniards. In both cases the Spanish characters describe the immigrants as dangerous, uneducated and poor in values. This rejection results from an ongoing fear of the Other. The Spaniards not only are unable to speak the language of Other but they also hesitate to come closer to get to know them better. Their attitude is historically justified. During most part of the twentieth century and until 1975 when Franco passed away, Spain due to its political and economic situation, was not attracting immigrants and therefore Spaniards did not get exposed to people of other ethnicities. The migrant wave forced the Spanish society to reconsider its homogeneity that until that time was promoted massively by the Franco regime (Doll, 19). They became ethnocentric and in their first encounter with the Other they applied all types of stereotypes to deliver racist and xenophobic statements. The presence of new ethnicities in the Iberian Peninsula inevitably led to radical changes that triggered interracial relationships, cultural and linguistic influences and above all, ways of understanding or rejecting the differences that the “Other” entailed.

It is for this reason that this presentation aims to draw the attention to the silent migrant protagonists who become the receivers of unfair and false accusations without being given the right to talk and defend themselves. From a humanistic point of view, the literarily or metaphorically silent African immigrants from victims and secondary class people (a per the description of the Spanish characters) become the point of reference. They represent the whole migrant body. Despite their silence they either explicitly stand up against any type of discrimination using their own words and acting for themselves, or they implicitly invite readers and audience to evaluate the Spaniards’ despicable and condescending comments.

Migratory Policies

To better understand the social context within which the plays were written, it is imperative to outline the Spanish government’s actions upon the arrival of migrant populations. The first initiative was taken in 1994 when the Minister Council (Consejo de Ministros) approved a plan called *Plan para la integración social de los inmigrantes* (Plan for the social integration of the immigrants). Its aim was to assess the constant movement of immigrants and help them integrate into the Spanish society. There was not a certain budget to support the plan and as such all actions were monitored by the *Observatorio Permanente de Migraciones* (Permanent Observatory of Migrations) and the *Foro para la Integración Social* (Forum for the Social integration).^{III}

In 2000 the Interior Ministry presented the plan *Programa común de regulación y coordinación de la extranjería e inmigración*, (Common Program of regulation and coordination of immigration policy and movement), better known as *Plan Greco*, based

^{III} Source: https://elpais.com/diario/1994/12/03/espana/786409207_850215.html

on the following four principles: First the migratory wave should be seen holistically under the global tendencies and as a phenomenon that was welcome to Spain. Second, promote the integration of foreign residents with measures such as improvement of the procedures for citizenship, same rights in employment conditions, care for vulnerable immigrants and resistance against any type of discriminatory, racist and xenophobic actions. Third monitor the migrant wave to guarantee the balanced coexistence of immigrants and Spaniards in the Iberian Peninsula. Fourth maintain the protective system of refugees and displaced populations.^{IV} In September 23, 2011 the Spanish Ministry Cabinet approved the *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración* (Strategic Plan of Citizenship and Integration), simply called PEI.^V Based on launching programs and informative seminars for the protection of human rights the program focused on equality and not discrimination, citizenship and intercultural understanding.

In September 27, 2013 and in an effort to overcome recession Spain implemented the *International Mobility Section of the Entrepreneurial Support and Internationalization Act* that was amended in 2015 and it is currently in effect. Its main objective is to attract professionals and highly skilled immigrants to “increase the competitiveness of the Spanish economy and the ability of Spanish companies to compete in a global environment”. This “transformed Spain's management of immigration... [as] ... in previous years, migration had focused on meeting the needs of a labor-intensive job market, often unqualified.” The plan is proved to be vital for the Spanish economy as “the investment generated by all categories over the next five years is expected to reach EUR 694 million and generate around 12,685 new jobs (8,581 direct and 4,104 indirect).”^{VI}

The budget for the implementation of above plans is of great interest. From 308,5 million euros that was in 2009 it dropped to 166 million euros in 2010 result of the economic crisis. In 2014 it was 139,89 million euros, still affected by the crisis and for 2017 it will be increased to 373, 35 million euros. It is estimated to reach 428,35 million dollars thanks to funds from the European Union.^{VII}

Plot synopsis

In *La Mirada del hombre oscuro* del Moral situates the action in a beach in the south of Spain. It is in south Spain because African immigrants board in Morocco to enter the Iberian Peninsula by boat, since the distance between Spain and Morocco is only fourteen km. In the play a Spanish family of four, the parents and their two kids, looks for shells in the beach. Their Daughter, encounters Ombasi, an African immigrant who arrived to the Spanish territory by sea, illegally. Alone, as his friend who was with him drowned, tired

^{IV} Source: <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2001-8154>.

^V Source: http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/destacados/Open_to_talent.pdf

^{VI} Source: http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/destacados/Report_on_the_Implementation_of_the_International_Mobility_Section.pdf.

^{VII} Source: <http://www.laregioninternacional.com/articulo/espana/presupuesto-secretaria-general-inmigracion-emigracion-asciende-373-35-millones-euros-2017/20170427133827252475.html>

and afraid he hopes for the Spaniard's mercy and help. He talks to the family to explain his situation but because he speaks in his native language the communication fails leaving him practically mute. From that point on constant misunderstandings, false stereotypes and misleading beliefs deepen the cultural and linguistic gap between the two parties. By the end of the play the fear conquers the Spanish family. The Father refuses to get Ombasi in his car and acts violently against him. Ombasi reacts the same way confused by the Father's erratic behavior. At the last scene the dead body of his drowned friend appears on stage, foresees the future and informs the Daughter about each characters' fate. The Father after the fight will get blind from one eye. His wife and kids will abandon him. Ombasi will be taken by the Guardia Civil and will die sometime later by pneumonia. The "other side" that was so promising and in which, according to him, nobody would risk to die by pneumonia due to the high quality of health system, will be the one to condemn him to death.

Although Ombasi speaks in his native language, Ignacio del Moral writes the text, including Ombasi's lines, in Spanish as this is the only way for the readers to understand the plot. However, in the movie *Bwana* (1996) which is based on the play, Ombasi speaks indeed in his native language. This helps the viewer to better sense the frustration and misunderstandings of the language barrier and become compassionate for Ombasi, whom the Spanish family sees as an intruder and predator.

In the one act play *La Playa*, Moreno Arenas also chooses as a setting a beach in south Spain. The play is a soliloquy of a Spanish beachgoer toward an immobile African immigrant, who lays on the beach silent but he never shows up on stage. The Spaniard intends to initiate a dialogue with him, ("con alguien que-se supone- descansa sobre la arena" = with someone who is supposedly is resting on the sand) (Moreno Arenas, 137). He does not know that he is an immigrant and that, as at the end of the play is revealed, he has drowned. Despite the lack of response, the Spaniard starts a long soliloquy, a "perorata= boring speech" actually in which he gradually unfolds his bitter sentiments towards immigrants.

In a provocative way he insists that all his accusations have nothing racist and xenophobic: "Yo no soy racista" = "I am not a racist" repeats over and over. Using the same false stereotypes and calling the immigrants uneducated, dangerous and unfit for Spain, the beachgoer gradually reveals surprising personal information. An immigrant himself somewhere in Europe many decades ago, he claims to have been a person of good quality, unlike the today's immigrants. This is a reference to the massive migratory wave of Spaniards in the twentieth century toward western Europe and Latin America. Soler- Espiauba explains that during the twentieth century more than seven million people left Spain to look for a job and they never returned.^{VIII}

"A lo largo del siglo XX más de siete millones de personas salieron de España para buscar trabajo y muchas no regresaron más" (Soler-Espiauba, 7).

^{VIII} For further information, refer to the documentary *El tren de memoria* (2005), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8xgeGuPmhTs>

He respected the country to which he went because he did not enter it illegally at night and he did not steal nobody's job. His soliloquy is a direct attack against every immigrant, result of the superficial understanding he has of the Other and what this entails.

Motifs and themes

In theater language is the main mean of communication between characters. It is also the mean for them to outline a picture of others or of themselves, doing the so called explicit self-presentation (Pfister, 124). The characters' speech in *La Playa* and *La Mirada del hombre oscuro* indeed reveals not only details about themselves but also about how the other characters are. In both plays however the "other characters" refer collectively only to one main character, the Other, which represents the whole migrant body of people having fled their countries looking for a better future. The expressive function of speech needs to be understood as a mutual exchange of information based on the same language. This is not the case of speech in *La Mirada del hombre oscuro* because Ombasi by not speaking Spanish, he cannot be understood nor communicate. This does not apply to *La Playa* either because it is a soliloquy.

However, the restriction in correspondence between language and characters can be substituted by non-verbal devices that could still be informative in nature (Pfister, 120). Such a substitution is partially observable only in *La mirada del hombre oscuro* but is not successful because Ombasi tries to explain who he is and what he wants with gestures but he is not understood. The drowned immigrant in *La Playa* lies lifeless on the beach. He is never on stage with the Spaniard and therefore he is never part of the action. It is for this reason that both immigrants remain practically mute. Their silence provokes empathy to the reader and audience who sense immediately the injustice and false accusations against two people who are practically unable to react.

Furthermore, the fact that both José Moreno Arenas and Ignacio del Moral do not option to give their migrant characters an actual voice, derives from their objectives in writing these plays. Del Moral explains that it was a mixture of personal concerns and questions that enabled him to write the play.

“...en el caso de *La mirada del hombre oscuro*, hubo un detonante concreto que, con preocupaciones y preguntas que ya bullían en mi cerebro, me llevó a componer esta fábula de la incomunicación” (Del Moral, 11).^{IX}

Moreno Arenas prefers not to get involved to the action but he lets his characters acting for themselves. He simply depicts the reality from a distance and then his characters are the ones who will continue with the action. His protagonists are independent, rich and influential who lack compassion, sympathy and understanding. The rest of the characters

^{IX} Translation:

“In the case of *La mirada del hombre oscuro*, there was a concrete detonator that, combined with preoccupations and questions that were boiling in my brain, I ended up writing this story of miscommunication.”

are people of low socio-economical class, rejected socially, weak, innocent and all those in need, like the case of the drowned immigrant.

Se concretan en protagonistas poderosos, ricos, influyentes... que originan en el receptor rechazo y animadversión. Frente a ellos se ubican los miserable sociales, quienes nos provocan, si no afecto, si una relativa atracción o cierta complicitad. Este grupo lo constituyen los mendigos, los desheredados, los inválidos, los inocentes, incluso algún cadáver, o sea, los necesitados de lo que sea (Moreno Arenas, 15).

After all the lack of actual verbal communication or the failure of an attempted one facilitate the playwrights' intentions to point out the western society's unpreparedness to dialogue with the Other. The false accusations against the immigrants call for further discussion not only for their bold content but mostly for the reaction that trigger to the immigrants. But does this reaction exist? Do Ombasi and the drowned African immigrant defend themselves? Do they have the chance to confront the Spaniards and present their own point of view? It is imperative in a case of accusation to have defense but is this the case in these two plays? And what about the real world? Do immigrants have a voice for themselves or do they remain silent like the characters of the plays? A closer look at the plays along with survey data could answer these questions although the findings can only be indicative of the situation and not necessarily representative as attitudes, reactions and behaviors depend on each individual and in no way can portray holistically a society.

In *La mirada del hombre oscuro* the Spanish family confronts Ombasi with suspicion, fear and bias. When Ombasi approaches them telling in his native language that he is hungry, the Father and Mother refer to him as "éste" = "that one".

El padre: (*llama a la madre.*) ¡Dori! ¿Queda merienda?

La madre: ¿Para qué?

El padre: Para dársela a éste.

La madre: ¿Y para qué le vas a dar a éste la merienda? (Del Moral, 25).^X

The word *éste* is pejorative and reflects the couple's already negative disposition toward Ombasi and therefore the Other. Ombasi in his turn tries in vain to tell them that he is hungry and introduces himself in his native language while using a non-verbal device at the same time by taping on his chest: (*Se señala el pecho*). "Ombasi, me llamo Ombasi" (Del Moral, 22). Later on he continues:

"Ombasi. Tengo hambre" ... "(*Se vuelve a señalar el pecho*). Ombasi. He venido nadando. Tengo hambre. Mi compañero se ha ahogado. Está muerto. (Del Moral, 23).^{XI}

^X Translation:

The Father: (he call the Mother): Dori! Is there any snacks left?

The Mother: For what?

The Father: To give it to him.

The Mother: And why you are going to give to him the snacks?

His effort to communicate to the Spanish couple the simple need for food and the fact that a human being has drowned is unsuccessful. Both Spaniards are overwhelmed by the mechanical failure of their car and the appearance of someone who, according to their Son, wants to eat their Daughter.

Ombasi: La niña se ha caído, pero no es nada. Tengo hambre. Me llamo Ombasi.
(*Para hacerse entender, señala a la niña, se señala a si mismo, hace gesto de comer*).

El niño: ¡Dice que se quiere comer a la niña! (Del Moral, 23).^{XII}

This is the beginning of a series of miscommunication that Del Moral accentuates with humor, as the above scene shows, and bold, colloquial language that Ombasi cannot understand. When the Father desperate tries to find the missing spark plug to start the car and leave with his family away from Ombasi's supposed threat, the Mother refers to Ombasi as "he", although several times Ombasi said his name nobody made an effort to understand what he was saying. The Mother also accuses Ombasi of having stolen the spark plug. "A lo mejor la tiene él" (Del Moral, 29). When the Father tries to communicate with Ombasi and explains to him for what he is looking, (*A Ombasi. ¡Bujía; ¡Para coche; Hace ademán de arrancar el coche. Ombasi le mira*) (Del Moral, 29), the Mother in a diminishing way asks her husband if he thinks that Ombasi is going to understand him. "Pero, tú crees que te va entender?" (Del Moral, 29). However, she does not say that the lack of understanding is because they do not talk the same language but because Ombasi has not seen a car in his whole life (*¿Lo ves? ¡Este no ha visto un coche en su vida!*) (Del Moral, 30). Later on their Son asks if Ombasi comes from the jungle and the Mother answers "or from there".

El niño: ¿Viene de la selva?

La madre: O de por ahí. (Del Moral, 30)

Ombasi in an effort to close the gap between him and the Spaniards and to convince them that he has good intentions, he repeats several times "Viva España". The sentence triggers the Daughter's curiosity who subsequently asks her Mother why Ombasi says always the same sentence. The Mother answers that this is the result of lack of education in people of color, referring in this case to African immigrants who she calls "personas incultas= uneducated people", a statement that subsequently triggers the following question: what does it mean to be uneducated and how is this determined?

La Niña: Por qué siempre dice lo mismo?

La Madre: Porque a lo mejor no sabe decir otra cosa.

^{XI} Translation:

Ombasi, I am hungry... (continuing pointing out to his chest). Ombasi, I have come swimming. I am hungry. My partner drowned. He is dead.

^{XII} Translation:

Ombasi: he girl fell down but it is nothing. I am hungry. My name is Ombasi. (To be understood, he points to the girl, he points to himself and then makes a gesture of eating.

The Boy: He says that he wants to eat the girl.

La Niña: ¿No sabe hablar más?

La Madre: No.

La Niña: ¿Por qué?

La Madre: Porque estas personas negras son muy incultas (Del Moral,33).

Del Moral from the beginning of the play creates an antithesis regarding Ombasi's intentions and kind personality. From one side there is the "good, innocent immigrant" and from the other "the mean, biased Spanish family" that believes it has the right to reject any Other that looks different than them and comes from a less developed country. The family's reaction is justified up to a certain point as Spanish society at the time the play was written had not been exposed to the Other yet. But could this have changed ten years later? Maybe although statistics show that the attitude towards the immigrants varies depending on their country of origin. According to a survey conducted in 2003 by CIS (Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas = Center of Sociological Research) and seen in Figure 3, it is evident that Spaniards prefer better Latin Americans (specifically Argentinians) than Moroccans and Americans. This preference has historical, political and cultural connotations and it cannot be generalized.

Tabla 6.1. Actitud de los españoles hacia nacionales de diferentes países

	"Simpatía que le despiertan los..."						"Confianza que le despiertan los..."					
	Mucha	Bastante	Poca	Ninguna	N.S.	N.C.	Mucha	Bastante	Poca	Ninguna	N.S.	N.C.
Brasileños	11.3	54.1	16.9	3.9	11.7	2.1	6.1	44.7	23.9	7.8	15.5	2.0
Franceses	7.1	45.7	29.6	7.5	8.6	1.4	6.0	42.6	27.6	9.6	12.3	1.9
Colombianos	5.6	41.7	29.4	10.6	10.8	2.0	3.9	32.5	32.6	14.9	13.9	2.2
Cubanos	11.2	51.8	19.4	6.4	9.3	1.9	6.0	41.7	26.9	9.6	13.6	2.2
Italianos	10.8	56.6	17.5	4.8	8.6	1.6	6.5	49.2	22.6	6.9	12.9	2.0
Mexicanos	11.9	56.0	16.1	4.1	10.2	1.7	7.3	48.6	21.7	6.5	13.9	2.1
Marroquíes	4.5	29.2	32.9	23.7	8.4	1.4	3.3	23.3	32.1	27.4	11.7	2.2
Peruanos	6.9	50.3	22.4	7.1	11.4	1.8	4.8	40.8	27.8	9.4	15.1	2.1
Venezolanos	7.9	53.7	19.6	4.5	12.4	2.0	5.1	45.1	25.0	7.5	15.1	2.1
Estadounidenses	4.9	35.0	32.2	16.1	9.8	1.8	4.1	32.6	31.0	17.1	13.1	2.1
Argentinos	14.9	58.6	13.3	3.5	8.0	1.8	8.8	51.2	19.9	5.7	12.2	2.2
Alemanes	8.1	50.3	22.7	7.6	9.4	1.9	6.7	46.1	23.3	8.6	13.1	2.1
Chilenos	8.0	51.5	20.4	5.7	12.5	1.8	5.2	44.9	24.7	6.9	15.9	2.3

Fuente: CIS, Estudio nº 2.545. Barómetro de noviembre 2003.

Figure 3: Spaniards' attitude towards citizens of different nationalities.^{XIII}

The first encounter of Ombasi with the Spanish family is through their Daughter. Being a little girl and curious she wanders in the beach behind the dunes where she sees Ombasi and his drowned friend. Scared by the unknown man she runs to find her parents but she trips and falls. Ombasi without hesitation picks her up and takes her to her parents who surprised and afraid immediately reject his genuine help as they misinterpret it. This is a tender, human scene that it does not only reveal his sensitivity but it could also project to the future holding his own daughter. Later and as the plot advances, the night comes and the temperature drops. The children are cold and insist to stay by the fire that Ombasi

^{XIII} Source:

<http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/93165/1/LA%20INMIGRACI%C3%93N%20EN%20ESPA%C3%91A%20%282000-2007%29.pdf>

built. The antithesis of cold and warm aligns with the opposite emotional status of each side. It also creates the hope that the warmth of fire and Ombasi's warm personality will overpower the coldness that the family feels and the two sides will eventually merge. Finally, the parents by necessity only concede to accept a person's help who until that moment was begging for theirs. The momentary proximity is abruptly interrupted as the Parents refuse to befriend him. The instant hope immediately evaporates. The parents are ungrateful and unappreciative of Ombasi's survival skills and inviting nature. This attitude though cannot be overseen by the audience that, as another character, feels empathy and compassion for him.

In the same scene around the fire Ombasi offers the family clams using the Father's knife to open them. The Spaniards continue their insulting comments accusing him of being an AIDS carrier. Once again Ombasi with his calm personality and unable of course to understand the accusations, he shares a few cultural aspects and he evokes his dead friend with whom he was sharing this food. This is a very touching moment as it reminds everyone that friendship, collaboration and companionship can support human relations and overcome challenges. Ombasi unfortunately is left alone in the promising land to defend his life and his friend's memory.

Later on the Mother notes that her Son is sleeping by Ombasi's side. She comments that she does not want her son so close to "him" for the fear of lice or ringworm, very common in "those countries that are infected". Once again her superficial explanation is nothing more than an indication of lack of education and basic information.

La Madre: No me gusta que el Niño esté tan pegado a él. A lo mejor tiene piojos, o la tiña, que creo que en esos países la tienen mucho. Hasta la lepra (Del Moral, 58).

In *La Playa* there are similar accusations toward the immigrants although as already mentioned, there is not any interaction between the characters. The Spaniard beachgoer seems to be very sure of himself and has control of what he says. In his mind he justifies all the accusations against the immigrants based on personal beliefs. He clarifies that his "logical and irrefutable arguments" have nothing to do with racism – *Yo no soy racista*-. However, he believes that there are a lot of bad intentions in this side of the strait (referring to the Strait of Gibraltar):

Sí, sí ... por supuesto.. antes de dar a conocer mis lógicos e irrefutables argumentos, siempre lo hago... Siempre, siempre.... ¡Yo no soy racista! .. Si he de serle sincero, se trata de una táctica, ¿sabe...?... No me queda más remedio que hacerlo porque – créame lo que le digo- hay mucha leche en este lado del estrecho (Moreno Arenas, 140).

His words contradict his own credibility because he warns of misunderstandings and wrong interpretations from people who try to convince for their opinion. The most surprising though is that he talks about lack of interest and response to things that people say. This ironically refers to his own case as no one responds to this continuous speech.

He says that people can manipulate words to make things appear different than what they really are.

...Y antes de que te des cuenta, sin que nadie se haya interesado siquiera lo más mínimo en saber lo que realmente ronda por u coco, te manipulan las palabras, te tergiversan las declaraciones, te interpretan – lo de interpretar es por utilizar una palabra suave y agradable para los oídos – hasta el tono de las expresiones y consiguen que aparezcas antes los demás como lo que no eres... (Moreno Arenas, 141).

Apparently this assumption describes his own approach. The things he says about the immigrants portray a false image of what they really are. He accuses them for spoiling the Spanish society. In addition, he accuses the media and young people for Spain's downfall. Thanks to the freedom of speech, they advocate "wrong" ideas that they contradict his "right ideas", they are more open to the Other and embrace his differences. He gets upset by the fact that the young people are receptive to African music without thinking of the consequences but he ignores that historically Spain has been a receiver of other cultures, such as the Arabic, and also the transmitter of its own culture to Latin America.

He describes the African immigrants with the same pejorative way that the Spaniards in *La mirada del hombre oscuro* do. They call Ombasi "nergo" and they refer to all immigrants as "negros". Similarly, here the beachgoer feels pity for the dark skin color and calls for mercy as the immigrants cannot escape from the negative consequences that their color brings to them. According to his words, they are poor creatures of God who need to accept living with this pigmentation that is a gift poisoned by a despised and cruel reality. "...Pobres criaturas de Dios... que han que resignarse a vivir pigmentados con el tinte más oscuro del color gris, ese regalo envenenado de una naturaleza despiadada y cruel" (Moreno Arenas, 144).

He differentiates himself from the Other by repeating several times that he is white: En realidad, yo soy blanco... ¡Blanco...! ¡Enteramente blanco...! ¡Completamente blanco...! ¡Absolutamente blanco...! ¿Para que andarnos por las ramas ...? (Moreno Arenas, 145).^{XIV}

His persistence in the white color, that is clearly a proof of supremacy, detonates the absurdity of his so called "logical and irrefutable arguments" but it also makes the reader/ audience wonder who finally needs mercy. He is biased against any Other who does not look like him, who plays a different type of music or who tries to survive doing odd jobs, like selling clothes, jewelry or purses in the streets. This last comment is of special interest because it contradicts his accusation of immigrants being responsible of Spain's unemployment. In Figure 4 it is clear that foreigners who live in Spain are in higher risk to lose their jobs than Spaniards.

^{XIV} Translation:

... In reality, I am white!... White! ...Entirely white! ...Completely white! ...Absolutely white!... Why to change the topic of discussion?



Figure 4: Comparison of possibility of Spaniards and foreign citizens losing their job.^{XV}

Later on he expresses even more bitter feelings when he calls immigrants illiterate in human rights. They demand to be seen and treated equally in the country in which they immigrate, when in their countries they do not dare to do so for lack of resources and stable government. Unraveling his contradictory arguments, he shares that when he was himself an immigrant somewhere in Europe more than thirty years ago, he was feeling inferior from the local people because they believed that they had more rights than his fellow Spaniards and himself. For this reason, they were all staying together to support each other, the same way that the immigrants still do. He fails to see this tendency as the result of the basic human need for support and contact with other people in times of necessity and loneliness.

Allí éramos todos como una piña....!Todos para uno y uno para todos ...! Se lo puede imaginar.... Había que defenderse con algo más que uñas y dientes de la altanería y de los improperios de aquellos cabronazos que se creían con más derechos que nosotros (Moreno Arenas, 157).^{XVI}

His words portray two opposite sides, “aquellos = those” and “nosotros= us”. These sides are not that different from the ones he has built between himself now and the immigrants.

^{XV} Source:

http://www.revistasice.com/cachepdf/ICE_854_3748__C50F00870BEC39801219B8CA4588DB.pdf

^{XVI} Translation:

There we were all united. One for all and all for one. It can be imagined. It had to be defended with more than teeth and nail from the arrogance and insults of those motherfuckers who believed to have more rights than us.

What is surprising though is that he does not realize that his past is a reflection of the present that so sharply criticizes. Being an immigrant himself, he belonged once to the other side and was seen as a lesser quality human being. He acknowledges that his feelings were hurt but that experience did not teach him any compassion. Today he perceives the immigrants in the same negative way he was himself perceived back then.

His ignorance, arrogance and refusal to accept the Other is so evident that he does not even try to approach the immobile immigrant to check on him. In reality he is also a dead person, empty from any sign of humanity and sensibility (Doll, 113). At the end of the play the silence of the drowned immigrant shakes the audience as it is revealed that the person is dead. According to Eileen Doll, the silence serves as the witness of racism that so much the Beachgoer refuses (Doll, 225).^{XVII} The audience recognizes the human value of the laying immigrant who all this time was silent, being accused for nothing that was his fault. The mute, immobile man becomes now the point of reference and the main protagonist. Moreno Arenas invites the audience to evaluate the Spaniard's accusations, reestablish the dignity of the whole migrant body and question what are the limits between the Us and the Other.

Conclusion

Since early 90's the Spanish government with migratory policies, plans and informative efforts attempted to decrease the cultural gap between Spaniards and immigrants. The Spanish playwright Jerónimo López Mozo in his article *Emigrantes y exilidados en mi teatro* (2008) acknowledges that Spaniards, although they negate it, they are racists. He adds that they are not the only ones in Europe. He explains that the ones who reject the accusation of being racists, like in the case of the beachgoer in *La Playa* ("Yo no soy racista"), they are the ones who are the most racists than anyone else.

Los españoles somos racistas, aunque lo neguemos, somos racistas. No somos los únicos en Europa, desde luego. Con frecuencia, quiénes rechazan la acusación más airadamente, lo son en mayor medida, aunque lo ignoren (López Mozo, 5).

The process of assimilation of immigrants into a new country is long but not simple. Educational programs, equal treatment in the professional and social sphere are keys for acculturation and coexistence. Human relationships based on friendships or love can bring people together^{XVIII}. Mixed marriages, in most cases and when the marriage is based on bona fide, have facilitated the process not only practically but also culturally as they unite two people of different linguistic, ethnic and possibly religious background. In 1996 there was only 4,13% of mixed marriages in Spain when in 2005 the percentage increased to 10,8%. At the same year (2005) the children born by mixed couples

^{XVII} Original citation: "El silencio del Otro sirve de testigo del racismo que tanto deniega el Banista." (Doll, 225).

^{XVIII} *Memoria fotográfica* (Beth Escudé y Gallés) and *Harira* (Ana Diosdano) are plays based on friendship between immigrants. The film *Las cartas de Alou* (1990) portrays mixed relationships based on true love.

represented about 11% of the total births^{XIX}. These numbers indicate an ongoing contact of Spaniards with citizens of other countries that could certainly decrease the cultural differences and fear of Other.

If the Spaniards or any other citizens of any other country are racists and xenophobic is not to be analyzed here. What is to be addressed though is the impact of such an attitude on society and the manner in which this is depicted in literary works. Silence and voice, tolerance and intolerance, rejection and acceptance, compassion and insensitivity are contradictory terms that are abundant in both plays and they all derive from the bitter sentiments that racism and xenophobia entail. How each one of us will accept these attitudes depends on our education, values and above all the sense of responsibility we have to respect the others the same way we expect them to respect us.

In *La Playa* and *La mirada del hombre oscuro* none of the Spanish characters has reflected on their own flaws but they judge the African immigrants based only on stereotypes and false beliefs. The silence of the immigrants calls for a closer attention to what the Spaniards say and this is not again by accident. The playwrights invite us to evaluate what is being said keeping in mind that this has to be based on social justice and human rights, if we want to reestablish dignity and tolerance in a world that seems to be missing them more and more.

XIX Source:

<http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/93165/1/LA%20INMIGRACI%C3%93N%20EN%20ESPA%C3%91A%20%282000-2007%29.pdf>

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Transracial Adoption: Love and Pain

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Abstract

In various social and political discourses, we hear both that orphaned children need homes and love, and that children of the disenfranchised are being taken (Briggs, 2012). In the spectrum of families between these positions, I question the possibility of loving relationships in transracial adoption, where individuals from different cultures and ontological understandings are positioned to live as kin. Adoptive families, amongst other 'social families', can be prejudiced by prevailing discourses that privilege biological parenting, which can extend to expectations of what normative, loving parental relationships entail. Despite global trends toward social families, (Gabb, 2008), the development of complex relationships in oppressive social situations, across boundaries of race, personality, desire and trauma, has not been adequately explored.

Judith Butler describes kinship: children, because of divorce and remarriage, because of migration, exile and refugee status, because of global displacements of various kinds, move from one family to another, move from a family to no family, move from no family to a family... (Butler, 2000, p. 22).

This paper interprets qualitative field research to examine what facilitates and impedes possibilities of love in families with transracially adopted children, supporting my thesis that for individuals to form loving relationships they need to meet in an equal emotional space that acknowledges difference. This paper is an exploration of ways that love emerges, or not, and is presented as a response to theory, incorporating a creative writing process. Creative writing facilitates integration of various theories and voices, generating different understandings of inter-subjective emotional phenomena.

Keywords: Transracial adoption, love, kinship, creative writing, spaces of communication.

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Introduction

Transracial adoption has high stakes. Not least is the common desire of the adoptive parent(s) of establishing an imagined 'loving home'. Yet, there is no unique way of defining a loving home, and no unique way of achieving it. Here, I discuss different approaches, from my research archive, that may impede or facilitate the formation of loving relationships between adults and transracial adoptees. My investigation includes an original piece of creative writing, *Markings*, that integrates my qualitative research with theory. But first I will set the social and political context in which transracially adoptive families emerge.

For the subjects involved in transracial adoption, there are various social and cultural discursive influences and psychic dimensions that affect inter-subjective relationships and flows of emotion. The uniting subjects come from different ontologies and experiential realities, making the possibility of a 'mutuality of being' (Sahlins, 2011), and loving kin relationships formidable.

Hegemonic discourses can privilege biogenetic families over social families. Here there is much literature, especially from Queer theory. As has happened in my archive, the perceived need for adoptive families to mimic nuclear family dynamics can restrict generative practices of relatedness and emotional connections by not acknowledging difference.

On top of this, there are conflicting discourses within Adoption scholarship, notably between those who see transracial adoption as stealing children from the disenfranchised to fulfil western desires for family, and those who view it as rescuing orphaned children. There is a range of positions between these stances.

The private domain presents still more obstacles. Once the children have been adopted by unknown parents and removed to another culture, adults have diverse ways of managing the merging of lives. Scholars, such as Myers (2009), Dorow (2006), and Kim (2007), among others, have exposed the problems associated with the "clean-break" trope of transnational/racial adoption, where the adoptee's birth culture and kin ties are replaced with the new family. Kit Myers (2009) reflects on the "violence" done to adopted subjects who are not assisted to keep their pasts alive.

The materialisation of statements that explicitly reject the historical and global, through the trope of 'clean break' and articulations that the past does not matter enacts further violence on adoptees and related subjects, specifically birth parents. Thus, the act of adoption, which has been interpreted as an act of love, compassion, and humanitarianism, can also be an act of violence (p.120).

To adopt a child from another country, of another race, and keep the birth country's cultural and kinship links alive is difficult to achieve. In fact, it seems to be a rarity. In my archive, there were a range of examples from the clean break through to regular visits to birth country and family involvement. Some families joined support groups with other adoptees from the same nation, and some did not.

Barbara Yngvesson (2007) argues that this refiguring of kinship “reaches back to rework the past and reaches forward to construct the future, as well as stretching “across” the national borders that transnational adoption has both secured and unsettled over the past half century” (p. 576).

Yngvesson points out that these refigurings incorporate Euro-American dichotomies, such as: nature and nurture, blood and law, and biogenetic and adoptive family, reworking them “in ways that have the potential to create new forms of consciousness as well as to transform everyday practices of relatedness” (p. 576).

Transracial adoption is also framed politically. As Elena Kim (2007) explains:

hegemonic cultural scripts congeal kinship ideologies out of naturalized categories of “family,” “nation,” and “diaspora” and in so doing conceal forms of governmentality and state power that underwrite and legislate certain relationships as “kin” while disallowing others, left “unnamed and unrecognized” (p. 523).

While controversy around the historical context, purposes and practices of transracial adoption dominates much discussion, racial discourses must also be examined, both in the larger social context and within intimate spaces. This dimension is too big to address in this paper, but must be acknowledged. Importantly, I refer to the feminist position that understands racial inequalities are perpetuated with the practice of transracial adoption, as summarised by legal scholar, Twila Perry (1998):

Obviously, there are children adopted from poor countries who would face a very bleak life or even death in their homelands. However, a feminist analysis of international adoption should go farther than a simple altruism narrative. Indeed, an appropriate question might not be what Westerners are giving to the children of impoverished countries, but what they are taking from those countries or from the poor women who live in them (p.135).

In practice, people are finding different ways to escape these historic, hegemonic discourses, to merge and generate new discourses, while relating emotionally with children who already have birth parents, living or deceased. The flip side of this proposal is that some people are persevering with more traditional, nuclear family discourses, where transracially adopted children are accepted as ‘the same’ as biological children in all respects. I will now give examples of both these complex predicaments.

Negotiating difference and trust

When strangers meet, they negotiate a space from where they can relate to each other. The participants' stories illuminate how this occurs, often by affective means. As the two previously unknown individuals become family, there are obvious power imbalances.

Some of the participants specified that their families, or their children and their relationships, were 'the same' as everyone else's, or 'normal,' even though it would be ludicrous to imagine that there is a normal way of living and loving as a family.

My thesis is that for love to arise between any two people they need to be in an equal social and emotional space, conceptually connected to Homi Bhabha's famous notion of a third space of liminality, ambivalence and hybridity, where cultural difference is negotiated. Following are examples of shared affective spaces, from my archive.

Yvonne and her partner adopted a three-year-old girl from Ethiopia. The space they created was reading books together to bring alive imaginary and other worlds.

Reading books was a bonding experience, especially with Elsa when she was very little. I would have her come, and it was the actual closeness, it was the sitting and touching and reading and sharing, and there were times where things would happen, and her language was very primitive... so we would use books a lot this way, to be close; to be physically close, to touch each other and to touch the book and to talk about worlds, you know to talk about worlds.

Yvonne described a situation where her daughter brought Yvonne a book that had included pictures of a girl who wore colorful clothes to describe her mood. She also described her excitement when she realized that her daughter had learnt to use books to find a place in herself to 'relate from.' She said: "I took a big breath, and said, she found it. She found that place in herself."

Understandably, in some of the interviews trust was also recognized as a feature on which this relational space was contingent. One older male participant, Martin, described how trust was achieved with his friend's adopted daughter, when power dynamics were unequal and roles were confusing.

It's always dangerous being a single male involved with a family, especially a family that has young women in it ... there must always be an element of suspicion, as there should always be an element of suspicion, because they've got to know whether they're safe or not, but I think we established a level of trust and understanding very quickly.

I have been completely transparent ... I don't necessarily put myself down but I can admit my foibles quite openly, and in a way that allows people to get an idea of who you are and what you are. It's really important for families to have people around who are trusted.

It was not easy to set up a situation of trust with an eight-year-old girl who knew nothing of the culture or values in the place she found herself. This was compounded in this case, since there was no spoken language as she is deaf. Martin described an outing they had, saying:

She wanted that dress right or wrong, and here am I with about three signs that she understood... And everyone thought I was either a murderer or an abductor.

In a busy department store these two people, silently battled wills as the girl was determined to have a white, chiffon dress off a mannequin. I asked Martin how he solved the problem without carrying her outside and without shared language. He said:

We kind of walked around and around the bottom of the store for ages and ages, trying to work out how we were going to escape, and in the end, she calmed down enough, and we got out, but that was frightening.

So, something transpired between the two bodies and psyches as they walked silently and some understanding was negotiated, but difficult to put into words.

In contrast, Kathryn reflected sadly on the traumas of her relationship with her transracially adopted son, guessing that not acknowledging difference was a mistake. She explained that her relationship with her son was not the same as with her biological children, saying:

It's not the same, never has been, probably never will be. He is on a different level to us; he thinks differently, he talks differently, he is different.

I asked: "Do you think you've treated him differently to the biological children?"

Kathryn: No, no, that was one thing, that my husband and I agreed on, we'd treat them the same. But, in hindsight, we should have treated him differently, because he wasn't the same... and you live and learn, and hindsight's a wonderful thing, but we never really bonded, and I think he got to the stage where he just didn't like me... and I mean why should he? I'm not his mother.

Kathryn said that now her son is an adult they are barely on speaking terms.

There's not that relationship with me, you can't force a child to have a different personality, but the way he is with me is not nice.

Failed and/ or loveless transracial adoptions occur, and, seen as sensitive, are not often spoken about. Yet, without questioning it is impossible to envisage how society can change to better meet the needs of social and global families.

We know that adopted children are born to biological mothers and fathers, and that such loss is traumatic. This fact alone means that adoptive parenting is different to biological parenting, as there needs to be allowance for two mothers in the role of mother and two fathers in the role of father. As well as these differences, adjustments for varying degrees of trauma impact the emotional space being created.

Kathryn's story was sad and told with tears.

But it wasn't black and white... I could see the grey areas. We could imagine what it must be like to be the middle, colored child between two high achieving white children, but he always appeared to be coping... I put it down to lack of balance, his body, he must have felt so different, being in a family but not really part of it. I thought it was a happy family and he had everything the same as the other two. He had piano lessons, braces on his teeth, dance lessons, but it wasn't enough. When he was little and I was pregnant he was so innocent pointing out his brown skin and curly hair, his difference.

If I was drowning and his two dogs were drowning I know he'd save the dogs first.

It's hard, how do you give them that affection if you don't feel it?

Even if there is a space established where two people can meet on equal terms and speak their own truths safely, I wonder how this plays out over time. As David Eng (2013), points out, there is a significant lack of "available vocabularies" to investigate practices where "deeply held beliefs about family and identity" and community exist (p. 3).

In what follows, I demonstrate how fiction can highlight the complexities and issues raised in the interview with Kathryn, while changing identifying features. I also fictionalise ways that the clean break trope, and racial differences can play out in Australian middle class lives, when pitted against normative discourses, with the occasional interrogative voice.

Markings

1

Meryn waited for a reply for two weeks, but Jilly did not respond to her message.

She wrote again, "Please will you come?"

"I don't even know the man." Jilly replied.

"Will you meet Richard with me then? Before the wedding?" Meryn wrote back, and attached a photo of Richard. She chose one that was not too close-up. Meryn thought he looked relaxed, staring across a green, golf course.

Again, she waited for a reply. After three weeks Meryn tried again.

"Can we meet then? Just you and I?"

"Where?" Jilly wrote back.

"Tomorrow at lunchtime by the river? At the park. I'll be there at one o'clock. I'll bring drinks."

The air seemed to be thick, pressing her, as she waited behind the bench seat at the park. At three o'clock Meryn was ready to give up when she noticed the heads of two, big dogs swimming further down at the bend in the river. They had been there for some time in her peripheral vision.

Meryn stood and slowly walked towards the river bend, looking through the reeds at the dogs' heads, still moving through the water. The water was already dark with shadows, but there were occasional lighter patches of sky reflected between overhanging leaves.

Then Meryn saw Jilly, sitting alone, further along on the bank, watching the dogs, but she must have sensed her coming. She looked thinner than she had been, and composed, hugging her knees to her chest.

Meryn stepped over the muddy, brown rivulets that seeped away from the edges. She raised her hand and Jilly nodded her head. Meryn started then to walk quickly across thick, silty sand, littered with bark and stones, watching where she put her feet. But, when she looked up Jilly was in the water with the dogs.

Meryn waited awhile, then she took off her long jacket and waded into the water, wearing a pale camisole and dark leggings, so her white body looked half dead to Jilly. She turned her back, then turned again to watch Meryn slowly, deliberately breath-stroking towards them.

Jilly braced against the relentlessness of her mother, pushing on with the slow stroking movement toward her. She swam further out.

Meryn eventually slowed, hating the coldness of the water, and the pungent smell of wet dog hair. Jilly watched as Meryn began to struggle, supposing it was a ruse to get her attention. She swam in to the bank with the dogs and waited, watching.

Jilly patted her dogs as they sat while Meryn floundered towards where she thought the shallow ridge was. Meryn had her back to them, but she knew they were watching her.

At last she felt her feet on the silty sand. She righted herself and stumbled off the beach to the grass, to find her coat and bag.

Meryn thought, if she was the one drowning, I would have done anything to drag her out, which reminded her of the hospital, and Jilly lying so still and quiet, her brown body on hyperwhite sheets, cut and in pain.

"You ok?" Jilly asked Meryn.

"I'm a bit cold," she said, "that's all."

They stood in silence.

"Your wedding?" Jilly asked.

"Yes, so at last I seem to have found my soul mate. I'm sure you'll get on. I just want us to find some peace now. Can we try?"

Their silence, which was full of the sounds of water moving and dogs panting, unnerved her.

Meryn went on, "I won't be happy if you're not there. Will you come please?"

Meryn waited for Jilly to answer but she was looking at the river and watching the dogs running.

"I don't know," she said.

Jilly half smiled at Meryn as she walked away.

2

"This is the last picture I have of me and Jilly together. We're at Tamworth, four years ago," Meryn said, reaching across to pass Bev the small picture of two faces. But it was getting dark outside, and it was too dark to see it. There was a small electric shock as their hands touched.

"Oh dear," Bev said.

"Yes," Meryn said, "a lot has happened in the last fifteen years. Not all of it pretty. It's not a nice story."

They were sitting side by side at Meryn's old farm house, on the same two deck chairs they would usually end up in after days of painting, getting through a bottle of wine. There had been the time for painting, and sitting around, before Jilly came. Bev used to etch zinc plates in the dull light, so there was constant scratching and scraping, mostly images of rocks and stones, and marks that she made from memory.

"It's been an unhappy life for the poor girl. Was she about fifteen there?" Bev asked, glancing at the photo. She wondered why she had agreed to come.

Bev lit a cigarette and drew in loudly. When she exhaled, the smoke covered them. There was no breeze.

"She was just thirteen there actually, withdrawn, see, all that hair hiding her face."

Bev looked away.

In the silence, Meryn would always talk. "She hid things from me. I didn't know she was drinking, or the rest."

Meryn stood up and paced back and forth, seeing blue-black sky, and stars, very distant. Once she had seen a shooting star, in the bush. It was when Jilly had just joined them and they were camping, her and Pete and Jilly. But no one else had seen it. They thought she had imagined it.

"So, you were at Tamworth, at the music festival?" Bev asked her, when she had finished her cigarette. "That surprises me. You're not really musical, at least you weren't when I knew you."

"I couldn't sing like you, but I still liked music," Meryn said, finishing her glass of wine.

"So, you took the poor girl to country and western music festivals? She's Malaysian for fuck's sake."

Bev reached into her bag and pulled out a bag of chips. She sat crunching them in the dark.

It was a still night with the occasional sounds of dogs barking in the distance. Meryn reached for a chip and knocked her glass onto the cement. It shattered. She ate the chip then gathered up the glass in her hand. She felt it cut her skin and squeezed it so it cut a bit more, but it hurt, so she stopped. She stood up and walked to the edge of the garden, then threw the pieces of glass. Meryn ran her hand under the hose then sucked it. The blood in her mouth made her feel sick. She took another sip of the red wine straight from the bottle.

"Use my glass," Bev said, and passed her a full glass of wine.

"I can see more now, looking back. I mean there are the benefits of looking back, reflecting, like we did with the paintings. You said it was better to look at it from a distance, move back," Meryn said, as she sat back down next to Bev.

"And you always got confused about perspective," Bev said.

"Anyway, at the time of that photo of us in Tamworth, we were on our own. Pete had already moved out, and Jilly was lying to me, and harming herself, and I didn't really feel like making new friends. I didn't feel like seeing anyone at all actually, but we had to do something. You couldn't just have the two of us alone in that big house with nothing going on, just emptiness all around."

Meryn looked across to see if Bev was with her, but she could never really tell.

"One night," she went on, "I was just out wandering, Jilly was with friends, and I came across this pub. There were yellow lights and everyone seemed to be smiling, listening to this upbeat music. There were so many sounds going on, you couldn't

walk past, and so without really planning it, I just went in and sat down. I realised I didn't have to be alone but I could still be alone. You know, they could have been playing anything, it was just such a relief to be sitting with people, not talking and not arguing, but having a glass of wine, and it went on from there. I found more places and festivals, and I realised Jilly and I could be out of the house, and we could go places together, and we didn't have to talk, and we were with people."

"Did you think not talking would make you closer?" Bev asked.

"I don't know, the music was easy to follow, you didn't have to try, and the atmosphere was easy, no tension. We could just be."

"So not a real alliance," Bev said. "It sounds like neither of you had a clue what was going on with the other."

"Alliance is a strange word." Meryn said and reached out to touch her arm in the night. Bev shifted away.

"I'm so glad I found you again," Meryn said. "I haven't been able to talk to anyone about what has been going on. I knew you would understand."

She turned herself around in her chair so she was face-on to Bev, aware that the night had turned into a performance, almost a plea for help, which wasn't what she had intended.

"You mean you knew I would tell you what a dickhead you're being about all this."

"There's actually something else. I'm getting married again and I want you to come to the ceremony. Will you?" Meryn asked.

Meryn's words were lost in the empty space that was not a farm now, just vacant space, where they used to paint. Meryn had painted four boards of rich, Prussian blue skies, one with a staircase of wooden steps that lead nowhere, while Bev had made the series of prints.

"Why didn't Jilly ever speak up, that's what I don't understand. Was she scared of you?" Bev asked as she pulled her phone out of her bag to check the time.

"Aren't you staying? The beds are all made," Meryn asked.

Bev didn't answer. She had to tell Meryn that she was not able to help her. The problems were Meryn's, as she had tried to point out when she was teaching her painting, the world she imagined she lived in was a fantasy; in reality, people are not free to do whatever they like.

"I can't stay," Bev said and stood up.

"Funny how you could always stay when I provided your canvases and oils," Meryn said putting her hands over the hot skin on her face. "You're like Jilly, cunning," Meryn said.

Bev walked into the garden, seeing dark, spiky, familiar leaves, and the joyless, stretches of dark, flat land behind the trees.

Meryn sat still.

"It was my life too," Meryn said finally.

"I know you just want me to tell you that none of this is your fault," Bev said.

Meryn felt the alcohol and heat and pressure in her body, pushing into her sinuses, so she had to close her eyes. Her head hurt as she looked across to the shed at the bottom of the yard. It blocked the view of the empty paddocks. There was an old water tank, not in use, and an empty half gallon drum, rusted and jagged that they used to light fires in.

"I feel sorry for the child," Bev said.

“She’s a woman, not a child. We all feel sorry for her. But she did it to herself. I did all I could. There was not a thing more I could have done. She cut herself, her skin is scarred; she did all of it, and now she won’t see me. How do you think this makes me feel? I’ve spent the best part of my life on her and now she’s rejected me.”

Bev lit another cigarette, blowing out the smoke close enough that Meryn felt her breath touch her face. She rubbed her eyes. It was always like this with Bev, which made her wonder if that could have been why she had pressured Pete into the adoption in the first place, to fill the hopeless space Bev made apparent, the void in her life.

“Why didn’t you get in touch with me sooner then? You could have called me, rather than relying on those women you hang around with. You know they’re at the bottom of the problem between you and Jilly don’t you?” Bev said in a flat voice.

“You don’t know who I hang around with now,” Meryn said loudly.

“It’s obvious; you always had those blue-ribbon friends, in their red lipstick.”

“Who I associate with has nothing to do with what’s up with Jilly,” Meryn said.

The picture of Jilly had fallen off the table between them and was lying on the ground. She bent and picked it up.

3

Meryn was unpacking in the new apartment in the centre of the city. She was setting up her bedroom, bringing boxes in from the car, putting things in drawers, as if the whole thing would disappear if she didn’t move quickly. She spread a designer batik bedspread.

When she finished, she lay on the bed and opened her laptop. Bev and Jilly had both sent her emails. She was excited, but neither of them would come to the wedding. Richard came in with take-away coffees, and he said that she would see how good it would be to be making a fresh start. Richard said that there were so many people coming to the function that she would hardly notice that Bev and Jilly were not there. He had booked the restaurant on the harbour and ordered the food that morning.

Meryn called Jilly’s mobile number, not expecting her to answer.

“I can’t make it. I can’t face a crowd of people, but thank you for wanting me to be there,” she said and hung up.

Meryn called Bev twice more. They talked about Bev’s art, and the television documentary being made, set near Meryn’s old property.

“Peter called me,” Meryn told Bev, “out of the blue. He said he had been thinking that Jilly would probably come to the wedding if I moved the whole thing to the beach, a dog friendly beach, you know, there’s one on the central coast, with a beautiful club house where they do receptions. I think it might work out.”

“Good luck,” Bev said.

“I feel I’m on the right track finally. I even bought some pastels the other day.”

Three weeks later Meryn had not heard back from Jilly.

“We can’t move it to the beach” Meryn told Bev. “Richard said he’s not comfortable with the idea of having dogs at his wedding.”

“Well he’s not comfortable with you then, is he? Dogs come with your daughter. You should call it off.”

“But we have moved into this apartment, and he’s organised the food. People are coming.”

“Did you think Jilly would come to the beach?”

“Yes, and Pete said she had indicated as much to him.”

“Then you have to be strong and insist.”

“He will call it off,” Meryn said.

“This is how you might work it out,” Bev said. “Imagine you were painting your wedding. What would you see?”

“Pale sand, blurred horizon, flat, dark sea, and Jilly in long black clothes, walking.”

“There you are.”

“If I call it off I’ll probably be alone for the rest of my life,” Meryn said.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have demonstrated how fictional interpretations can extend the use of language and perspective, while engaging with theory, to make sense of complex inter-subjective emotional issues. For love to operate between parents and transracial adoptees, acknowledging and understanding these complexities is of paramount importance. I have looked at the way my participants live and love amongst social and political confusion, and found that many are forging loving relationships by creating spaces to negotiate difference and power imbalances. It goes without saying that kinship has moved beyond the nuclear family, but it remains difficult for some to transcend its ideological confines.

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'Cross-Temporal Icons: Amazonian Globality'

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Abstract

Recent studies of the female warrior figure, have shown that it is a character that needs rethinking and contributes to the subversion of the so called "female identity". The figure of these warriors or Amazons, comes up as a challenging one. On the one hand, seen as monsters and unnatural, and on the other, praised as erotic heroines, Amazons have for centuries inspired fascination and ambivalence both in western and eastern imaginaries. Represented across diverse cultural productions as an odd construction of power and gender, these figures have been typically used to test social conventions. Both belonging to and displaced from society. These cross-temporal artefacts, who question in-gender performativity, are seen in many cultural productions as a threat to social order. Amazons were figures through whom different social anxieties were portrayed but also challenged. They act as a trigger to call into question issues such as the crossing between sexual and social matters. I aim to argue for the "globality" of the figures of the Amazons, as they are a well-established literary icon in different cultures across the globe. Moreover, they have influenced diverse narratives and artistic productions. And when analysed, one might find that there are also representations which add to the counternarrative and resistance of gender roles throughout history.

Keywords: Amazons, gender, literature.

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When I started to prepare this presentation, I started thinking about an engaging and fresh manner of talking about the Amazons. Then in June, the movie “Wonder Woman” (2017) hit the cinemas. What is sexier and more interesting than a beautiful young woman in tight clothes fighting with a sword? I thought it had to be the start of my talk. Wonder woman is a 1940s creation by psychologist and myth enthusiast William Moulton Marston. Marston, drew on a mix of Greek mythology, blending stories from diverse sources and myths such as the ones of Pandora, Odysseus, and Atalanta and of course, the Amazons. The comic and its late movie, follow the story of Amazonian princess Diana, who is fated to help humanity to fight horror and terror with her over sexualized attire. After watching the movie, which I think is great, I could do nothing but wonder, what is it between war and female sexuality that attracts such enthusiasm of audiences of all over the world. This is nothing new. This a pattern repeated over centuries of female representation across the globe. Poets and writers have inspired characters in battling women who represent both the feminine and masculine and they have done so by inspiring themselves in mythological figures and ancient tales and created a character that represents androgyny. The figure of the warrior woman has been widely used throughout centuries in literature and popular culture, from Amazons to Valkyries and from Joan of Arc to China’s Fa Mulan.

When thinking about amazons, one wonders about different questions, what is an Amazon? are they a myth or were they a reality? What did they do to inspire thousands of years of cultural development? What is their role in world literature? What purposes do they fulfill? It is astonishing the richness and variety that these characters bring into narratives. And what elevates these warrior women to the category of global figures, is that it is persistent through time and space.

Folklore was a manner of passing on traditional and popular knowledge and traditions, and I take it as a primary form of literature. Most of these figures represented in literature are repeated at every stage of history with little variations. And it is no surprise, that figures of strong women are reproduced on and on in bellicose periods and are a constant leitmotif in different cultures. We have instances of this marvelous warring ladies tracing them back to Sumerian folklore, for example. We might be more familiar with ancient Catwoman “bastet” goddess of warfare, but also family and joy, and often represented as a vicious lioness. Warrior women with sexual natures are also found among the ancient Greeks. But where do we draw the line between myth and reality? Historians and archeologists have found plenty of evidence for different groups of nomad females living in central Europe, nowadays Ukraine, southern Russia and western Kazakhstan. Precisely these “tribes” might have influenced what we know now as the Amazon myth. In her work “Amazons” historian, Adrienne Mayor (2014) argues: “overwhelming evidence now shows that the Amazon traditions of the Greeks and other ancient societies derived in part from historical facts.” (Mayor, 2014, 11). Stereotypically, the amazons have been portrayed as man-like fighters. Amazons are first referenced with such name in written documents at about the 7th century BC and through time they have been depicted in literature and the arts in general. Their appearance has not changed much over the centuries either. They are represented as beautiful and they differ from normative women for their masculine performance.

Herodotus (484-c.425 BC) writes about them that they are a tribe of talented horse-riders skilled with bow and arrow. Amazons are quite civilized and they do have a

hierarchical order. The region where they come from is sufficiently distant to ancient Greece to symbolize a frightening, exotic and unknowable land populated by wild and threatening people, a geographical liminal space that separated the Greek civilization of those other barbarian tribes.

What is the significance of the Amazons in Greek mythology? The Greeks think about who they are, how to define themselves and their world. The Amazons limit this world. They help the Greeks to define who they are by opposition. The Amazons initially are a tool to situate and compare societies and to define, what Greek society stands for. They grant Greek men (and heroes in myths) to prove their masculinity through subjugation. Heroes can desire and take home and tame the amazons, but they will only take them home once their catch have become “women” and abandoned the identity that make their husbands masculinity be in danger. On the one hand, we have the barbarian Amazon and on the other hand, we have the domesticated virtuous lady. We see this in travel narratives but also in courtly love. In Schwarz words: “Desire governed by men and directed at women” (Schwarz, 2000, 34). The Amazons are not just not men, but also no women fully. They represent a gender paradox. Their strength and value do not fit their sex and society’s normativity. But most importantly is how authors deal with this paradox, and their manner of solving it is either killing the Amazon or taming her. And the only way of subduing her would clearly be marrying and making her fit into society’s assigned role for her sex. One must understand that Amazons might become wives, but also that wives could become Amazons which adds to the notion of interchangeability of labels and the fluidity of identity and possibilities of and for women. Thus, materializing patriarchy’s greatest fear, the replacement of male bodies and the performance of masculinity by those of women. They are a challenge to social order, power, and tradition. Amazons lead explorers to the edge of their world. That is why they are so popular in travelogues and travel narratives.

Marco Polo recounts encounters with female warring tribes in his travels. He mentions an island where only women inhabit it. The Spanish colonizers also write about amazons when they get to the Americas. In fact, Columbus and Francisco de Orellana mention them in their travelogues. We are not certain if following Marco Polo’s example and expecting to find the very same that the Venetian encountered, but they name the most important river of the South American continent after them. Walter Raleigh and John of Mandeville, both renown explorers mention encounters with these mythical creatures. What we are certain, is that Amazons tend to be referenced and seen mostly near water, a symbolic border space and a natural frontier and become the familiar ever-present stranger. Amazons represent the edge –both geographically and psychologically– and the perfect example of this is if one pays attention to the encounter with these figures. They live right at the threshold of society, or on the frontier of a territory. These characters are linked and present in stories of exploration and expressly one of the reasons why Romans kept playing with these figures and mixing them with their own folklore. These characters represent the value associated with land conquest as Schwartz states. Moreover, Amazons appear to be wild nomads inhabiting the unknown and unreachable, nevertheless, they represent a certain civility as their tribes and societies do have a hierarchical order. They play a marginal role geographically but not in literature.

From the middle ages onwards different artists have rediscovered the Amazons, from the Canterbury tales, Boccaccio's Decameron, and in numerous Renaissance paintings and plays. Performing various roles in literature for over a span of a thousand years. Generally, different types of Amazonian/ warrior figures can be easily spotted in different periods, but especially from medieval times onwards. Firstly, women in appropriately feminine roles who engage in inappropriate performance. And secondly, disguise plots in which the interchangeability of Amazons and men create a crisis of difference. And precisely this crisis is what makes the character of the Amazon such a unique and exploited one. Homoerotic tensions are to be found extensively in plays featuring amazons, for example Margaret Cavendish's *Assaulted and Pursued Chastity* (1656) or Charles Hopkins' *Friendship Improv'd* (1700). Plays containing these disguised women tend to demonstrate a heavily charged tone were inexplicably, men feel attracted to their male companions –not knowing that these companions are women who pose as men for a common cause–. As Rubik explains “The issue is solved, of course, because the boys turn out to be cross-dressed women after all, so that the excess of male emotion can be explained away as an instinctive attraction to the opposite sex.” (Rubik, 2014, 150).

This implies that both options disrupt the male homosocial process of connection and exchange. As Kathryn Schwarz states in her book “Tough Love”: “Amazonian narratives disrupt the idea of masculine hegemony by showing that women can intervene in its construction of performance, and this disruption raises further questions about the relationship of men to the abstract ideal of patriarchal control” (Schwarz, 2000, 35). By appropriating certain features of a masculine role Women destabilize male privilege. One should keep in mind that gender is the socially constructed role given by the community based on biological sex and that it has not been motionless, but modified by political and social discourses. The word “women” and its meaning have then evolved and have been constructed regarding different factors in different time spans. The term “amazon” is too, mostly a fluid term that changes some of its associations with time. Does the literary figure of the Amazon change with changing paradigms of nation and identity? Definitely. While Greeks see in Amazons foes limiting their frontiers, Romans see possible sexual partners. However, what is clear is that the category “Amazon” in world literature questions assumptions about gender, challenges some of the norms and values of patriarchy and masculine culture, and sometimes offers alternative values and opposition. Over time, the coinage “warrior women” loses some of its literal meaning and shifts to designate also women whose weapons are also verbal and strategic.

There are, as we have seen, multiple cultural references; that reflect the anxiety that these warrior figures represent (man-hater females, mean Goddesses...). But if there is any cultural text that has made an impact on the western civilization, that is the Bible. As In pre-Christian times, the legend of the Amazons had changed ever so slightly, it is under the influence of the Catholic church that the myth turns obscure and twisted this figures into baby-killers and man-haters. As Marta Vandreï explains in “Who will be a coward when a woman leads?”: Boudica and the Victorian Female Hero: “The portrait of Boudica that emerges from history books and historical novels are muddled and variable used to demonstrate the unsuitability of women for positions of power without male guidance and, more importantly, the dangers of rejecting the civilizing and moralizing influence of Christianity. Boudica, for obvious reasons, could not exist comfortably in the realm of exemplarity, the natural home of such women as

Florence Nightingale and Joan of Arc, both of whom could demonstrate piety and obedience."(Vandrei, 2009, 3).

From medieval times, in obscure texts and documents, the Amazons figure twisted into something closer to evil than that of the help sent by the gods to aid humans in their battles. Renaissance amazons usually use their power to achieve non-virtuous and lustful ends. What one can be sure about the amazons is that they can both represent virgin and whore, virtuous and barbaric behavior. Throughout the European Renaissance, there was a rising reproduction of the image of the warrior woman or a Virago –the word "virago" could be translated as "masculine woman"–. At first, the term was used with positive connotations to describe women rulers who exercised a power that had been exclusively allowed to men and who enforced females in roles that were considered masculine, such as defending their lands against enemy attacks. Only in later years would the word "virago" come to be understood as "shrew". The female warrior is a figure consistent among European folklore and tradition.

Historical figures such as Gentile Malatesta, Bianca Maria Visconti, Caterina Sforza, Eleanora d'Aragon, Isabella and Beatrice d'Este, Catherine de' Medici or Elizabeth I helped to idealize and inspire generations to come. Although restricted by their sex, these women ruled with iron wills and were treated as Amazons or Viragos and could exercise their political power. Their appropriation of the masculine roles was admired and applauded by many of their contemporaries. During the Renaissance, the figure of the ancient Virago/Amazon was seen with admiration and was represented by women who dressed in armor and who fought and commanded armies. Moreover, the image of the fighting woman gained importance and became popular in chivalric literature across the continent. Nevertheless, the figure of Christine de Pisan (1363-c.1434) prevails as a striking one in the creation of arguments in favor of women in war. In her *Book of the City of Ladies* and *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* (published 1405), Pisan envisions the idea of professional warrior women – specifically high born ones– as an active part of an army. She illustrates her point by giving historical examples of women leaders, such as the Queen of France, Blanche of Castile, and Jeanne d'Évreux, and included examples as the Amazons and also Queen Fredegund (545-547). In her second book *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, Pisan argues the need for noble women to defend and protect their land from any attack if their husbands are gone:

...she [the lady of an estate] ought to have the heart of a man, that is, she ought to know how to use weapons and be familiar with everything that pertains to them, so that she may be ready to command her men if the need arises. She should know how to launch an attack or to defend against one if the situation calls for it. She should take care that her fortresses are well garrisoned (Pisan, 1985, 95)

It is probable that Italy, through the vast variety of states and kingdoms that it had, the country that has generated most acclaimed historical women warriors. Those females rose to power on many occasions due to the need to take on masculine roles to protect their family's honor and their territory. The female members of the ruling families needed to learn to exercise power in order to maintain their dominant status. Something as basic as schooling was considered in Renaissance Italy as an opening starting point to female independence.

The vast production of texts where amazons appear and play a role have been made, consumed and circulated by men. What happens then, when it is women who use and write about these figures? Sadly, the production existent for both variables, that is written by a woman and featuring Amazons, is very reduced. In my opinion, that hints to the fact that the employment of amazons in the arts is commonly a male fantasy of power control. Kathryn King, argues that by isolating women's literary traditions from that of men's, we have continued with the conception of separate spheres of activity and "excluded from consideration elements not readily assimilated by anxiety-of-authorship or subversion paradigms." (King, no page, 2003,). However, male writers were not the only ones to gain interest in the powerful images of battling women, many women writers praised these figures for their independence, wits and military talents, an example of this is the eulogy of Joan of Arc that Marie de Gournay made. Examples of chronicled warrior women such as Joan's served authors to mark the path that they thought a female leader should follow. It can be argued that by the 15th century, it is harder to find instances of females in a battle, as their role in the private sphere of the house was much more established than in pre-medieval times. However, we do find direct references to the Amazons, an example of this could be a poem addressed to Aemilia Lanyer's main patron, the Countess of Cumberland, exalts the virtue of said lady comparing her to many strong females of the Bible, specially making emphasis and drawing comparisons between their moral achievements:

Though famous women elder times have knowne,
Whose glorious actions did appeare so bright,
That powrefull men by them were over throwne,
And all their armies overcome in fight;
The Scythian women by their power alone,
Put king Darius unto shamefull flight:[...]
(Lanyer, 1465-1504)

Lanyer demonstrates that as a female, and oblivious to male anxieties over women at war, she is able to refer in her preface to strong women both of the past and present times who show themselves as militant leaders and do not hold back their female strength. For example she refers to Scythian women's, and here one must read Amazonian victory over Darius. The term Scythian is just another term used in antiquity to refer to those female nomad tribes that limited with Greek land.

However, the representation of Amazons is also complicated, especially from the Renaissance onwards, as Queens and important nobility ladies start to adopt iconography typically related to amazons. As Rubik states, "Though 'classic' Amazons are generally armed with bow and arrows and dress up in an armour during battle, they do not necessarily wear male clothes all the time, but are recognizable as women." (Rubik ,2014, 150). Queen Elizabeth I and Caterina Sforza are good examples of this. But one may wonder, how come these powerful women relate to figures of such a bad reputation? I have come up with two hypotheses. The first one is that in order for these figures to be allowed they have to have two main virtues. Primarily patriotism. They need to use their sword and wit for their country. This is easily seen in most of the examples of amazons that we have in pop culture also –we can talk back about wonder woman or to bring someone else into the conversation, the character of Katniss Everdeen in "The Hunger Games" or Brienne of Tarth in critical acclaimed "Game of Thrones"–, –and yes, I am thinking about wonder

woman—. And, remarkably, a sense of motherhood. A trait that is spotted in many Renaissance accounts of the Amazons. The representation of queens hold both qualities as they convey in an image both patriotism and the notion of the queen as the mother of the land. The character construction choices indicate the desire to embody a heroic image of womanhood. The rise in the portrayal of these figures might be understood as the portrayal of a certain anxiety towards social hierarchy that might have been seen in the period by the rise to power position of certain ladies. As Schwarz explains “amazons not only threaten to replace male bodies in the performance of masculinity, but demonstrate that homosocial privilege, as a claim about value based in power, may not belong only to men” (Schwarz, 2000, 40).

However, something that also comes up in the Renaissance precisely at the same time as these valuable women start to get represented as amazons, we see that in literature the terms “warrior women” and “Amazons” start to separate their meanings. The connotation for “amazon”, from then on, will tend to be negative or anchored in the past while the notion “warrior woman” will be more contemporary and positive in gender terms.

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Legal Measures to Waive Abortions in ASEAN Countries

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Abstract

The purpose of this research was to study abortion justifications in South East Asian region in comparison with globally legal abortion standards, and to use this knowledge obtained to improve Thailand's abortion-related laws owing to the fact that Thai government is planning to promote the country as South East Asian's medical hub. Methodology employed was documentary research in nature. Data sources were a wide variety of academic writings, well-accepted research, widely proved documents and related websites. Data collected were the statues of laws and any related rules in each country which are primary information. The analysis was done by comparing the collected data. The results of the study revealed that, at present, restrictions of abortion in force do not support human's freedom/liberty and are a major factor contributing to illegal abortions that may threaten or harm a pregnant woman's health and life. As a consequence, in some countries, legal abortion has become more common. In Thailand, legal abortion can be performed only if a pregnant woman is sexually abused or has abnormal pregnancy and is medically proved. Among South East Asian countries, abortion laws can be divided into two groups. Group 1 comprises Laos, Indonesia, The Philippines, Brunei, Myanmar and Malaysia. All of countries in this group have less freedom/liberty to abortion than Thailand, while Group 2, Cambodia, Singapore and Vietnam, has more freedom/liberty to abortion than Thailand.

Keywords: Abortion laws, except of liability, ASEAN regional countries

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Introduction

At the beginning of Year 2016, it was time to launch ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) region, which coordinates the economic and social cooperations among Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam and Thailand for the peaceful livelihood growth of States in the region in spite of autonomous sovereignty over each State's territory that joined together to establish ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). However, in order that such AFTA joining which aims to retain each State's public interests can be actually put into practice, all the member countries' policies and legal measures should be consistent in the same direction and with those of civilized countries.

ASEAN countries have very high abortion statistics in each year; the total is approximately two million abortions. For example, Vietnam approximately has up to 300,000 or more¹, or Thailand is estimated to have a close abortion statistics to those of Vietnam. Yet, actual abortion statistics cannot be collected owing to the fact that such collection shall be against Regulation on Medical Ethics in the case of legal abortions, and such collection cannot be done with any States' illegal act or abortion. Associate Professor Kotom Areeya estimated that illegal abortions are approximately ten times higher in numbers than legal ones². There was an estimate that Southeast Asian countries had 36 abortions per 1,000 pregnancies, and approximately 40% of abortions occurred were performed unsafely³. Most of the abortions are illegal, which causes damages to most pregnant women's bodies and lives as a result of the fact that abortion performers usually are no medical professionals and the abortions are not performed in hospitals. Professor Suwachai Intaraprasert (MD), the President of the Royal Thai College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, assessed that there would be approximately between three and five deaths of women per 1,000 illegal abortions⁴.

In the last century, various countries in the world started legislation that brought charges against abortions. Initially, the charges were strictly pressed against criminals without any legal justification stated. Later, controversy arose between two big groups. One group called "Pro Life" thought that the right to fetus's life is more important, so they did not advocate abortions. The other called "Pro Choice" gave importance to women's right to autonomy for self-determination, so they advocated freedom to abortions with conditions. The latter's concept that derived from the growth of the right, liberty and equality, especially gender equality, made each country start having a guideline to amend laws in the direction of giving more liberty and right to women by provides legal justification. At present, according to United Nations (UN)'s report, legal grounds for abortions in various countries are as follows⁵: (1) to save a pregnant woman's life, (2) to preserve a pregnant woman's physical health, (3) to preserve a woman's mental

¹ From *Vietnam teenage girls have unwanted pregnancy: the highest abortion tops rates in Asean*, by Uasean, 2012, Retrieved from <http://www.uasean.com/kerobow460/01>

² From *Abortion: the choice should be relaxe*, by Kotom Areeya, n.d., Retrieved from <http://www.arya.in.th/th/article1.html>

³ From *Facts on abortion and unintended pregnancy in Asia*. (p. 1), by Guttmacher Institute, 2009, Retrieved from <http://www.womenhealth.or.th/downloads/document-resource/eng-.10pdf>

⁴ From *The danger of unsafe abortion*, by Suwachai Intaraprasert, 2009, Retrieved from http://www.tmc.or.th/detail_news.php?news_id=410&id=1&s_head=7

⁵ From *United Nations world abortion policies 2013*, by United Nations, 2013, Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/policy/world-abortion-policies-2013.html>

health, (4) pregnancy due to criminal rape or incest, (5) fetal impairment, (6) other economic or social reasons, and (7) on a pregnant woman's request.

According to the same UN's report, at present, every SEA country has its own provision that prescribes abortion offences and exempts medical practitioners from any abortion offence, but the provision of each country is different in details and can be divided into four big groups by arranging in order of the openness of legal measures for abortions in that State.

Country Group 1 allows a pregnant woman to have an abortion with intent. SEA countries that use this principle include Vietnam, Cambodia and Singapore.

Country Group 2 allows a pregnant woman to have an abortion because of physical and mental health of that woman. SEA countries that use this principle include Thailand and Malaysia.

Country Group 3 allows a pregnant woman to have an abortion due to possible harm to mother's life. SEA countries that use this principle include Laos, Indonesia, Philippines, Brunei and Myanmar.

It can be seen that legal measures on justification for abortions of SEA countries are not consistent in the same direction. Therefore, this topic is worth studying with the aim to understand legal measures of such matters of SEA countries and universal principles of legal measures on justification for abortions of civilized countries; to study the knowledge regarding justification for abortions of SEA countries in comparison with universal measures for abortions according to civilized countries' laws; to use as a guideline to amend laws of Thailand to make them more modern; to support Thai government's policies with respect to medical hub of Asia further

Conclusion

Approximately 200 years ago, several States started passing the bills on abortion ban for enforcement in their own countries in order to preserve fetus that might have been born and survived to be human in accordance with laws. This indicated the concept that protected more human dignity because laws on abortion ban are deemed the protection of human dignity since fetus, not just the protection of infant. However, since Post World War II, the concept of human right protection has started prospering more. The concept focusing on the protection of a mother's liberty and right not to be in unwanted pregnancy has replaced the concept of the protection of the right of fetus which is regarded as the rather vague right because there has been no real right holder of fetus in legal systems. Moreover, the nature of abortion offence considered as a victimless crime as well as the risk of being arrested if having an abortion against laws has little weight if compared to the burden of raising an infant stemmed from unwanted pregnancy. Legislation to punish women who have abortions without justification is viewed as pushing women with unwanted pregnancy into having to use illegal abortion service that is risky with respect to the absence of proper medical practice standard. This will have negative effects on women's life welfare and physique.

As a consequence, at present, each country, especially developed countries, amends legal measures on justification for abortions or on legal grounds for abortions in the

direction that gives more pregnant women's liberty to abortions. According to UN's report, legal grounds for abortions in various countries that are arranged in order of the-lowest-to-the-highest protective grounds for women's liberty are as follows: (1) to save a pregnant woman's life, (2) to preserve a pregnant woman's physical health, (3) to preserve a woman's mental health, (4) pregnancy due to criminal rape or incest, (5) fetal impairment, (6) other economic or social reasons, and (7) on a pregnant woman's request.

In civilized countries, such justified abortions will have to be performed only by a doctor and in a licensed clinic. A pregnant woman who wants to have an abortion is required to pass the step of receiving counseling from social work agents and doctors before proceeding. Most countries will determine that abortions due to economic and social reasons and on a pregnant woman's request can be performed up to 16 weeks gestation. If a pregnant woman wants to terminate pregnancy after 16 weeks gestation, her reason must fall into one of the following" saving a pregnant woman's life, preserving a pregnant woman's physical health, preserving a woman's mental health, or pregnancy due to criminal rape or incest as prescribed by each State's laws.

Thailand has the presence of justified abortions in Section 305 (1) and (2) of the Criminal Code of Thailand, which were provided to protect any act of a doctor in case "it is necessary for the sake of the woman's health, or" and "the pregnant woman on account of the criminal offences...". Later, the Medical Council of Thailand's Regulation on Criteria for Performing Therapeutic Termination of Pregnancy in Accordance with Section 305 of the Criminal Code of Thailand B.E. 2548 was established. Such regulation lays down details of medical profession practice in accordance with Section 305 that necessity to perform an abortion due to a woman's health includes physical and mental health. Harm to mental health also includes severe stress due to the finding that the fetus may have severe disability. Abortions due to mental health reason must be approved by two medical practitioners as well. Besides, the Council lays down the principle that, for abortions owing to reasons under Section 305 (2), there must be evidence or fact leading to a reasonable belief that the pregnancy is actually caused by a criminal offence. It is specified that the qualification of a doctor who perform an abortion must be a medical practitioner. It is not particularly specified that an abortion performer must be a specialist obstetrician. For premises for performing an abortion, hospitals or medical infirmaries that can provide overnight admission to patients are able to perform an abortion of every gestation. For medical clinics, an abortion can be performed only for gestation up to 12 weeks, and each abortion performed must be reported to the Medical Council of Thailand. In addition, physical and mental health symptoms of that woman will be kept in the patient medical record as well.

It may be concluded that abortions can be legally performed in Thailand due to the following grounds: to save a pregnant woman's life, to preserve a pregnant woman's physical and mental health, pregnancy due to criminal offence, or fetal impairment. When compared to AEC countries' legal measures, AEC countries can be divided into two groups. Country Group 1 has legal measures that give less liberty to women to perform an abortion than Thailand, and Country Group 2 has legal measures that give more liberty to women to perform an abortion than Thailand as follows:

Country Group 1

Countries with legal measures regarding abortions that give less liberty to women to perform an abortion than Thailand:

- 1) Lao People's Democratic Republic prescribes only one abortion justification for the sake of saving a mother's life. Such justification is in accordance with the principle of "committing any offence on account of necessity" according to the Criminal Code and must only be pre-approved by the Ministry of Health.
- 2) Republic of Indonesia prescribes only one abortion justification for the sake of saving a mother's life. The abortion must be consented by a panel of experts and a pregnant woman's family.
- 3) Republic of the Philippines prescribes only one abortion justification for the sake of saving a mother's life. Such justification is in accordance with the principle of "committing any offence on account of necessity" according to the Criminal Code and must only be pre-approved by a panel of experts.
- 4) Brunei Darussalam and Republic of the Union of Myanmar both prescribe an identical principle: prescribe only one abortion justification for the sake of saving a mother's life. Such justification is in accordance with the principle of "committing any offence on account of necessity" according to the Criminal Code and needs no pre-approval from any organization or any panel.
- 5) Federation of Malaysia prescribes abortion justifications for the sake of preventing harm to a mother's life, body or mind. An abortion that will fall into such justifications must be performed up to 12 weeks gestation, must have two doctors with medical degrees who give opinions supporting the abortion that terminating pregnancy will help prevent harm from a pregnant woman's life, body and mind more than keeping pregnancy going.

Country Group 2

Countries with legal measures that give more liberty to women to perform an abortion than Thailand:

- 1) Kingdom of Cambodia prescribes that a pregnant woman can have an abortion on request if the gestation does not exceed 120 days. In case the gestation is more than 120 days, the abortion relies on the following grounds: harm to life, harm to a mother's body, necessity due to an infant's disability or pregnancy due to rape. Two out of three doctors must also approve of the abortion if the gestation is over 120 days.
- 2) Republic of Singapore prescribes that a pregnant woman can have an abortion on request with the gestation not exceeding 16 weeks. But, if the gestation is between 16 and 24 weeks, only an approval letter issued by a doctor who works in licensed medical infirmaries is enough to make a pregnant woman be able to have an abortion. Singapore is deemed the only country in the world that prescribes that 24 weeks gestation is eligible for an elective abortion. But, if the gestation is after 24 weeks, an abortion must be

performed for the sake of saving a woman's life or preventing harm from a woman's body and mind only. Although Singapore prescribes legal grounds for abortion by taking into account a woman's liberty to make decision quite significantly, the right to abortion is reserved exclusively for Singaporean citizens or people who have a work permit in Singapore.

3) Vietnam is deemed the country that gives the most liberty to a woman to have an abortion in ASEAN owing to the absence of criminal laws bringing charges against a woman who perform self-induced abortion. However, such Vietnam's legal policy cannot make any abortion fall under control of the State at all, eventually having an effect on the protection of life and physical health of a woman who has an abortion.

Recommendation

Thai laws should be amended to make them more modern and consistent with civilized countries' international standards in order for supporting the government's policy regarding the medical hub of Asia. Therefore, appropriate amendment of Thai laws should be done as follows:

1) Add the provision of Section 305 providing that a doctor can perform pregnancy termination on a woman's request up to 16 weeks gestation. Yet, a pregnant woman must receive counseling from a social worker and a doctor and, after receiving counseling, has at least 24 hours for making decision.

2) Add the provision of Section 305 providing that an abortion after 16 weeks gestation will have to be present with necessary grounds due to a woman's or a mother's physical and mental health; the findings that fetus has severe disability or has a high risk of fetus having severe disability; or has a severe genetic disease or has a high risk of having severe genetic disease. This addition will be consistent with the Medical Council of Thailand's Regulation on Criteria for Performing Therapeutic Termination of Pregnancy in Accordance with Section 305 of the Criminal Code of Thailand B.E. 2548, which is in force already. Add a legal ground for abortion with respect to pregnancy due to incest which has a high risk of a new-born infant having impairment and deformation, which is also consistent with international codes of practices.

3) Section 305 provides that an abortion is solely at the discretion of the doctor to judge. It should provide that every case of abortion must be approved by two doctors or medical practitioners.

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Representation of 411 Protest in Jakarta in the News: A Transitivity Analysis

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Abstract

News as discourse has an essential role in shaping people's opinions or views on a particular event or a social actor. Different ways to report the same news can bring different ideology and thus differences in representation (Fowler, 1991). This paper employs transitivity approaches to examine representations of social actors involved in a demonstration against the governor of Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, on 04th November 2016 and the protest itself. It analyses two news texts taken from two different online media, the BBC and Al Jazeera. The result suggests that the BBC tries to emphasize the violent sides of the protesters and negative aspects of the demonstration while at the same time portrays the governor as a victim of accusation and discrimination, and only underlines his positive sides. On the other hand, although the Al Jazeera seems to highlight all sides of the demonstrators and the governor equally, the analysis suggests that it still stresses that the demonstration is violent and has political motivations.

Keywords: Discourse analysis, systemic functional linguistics, transitivity, social actors, representation

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1. Introduction

News is often considered as essential in this global world since we can find information about important events, issues and what is going on around the world from it. We might think that news reports are objective and far from biased since journalists only report on what actually occurs. However, some research has shown that news media do not mirror reality but construct versions of the real world. Fowler (1991) points out that news is a practice and socially constructed, which is far from objectively reflecting social reality and empirical facts. As news is considered as discourse (Van Dijk, 1988), it seems that it has a vital role in shaping people's opinions or views on a particular event or on a social actor since discourses "do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct and 'constitute' them" (Fairclough, 1992: p. 3).

Furthermore, Fowler (1991: p. 4) maintains that "news is a representation of the world in language", and language contributes to the contraction and reconstruction of social life (Richardson, 2007: p. 10). However, because representation in the press is "socially and ideologically controlled set of constructive strategies" (Van Dijk, 1988: p. 28), news is not natural reflection of facts or social reality. Journalists always have some optional ways to report the same news and different ways of reporting may bring different ideology and therefore differences in representation (Fowler, 1991). Thus, it seems that an analysis of a representation of events and social actors in news media might be significant to be carried out.

This present study endeavours to examine how social actors and events are represented in news reports in two different news media. Particularly, it focuses on a representation of social actors involved in a demonstration that occurred on 04th November 2016 in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, and the demonstration itself. To begin with, it is necessary to briefly outline the structure of this essay. It starts with a theoretical and analytical framework divided into two subsections, which respectively deal with discourse analysis and systemic functional linguistics, and transitivity. Data and method are then described before providing analysis and discussion. Lastly, it presents conclusions of this study.

2. Theoretical and Analytical Framework

2.1 Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics

Discourse analysis has become a very diverse area of study with various approaches to it. Discourse is seen as "a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice" (Fairclough, 1992: p. 4). Based on this framework, he proposes three stages of critical discourse analysis: "description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context" (Fairclough, 1992: p. 26). In other words, it might be stated that in order to understand comprehensively discourses, we need to analyse the form and function of the text, its relation to how it is produced and to social conditions around it.

In terms of description of text/textual analysis or microanalysis, one approach that is often employed is Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) proposed by

Halliday (1985; 1994). In general, SFL seeks to describe how people make meaning. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) states that a clause consists of three metafunctional lines of meaning. They are the textual (clause as a message), the interpersonal (clause as exchange) and the experiential (clause as representation). The textual metafunction refers to how we structure our messages to fit in with the other messages and the wider situation where they are used (Thompson, 2004). The interpersonal metafunction is when we use language to exchange meaning or interact with other people, establishing and maintaining social relations or influencing others' behaviour and points of view. The last is clause as representation. It refers to how we use language to express our experience of the real world, either the external world such as events, things or internal world such as beliefs, feelings etc. In this paper, however, we only focus on the ideational or experiential metafunction.

2.2 Transitivity

In the clause as representation, we mainly focus on the content meanings of “who did what to whom” (Thompson, 2004: p. 86). From this perspective, we see language as resources for referring to entities in the world and the way they “act on or relate to each other” (Thompson, 2004: p. 86; Hart, 2014). This metafunction is expressed through the grammar of transitivity. Transitivity in SFL refers to a grammatical system which “construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: p.170). Fowler (1991) argues that transitivity is an essential tool in the examination of representation and it is also of great interest in newspaper analysis as it offers the opportunity to analyse the same actions in different ways. In a same vein, Thompson (2004: p. 87) also suggests that from experiential metafunction perspective, it could be clearly conceivable to represent “the same going-on” in dissimilar ways. In this way, it might be stated that transitivity is a significant analytical tool to examine how different words, phrases or clauses chosen by speakers to talk about experience, events or actions could bring about different representations of their meaning.

Further, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) points out that there are three potential elements in clause as representation. Those are the participant, which is usually expressed in the form of noun phrases; the process, which is realized by the verb phrases; and the circumstance, which is optional and typically expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases. Among the three potential elements, processes are the cores of the clause (Thompson, 2004) since “which process type is chosen to signify a real process may be of cultural, political or ideological significance” (Fairclough, 1992: p. 180). In relation to news, Fowler (1991: p. 66) maintains that the structure of a news text represents values and beliefs and that representation differs systematically in different choices of word and grammatical phrasing. Indeed, a number of studies have demonstrated that newspapers can make different ideological constructions in different transitivity structures of the clause (see Alvaro, 2013; Bello, 2014; Li, 2010; Seo, 2013). Therefore, the nature of transitivity that offers different process types and associated participants as choices might be significant for textual analysis in news discourse.

Further, they distinguish six types of processes, all of which have their own types of participants. First, when we express the outer experience, the process of external world, it might refer to the first type of process, called material process. It is the type

of process involving physical actions (Thompson, 2004). This process at least involves one participant that is the one who undertakes actions, called “Actor”. If the action affects or is being done to another participant, this second participant is called “Goal”. Halliday also adds additional participants: Scope, Range, Recipient and Client (see Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004 for further discussion). Moreover, Eggins (2004) notes that in material process it is useful to identify what she calls “Agent”, the one who initiates the actions. The agent and the actor is usually the same entity but sometimes in causatives sentences applying the causative process “make”, the “Agent” may be distinct from the “Actor”.

On the other hand, when we talk about inner experience, the process of consciousness, it might refer to the second process, called mental process. Halliday defines this process as a process that construes “a quantum of change in the flow of events taking place in our own consciousness” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: p. 197). This process always has one participant who is human, called “Senser”. It is the one who feels, thinks, or generally it is the doer of mental process. The other participant is called “Phenomenon”, the entity that is felt, thought, perceived or wanted. It can be a thing, an act, a fact or another person.

Additionally, when we talk about a relation between experience or one entity to a quality, it might refer to the third process, which is relational process or the process of being (Eggins, 2004). There are two types of relational process. The first type is attributive, which involves ascribing some quality to a participant. The quality is labelled “Attribute” while the entity which carries the attribute is called “Carrier”. The second sub-type is “Identifying” which is a process to identify one entity from another (Thompson, 2004). There are two participants in this type which are “Token”, the entity which is being identified, and “Value”, what identifies a Token.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) also recognizes further categories located at each of the boundaries. On the borderline of mental and material process is labelled “Behavioural” processes which represent physiological and psychological behaviour such as smiling, dreaming, breathing etc. The next process type is called “Existential” which is located at the boundary between relational and material. It represents that something happens or exists. At the boundary between mental and relational is called “Verbal” process which is the act of saying.

3. Data and method

The data of this present study is two news texts, which can be found in Appendix 1. They are taken from two different media online (the BBC and the Al Jazeera). The term ‘news’ itself could be ambiguous (Van Dijk, 1988) but news in this context is type of discourse as it is expressed publicly in news reports in media. The news texts cover the same topic which is generally about a demonstration or protest in the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta, on 4th November 2016.

This demonstration occurs because the government is considered slow and not serious in dealing with the case of Jakarta governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, about alleged blasphemy. Mr. Purnama, better known by his nickname Ahok, on 27th of September conveyed a statement that some Muslims see as an insult to *Ulama* and the Qur'an. Indonesia Muslim scholars do not reach an agreement in this case but formal

complaints have been lodged. The demonstration, on one hand, is seen to bring political interest as it approaches the Jakarta gubernatorial election in February 2017. Additionally, this event is also seen by some people as a threat to democracy and the ideology of Indonesia that upholds diversity since the governor is a Chinese and a Christian, a minority group in Indonesia.

On the other hand, the coordinator of the demonstration states that the protest is not associated with politics or differences in race, ethnicity and religion; but it is purely for justice. Thus, it seems significant to analyse how the western media (BBC) and the eastern media (Al Jazeera) represent the social actors and the demonstration itself in the news reports. Also, analysing texts dealing with the same topic may enable us to understand the extent to which the differences or similarities between the two news media in representing the same social actors and an event are based on their ideological orientations.

To explore the construction of the different social actors involved in the protest and the protest itself, this paper employs transitivity, which put emphasis on the process types and agencies in the texts, as the analytical tool. The clauses of texts are scrutinized in terms of process types and participants to know what process type is dominant in each text and what types of process ascribed to different agents.

4. Analysis and Discussion

This section is devoted to provide the analysis which explores the transitivity patterns involving the choices of process types and the associated participant roles in the clauses. It, then, particularly focuses on the representation of the government, the police, the demonstrators, the governor (Ahok) and the protest itself.

Table 1: Number and Distribution of transitivity process

News Media	Categories of transitivity verbs						Total
	Material	Mental	Relational	Verbal	Behavioural	Existential	
BBC	18 (40%)	5 (11%)	10 (23%)	11 (25%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	56 (100%)
Al Jazeera	29 (52%)	0 (0%)	11 (20%)	16 (28%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	45 (100%)

Table 1 describes the distribution of processes types in the two news texts from the BBC and Al Jazeera. The majority of processes applied to represent participants and events are material, verbal and relational processes. It also can be seen that material processes are the most frequent process types in both news texts. This might be because the reporters intend to highlight the physical actions of the event. Since the percentage of mental, behavioural and existential processes is so low, it seems not really necessary to provide detailed analysis of them. Thus, this analysis only focused on material, verbal and relational processes.

4.1 Material process

Table 2: Material processes in the BBC

No	Participant	Process	Participant	Circumstance
1	Protesters {Actor}	had marched		Earlier upon the presidential palace
2	Clashes	broke out		between police and protesters
3	Police {Actor}	had been braced		for the possibility of religious and racial tensions erupting at the rally, which an estimated 50,000 people attended.
4	Groups of angry demonstrators {Actor}	Clashed	with police	after nightfall
5	Groups of angry demonstrators {Actor}	set alight	Vehicles {Goal}	
6	The protest {Goal}	was held		to demand that Mr Purnama be prosecuted for blasphemy...
7	Formal complaints {Goal}	were lodged against him	By Islamic groups {Actor}	for defamation
8	He {Goal}	is now being investigated	by police {Actor}	
9	Some protesters {Actor}	Carried	signs {Goal} calling for the governor's death	At Friday's rallies
10	Representatives {Actor}	Met	with Vice-President Yusuf Kalla {Goal}	
11	A Christian {Actor}	should not govern	a Muslim-majority city {Goal}	
12	50,000 people {Actor}	Attended		
13	Mr Purnama {Goal}	[should] be prosecuted		for blasphemy over comments he made in September...
14	Voters {Actor}	who will go to		in February.

		the polls		
15	The investigation into Mr Purnama. {Goal}	would be completed		within two weeks
16	Mr Widodo {Goal}	was elected president		
17	One elderly man {Actor}	Died		
18	Islamic groups using a passage of the Koran to urge people not to support him {Actor}	Were	deceiving voters	

It is shown that both news media tend to use more material processes in reporting the news. However, it appears that each media has its own strategies. In describing social actors, the BBC seems always to represent the protesters or the demonstrators as “Actors” and “Agents” who are active participants in the process of doing (Material), such as in clause 1, 4, 5 and 9 in table 2. It also could be seen that the demonstrators are mostly presented as the agents of negative actions such as “clashed”, “set vehicle alight” and “carried signs calling for the governor's death” in clause 2, 5, 9 respectively. This is contrast to the way BBC talks about Mr. Purnama (the governor), the government and the police. They always appear to be presented as a “Goal” or “Patient”, “Recipient” and in a passive construction. In clause, 13 and 15, for example, a passive construction and nominalisation are employed to obscure the roles of the agents and put more emphasis on the role of Ahok as “Patient”. Furthermore, in clause 7 in which Ahok is “Recipient” of the process, a negative circumstance of purpose, “defamation”, is presented. This might also construct a view that the protest is not merely for justice but also for political interests.

In terms of representing the government, in clause 3 where the government might be expected to be an “Actor”, the application of a passive construction appears to limit the active roles of the government in that demonstration. It seems that representing the demonstrators as active actors and the government and police in a passive construction might also indicate that the protesters are fully responsible for the physical actions, especially violent actions, in the demonstration and clashes and they have more power and control in that action.

On the other hand, Al Jazeera tends to use different strategies. Although the demonstrators are also mostly described as “Agents” of the material processes, it is likely that the material processes ascribed to them are less violent. For instance, while BBC reports that they carried signs calling for the government's *death* and burnt vehicles, Al Jazeera states that they waved placards calling for the governor to be *jailed* (Clause 16 in table 3) and only threw plastic bottles (Clause 7), which are not too hazardous. In contrast, the governor is rarely represented in Al Jazeera but when he is represented as the “Actor/Agents”, the process ascribed seems to carry a negative semantic meaning (clause 23 “stoked religious tensions”).

Table 3: Material processes in the Al Jazeera

No	Participant	Process	Participant	Circumstance
1	One person {Goal}	was killed		
2	Indonesian police {Actor}	Fired	tear gas and water cannon {Goal}	to disperse tens of thousands of protesters
3	Tens of thousands of protesters {Actor}	who rallied		to demand the resignation of the Christian governor of Jakarta
4	A white banner hung at an overpass {Goal}	was painted		with red letters saying "Hang Ahok here".
5	A sea of protesters wearing white robes {Actor}	took	to the streets	
6	Indonesian police {Actor}	fired	tear gas {Goal}	to disperse protesters near the presidential palace.
7	Some protesters {Actor}	Threw	plastic bottles	at officers {Recipient}
8	Officers	who had formed	a barricade	
9	The protest {Goal}	was triggered	by accusations that Purnama, insulted Islam.	
10	Opponents {Actor}	who used	Quranic references {Goal}	to attack him ahead of an election in February
11	His opponents {Actor}	have built	a groundswell of support {Goal} calling for his arrest and incarceration	under Indonesia's tough blasphemy laws.
12	Helicopters	flew low		over the city
13	Extra soldiers {Goal}	were stationed		at key government buildings
14	Anger at Purnama	Spread		beyond the capital
15	Solidarity marches	also held		across Java and in cities as far away as Makassar in

				Indonesia's east
16	The demonstrators {Actor}	Waved	placards {Goal} calling for Purnama to be jailed for blasphemy	
17	Police {Actor}	are investigating	the case against Purnama {Goal}	
18	Those (his opponents)	who used it (verse of the Qur'an) {Goal}		to attack him
19	President Joko Widodo {Actor}	Met	religious and political leaders {Goal}	this week to issue a unified call against violence
20	Police {Actor}	sought to ease	Tensions {Goal}	by holding prayer sessions and broadcasting calls for peace on social media
21	Widodo...	pressed on	with business	on Friday
22	A vast majority (Muslims) {Actor}	practise	a moderate form of Islam.	
23	The governor	stoked	religious tensions {Goal}	in September
24	Purnama	was not elected to the post		
25	Incumbent Widodo	was elected Indonesian president		
26	They (Ethnic Chinese)	do not enter	Politics	Typically
27	Opponents {Actor}	who had used	a Quranic verse {Goal}	to try to put them off voting for a Christian
28	An elderly man {Actor}	Died		
29	Thousands {Actor}	Rally		against blasphemy in Jakarta

Moreover, unlike in the BBC news, in the Al Jazeera the police are also described as “Agents” of the material processes related to the march such as in clause 2, 6, 8, and 20. This representation suggests that the police are also responsible for physical actions in the demonstration. Besides predicating the police with positive or neutral actions such as in clause 17, 20 and 8, the police is also ascribed with a negative action. In clause 2 and 6, for instance, the police are ascribed to the verb “fired”, which make them fully responsible for that aggressive action. However, in these clauses in which the protesters are possibly expected to be the direct “Patient” or the “affected”, the protesters feature as a part of a circumstantial phrase of purpose, a different functional unit, which may give rise to different representation. This is in contrast to clause 7 where the police are represented as the direct “Receiver” of the material process (throwing plastic bottles) of the protesters. Also, it might be significant to note how the journalist reported a killed victim in the clashes. In clause 1, a transitive action process “to kill” is expressed in a passive construction with a deleted agent. Since the victim is one of the protesters and so that the police are likely to be the “Actor” of the process, in this case it seems that the agency of the police is removed through the use of a passive phrase. Such exclusion thus can conjure away responsible social actors or put them in the semantic background (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: p. 58). In this way, it might be stated that although the roles of the police are activated in some processes of doing (Material), the agency of the police is obscured or even deleted when the processes are related to violent actions.

Furthermore, it is also interesting to note that Al Jazeera presents other actors who are absent in the BBC news, Ahok’s opponents in politics. They are always represented as the “Actors” of actions involving a negative circumstance of purpose (To attack Ahok) such as in clause 10, 11 and 27, presumably emphasizing Ahok as the victim. In this case, it might also be said that Al Jazeera tries to represent that this demonstration is also associated to political interests.

4.2 Verbal process

Table 4: Verbal processes in BBC

No	Participant	Process	Participant	Circumstance
1	The demonstrators	Accuse	him of having insulted Islam's holy book, the Koran	
2	He	said	that Islamic groups using a passage of the Koran to urge people not to support him were deceiving voters, who will go to the polls in February.	
3	Mr Purnama	has since		

		apologised		
4	The BBC's Rebecca Henschke	Says	Some protesters at Friday's rally carried signs calling for the governor's death	in Jakarta
5	Vice-President Yusuf Kalla	who promised	that the investigation into Mr Purnama would be completed within two weeks.	
6	They (Protesters)	argued	that a Christian should not govern a Muslim-majority city	
7	The Associated Press	reports	One elderly man died	
8	Jakarta police	said	there were "provocative statements and images" on social media urging people to take violent action against Mr Purnama, including calls to kill him.	
9	The country's largest Islamic organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama,	had advised	its 40 million members not to take part in the protest.	
10	The FPI (Protesters)	said	the rally was not about the governor being from a minority group	
11	[The governor]	has been praised		for his effectiveness

In verbal processes from BBC news, we can see from table that most of the active participants "Sayer" are from the protesters. This might indicate that the BBC journalist considers demonstrators' voices more relevant to the news. However, the verbal verbs predicated to the demonstrators seems to have a negative meaning such

as the verb “accuse” in clause 1, which involves Ahok as the patient of the process. Moreover, the verb “argue” is also used to highlight the opinion of the protesters that “a Christian should not govern a Muslim-majority city”. These choices might respectively serve to emphasize that Ahok is a victim of accusation and the protest is also related to differences in religion and ethnic.

In contrast, besides using the verb “said”, the governor, Ahok, is ascribed to the verb “apologised” which may carry more a positive semantic meaning. Also, the governor is represented as “Receiver” of the verbal process with the verb “Praise” which carries a positive connotation (Clause 11). The clause is in a passive construction with a deleted agent, more focusing on the process “Praise” and Ahok as the “Receiver”. In this way, it could be said that the governor is represented in the verbal process more positively.

Furthermore, unlike in material processes in which roles of the government and the police are not activated, in verbal process there are two participants on the government side, Vice-President Yusuf Kalla and Jakarta police, who are represented as “Sayers”. In clause 5, the verb “promise” is used to describe the government’s response to the investigation of Ahok’s case. This choice may be used to show a positive image of the government which has been working on the case seriously. Furthermore, the police’s statement is also cited by the journalist but the verbiage or message of the “Sayer” is associated to the violent intentions against Mr. Purnama in the demonstration (Clause 8). This construction may also put emphasis on the negative representation of that event. Additionally, the journalist also ascribes verbal process to the country’s largest Islamic organisation, Nahdlatul Ulama to emphasize its statement that advises its 40 million members not to take part in the protest. Besides the journalist may consider its voice is significant in the news, this representation may also be used to implicitly say that the demonstration is not supported by majority Muslims.

In Al Jazeera, on the other hand, different representations may be applied. In the processes of saying (Verbal), Mr. Purnama appears frequently as “Sayer”. The verbs used to represent Ahok are more varied than the BBC’s. Besides assigning the verb “apologised” two times and other neutral verbs such as “told” and “said”, the Al Jazeera journalist also ascribes verbs that carry a negative semantic charge such as “insulted” and “humiliated” (clause 4 and 6 in table 5).

Table 5: Verbal processes in the Al Jazeera

No	Participant	Process	Participant	Circumstance
1	Jakarta police spokesman Awi Setiyono	said	At least seven people were injured in clashes between demonstrators and police	on Friday
2	Tens of thousands of protesters	called for	Jakarta's governor to be prosecuted for blasphemy in the massive demonstration.	
3	Local television	reported	Indonesian police fired tear gas to disperse protesters near the presidential palace	
4	Purnama, better known by his nickname Ahok,	insulted	Islam	by criticising opponents who used Quranic references to attack him ahead of an election in February
5	Purnama	apologised		for the remarks
6	He	humiliated	the Quran	
7	Muhammad Said (Protesters)	told	Reuters news agency "He is not Muslim but he humiliated the Quran,"	
8	I (Protesters)	call on	God	to jail him
9	Protesters	called for	Purnama's death.	
10	The demonstrators {Sayer}	chanted	"God is greatest"	
11	Purnama,	who has apologised		for his remarks
12	He	was not criticising	the Quranic verse	
13	Johan Budi	said	[that] Widodo . . . pressed on	

			with business on Friday inspecting a train project	
14	He	told	a crowd they'd been "deceived" by his opponents who had used a Quranic verse to try to put them off voting for a Christian.	
15	They	say [that Ahok]	committed blasphemy.	
16	The military	warned	[that] it was ready to back 18,000 police officers deployed	

In representing the demonstrators, the verb of saying “call for” which conveys a sense of strong and loud voice is employed two times in the clauses which highlight protesters’ strong demand for Ahok’s death and prosecution. Besides, the verbs, “told”, “call on” and “chanted” are also used to present their verbiages associated with Islam such as in clause 7, 8, 10, which may highlight that all the protesters are Muslims, i.e. have different faith from the governor.

The voices of the government and the police are also cited in the news from Al Jazeera but less frequently than the voices of the protesters and Ahok. In clause 1, for instance, where the police are mentioned in the agentive position “Sayer”, its verbiage is associated with the clashes in the protest and the injured victims. Since the source of information is important in news, by citing the police’s voice may also be used to assure readers that the demonstration is violent, causing casualties.

4.3 Relational Process

Table 6: Relational protest in BBC

No	Participant	Process	Participant	Circumstance
1	Basuki Tjahaja Purnama [Token]	Is	the first ethnic Chinese to hold the governor's post [Value]	in the capital of majority Muslim Indonesia.
2	Several other people, including police officers,	have been injured		
3	It (the demonstration)	had mostly been	peaceful	
4	A wave of anti-Chinese sentiment	led to	mobs looting and burning Chinese-owned shops and houses	In 1998
5	Ethnic Chinese [Token]	make up	about 1% of Indonesia's population of 250 million people.	
6	He [Token]	was	the deputy governor under Joko Widodo	In 2014
7	The campaign against him [Token]	has since taken	on anti-Chinese overtones	
8	The governor	is	popular among many in the capital and has been praised for his effectiveness	
9	Muslims in Indonesia [Carrier]	are	largely moderate	
10	Jakarta anti-governor rally	turns	violent	

Table 7: Relational Processes in the Al Jazeera

No	Participant	Process	Participant	Circumstance
1	At least seven people	were	injured	in clashes between demonstrators and police
2	Four civilians and three police officers	were	Hurt	
3	He [Carrier]	is not	Muslim	
4	Things	turned	ugly	
5	God	is	greatest	
6	Indonesia	is	home to the world's biggest Muslim population	
7	The governor	is	hugely popular	in other quarters for his determination to clean up Jakarta, an overcrowded, disorganised and polluted metropolis
8	Purnama [Token]	became	Jakarta governor	in November 2014
9	He [Token]	was	deputy governor	
10	He [Token]	automatically became	governor	after incumbent Widodo was elected Indonesian president.
11	Ethnic Chinese [Token]	make up	about one percent of Indonesia's 250 million people.	

Table 6 and 7 displays the relational processes as found in the BBC and Al Jazeera news texts. The data shows that in relational processes the demonstrators in general are not presented in both the BBC and Al Jazeera news texts and the social actor mostly represented is the governor. Both news media also are likely to represent the governor in a similar way. The BBC and Al Jazeera assign Ahok with the same positive attribute, which is *popular* among others for his achievements as the governor (Clause 8 in table 6 and clause 7 in table 7). Both news media also identify Ahok as the first ethnic Chinese governor in Jakarta but not elected directly by the Jakarta residents. Moreover, both news texts identify Ahok's cultural group, ethnic Chinese, as a minority in Indonesia. The BBC additionally also identifies the previous

campaign against him as having anti-Chinese overtones (Clause 7 in table 6). This attributions and identifications may be used to assert that his religious and cultural group is a significant aspect in the news and sustain the impression that the demonstration against him is also caused by his different faith and ethnicity. By these depictions, it may also aim to evoke the reader's sympathy to Ahok. Furthermore, both news media represent victims of clashes in the demonstration in relational processes (Clause 2 in table 6 and clause 1 and 2 in table 7). The victims of the clashes are embedded to function as the "Carrier" of an attributive "injured and hurt" and this allows the actor(s) who is responsible for the harm to be excluded.

5. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to analyse how the social actors involved in the protest against the governor of Jakarta on 04th November and the protest itself are represented in two news texts from two different news media (BBC and Al Jazeera) by using transitivity as the analytical tool. The result suggests that the most frequent process in both news texts is material process, indicating that both news media focus on the material actions in the demonstration, then followed by verbal processes and relational processes. The result also indicates that each news institution has its own ways in representing the social actors and the protest in the news reports. In the BBC, the demonstrators are mainly represented as the actors of violent actions and therefore make them the major source of the clashes and fully responsible for the casualties in the demonstration. This construction differs from Al Jazeera's in the sense that the actions predicated to them are less violent. In contrast, the police are often represented as the victims of violent acts in the both news, and when they resort to violence, their acts are mitigated and their agency is obscured or even deleted or suppressed. Thus, it seems that the way the protesters are represented could make readers adopt negative attitudes towards them and also the demonstration.

Moreover, in representing the governor, while the BBC focuses only on the positive sides of him and often portrays him as the victim, the Al Jazeera seems also highlight his negative sides equally. The government are rarely represented in both news media but when it is represented it is associated with the positive actions. Furthermore, both the BBC and the Al Jazeera are likely to represent the protest as part of political interests and tend to contain discrimination against a Christian and ethnic Chinese as a minority group. Also, it is represented as an action that is not supported by a majority of Muslims in Indonesia.

In short, it can be stated that the BBC news try to emphasize the bad sides of the protesters and negative aspects of the demonstration while at the same time portrays Ahok as the victim of accusation and discrimination and only emphasizes his positive sides. On the other hand, although Al Jazeera seems to try to highlight all sides of the demonstrators and Ahok equally, the analysis suggests that it still stresses that the demonstration is violent and a part of political interests.

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Silk Road as Political Metaphor: Quest for an Ideal World in Ancient Korea

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Abstract

This paper explores the Silk Roads as a political metaphor in the context of Korea's ancient kingdoms. Typically, many consider Northeast Asia far from the Silk Roads. But the Silk Roads have always symbolized legendary, mythical, or sacred meanings for Koreans, imparting a sense of legitimacy to political life. Rulers apprehended "exotic" cultures in terms of holy objects from distant lands. Note three images from Korean history: "Heo Hwang-ok," who was Queen and wife of King Suro of the ancient Kingdom of Gaya (42-532); the "blue-eyed man," an alleged Persian who came to the Korean Peninsula to trade during the 10-14th centuries; and *An Account of Travel to the Five Indian Kingdoms*, a travelogue by the 8th-century monk Hyecho. These stories, images, and travelogues have figured prominently in the narrative of Korea's emerging statehood. The Silk Roads thus helped to generate a metaphor of an ideal yet replete with real world political legitimacy.

Keywords: silk road, blue-eyed man, travelogue, story, image

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1. Introduction

Silk Road has been often thought of much far away from the Korean Peninsula as well as Far East Asia while considered as an exclusive property of China. The reason is that Silk Road was surely great distance from Northeast Asia from perspective of ancient transportation technology.

Furthermore, Silk Road studies have received relatively little attention from all academic fields, even if it were, it has usually addressed in viewpoints of cultural context or social history (Jeong, 1992, 2001). In international academic fields, many studies have been actually performed in terms of social structures, cultures, and economies over time, mapping the diffusion of influence from the Mediterranean region, Central Asia and India to China, for instance, describing the path of ancient inter-trade (Sims-Williams 2001; Dale 2009) and cultural interaction (Frank 1990; Eliseeff 2000; Beckwith 2009; Mair et al. 2014). Their works are a kind of scientific researches based on real world, surely.

As for the Korean Peoples that have been surrounded by the three ocean waters and then more became a land of seclusion, however, it should be tried from a unique viewpoint because Silk Road has been recognized of as a symbol of a dreaming world and a door to strange culture. In other words, Silk Road was the door to arrive at the Western world that was a kind of sacred place where reality and illusion that were composed.

Sometimes, ancient stories are regarded as a sort of legend or folktale, not understood by scientific approach. We can surely explain given physical phenomena, which means basically an object, or area that one can assert an objective validity of recognition, through scientific conception, but also understand them even by alternative approaches such as encounter, moral, spread and experience. As Immanuel Kant (1781) points out, *phenomena*, contrary to *noumena*, appear with human senses that constitute personal experiences. Briefly, we should often depend upon the sensibility by telling a story, and imagine a scene and interpret moral in the course of time for better understanding that phenomena. Human consciousness and actions of a hermeneutical situation, facing a tradition to understand, is attributed to historical tradition and their influence. Nevertheless, this neglects the alienation from history that indispensably exists and is to include only ontological aspects, but to exclude epistemological approaches. Influence from history takes places under the circumstances of historical intervals. Our consciousness also is in the intervals occurred by itself. Encounter, moral, spread and experience are the conditions of distanciation and appropriation, and to understand events over the time before we exist.

In this essay, I focus on three points. Firstly, the story and legend in ancient world was a clue to adopt exotic culture as environment of admiration and amalgamation. Story tells something and indicates events that are often arrival of mysterious guest from ideal world. Silk Road should not be considered in standard civilization in particular pre-modern times, and it should be done as a political metaphor for the ancient people. And, the metaphor is interpreted and reinterpreted in the time. Secondly, the encounter does not mean only relationship beyond money transfer or

commercialism, but is a kind of interaction and a scene to extend hospitality to foreigner. Interaction, through encounter to foreigner, and hospitality are a condition for richness of human life before reasonable business or capital accumulation under the modern times viewpoint. Thirdly, hospitality to foreigner is interpreted by conflicts between laws. Norms, rights and duties of hospitality do not unconditionally impose on all the people, but were conditionally granted by laws or moral if we are thinking of culture exchange. As for the Korean People, however, Silk Road was a gateway to wait for foreigners coming from the ideal world and to depart of them seeking for universal laws. Then, their hospitality was unconditional moral. Remark this. Silk Road was the way of foreigner coming from an exotic world, the way of the hospitality communicating you and I, and the way of nomos having made us up.

2. Foreigner and the other

A door is often considered as the spot to meet ‘foreigner’ who “carries and put the question.”(Derrida 2005: 5) It put forward an unacceptable question as it was told by the confession of Oedipus. In the triple-branching roads, the foreigner disrupted the authority of the kingdom and also eliminated logos although his patricide was God’s revelation, but he also did not want to be taken for such a miserable fate.(Sophocles 2005: 39-41) In the ancient world, the pathway, as his arriving way, should be secured against foreigners because the natives considered them as the unwelcome guests. In so far as we experience in the political and the ethical thoughts, a pathway arises as to foreigner and hospitality. The first question is from Immanuel Kant. As for Kant (1903), “hospitality signifies the claims of a stranger entering foreign territory to be treated by its owner without hostility”(p. 137). It means, in the period of enlightenment, the foreigner takes a right to be treated as a welcome guest as long as he lives peacefully in the land although the foreigner cannot have a right to reside perpetually. That is to say, hospitality was a right as citizens of the world with whom the benefits of standard civilization provided, not from human nature. Therefore, Kant(1903) thought that the right to a foreigner arriving on foreign territory does not “amount to more than what is implied in a permission to make an attempt at intercourse with original the inhabitants.”(p.139) Hospitality to foreigner was a behaviour way of the personal level to construct peaceful relationship among the political societies under the public law in International Relations.

The road as route where visitors are arriving was a beginning point to extend hospitality to foreigner. Therefore, it was opened late after the trade was activated. We must focus on Silk Road as a pathway that is the course of delivering humanity that could be reached through encounter with foreigners and then hospitality to them. Silk Road was a physical space and route that was a kind of network to trade economically and to interact culturally across Eurasian continent. In the ancient Korean Peninsula, however, a road was not the place to arouse absurdity. Silk Road was rather a sacred gateway to wait for an ideal guest than the trade route bringing transaction. Contrary to the Greek tradition, a foreigner, who arrived from abroad, was not the man that raised problems in the ancient Korean Peninsula.

3. Story, Image and Travelogue

1. Foreigner to Marry: Heo Whang-Ok

History or legend in the Korean life tells a different story. There is a legendary woman long years ago. According to, *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea* which is a chronicle, she came from the Western kingdom and then became the Queen as the wife of King Suro of Gaya which was one of kingdoms in South Korean Peninsula 2000 years ago.

"....In the twenty-fourth year of Kien-wu of Kuang Wu-ti in the Later Han period in the year of the monkey (A.D.49) on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, the nine chief courtiers of King Suro repaired to the palace and were received in royal audience, 'It is not good for the King to be alone,' they said. 'Let Your Majesty choose the most beautiful and virtuous maiden from among the girls whom we shall bring to the palace and make her your queen.' 'I was sent down from heaven to rule this land,' the King replied, 'and so my spouse will also descend from heaven at divine command. Sail toward Mangsan-do (Mountain-Viewing Island) in the south and see what happens.' The courtiers obeyed. When they were far out at sea, a ship with a red sail and flying a red flag appeared on the horizon, darting toward the north like an arrow. The Kaya sailors waved torches and made signs for the mysterious ship to come near. When it did so, they found that a beautiful princess was on board..."

According to the legend, she arrived on a boat from a distant kingdom, and married the king in the year AD 49.

"...The sailors escorted her to the shore, where a courier mounted a swift steed and galloped off to convey the news to the King. The King was exceedingly glad. He commanded the nine senior courtiers to meet the princess on the seashore and conduct her to the palace. "Welcome, princess!" they said. "The King desires you to enter the palace and be received in audience immediately." "You are strangers," the princess modestly replied. "I cannot follow you, nor can I be so unmaidenly as to enter the palace without due ceremony." The courtiers conveyed the princess' words to the King, and he was struck by her virgin modesty and queenly dignity. He ordered a tent pitched in front of his detached palace on a hill sixty feet southwest of the royal residence and awaited her arrival. The princess left her ship with her suite, which consisted of the two courtiers Sin Po and Cho Kuang, their wives Mojong and Moryang and twenty slaves who carried gold, silver, jewels, silk brocade and tableware in countless boxes as her trousseau. When she reached the top of the hill she changed her brocade trousers and offered them as a gift to the mountain spirit. Then she approached the tent and the King rose to meet her. The King bestowed native costumes and jewels upon the suite and bade them rest on beds covered with embroidered quilts and pillows. Then he and the princess entered the sleeping chamber...."

Her name is Heo Hwang-ok(yellow jade), she described how to arrive in Gaya herself later. The Heavenly Lord appeared in her father's dreams and told them to send Heo to KIM Suro who had been chosen as the king of the kingdom in the South of Korean

Peninsula. Heo's father then told her to go to Suro. After two months of a sea journey, she arrived in the Korean Peninsula and then married King Suro. They had 12 children, her last name 'Heo' was an origin of Kimhae Heo family in Korea. You can often find man Heo with last name in Korea. Even though this is a kind of legend to support justice of building an ancient Kingdom, Gaya, Korean scholars think, she is the first symbol of interaction between the Occidental region, silk roads and Korean peninsula.

"... 'I am a princess of Ayuta,' the princess said. 'My family name is Heo, my given name is Hwang-Ok, and I am sixteen years old. In May this year my royal father and mother said to me, 'Last night we had a dream, and in our dream we saw a god who said, 'I have sent down Suro to be King of Karak, and Suro is a holy man. He is not yet married, so send your daughter to become his Queen.' Then he ascended to heaven. It is the command of the god, and his words are still ringing in our ears. My daughter, bid farewell to your parents and go.' So I started on my long voyage, with steamed dates of the sea and fairy peaches of heaven for my provisions. Now I blush to stand in your noble presence...."

As it told, She was from India.

"[Suro said]...I knew that you were coming," the King told her. "so I refused all the maidens whom my courtiers recommended as my spouse. Now my heart leaps with joy to receive a most beautiful and virtuous princess as my Queen." The King passed two nights and one day with the princess from India. When it was time for her escort to return home he gave each person thirty rolls (one roll is forty yards) of hempen cloth and ten large bags of rice to sustain them on their voyage..."

Her death left memories and legacies to Karak-kuk and Korean culture.

"....On the first of March in the sixth year of Chung-p'ing in the reign of Ling-ti, the year of the snake, Kisa (189) the Queen died at the age of one hundred and fifty-seven. The people mourned as if they had lost their own mothers and buried her on a hill northeast of Kuji. They changed the name of the beach where she first landed to Chup'och'on, that of the hill on which she changed her brocade skirt to Nunghyon, and that of the seacoast where she waved her red flag at the shore to Kich'ulpyon, so that her arrival in Karak should always be remembered...."

According to historic research, her hometown is called as Ayodhya Kingdom where is one country of India and estimated now as one of countries in India. Ayodhya is known as an ancient city in India and many thousands kilometers from the Korean peninsula. Maybe the route is considered as the first long trip in line with silk road. In 2015, South Korea-India held a conference about Heo Hwang-ok under the title of "Shared Heritage as new variable in the Indo-Korean Relations: Historicising the legend of princess from Ayodhya and its legacy".

2. Color-eye men: foreigner who lost his language

In ancient country era, many relics, history and legacy indicate surely a point which describes that blue-eye men came to the Korean peninsula to trade with old Korean countries. But nobody knows still the itinerary of them, but we infer these men came

for business trip from some countries in Persia or Uighur, Tangut, Saracen of the Western region in line with silk roads. Once again, we think one point that it is possibility that the Korean Peninsula is one of spot in silk roads a many years ago, even though it is aside from the main roads. But becoming modern era, those historic evidences and remembrance have fade down, and it became a strange story to the modern people. We think that ourselves as civilized man was born in modern era in 19th century when the Western attack to Northeast Asia. However, in spite of confrontation to strange with Asian people, we have made an interaction through silk roads before then. In the Korean Peninsula, the first Color eye man was from the Netherlands, as called Nam-Man in Korea, and referred 11times in The Annals of the Choseon Dynasty.¹

3. Golden Sword and Hyecho(Wang ocheonchukguk jeon²): Foreigner

Although the Korean Peninsula was thought of aside from Silk Road, in view point of spread of Buddhism, it was an intermediate way to deliver the cultural tradition from the continent to the island. Therefore, Buddhism is an important key to deal with stories of Silk Road in the Peninsula, as well.

We have the third evidence with silk roads. 'Golden Sword' was found at Kyung Ju city in the South province of the Korean Peninsula in 1973. This sword is estimated as being made 5-6th century and much different from Korean traditional style. Because this Golden Sword is decorated with gold and jewelry but is quite similar to the one of the Western region, such as Kazakhstan or stone caves in Kizil of the Western China. As you know, Kizil stone cave is a kind of Buddhist rock-cut caves located near Kizil Township in Xinjiang, China. Kizil is a town in silk roads and thus some scholars insist that Kyung Ju city in South Korea is the final destination of silk roads. Above those, many ancient relics are found in the Korean Peninsula, which are presumed as the things influenced by exotic culture from perspective of Korean tradition, neither China nor Northeast Asian culture. Those relics were estimated in being made 1,000 years ago at least. How to explain this? Reasonable assumption is that, already told, the Korean Peninsula was that final destination of Silk Roads or mid-spot at least.

Meanwhile in tradition of IR, Modern-politics is characterized as anarchy, state unit and hierarchy structure, reasonable explanation based on meta-theory. But Post-modern IR is against those. Prof. Ling already criticize western viewpoint. Modern-IR is originated from enlightenment while Post-Modern IR is known as middle-range approach, thinking of divers-turns such as linguistic turn, aesthetic turn, and multi-level actor rather than meta-theory, state-centric, reasons. Since open the door to the Western in 19th century, Northeast Asian countries have been pressed by the Western civilization or Western socialization. Long times ago, it seems that Northeast Asian countries built their own culture and interaction through silk roads.

¹ UNESCO has designated it as Memory of the World Register in 1997.

² In English, it is called as 'Memoir of the pilgrimage to the five kingdoms of India'.

IV. Conclusion

Recently, China, Russia and Korea called differently silk roads in modern name, such as 'Siberian rail way business', 'One belt, one road' and 'Eurasia Initiatives', but those ideas were from ancient legends and ancient dreams. Camel and silk now are replaced on train and factory products. We desire now not only material interaction as modern meaning but also our life and spirit of the people around the way. Finally, I would like to remarks this. Silk road is a kind of symbol of the way coming from distant guests, interaction way between I and you, and the way of new ideas. This is still valid across Asia.

We approach modern reality in neorealism through ancient world while other panels almost focus on technology, science, business and political power to understand now and future. In this context, I would like to ask one thing for anybody, now we are living in complex society, I think, silk road in ancient world was a symbol of a kind of interaction and culture-exchange, but today, silk road is becoming more and more a kind of tool of power politics under capitalism. Furthermore silk road is politically to be a line and scope of power range, for instance, China's slogan 'one belt, one road' means that in geopolitics. In this context, what is the role and the mean of silk roads in High technology and high science generation of 21st century?

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Registration of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage and Contestation of Belongings in Northeast Asia

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Abstract

UNESCO has played a leading role in the protection of cultural heritage. While 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage(ICH) calls for international cooperation to safeguard the world's intangible heritage, it inadvertently fosters nationalist claims on cultural ownership. The signatories of the Convention may treat the Convention as an approval of authentic ownership and use its lists to confirm their cultural proprietorship. Inclusion on the list of cultural heritage may generate contestation of belongings among countries over their origin and ownership. This study tends to examine the cases between Korea and China over the registration of UNESCO's ICH. Among the 19 elements of ICH registered by Korea until January 2017, there are several heritages (*Pansori*, *Danoje*, *Nongak*, *Arirang*), especially the *Arirang*, which is one of the most representative Korean folks, in cultural debates and conflicts with China over its ownership. This paper proposes to examine that despite ICH's initial intention to safeguard the world's intangible heritage, the heritage listing has been served as a strategic tool for politico-nationalistic purposes increasing the contestation of belongings. Examples from Korea and China illustrate that UNESCO's Cultural Heritage regime can amplify connection between heritage and nationalism hence questioning the role of UNESCO in Culture.

Keywords: UNESCO, Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, Cultural ownership, Korea, China

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Introduction

UNESCO has played a leading role in protecting the cultural heritage. In 1972, UNESCO has adopted the World Cultural and Heritage Convention, creating the World Heritage List and thus, important heritage is registered in its list. This is believed to contribute in better preservation of countries' heritage that represents universality of humanity and outstanding values. Until the 1970s, cultural heritage mostly referred to tangible culture that is represented as monumental and exceptional. In 1982, Declaration of the World Conference on Cultural Policies first clarified that 'Culture' does not only involve tangible culture, but also wide-ranging concept including lifestyle, value and belief structure. More specifically in 1989, Recommendation on Traditional Culture and Folklore defined the forms of intangible culture heritage as the art of "language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts." Due to the recommendation in 1989, intangible, ordinary and daily culture expression has been acknowledged as an essential part of the culture. The recommendation has directly contributed in establishing the '2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (also known as ICH Convention),' which enabled the wide-ranging cultural agreement. The ratification allowed expansion of the term 'Cultural Heritage' in international standard, and included intangible cultural heritage (ICH) as well as the traditional knowledge on managing natural sources.

While ICH Convention calls for international cooperation to safeguard the world's intangible heritage, the tendency of state-centric nationalist claims on cultural ownership has become even stronger than before. The signatories of the convention make it seem like an approval of authentic ownership and the confirmation of their cultural proprietorship. Registration for the cultural heritage list may generate contestation of belongings among countries over their origin and ownership. In particular, decisions on the representative lists of ICH seem to cause intense competition between the nations.

If the prior tendency of UNESCO's culture protection was 'Universalism,' intangible heritage started to show difference in its direction from 2003. As the Stoczkowski (2009, 10) explains, starting from the 2000s, UNESCO's former universalistic mission, together with the new tendency for cultural diversity were emphasized, and highlighted the cultural attribution. Moreover, unlike the tangible cultural heritage, the feature of intangible culture heritage closely connects the identity of community and the affiliated group. It is important to note that the most intense contestation prevails in the registration of ICH in Northeast Asia, and this seems to be deeply related with the identity issue.

**Table 1: Total of inscriptions are 298, of which 16 are multinational.
(2008-2012)¹**

Regions	Elements/programmes		Submitting States	
	Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total
Western Europe and North America	49	16%	10	11%
Eastern Europe	48	16%	17	18%
Latin America and Caribbean	44	14%	18	19%
Asia and Pacific	123	40%	17	18%
Africa	23	8%	18	19%
Arab States	17	6%	13	14%
TOTAL	304	100%	93	100%

Table 1 shows that the 40% of ICH registered in the UNESCO comes from Asia and Pacific countries. This is overwhelmingly more than that of Western Europe and North America (16%), Eastern Europe (16%), and Africa (8%). In particular, despite the fact that ICH comprises of 70~80% of the major cultural heritage in Africa, the actual registered numbers of African ICH is low, showing how the registered list of ICH in UNESCO is concentrated in Asia.

Table 2: Countries with the Highest Number of UNESCO Inscribed Intangible Cultural Elements²

Rank	Country	Number of ICH elements inscribed by UNESCO
1	China	38 (39)
2	Japan	22 (21)
3	South Korea	19
4	Turkey	14
5	Spain	14
6	Croatia	14
7	France	13
8	Belgium	12
9	Mongolia	12
10	India	12

Table 2 shows that the reason for high proportion of ICH in Asia is especially because of the Northeast Asian countries' competitive registration, primarily in China, Japan and Korea. Among the top 10 countries to register the heritage, the first, second and the third is respectively China, Japan and Korea. So far, from 2008 - the start of ICH registration - to now, Korea has inscribed 19 elements and China has inscribed 39. It is more likely that the 2003 ICH Convention provoked the national pride in protecting the ownership of the culture. With this critical mind, this study examines the controversial cases between Korea and China over the registration of UNESCO's ICH.

¹ UNESCO (2013), Media Kit- Intangible Cultural Heritage, Intangible Cultural Heritage Section, p. 21.

² <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/countries-with-the-highest-number-of-unesco-inscribed-intangible-cultural-elements.html> (January 2017).

Among the 19 elements of ICH registered by Korea, there are several heritages (*Danoje*, *Nongak*, *Arirang*), especially the *Arirang*, which is one of the most representative Korean folks, in cultural debates and conflicts with China over its ownership. It is important to note that this conflict did not exist before the initiation of ICH registration. Hence, it is believed that these debates have been intensified by the registration of the UNESCO's ICH list. Considering the conflict between Korea and China, it is doubtful whether the ICH Convention actually contributes in world peace, as its original purpose. The cases of Korea and China shows that it may rather instigate the inter-state conflicts regarding the cultural issue.

This paper proposes that despite ICH's initial intention to safeguard the world's intangible heritage, the heritage listing has been served as a strategic tool for politico-nationalistic purposes, increasing the contestation of belongings. Examples from Korea and China illustrate that UNESCO's Cultural Heritage regime can amplify connection between heritage and nationalism, hence questioning the role of UNESCO in Culture. Lastly, it further investigates on the expansion of state-centric nationalism, which is contrary from the UNESCO's original will to transcend the borders in preserving the culture.

Tendency of UNESCO's Culture Protection: From Universalism to Multiculturalism

Although there are keywords that represent the UNESCO's culture preservation mission; such as common heritage of humanity, cultural diversity, creative value, sustainable development, the core concepts that penetrate the UNESCO's culture preservation tendency are 'Universal Value,' and 'Cultural Diversity.' UNESCO has long been emphasizing the universal aspect of culture preservation. In 1972 Convention, the importance of 'Outstanding Universal Value' and 'Authentic Character' (UNESCO Media Kit, 12), are mainly pointed out, whereas in 2003 ICH Convention, UNESCO's basic principle has changed from 'Universality of Humanity' to 'Cultural Diversity.'

According to Stoczkowski, from 1945 until now, UNESCO's core policies can be sequentially arranged in three periods. During the first period (1945~1965) the main principle of UNESCO was based on universality of humanity with the main aim to resolve racial inequality, and thus focused on the education for the third countries and the solution plan for economic and population related problems. The second period (1965~1985) shows that UNESCO's main principle transformed to the issue of 'preservation and development.' In this period, the Western economic system has reached its limit and hence the ugly sides of economic development, such as the problems of environmental pollution, destruction of cultural heritage, overpopulation in the third countries were emerged as urgent matters. This was when the World Heritage Convention was signed. Originally, the discussion on the world heritage started from the Egyptian heritage protection movement, since it was in danger of being destructed by the high dam construction. At the time, UNESCO's ruling idea remained as the 'Universality of Humanity,' and considering the long-time interests that West has had in Egypt, the Egyptian heritage fulfilled the so-called "Outstanding Universal Value"

Stockowski insists that it is the third period when the major idea of UNESCO started to change. During this period, UNESCO adopted the Living Human Treasure (1993), UNESCO Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Human Treasure (2001), IHC Convention, Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Here, the core principle is preservation of 'Cultural Diversity.' Preservation of common heritage of humanity that focused on the universal values transformed to the "celebration of the virtues of cultural diversity (Stoczkowski, 11)." The ICH Convention adopted in the third period shows the UNESCO's tendency to place much value in cultural diversity than in the promotion of universality. This was carried out with hopes that UNESCO's culture preservation method could contribute in changing the Western perspective to an expansion of non-Western community and minorities' rights.

Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and Identity

In the past, the concept of UNESCO's Culture Heritage implied the dichotomous thinking; of which the tangible heritage belonged to the Western developed nations, and the intangible heritage mostly to the developing nations. However, as the concept of cultural heritage started to expand, the importance of ICH has been magnified. Expansion of the concept from material heritage to the immaterial heritage meant transforming from a West-centric tradition to the other peripheral parts of the world. If the 2003 ICH Convention arranged measurements to solve the imbalance between the tangible and intangible cultural heritage, what actually is the difference between the two?

ICH, transmitted from generation to generation, is "constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity." (ICH 2003, Article 2, 1)

According to the above clause in the ICH Convention, it is noticeable that intangible culture heritage is more related to the countries' cultural identity and their history, compared to the tangible cultural heritage. In the case of ICH, it encourages wide-range participation from the community, and the preservation of ICH regards the identity and consistency as crucial factors. The communities emphasized here are not only limited to those who produce and teach certain culture, but also includes people who appreciate and enjoy the heritage, participates in sustaining the base of its identity and consistency, and in some cases even reproducing it. Thus, community here can be identified as a country pursuing a common cultural identity. Therefore, UNESCO's tendency to value cultural diversity in the perspective of cultural relativity has the possibility of raising some concerns. The common asset of humanity that needs to be protected through the UNESCO's ICH Convention is preservation of diversity, but at the same time since ICH cannot be separated with the identity of certain collective group, the registration of ICH may be regarded as securing confirmation of the identity. In other words, it provides an excuse for advocating the exclusive ICH ownership through the certain identity confirmation. Such confirmation of exclusive ownership would also result in stronger national rights on culture. In the process of deciding the exclusive ICH ownership, UNESCO's ICH registration system has amplified new conflicts and tension between the countries.

Registration of ICH and the Case of Northeast Asian Countries

UNESCO's interest in protecting ICH is more likely to have started because of Asian countries' influence. From 2001 to 2005, UNESCO has actively engaged in the project for 'Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.' During this period, 90 pieces of 70 countries' oral masterpieces and intangible heritage of humanity were selected, and the system is known to be modeled after the designation system of important cultural asset in Korea and Japan. Especially the resolution of UNESCO's 142nd Session Executive Board in 1993 that increased the interests for ICH and the cultural transmitter worldwide, was related to the 'Living Human Treasure System, which was introduced by Korea before.

The Asian countries that were active in making the international norms of the ICH were even to a level of being "aggressive" when registering the ICH. The statement of Tim Curtis, Chief of the Culture Unit in Bangkok UNESCO Office, that the 2003 Convention has become an Asia-Centric Convention, as opposed to what was originally alleged to be the Euro-centric 1972 Convention, also depicts this situation. Due to the contestation of belongings between the three Northeast Asian countries in 2012, UNESCO has given priority to the multinational registration and non-registered states. Also, the registration rule was changed in a way so that the three list mechanism (Representative List, Urgent Safeguarding List, Register of Best Practices) could become one, and the subject of examination would eventually be 'one application per country.'

Competitive Registration of UNESCO's ICH in Korea and China

Korea and China are two of the most representative countries with inter-state conflicts for the ICH registration. Among the 19 lists of Korea's ICH, the following lists in the Table 3 are the ones that are continually disputed with China.

Table 3: UNESCO's ICH Registration List that are in Disputes between Korea and China

Year of Inscription by UNESCO	Korean Registration	China's Reaction
2003	<i>Pansori</i> epic Chant	In 2011, Chinese Ministry of Culture registered <i>Pansori</i> and <i>Arirang</i> as China's national immaterial cultural heritage through its third registration of National Programme of Intangible Heritage and the Notice on Strengthening Protection of Cultural Heritages by the State Department.
2005 2009	<i>Gangneung Danoje Festival</i>	In 2009, four years after Korea registered <i>Danoje</i> as its heritage, China changed its name to ' <i>China's Dragon Boat Festival</i> ' and registered it on the UNESCO's ICH list

2012	<i>Arirang</i>	In 2011, Chinese Ministry of Culture registered Pansori and Arirang as China's national immaterial cultural heritage through its third registration of National Programme of Intangible Heritage and the Notice on Strengthening Protection of Cultural Heritages by the State Department.
2014	<i>Nongak</i> : community band music, dance and rituals	' <i>Farmer's Dance of China's Korean Ethnic Group</i> ' was registered as the China's intangible cultural heritage in the UNESCO's ICH list.

Ever since China joined the ICH Convention, it has rapidly established the Intangible Cultural Heritage Law (2011) and finished its national investigation to select representative lists for ICH registration. China's ICH policy started later than Korea and Japan, yet it has arranged a systemized procedure in a short-term period, and as a result prevails as the heavyweight nation in terms of East Asia's ICH. The above table shows the lists of registered ICH that has brought about disputes between Korea and China. First of all, *Pansori* is a representative folk music in Korea, and it is renowned that Korean classical novels, such as *Simcheongjeon* and *Chunhyangjeon* have been presented in *Pansori* style. Nevertheless, China argues that it is a culture of Chinese ethnic minority, *Chosonjok*, ("Chosun" meaning the Korean Kingdom that lasted for five centuries from 1392 to 1897), and went as far as to register Pansori as China's national ICH. The '*Farmer's Dance of China's Korean Ethnic Group*' which was registered by China before Korea in the UNESCO's list in 2009, is also argued as a culture of *Chosonjok*, which means it's traditionally a Korean heritage. As a response, Korea registered the heritage five years after China in 2014 as '*Nongak, Community Band, Music, Dance and Rituals*.' Moreover, *Arirang*, which is the most representative folk song in Korea that is even thought of as the DNA of Korean ethnicity, has a deep historical symbol for the Koreans. During the Japanese colonialism era, *Arirang* expressed the spirit of anti-Japanese resistance, and the sorrow of overseas Korean immigrants not being able to return to their homeland. In 2000 Sydney Olympic, when the North and South Korean representatives marched together, *Arirang* was played as the representative song that can bond both North and South Korea. As it can be seen from the examples, *Arirang* reflects several generations of Koreans' collective identity. Although it is clearly the most representative cultural heritage in Korea, China requested for a common/shared registration with Korea in 2011. This request was not accepted, and in response, China registered *Arirang* as a culture of their minority ethnicity, *Chosonjok* in its '2011 China's National Programme of Intangible Cultural Heritage' list, as it did for *Pansori*.

As for the case of *Gangneung Danoje Festival* registered by Korea in 2005, it is the other way around. In Korea, *Gangneung Danoje Festival* is a regional festival on May 5th of the lunar calendar. It's a traditional festival that is celebrated after the sowing to thank the predecessors for allowing good harvest. On this day, men would wrestle in *Ssireum*³ competition, women would enjoy swinging or wash their hair in water

³ A type of wrestling sport in Korea.

infused with sweet flags. China also has a similar tradition, and it's called *Duanwu Festival* (or *China's Dragon Boat Festival*). It is one the three biggest festivals in China and it's also designated as a national holiday period of one to three days. The festival seems to have much more meaning in China than in Korea as the tradition has been preserved generation by generation, however in this case Korea registered the tradition first as its ICH in the UNESCO, and hence Korea received endorsement of UNESCO over *Danoje*. Both Korea and China understand the ICH as a source of exclusive ownership, and uses it as a way to fix its cultural ownership through the UNESCO ICH registration.

In order to solve this conflict between nations, Korean National Commission for UNESCO has hosted the '2009 International Forum on Intangible Cultural Heritage in East Asia,' and UNESCO has adopted the 'Recommendation on Common Intangible Cultural Heritage.' The first clause of the Recommendation asks the nation-states to "promote inter-local and international recognition that intangible cultural heritage is shared by people beyond territorial borders, which should not be understood as cultural borders," however the Recommendation does not have a legal force in the international law. In the case of *Danoje*, since both Korea and China celebrates the common festival, it could have been registered as a common heritage, but it is registered respectively in different names. As for *Juldarigi*, a tugging ritual and game with the traditional performance of pulling the rope against each other, is an example of which Korea registered as a multinational heritage. In 2015, *Juldarigi* was registered as a common ICH of Korea, Cambodia, Philippine and Vietnam. Such international action is more challenging for China than Korea, because of its huge territory and numerous different ethnic groups in it.

Formation of a Single Unified Chinese Ethnicity and Culture

Culture is an important factor in China's project to make a state-nation. American Sinologist John King Fairbank (1979, 98) explained the nature of Chinese nationalism, and emphasized how its culture is an important factor.

"Undoubtedly this universalism has meant that culture (the way of life) has been more fundamental in China than nationalism. Early Chinese emperors asserted that they ruled over all civilized mankind without distinction of race or language. Barbarian invaders who succeeded them found it expedient to continue and reinforce this tradition."

China consists of 56 different ethnicities including the Korean ethnic group. Culture is thus used as the major source of unifying the vast country. Fei Xiaotong, Chinese renowned sociologist and anthropologist asserted from 1989 that the theory of "Pluralism-unity structure of the Chinese nation" forms an essential base in filling the gap between the single identity as a Chinese ethnicity and the various ethnic identity. This "new Chinese ethnicity concept" puts cultural factor over the ethnic background that pursues blood ties. Thus, China, comprising of multi-ethnicities, re-established the history and culture of its various ethnic groups by making the ethnic minorities' culture and history into a national Chinese one. This not only makes ethnic minority indivisible in terms of territory, but also forms a state-centric ethnic perspective that knots the history and culture into one. Chinese government, following the theory of Fei Xiatong, hopes to make its minor ethnic heritages as the national Chinese one, and

imprint it worldwide. In this context, China is more specifically interested in the ICH of minor ethnicities. China's image has long been associated with oppressing the ethnic minority, but it is now trying to show the world its soft image of embracing minor ethnicities through the UNESCO ICH registration.

In 2008, when registration for the UNESCO's ICH list was initiated, China registered its traditional culture, such as *Kun Qu Opera*, *Gugin*, and *Muqam*, a regional culture from the Uyghur, where separatist movement from China was strong. The purpose of registering *Muqam*, a combined art form of music, singing, and dancing in the Uyghur regional festival, as China's ICH in 2008 was clearly to immobilize the Uyghur ethnic minority in China. Likewise, in 2010, *Tibetan Opera*, the intangible culture from the Tibet ethnicity that has long requested independence, was also registered as the China's ICH list. In addition, the Chinese government has already significantly included (23%) the ICH of the Tibet ethnicity in selecting the national immaterial culture heritage. Considering the ethnic population ratio, this is clearly an overrepresented number of an ethnic minority. In order to officially possess distinct culture as Chinese heritage by the registration of UNESCO's ICH list, China regards all cultures within the Chinese territory, whether it was from the past or from the present, into a national Chinese culture. Therefore, China not only included Korean ethnicity's historical heritage and culture but also other ethnic minorities' in deciding the historical scenic spots, tangible cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage and so on. On surface, it is to protect and preserve historical heritage and culture of the ethnic minorities, however, the authentic purpose behind is to make the common history and culture of national Chinese ethnicity. These intentions and actions may result in China introducing Korea history and culture as if it belonged to China, because Chinese government is registering the *Chosonjok*'s partial culture as the Chinese ICH. UNESCO's registration method opens up the stage for carrying out these actions.

UNESCONIZATION: Leading to the Rise of Nationalism?

Assignment of national ownership to intangible heritage is clearly not the original goal of the UNESCO's ICH Convention. However, as it can be observed from the registration competition between Korea and China, ICH registration has been misunderstood as a sort of receiving a patent. On the surface, China seems to acknowledge the cultural rights of ethnic minorities within China, and wishes to preserve the culture of Chosonjok, Uyghur and Tibetan ethnicity through selecting and developing their ethnic culture and registering it as cultural heritage in UNESCO. Unfortunately, China's intentions are different from what it may seem. The figure below (Figure 1) shows that between an ethnic group and the nation-state there is a linear continuum with numerous points.

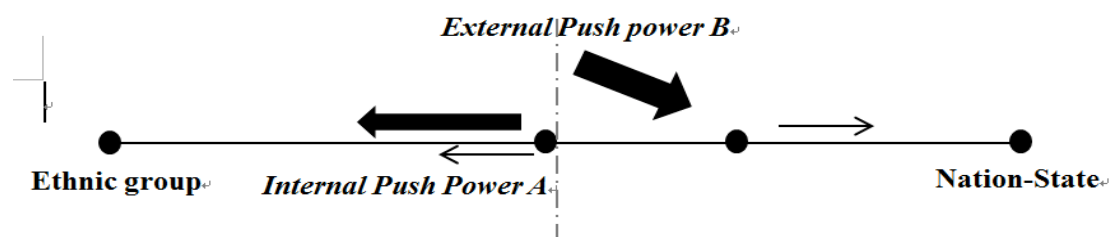


Figure 1: The ethnic group-Nation-State continuum⁴

This linear continuum explains the relationship between a ethnic group and a Nation-State. In reality, ethnic group can be located in any of the points of the continuum. Likewise, although in the figure the cultural minority (ethnic group) and the national state are located in the furthest ends, it does not necessarily mean that they are located there in reality. In other words, the distance between the ethnic group and nation-state can be very diverse, and in some cases it could even correspond. If China's intention in registering ethnic group's culture in UNESCO ICH list was to develop and preserve the culture, it would primarily work as the 'Internal Push Power A' in the figure. Thus, allowing the ethnic minorities to enjoy their own culture within the single state China. However if the purpose of ICH registration is to make the culture in the national level and to strengthen the "pluralism-unity structure of the Chinese nation" as Fei Xiatong claimed, it seems more accurate to assert that the case of China is the 'External Push Power B' than the 'Internal Push Power A.' UNESCO's ICH registration has enabled a way of developing and protecting the cultures of Chosonjok, Uyghur and Tibets. However, it has also allowed China to use it as a tool to make a stronger unity as a nation, and work as "External Push Power B" towards the ethnic minorities.

Conclusions

The registration of UNESCO's ICH list has brought about sharp focus on the relationship between cultural heritage preservation, cultural conflict and national identity. Furthermore, this has fueled the historical disputes between Korea and China. The Northeast Project, identified by the Chinese government as the "research project of Northeastern China" was a five year research project from 2002 to 2007. According to China, it is an academic project with pure intentions to discover the history and geography of China's northeastern borderlands. However, the Northeast Project is difficult to be regarded as purely academic undertaking, because there were endless attempts to make the Korea's Goguryeo era (B.C. 37 - A.D. 668) as a partial history of China. In 2004, North Korea and China even registered Goguryeo culture heritage on World Heritage List, respectively. It is an attempt to change the ancient Korean history of 'Three Kingdoms of Korea,' that was unfolded by the Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla. This shows China's plan to cover any past history within the current territory of China as its own culture and history. Not only the Northeast Project that causes disputes with Korea, but also Northwest Project with Uyghur, Southwest Project with Tibet, North Project with Mongolia, and South Project with Vietnam, all casts doubts on China's intention for carrying out their research project, as they are

⁴ Adapted from Rong Ma(2007), A New Perspective in Guiding Ethnic relations in the 21st Century: 'De-politicization' of Ethnicity in China, Discussion Paper 21, China Policy Institute of University of Nottingham, p. 4.

the regions that are closely located by the Chinese border, and have the possibility of separatist movements or territorial disputes. China's primary goal is to imprint the world that the culture of ethnic minorities is that of national Chinese through the UNESCO ICH registration. The next step would be to include all the history and culture of ethnic minorities to absorb them as a national culture. Even if UNESCO's initial intention wasn't about national competition, it is true that its current system has played a role in making the single unified Chinese ethnicity, and this has resulted in tensions between neighboring countries of Northeast Asia and the increase of the nationalistic tendency.

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New Introspection on Cultural Policy Regarding Urban Regeneration

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Abstract

Arts and culture are considered a common method of pursuing urban regeneration. However, one should approach with caution in defining a successful culture-led regeneration. Even if physical environment may be improved in making cultural city, it cannot be considered successful if people cannot fully utilize and benefit from the improvement but feel a sense of incompatibility between their daily life and the changed environment. In this line, this paper will analyze problems that arise from a culture-led regeneration and how culture and urban regeneration are applied these days with specific focus on the example of Changdong, Seoul. Case of Changdong demonstrates how its flagship strategy helped revitalize the area and motivated the residents to create open culture platform themselves that serves as a networking space.

Keywords: culture-led regeneration, art community, cultural public sphere

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Introduction

Arts and culture are considered a common method of pursuing urban regeneration. Converting an old factory into a new arts museum, hosting cinema festival and arts and street fair are utilized to rejuvenate an area. One can easily find numerous examples of cities around the world that use arts and culture as means to achieve regeneration.

Then, what makes a culture-led regeneration successful? What does a successful cultural city mean? A cultural city refers not only to the physical change of the city but also the change in the people who reside in the city and their lifestyles. If people cannot fully benefit and take advantage of the improved infrastructure and environment from the project, such regeneration will be considered a failure since the environment and the residents' lifestyles cannot successfully be merged. Additionally, if the changes of the city make the indigenous residents feel uncomfortable and inevitably be forced to leave, those improvements cannot be considered a successful regeneration.

Putting aside the purpose of urban regeneration, cultural cities have shown a remarkable progress in a short period of time. Those cities have focused the economic and societal benefits that come from art and culture and have conceived to create cities that epitomize a particular culture that fit them. As the responsibility of regional governments has grown through globalization, many have decided to utilize art and culture as means of rejuvenating an underdeveloped area or revitalizing its economy. Such a trend has started a discourse on creativity and cultural diversity, and in line with the expansion of city clusters, cultural cities have been widely proliferated. The United Nations and UNESCO have publicly emphasized the culture's vitality in a urban regeneration and the importance of economic value from creating cultural cities. The Protection of Cultural Contents and Artistic Expressions, a treaty agreed by 148 countries, has emphasized a culture's role in economy and creativity and the importance of its consistent improvement and also argued for expanding multicultural qualities to effectively utilize culture for urban regeneration (UNESCO 2009).

Discourses about a cultural city, diversity in culture, innovation, and creativity are very meaningful and effective. Most of all, creating an environment where residents have a full accessibility to art and culture of the city leads to positive results. However, urban regeneration that solely focuses on the economic aspects of art and culture has raised doubts about its effectiveness. Vickery(2007) has warned about an instrumental approach towards a reckless culture-led regeneration: "Yet we need to be careful, for creativity is one of the great ideologies of our time." Analyzing the Liverpool case, Miles(2005) claimed that a culture-led regeneration has become a popular method adopted to achieve economic growth and reputation. Bayliss(2004), who studied the cities in Ireland, argued that "the image-making effect of urban regeneration through cultural events, iconic projects and symbols has become increasingly critical in the establishment of urban and regional identity." These warnings are mostly towards the so-called "copycat cities". Aware of these warnings and problems, the following paragraphs will focus on the problems that arise from a culture-led regeneration and how culture and urban regeneration are applied these days.

Culture's role in urban regeneration and the aftermath

Urban regeneration has been vitalized through garnering attention from an iconic building or a gargantuan event or utilizing a clustering method. Culture has always been emphasized as the vital piece to the extent that Zukin(1995) even argued that "Culture is the city's business." As more emphasis were put on the culture's role in urban regeneration, it is important to note the problems that arise from the idea. Then, how can the potential problems be categorized? The following paragraphs lay out the problems that arise when one considers (1) the standards of successful urban regeneration and (2) what the experts worry.

Firstly, there is a problem of inequality. As a successful urban regeneration creates a new image of the city, such view tends to result in the inflation, especially the housing price. The increased housing price often replaces the indigenous people with newcomers from outside the cities. This gentrification process amplifies economic inequality as the newly created environment are more favorable towards the rich.

Secondly, the problem of social exclusion is noticeable. This problem can be divided into the crisis of city's identity and cultural gap. Urban regeneration. If the bureaucrats implement a new image with no consideration about the qualities that distinguish the city from the others during the process of regeneration, the locals cannot feel a sense of community within the city of their own residence. A city is composed of history of individuals and the local community's distinctive qualities. If an urban regeneration does not consider the identity and the history of the city, the regenerated city leads to the residents feeling secluded.

In a similar context, the art and culture in from the regeneration must be useful for the local people in the future. In an urban regeneration, the usage of art and culture has been typically applied exclusively to the physical environment, economic benefits or a limited group of artistic individuals. Therefore, the results that come from such regeneration efforts are hard to access and serve very little use for the majority of the residents which may lead to wider cultural gap. For those who previously enjoyed art and culture may benefit from such changes, but those who have not would not feel included in those events. It could even lead to a misconception that such culture is only for the exclusive elites rather than for everyone.

New Discourses on Culture-led Regeneration

Although the gentrification caused from a sudden introduction of capitalism can be put aside for later, people have attempted to solve the problem of social exclusion with different methods. Especially after the financial crisis from 2007 to 2008, urban regeneration utilizing art and culture along with economic approach has become trend. To increase the sense of community within a city, more emphasis is put on approaches that focus mainly on 'conviviality' and 'coexistence'. The importance of public space and community has resurfaced and the usage of art and culture has led to a social movement to increase awareness on how vital public space and community are.

With regards to the topic in the previous paragraph, Magdalena Nowicka and Steven Vertovec (2013) mention that the term 'conviviality', based roots for 'with' and 'living,' has long been associated with sociable, friendly and festive traits. Highlighting the phrase "Le droit a la ville, Right to the city", Lefebvre (1996) argued that the residents should exercise their rights to fully engage themselves in solving the issues of the city, to have accessibility to the public space, and to create a state-of-the-art city. This kind of zeal and enthusiasm from the residents, he argues, will create a distinctive city. Harvey (2012) sees that the development of the place-based political movements as offering potential for re-appropriation of the symbolic capital of the urban by a new politics is one of regeneration's most trenchant critics. In addition, Bell and Binnie (2005) claimed that urban culinary culture can play a paramount role in producing the habitat for on-going regeneration, and also provide a powerful symbolic statement about urban fortunes, highlighting the potential of food culture bringing symbiotic culture in the process of urban regeneration. Lugosi(2010), who analyzed Hungary's urban regeneration, observed that the cafes, bars, and restaurants not only were places that provided space for people but also became a cultural capital for cultural produces and consumers. Culture and regeneration enable us to identify the potential manifestations of hospitality, which may occupy different positions within the regeneration process and the various stages of urban change.

Young Bum Lee (2017) has also advocated the paramount role of sharing and coexistence through lifestyle culture. An example of such culture he gives is the food culture, the most crucial aspect in our daily lives, and provides "The House of Minjoong", a non-profit organization located in Mapo, as a specific example. This organization gathers many elderly women around the city once a week and provides them an opportunity to cook and share food that is most memorable in their lifetime. In this process, other local residents can join the grocery shopping with those women involved in this organization and learn about the recipe of different food and even their personal history and stories. Such communication and connection among the residents of the city will create a community that shares life and moral values with others. Many experts in this field have confirmed that social movements like "The House of Minjoong" will lead to a new direction of urban regeneration. This particular example of urban regeneration is quite different as it focuses more on social unity within the community rather than the infrastructure change in the city. There is another example in Seoul that relates to this non-physical type of urban regeneration.

Seoul Changdong District Case Study

The mayor of Seoul, Park Won Soon, is carrying out several urban regeneration projects since his inauguration in 2011. He started Seoul Urban Regeneration Project in January of 2015 in order to start off the industry in this field. In March of 2015, Park designated 27 cities as the urban regeneration areas and implemented 13 regeneration projects in these areas as part of '2025 Seoul Urban Regeneration Plan' since December 2015. In the past, cities focused on tearing down the old buildings to create new ones. Now, Park aims for consistent development and regeneration rather than destruction of the past. The Seoul Metropolitan Government wants to utilize some vacant space and strives to enhance cultural and artistic diversity, thus improved accessibility of arts and culture for its citizens.

The old office for Seoul Railroad Station has turned into a cultural complex, and a former Defense Security Command building from military-dictated era has transformed into National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art. Like this, Seoul also turned factories into art spaces. The city of Seoul helps its citizens to build their own alternative living culture and spaces through community-building projects. For example, an ideal society can be referred to a community that embraces handful groups such as the elders, the disabled, and the immigrants by increasing their understanding and involvement in cultural activities in their everyday life at public spaces. This type of society will lead to people wanting to create a shared space out of their free will. This increasing motivation to create more communal spaces within a city can encourage those that may feel isolated from the rich to enjoy art and culture of the city. Therefore, cities attempt to make more public spaces for the purpose of promoting cultural activities that people can enjoy on daily basis. This essay pays special attention and examines a mega urban regeneration project that took place in Changdong, Seoul that successfully involved the residents of the city throughout the process. Changdong is located in the northeastern part of Seoul, and is famously known for affordable housing price with reasonably easy commute to central Seoul. Therefore, Changdong is full of apartment complexes and lacks the cultural environment which makes the area relatively culturally impoverished compared to that of Gangnam. The urban regeneration project of Changdong used two different cultural approaches that show the current patterns of different regeneration projects throughout Seoul.

◇ Platform 61, the music complex

Changdong was widely known as a culturally impoverished area within Seoul. In order to rejuvenate Changdong, Mayor Park designated Changdong as the city of music and started a project called 'Platform 61'. In May of 2016, 'Platform 61' created a communal space for musical concerts by stacking 61 intermodal containers in a parking lot. This space became a place for different musicians to practice, record, and even play their music in front of 300 people. As 'Platform 61' expanded, the city decided to meet its demand by creating a public concert space for 20,000 people in the hope of making Changdong as the central city of K-pop. This change helps to achieve the coexistence of the mainstream artists and genre artists in order to create both diversity in culture and a different image for Changdong through expanding a particular industry.



Currently at Platform 61, there is a particular intermodal container called ‘Red Box’ that brings different genres of concerts such as rock, electronic, and hip-hop. According to the MCST (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism 2016; OhmyNews 2017), the rate of operation for concerts in 2016 was 90.7% in Changdong. The average rate of operation was 65.8% which was 24.9% lower than that of Changdong. Some famous musicians that moved into Changdong Sound Studio create their own music and even have music lessons for the residents of Changdong. Aside from music, there are many informative programs and events that involve fashion and other culture. A program called “Young Creative School” is a mentoring program for teenagers that want to study art and culture and have them learn from famous experts in music, movies, game contents, acting, design, and other fields.



◇ **Chang-go, Village art creation place supported by the city of Seoul**

Changdong’s Chang-go was designated as the first experimental industry in the program ‘Village art creation place’ led by the city of Seoul. As the city wanted people to be the leaders in expanding the lifestyle culture, it created a program called ‘Village art creation place’ in 2013. The residents in the area have the chance to enter a competition of creating a program that focuses on both local community and artistic culture, and to win a 3-year sponsorship from the city of Seoul that grants a maximum amount of 10,000,000 Won. There are 33 cultural places in 2017 kicked off by the motivation of local residents to contribute to the restoration of the community through promoting cultural arts activities. The program turned the community service center into a three-story cultural art space.



From 2013 to 2014, all the residents of Changdong took Joseph Beuys' quote, "Everyone is an Artist" to heart, created a new slogan "All residents are artists", and contributed to turning a ruined community service center into a brand new cultural art space. In Chang-gong, there is a communal space that has a soundproof concert hall, a kitchen where people can share food, and a workplace for woodworking. A renowned program that many residents participate in is called 'mini 30 minutes village concert'. From 6:30 to 7 in the evening, anyone can perform his or her music. The program is more of a recital of one particular group rather than having different groups perform. According to Dae Geun Kim who leads Chang-gong, concerts are held around the time residents return home regardless of how many people come. These programs that encourage participation of the residents create opportunities to change the culture of the community. At the same time, the programs work to embed culture and art in the daily life of the residents rather than have cultural art be isolated and separated from the society. Dae Geun Kim is the person who planned this program and explained the principle of carrying out the concert.



Quoting Joseph Beuys, "Art is not a summative function of Life, but Life itself", weekly performance proceeds deliberately in order to become a routine event.
(Dae Keun Kim)

According to Seoul Community Support Center(2014), one of the presenters in Chang-go program was seen that 'Village Art Program' can find their creative ways to solutions to community issues with locals.

"Prior to urbanization, the townspeople solved the minor problems of the town themselves. But as urbanization expanded, solving of those minor problems that used to be handled by the townspeople was gradually transferred into the domain to the public institutions, even the simple tasks as taking the trash in front of my house or shoveling snow. I'm advocating for bringing these types of tasks back to the domain of ourselves. It is to bring out what we have put in the coffin back again. It goes the same to 'Village art creation place'. In the meantime, as beneficiaries, residents who have only enjoyed the program will now become creators themselves. The key is blurring the boundaries between the creators and the beneficiaries." (presenter).

As you can see from the interviews, Chang-go program demonstrates how the citizens are participating in the community and how the urban space in daily life is changing little by little. Robert Putnam argues that, in 2010, more Americans should be encouraged to participate directly in cultural activities such as dance festival, community theater, and rap competition. He suggested that art could be used as a driving force to bring together various fellow citizen groups. In this way, 'Village art creation place' is trying form meaningful communities by breaking down the boundaries that distinguish between arts and daily life and artists and local residents. The 'Village art creation place' Chang-go constitutes a program that allows citizens to participate in local communities and encourages them to voluntarily engage in a program to promote cultural arts in their living culture. This can be a major way of embracing diverse civic cultures, overcoming the phenomenon of alienation and exclusion found in many parts of the city. In other words, it is considered to be an alternative to change the urban space that is encapsulated in capitalism through the normalization of art.

Conclusion

According to the Seoul Institute of Survey in 2013(Seoul Statistics 2017), residents of Seoul have confidence of a family: 8.77, of neighbors: 5.36, of the first person they meet: 3.66, and of people from other countries: 3.02. In other words, the trust and confidence of the community to which they belong is very low. However, Seoul is a cosmopolitan city with many foreign workers coming into the country. As well, the picture of Seoul is rapidly changing due to globalization and aging society. Therefore, issues surrounding communication, cooperation, convergence, and coexistence should be handled with importance especially in the age of cultural conflicts and differentiation rather than social integration.

In urban regeneration, it is not only important to infuse revitalization of the area with a large complex like 'Platform 61', but also to embed social unity as an important aspect. In that way, 'Village art creation place' is a place to build relationships between residents and learn new life and cultural skills. Through artistic activities, the place can serve its purpose as a networking space that can improve each other's lives by providing opportunities to build meaningful relationships'. In the past, the space where the culture was created or shared at the village level was a public place operated by the government rather than an open space such as a library or a literary arts center. On the other hand, the public space that was run by the government has now turned into space that is operated by the residents with openness and autonomy. Thus, it is necessary to pay attention to the new phenomenon of the open culture platform at the village level.

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Exploration of Justice in the REDD+ Project Implementation in Indonesia

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Abstract

Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation “Plus” (REDD+) was first proposed at The 13th Conference of Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change as a climate change mitigation plan. It claimed to be just for both developed and developing states because it distributes the benefits evenly. In contrast, the forested country which mostly located in developing states does not actually experience the justice when implementing REDD+. Although the concept of justice is contentious it can be examined through its three dimensions: distribution, representation, and recognition. In this paper, I will explore the relationship between justice and REDD+, focusing on Indonesia as one of the targeted forested countries in the REDD+ project as case study example. Then I give an overview of the REDD+ project in Indonesia. Subsequently, I will examine how REDD+ is being implemented in Indonesia by drawing upon the three dimensions of justice. Finally, I will conclude my essay by reflecting the analysis whether the REDD+ project in Indonesia is just. The finding provides a basis for concluding that REDD+ project in Indonesia is unjust and arises new problems from its implementation. This also infers that three elements of justice are interrelated in the implementation of REDD+ and global justice is required in mitigation plan.

Keywords: REDD+, Justice, Indonesia

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Introduction

The 13th Conference of Parties of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (hereinafter The COP-13 UNFCCC) in Bali, December 2007 introduced Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (hereinafter REDD+) as a global response to encounter climate change (Astuti and McGregor, 2015). This mechanism concentrates on forests protection by rewarding economic incentives to a forested country that put value more on standing forest than cutting it down (Katerere, 2010), or rather be called Payments for Ecosystem Services (hereinafter PES). The rationale of REDD+ was based on the assumption of insufficient pricing of the carbon services of forests that caused deforestation which led to the idea to incentivise people and countries who protect forests (Astuti and McGregor, 2015). Although deadlock was faced during the drafting of REDD+ financing mechanism, whether to be a market based or a fund based mechanisms (Dooley, 2010), the latter explanation stated that both of the financing mechanism can work in sequence for different national circumstances (Anon, 2008).

REDD+ concentration on forest protection was also referred to Stern research, which discovered that the land usage change, forest conversion, and forest degradation contributed almost one-fifth of global emissions. It also considered as the second largest global greenhouse gases (hereinafter GHG) contributor (Stern, 2007: 653). In addition to that, REDD+ is believed as the cheapest and quickest strategy to reduce GHG emission (McGregor et. al., 2015). For instance, 250 tonnes of carbon are released immediately by cutting down a hectare of forest especially on peatland, whereas only 5-10 tonnes restore carbon per year by a hectare reforestation. What is more, it avoids the difficult politics in wealthy countries by adopting an offset mechanism (Anon, n.d.). Furthermore, countries can do business as usual, especially developed countries which had the binding obligation to reduce their domestic emissions under the Kyoto Protocol (Long, Roberts and Dehm, 2010).

Naturally, REDD+ as a new climate change mitigation plan generated a contestation. On one hand, the proponents of REDD+ argued that REDD+ provides financial incentives for forest protection in developing countries (Lounela, 2015), promotes justice to local communities because they will be rewarded if they protect forests (ibid), and considers as the cheapest way to reduce GHG by doing business as usual. On the other hand, critics argue that REDD+ is one kind of a neo-liberalisation of nature (McGregor et. al., 2014) which facilitates the extension of capitalism's interests (Arsel and Büscher, 2012), distorts local populations' values (Lounela, 2015), green grabbing (Fairhead, Leach and Scoones, 2012), and neo-colonization by producing injustices (Birrell, Godden and Tehan, 2012). The dimension of justice is a serious issue in the global debate over REDD+ (Sikor and Cãm, 2016) due to its plural notions as pointed out by Sikor (Sikor, 2013).

Furthermore, Chan and Satterfield argued that PES has been constrained to match a utilitarian justice concept which emphasised distribution over participation and recognition: upgrading cumulative human well-being is the main objective of environmental management, even though some people were left behind (Chan and Satterfield, 2013). In other words, the greatest advantage is the foremost objective of environmental management. This over-emphasis on distribution inferred that PES derived from the core of neoclassical economics – the Pareto principle (Muradian et

al., 2010). Interventions are ‘socially optimal’ in Pareto principle, in simple words, ‘it is okay to be better off if there is no one worse off’. PES implementation works as if ‘the beneficiaries of environmental management compensate those who bear additional costs. The recipients of payments would be better off in comparison with their previous position and with the previous practice of using regulations to outlaw certain resource use practices without compensation’ (Sikor and Câm, 2016).

In contrast, the forested country does not actually experience the justice when implementing REDD+. Instead, REDD+ promotes inequitable forest governance that discriminates forest societies and infringed their rights (Goodman and Roberts, 2009). However, Schlosberg pointed out that the concept of justice remains ambiguous and plural due to the development of diverse theories (Schlosberg, 2007). Since the concept of justice is debatable, it should be contested along its three key dimensions: ‘the economic dimension of distribution, the political dimension of representation, and the cultural dimension of recognition’ (Fraser, 2010). Moreover, Fraser revealed that those three dimensions are interlinked and integrated to each other (Fraser, 2000).

In this paper, I will explore the relationship between justice and REDD+, focusing on Indonesia as one of the targeted forested countries in REDD+ project as case study example. Then I give an overview of REDD+ project in Indonesia. Subsequently, I will examine how REDD+ is being implemented in Indonesia by drawing upon the three dimensions of justice. Finally, I will conclude my essay by reflecting the analysis whether REDD+ project in Indonesia is just.

REDD+ implementation in Indonesia

As the host of the The COP-13 UNFCCC, Indonesia saw REDD+ as a positive possible strategy not only to reduce emission but also assure financial benefit from carbon trading (Budi et al., 2012). Subsequently, under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era, Indonesia took the pledge to reduce its emissions by 26% by 2020 or 41% reduction with international assistance (Ibid).

Moreover, several international donors were interested in assisting Indonesia’s commitment of REDD+. The first REDD+ project in Indonesia began in 2007 when 100 million USD was granted to reforest 70.000 hectares of peatland, re-flood 200.000 hectares of degraded peat swamp, and then plant 100 million trees in Kalimantan by Australia (Olbrei and Howes, 2012). However, the project was officially established in 2009 namely Indonesia-Australia Forest Carbon Partnership/IAFCP) and launched in January 2010 as the Kalimantan Forests and Climate Partnership (hereinafter the KFCP) by Indonesian Ministry of Forestry (Lounela, 2015). The partnership was about to rehabilitate degraded peatland that once the Mega Rice Project Area in Central Kalimantan to reduce GHG emission (Ibid), which had been legalised by Presidential Instruction No. 2 of 2007 (Ibid). Nonetheless, the project faced many difficulties and considered unjust, thus it only last for six years without any significant success until being terminated in July 2013 (Ibid).

In addition to that, Indonesia signed a Letter of Intention (hereinafter the LoI) worth 1 billion USD with Norway in May 2010. It aimed to support the capacity development and implementation of REDD+. However, this grant was performance-based

payments: Indonesia has to meet predetermined conditions in the LoI to be rewarded (Budi et al., 2012). The LoI comprised of three main phases: the readiness phase (started May 2010); transformation phase (from January 2011 until 2017) and the contribution to verified emission reductions phase (from 2014 onwards). Each phase consisted specific activities, as described in Table 1. One of the terms is establishing an REDD+ agency, which is REDD+ Task Force that established through Presidential Decree No. 19 of 2010. As a matter of fact, Indonesia is still struggling on the second phase. Even though the implementation of the two-year forest moratorium has been extended twice, it does not show any sign of success.

Table 1. Phases of Indonesia – Norway LoI

Phase	Activity
Readiness phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • finalise a National REDD+ Strategy following consultation • set up an REDD+ agency that reports directly to the President • arrange a national monitoring, reporting, and verification (MRV) framework • devise a funding instrument • select a pilot province
Transformation phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Receive payment for performing the first phase • MRV • Suspend new forest conversion licence for two year • Enforce the law and resolve land tenure conflict • Launch pilot province
Contribution to verified emission reductions phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MRV • Receive payment

Overall, despite being initiated for 10 years now, both REDD+ projects in Indonesia do not bring any benefit. As a matter of fact, it promotes injustices to local people whose area is affected and creates new issues which will be discussed further below.

Multi-Dimensional Justice

Distributional Justice

First of all, the economic dimension is the easiest dimension to be examined, because it is measurable. Distributional justice associates with property right transfer and profit sharing. In the narrow sense, the distribution of economic incentives in REDD+ projects (Sikor, 2010) in Indonesia. While in the wider sense, the distribution of advantages in REDD+ as a climate change mitigation strategy. In this part, I try to answer what Sikor pointed out as the critical question in distributional justice ‘services to whom?’ and ‘services provided by whom?’ (Sikor and Cầm, 2016) in REDD+ strategy, especially in its implementation in Indonesia. Those questions also follow by next question of ‘who will receive the benefits?’ and ‘how it is being

distributed?', which relates to the issues of participation and decision making (Ibid).

The answer to the question 'services to whom?' and 'services provided by whom?' is obvious. Since global GHG reduction supposed to be the foremost aims of REDD+, still the burden of doing so are highly place-based (Marion Suiseeya, 2016). To be more precise, the REDD+ services provided by forested country to supposedly reduce the carbon emission for the global world, however, this objective has been displaced to create a source of low price carbon credits for developed countries and promote carbon offset projects as doing business as usual. The report entitled '*What a Scam! Australia's REDD offsets for Copenhagen*' (Goodman and Roberts, 2009) and the article '*Norway admits that "We haven't seen actual progress in reducing deforestation" in Indonesia*' (Lang, 2016) revealed that the donor's countries of REDD+ project in Indonesia desired to be 'carbon neutral' while doing business as usual.

As one would expect, this practice contradicts polluter pays principle (UNFCCC, 1992) and common but differentiated responsibilities principle (Ibid) considering developed countries has a historical responsibility of climate change. The historical responsibility is based on a research that indicated that GHG remains in the atmosphere for 100–120 years (Roberts and Parks, 2007). Lang argued that carbon sinks maintenance in forested countries is not a solution to reduce GHG since the developed countries continue to do business as usual by burning fossil fuels (Lang, 2009). Therefore, developed countries should not only require making extreme emissions cuts immediately (Roberts and Parks, 2007) but also compensate developing countries for developing a sustainable practice (Okereke and Dooley, 2010).

On the other hand, the question of 'who will receive the benefits?' and 'how it is being distributed?' requires a deeper analysis of forested country regulation and its implementation. When the KFCP first announced in 2007, the Government of Indonesia and Australia were enthusiastic. They claimed that the KFCP would help both Indonesia and Australia to participate in carbon emissions reductions and carbon trading market. Moreover, Alexander Downer, Australia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, proclaimed that the project could bring instant and concrete profits in mitigating climate change (Lang, 2011). However, he did not mention who would receive those advantages (Lang, 2011).

These benefit distribution questions have both vertical and horizontal dimensions. Vertical dimension means the distribution between the central government and local actors. Whereas horizontal dimension means identifying who are the local actors (Sikor and Câm, 2016). Elite capture and certain groups exclusion might happen if the benefits do not distribute properly.

In Indonesia, the incentive distribution of REDD+ has been regulated in Ministry of Forestry Regulation No. 36/Menhut- II/2009. That regulation stipulated that the incentives of REDD+ will be distributed to several actors depending on the tenure status and the type of forests. Nonetheless, this regulation had an objection from the Ministry of Finance because the Ministry of Forestry overstepped the Ministry of Finance's authority in governing state finance (Indonesia, 2003). State finance defines in the Law No. 17 of 2003 on State Finance as 'all rights and obligations of the state

that can be valued in money, as well as everything in cash or in the form of goods that can be owned by the state in connection with the implementation of the rights and obligations' (ibid). As per January 2017, this issue of overlapping regulation has not been addressed even though the Ministry of Forestry Regulation has been revised twice.

In addition to that, the implementation showed distributional injustice. In her research, Lounela discovered some distributional injustices in the KFCP, such as, unequally treatment to the villagers, giving more incentives to the project staff, lack of funding, and unfair payment – even though the villagers were told to plant rubber trees to get payment, the project did not tell it should be success, therefore only the villagers who successfully growing seedling get paid, those who failed did not get paid (Lounela, 2015). Likewise, it affected the harmony among the community to the land as they see it as common goods, eliminated the customary activities, and caused a dispute between villagers (Ibid).

From the explanation above, it also can be concluded that REDD+ leads to the alleviation of decentralisation (Phelps, Webb and Agrawal, 2010) and tends to recentralize forest governance (Sikor and Câm, 2016). The central government will give pressure to the local level to avoid non-payment risk and increase the market value of forests (Phelps, Webb and Agrawal, 2010). Thus, the central government still has the biggest role. Regarding this matter, the famous justice theorist, John Rawls suggested balancing social and economic inequalities, in order to achieve 'the greatest benefit to the least-advantaged members of the society,' (Rawls, 1999) which brings to the political dimension of justice – procedural justice.

Procedural Justice

The second dimension of justice is procedural since environmental governance decisions give impact on distribution. Procedural justice means that everyone should be able to participate in decision-making process (Schlosberg, 2007). According to Sikor the question of this notion of justice would be 'how do people participate in decision-making?' and 'who decides which people are recognised to have an interest in a particular ecosystem?' (Sikor and Câm, 2016) Those questions are based upon different benefit which people get from ecosystem services (Ibid).

Procedural justice issues in REDD+ is essential, on the ground that local societies and marginal groups that actually dwell in and highly rely on the forests sometimes do not feel being represented enough by the central government (Okereke and Dooley, 2010). Moreover, participation in REDD+ projects are a complicated issue, because there are so many actors involves and it is almost impossible to gather all societies in targeted area which sometimes so large (Lounela, 2015). Therefore representatives are needed yet there is a possibility of power abuse which leads to elite capture.

As a matter of fact, UNFCCC Decision 1/CP.16 has identified procedural and recognition justice in its safeguards (paragraph 2 of annexe I to UNFCCC Decision 1/CP.16). It mandates the forested countries to respect the indigenous peoples and members of local communities' knowledge and rights and involve relevant stakeholders, such as indigenous peoples and local communities, in decision making. Additionally, it requests forested countries to report the implementation of the

safeguards in the latter decision, yet it does not mention what form and when to do so (Sikor and Càm, 2016).

Those norms have been adopted by the government of Indonesia in Minister of Forestry Regulation No. 30/Menhut- II/2009 which stipulated a general guideline for REDD+ implementation in Indonesia. Although one of the provision is the requirements for submitting applications to be involved in REDD+ activities it does not mention about a process of Free Prior and Informed Consent (hereinafter FPIC) for relevant stakeholders – in this case indigenous people. It only mentions that customary forests can be REDD+ sites which required a copy of Minister of Forestry Decree as the manager of customary forest which procedures to obtain such decree that recognised as the customary manager are complicated (Budi et al., 2012).

Furthermore, FPIC is fundamental and challenging at the same time (Howell and Bastiansen, 2015). It is a sign that local communities who lived in the affected area are involved in planning, implementation and benefit distribution meaningfully (Ibid). By reason that it is framed and highly influenced by western point of view, the process to acquire FPIC is uncommon, unattainable, or inconvenience for affected societies (Colchester and Ferrari, 2007). Besides that, the terminology used in dissemination and documents is peculiar to local communities, even if it is in Indonesian (Howell and Bastiansen, 2015). What is more, the description and marketization of REDD+ project to donors, policy makers, and other actors differ from the terminology that used to describe to local communities (Ibid). Withal, the uncertainty of future shape of REDD+ would make consent neither be truly informed nor free due to asymmetrical power relation (Ibid).

In practice, several prolonged disseminations were done to inform and consult local communities which are affected by REDD+ projects in Indonesia. Nonetheless, FPIC has never been taken seriously. They consider FPIC as another never ending hierarchical dissemination between affected villagers and local or central government (Ibid). Furthermore, attendance to dissemination which is mandatory conceded as consent in most cases over Cambodia and Laos (Marion Suiseeya, 2016).

In the end, people participation is a luxurious thing in REDD+ projects. Local people and indigenous people did the participation indirectly by electing their representatives through a democracy election. Moreover, according to Hobbes' theory of social contract, citizens have agreed to hand over their sovereignty to a person or council with the authority and power to carry out the contract, namely government (Hobbes and Macpherson, 1986). Therefore, the answer to the question 'who decides which people are recognised to have an interest in a particular ecosystem?' and 'how do people participate in decision making?' is the government which supposedly represent the affected people. Actually, indigenous people can participate in decision-making since they have self-determination and veto right that have been acknowledged internationally in UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (hereinafter UNDRIP), albeit they are often misrecognized. In short, in order to involve in decision making, the participants should be recognised first.

Recognition Justice

Another dimension of justice to be considered is recognition. Recognition relates directly to ecosystem service (Sikor and Câm, 2016). The third dimension, justice as recognition means to be involved in participation and gaining benefit from environmental management without having assimilation to the dominant culture (Martin et al., 2016). McQueen explained, according to Hegel, human freedom is based on recognition (McQueen, n.d.). Indigenous people rights are unique, they demand to be different (in the matters of the way of life, belief system, knowledge, thought, and value) yet not to be discriminated from other social, political, economic, and cultural rights. Consequently, misrecognition of cultural identity is one kind of human right violation as it has been acknowledged in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) since 1948, The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) since 1966, and the UNDRIP since 2007. Hegel further argued that misrecognition is a form of slavery due to the failure of recognition of other value by the dominant actors (Martin et al., 2016).

Apart from that, recognition injustice to the local community is inflicted by putting states at the centre of decision-making in REDD+ which leads to the legitimization over forest and recentralization (Phelps, Webb and Agrawal, 2010). Suiseeya classified threefold concerning this issue. Firstly, most forests in most REDD+ targeted countries are possessed by governments (Martin et al., 2016). Secondly, local societies whose nationality and/or regions have not been having formal state recognition may be excluded by the centralization of distribution of REDD+ benefits along with encouraging the continuation of subordination of marginalised group (Marion Suiseeya, 2016). Thirdly, indigenous people sometimes would rather demand to pursue self-determination and authority than recognise as the part of country's population (ibid).

For instance, forests in Indonesia are 100% owned by the government. It started in President Suharto and his allies' era which claimed 70% of Indonesia's forests as state-owned and utilised it for development (Astuti and McGregor, 2015). It even legalised in the Law No. 41 of 1999 on Forestry. Nevertheless, in 2013 Indonesia's Constitutional Court nullified some provisions in the Law No. 41 of 1999 that stated that customary forest belongs to the state (Anon, 2013). Some activists considered this award as a breakthrough towards indigenous people recognition. In fact, indigenous people and their rights have been recognised in article 18B of Indonesia Constitution. Moreover, customary forests now have been recognised and regulated explicitly in the Minister of Home Affair Regulation No. 52 of 2014 on Indigenous People Recognition and Protection Guideline and the Minister of Forestry Regulation No. P.32/Menlhk-Setjen/2015 on Forest Rights. Recently, President Joko Widodo announced the recognition of nine customary forests in Indonesia (Jong, 2014; Parlina, 2016). This might be a green light of Indonesia's forest governance improvement in the future.

Although they have been recognised, it does not bring justice to them. The REDD+ project has neglected other forests' value by over-emphasising on conservation and carbon services (Marion Suiseeya, 2016). For example, just one year after the Constitutional Court recognised customary forests in 2013, four people of Semende Banding Agung Tribe in Bengkulu were sentenced to three years imprisons and 1.5

billion Indonesian Rupiah worth of fine because of cultivating their customary's land (Saturi et al., 2014; Anon, 2014). They did not know that their land was considered as national conservation forest by the government under the moratorium project in REDD+. This phenomenon occurs in many forest region in Indonesia, a recent case occurred in Papua, a man was arrested for illegal logging because of selling wood from his own land (Somba, 2016).

The difficult thing in recognition is to legalise customary forest, by reason of the unavailability of official customary land maps. In most cases, indigenous people draw their customary land map by hand and often leave diverse meaning (Johnston et al., 2014). Thus, benefits should be distributed by responsibilities not by rights, because indigenous people have their own knowledge to conserve their forest and actually the displacement of other value is unnecessary even if conserving forests for carbon services of forests hold universal value (Marion Suiseeya, 2016).

In addition to that, Savaresi admitted that FPIC principle is a precondition for planning and implementing REDD+, it gives governments, international organisations, and the private actors obligation to negotiate and collaborate with potentially affected (Savaresi, 2013). Unexpectedly, the UN safeguards do not mention anything about the obligation of international assistance (in this case the donor countries) to recognise and respect forested country's indigenous people rights even though they have implicit human rights obligation. Likewise, the agreement between Indonesia and Australia whereas the LoI between Indonesia and Norway mentioned indigenous people rights (Lang, 2009).

Conclusion

As climate change issue is an extremely urgent and carbon emission should be reduced, immediate climate change mitigation plan is required. However, REDD+ is incompatible with the idea of a mitigation plan, GHG emission would not be decreased, if the states still do business as usual and monetize forests. In fact, REDD+ is a hasty and fragile project by the technocrats, it is not well-planned because the final form remains uncertain (Howell and Bastiansen, 2015). That does not make any sense when all nations agreed that climate change is a global issue, yet on one hand, they put the responsibility into one party and on the other hand another party expects to harvest profits (Anon, 2010). While it is true that forests conservation is the quickest way to reduce GHG emission, the responsible should be balanced to developed and developing countries. Moreover, public participation from forests people is necessary and recognising other values of the forest should be taken into account when devising mitigation. Therefore, it would not be a 'zero sum up game'.

The notion of forests conservation and emission reduction to encounter climate change in Indonesia is actually promising. Since Indonesia's forest is considered as one of the world's most extensive area (Budi et al., 2012). Moreover, Indonesia tropical forests and biodiversity is on the third rank behind Brazil and the Democratic Republic of Congo (FWI/GWF. 2002).

Nonetheless, REDD+ project which originally designed to be a mitigation plan did not bring any benefit in Indonesia for 10 years. Additionally, its drawbacks outweigh the advantages. As a matter of fact, REDD+ project highlighted unfair forest

management within its three dimensions in Indonesia. Furthermore, new problems arise from REDD+ implementation.

First, REDD+ in Indonesia is obvious injustice in distribution, both in the broader or narrow sense. In the broader sense, it put all the cost on the targeted country while the donor country harvest benefit. Whereas in the narrow sense, the incentives do not distribute evenly. Even more, it arises new problems, such as re-centralisation and elite capture.

Secondly, REDD+ projects which highly localised does not involve local people in decision making because of the application of social contract theory. The participation through FPIC which actually a good mechanism, strongly related to the third dimension of justice, recognition. The problem about FPIC is the norms is assigned by the developing country which made confusion to the targeted people considering they have their own knowledge and thought of forest conservation.

Lastly, by giving too much power to the central government, REDD+ failed to recognise its local people in the targeted areas (Bolin and Tassa, 2012). Additionally, recognition is hard to do because of the absent of customary land map. It also failed in recognising other forests value by focusing on conservation even though the customary forest has been recognised in Indonesia. Moreover, it causes disharmony between indigenous people by disputing land tenure to earn financial profits from the project. Overall, procedural and recognition injustice lead to human rights violation, such as discrimination and marginalisation.

It can be inferred that recognition justice is the ultimate justice dimension above all. This is mainly because of what Fraser concluded as interrelated justice (Fraser, 2000). If the affected people is not being recognised, they could not participate in decision making and if they could not participate, they could not get fair benefit distribution. I also noted that global justice (Sen, 2001) should be applied in climate change mitigation plan as it is a global issue.

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The Platonic Doctrine of Untruth: Heidegger's Interpretation of Plato's Theaetetus and the Natural Possibility of Opinion

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Abstract

This article examines Heidegger's interpretation of Plato's *Theaetetus*, focusing on the problematic nature of opinion (*doxa*). Some commentators maintain that Plato's philosophy seeks an absolute conception of truth simply opposed to the arbitrary character of opinion, emphasizing an epistemological framework of the Platonic metaphysics. But a close reading of Heidegger's thoughts on the *Theaetetus* shows that Plato's original thinking does not attempt to simply posit a theoretical doctrine of pure knowledge contrary to opinion. For Plato, the possibility of knowing necessarily contains the ambiguous movements of opining (*doxazein*). Illuminating the lively disclosure of being inherent in the varying modes of opining, Heidegger's interpretive thinking suggests an open possibility of Plato's doctrine of untruth. In this light, I argue that a proper understanding of the *Theaetetus* must be based on the Platonic insight into the ambiguous power (*dunamis*) of opinion, which reveals the intermediate state of being between knowledge and ignorance.

Keywords: Opinion, Knowledge, Untruth, Being, *Theaetetus*, Heidegger

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Introduction: The Questionable Relationship of Knowledge and Opinion

This article examines the problematic relationship of knowledge (*epistêmê*) and opinion (*doxa*) revealed in Heidegger's interpretation of Plato's *Theaetetus* (Heidegger, 2002).¹ Some contemporary scholars insist that Plato defines opinion merely as an illusory belief opposed to the pure knowledge of being itself. In their view, this metaphysical antagonism between truth and opinion is generated from Plato's denunciation of the political life tainted by popular opinions (Arendt, 1990, pp. 73–74); facing the political persecution of the Socratic way of life, Plato's philosophy tries to establish a transcendental doctrine of idea as the absolute form of knowledge (Delueze, 1990, pp. 254, 258; Popper, 2003, pp. 19, 26). However, Heidegger's lecture on the *Theaetetus* shows that, for Plato, the varying possibilities of knowledge cannot be separated from the natural ground of opinion. Focusing on Plato's careful approach to the problematic power (*dunamis*) of knowing, Heidegger discloses open possibilities of thinking about untruth. In his view, Plato's *Theaetetus* does not simply try to posit the absolute or pure conception of truth; rather, this dialogue demonstrates that human effort of knowing naturally contains the ambiguous disclosure of beings, which leads to the multiple possibilities of opining (*doxazein*).

Thus, I argue that Heidegger's thoughts on the *Theaetetus* reveal the natural possibility of opining as the intermediary state of being between knowledge and ignorance. For Heidegger, Plato's thoughts on opinion hardly indicate an oppositional conception of true knowledge; rather, they seek a necessary ground of being with others which enables the human capacity of knowing as such. Particularly, Heidegger's grasp of the lively nature of being helps us understand the Platonic view of opining as a persistent basis of human learning. But some studies about Heidegger's view of the *Theaetetus* simply try to explicate the metaphysical issues unfolded from his "phenomenological" approach to the Platonic idea (Wood, 1999; Wrathall, 2004). Other scholarly works criticize his fixed conception of the Platonic truth, focusing on Heidegger's methodological framework of "hermeneutics" (Rosen, 1991; Rockmore, 1990). In a similar vein, a recent study argues that Heidegger's interpretive thinking fails to grasp the dynamic possibility of Platonic dialectics underlying varied definitions of knowledge (Gonzalez, 2009, pp. 173–224). A closer reading of the text, however, shows that Heidegger's thoughts on the *Theaetetus* try to uncover the active connection of knowing and opining, rather than metaphysical doctrines of knowledge. In this light, I maintain that for Heidegger, Plato's thinking recurrently confronts the possibility and limit of untruth based on the multiple forces of opining.

1. The Platonic Untruth and the Recurrent Question of Being

Heidegger's approach to the problem of being confronts, above all, the natural limit of human knowing (Heidegger, 1962, pp. 87, 260–262). For him, the ancient thinking of

¹ Hereafter *ET*. The text is based on a lecture course delivered at the University of Freiburg in the winter semester 1931–1932. It was first published as volume 34 of Heidegger's *Gesamtausgabe* (collected works): *Vom Wesen der Wahrheit: zu Platons Höhlengleichnis und Theätet* (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1988). When citing the text, I will put the abbreviated title along with a page number in parenthesis.

being struggled with the problem of speaking (*legein*) and opining (*doxazein*), seeing that human possibilities of knowing are “both in the truth and in untruth” (Heidegger, 1962, p. 264; 1998b, pp. 1–16). The everyday modes of speech (*logos*) often distort and overlook the authentic possibility of true knowledge; nonetheless, the ordinary process of knowing is based upon the human capacity of opining. Thus, Greek philosophy approaches the power of opining as a problematic mode of human confrontation with the varying aspects of beings. In this light, a proper interpretation of the ancient philosophy must examine the natural connection between truth (*alētheia*) and opinion (*doxa*) (Heidegger, 1962, p. 494, n. 39; Rockmore, 1990, p. 116). For Heidegger, the ancient meaning of nature (*phusis*) implies the perplexing movements of being that can both reveal and hide itself (Heidegger, 2000, p. 106). The Greek meaning of the truth as disclosedness (*alētheia*) of being signifies this lively problem of nature, which constantly demands human beings to uncover the higher possibility of their own being.

The Greek conception of opinion (*doxa*) reflects the ambiguous “appearing [*dokein*]” of being through varying motions of beings (Heidegger, 2000, p. 110). The differing possibilities of opinion signify the perplexing disclosure of being through everyday speeches. The ancient power of philosophizing emerges from this natural experience of opinion, wavering between the revelation of being and its seeming appearances. The Platonic view of opinion, therefore, is not to simply posit the opposite conception of truth but to grasp our questionable experience of being based on the conflicting possibilities of untruth. In contrast to some commentators’ criticism against Plato, the Platonic doctrine of untruth seeks an open possibility of thinking about the being of non-being, which implies a necessary possibility of being with others (Heidegger, 1995, p. 22; cf. Popper, 2003, p. 23). In this sense, the genuine power of Plato’s philosophizing lies not in its metaphysical doctrine of pure knowledge but in its persistent questioning about the natural existence of varied opinions. However, Heidegger sees that traditional conceptions of Platonism hardly grasp the original meaning of Plato’s confrontation with the differing perspectives of being (Heidegger, 1991, p. 209; 1998b, p. 94). Plato’s philosophy attempts not to impose the fixed oneness of being on the plural beings in motion, but to disclose the shared ground of the varying beings (Lee, 2016, p. 396).

Heidegger’s thoughts on the *Theaetetus* illuminate Plato’s view of opining as an inevitable mode of the soul’s striving for being (knowing) and its diverging possibilities. Thus, Heidegger’s lecture on the *Theaetetus* begins with emphasis on the leading question of the dialogue: what knowledge *is* (*ET*, 110). His interpretation primarily approaches the meaning of knowledge as a persistent problem of being. Thus, he criticizes the presumptive reading of the dialogue based upon the modern scientific theory of knowledge. This metaphysical perspective tends to see Plato’s *Theaetetus* simply as an “epistemological” dialogue, reducing its lively questions into a dogmatic doctrine of knowledge (*ET*, 111; cf. Arendt, 1990, pp. 74, 97; Rockmore, 1990, p. 117.). For Heidegger, the right way of the interpretation must grasp Plato’s recurrent efforts to question the possibility and limit of knowledge, which can reveal the problematic nature of opinion. In other words, the ruling question of the *Theaetetus* is not to establish a philosophical theory of knowledge but to disclose the necessary relationship of knowing and opining (Blitz, 2010, pp. 215–226; Mara, 1988, pp. 476–483).

Plato's *Theaetetus* approaches the problem of being through the multiple opinions about knowledge. Heidegger sees that the Greek sense of knowledge is based on the possible disclosure of beings as a whole. For Plato, the human power of opining (*doxazein*) is an inevitable mode of disclosing the clearer aspects of beings (*Theaetetus*, 158d f.; cf. Arendt, 1990, pp. 79–80).² In the *Theaetetus*, the possibility of knowing signifies the soul's determinate modes to gather diverse beings in a certain unity (198d). In an immediate sense, to know something means to grasp the present beings with bodily powers of sense perception (*aisthēsis*); at the same time, the human power of knowing further reveals its extensive possibility to retain beings through the intellectual power of memory and imagination, namely “*making-present*” (*ET*, 116; 191d; cf. Heidegger, 1962, pp. 95–102.). Even when something is physically absent, a human soul can keep the presence of something in order to maintain one's own stance amid the changeable beings.

2. The Fragmented Beings of Sense Perception (*Aisthēsis*) and the Ruling Power of the Soul

The immediate problem of being emerges from Theaetetus' first definition of knowledge as sense perception (*aisthēsis*) (184b). As an introduction to this issue, Heidegger refers to Socrates' earlier statement: “appearance and perception are the same [*phantasia ara kai aisthēsis tauton*]” (152c1; cf. Delueze, 1990, p. 262.).³ For Heidegger, Plato does not simply denigrate the importance of bodily perception (*aisthēsis*) which captures the instant appearance of beings: the sense perception implies a human capacity of having something directly before oneself (*aisthanesthai*), i.e. a prompt grasp of the self-showing beings (*phantasia*) (*ET*, 119). There arises a question of whether the sense perception can contain the genuine nature of beings, and this questionability of sense perception initiates a more serious inquiry into the basis of human sensibility. Thus, Socrates' question about the varied modes of sense organs concerns what makes the power of perception as such possible (185b–c). Heidegger emphasizes that, for Plato, a human being can recognize something only if it passes through the sense organs; on the other hand, the sense organs are dispersed at multiple places of the body in order to perform their own particular functions (*ET*, 123; cf. Mara, 1988, p. 477). This fragmented aspect of bodily beings seems to be uncanny (*deinon*) for the human being trying to ascertain and maintain one's own self (184d). The bodily capacities can exist only if the human being has a higher power to bring the divided perceptions together. Then, the natural powers and limits of sense perception allow us to seek a deeper ground of the human existence.

In Heidegger's view, Plato sees the being of the soul (*psyche*) as the governing power of the diverse senses. The soul signifies a natural possibility of the human being to unify the differing forces of corporeal beings. However, the conventional interpretation of Platonism could not grasp Plato's original view of the soul and its necessary relation to bodily perceptions. The metaphysical theories of the Platonic ideas have reduced the natural power of the soul into merely a spiritual conception of being; for Heidegger, this weakened notion of the idea was “probably the most disastrous thing that could have

² When citing the *Theaetetus*, I will follow the Stephanus pagination

³ Without special notice, the following citations of the *Theaetetus* (except the last section) are based upon Heidegger's own translation in the *ET*.

happened to the Platonic philosophy” (*ET*, 125; cf. Popper, 2003, p. 23). In its original sense, the Platonic idea of the soul is not to simply denounce and escape the bodily confusion of a human being (152c). Rather, the soul signifies the superior power of being that enables and sustains the immediate appearances of the physical beings.

Thus, Plato’s thoughts of the idea and soul cannot be simply understood as otherworldly and dogmatic conceptions of being, which despises the worldly coexistence of human beings (cf. Arendt, 1990, p. 93; Popper, 2003, p. 77). The governing power of the soul contains an open possibility of “the relational [*das Verhältnishaft*]” (*ET*, 128). For Heidegger, this view of the soul reveals the lively character of the Platonic ideas, which constantly connects and determines the multiple possibilities of beings (*ET*, 129; Lee, 2016, p. 394). The Platonic form (*eidos*) implies a disclosed outlook (idea) of being based on the soul’s persistent disclosing of the natural connectedness of beings. The possibility of knowledge reveals itself from the soul’s openness to other beings; the human soul approaches the genuine knowledge of being through the differing ideas and manifold forms of beings based on sense perception. Perceiving physical matters like color and sound, human beings can discern a greater idea of being that rules the apparent beings. For Plato, it means that the human being has the natural power of “*dianoiein* [intellection]” to see a being of beings through their interactions (*ET*, 131; 150c; Plato, *Republic*, 511d).

For Heidegger, the natural power of human striving (*eporegesthai*) reveals a deeper meaning of the Platonic *erōs* (love; desire). The authentic possibility of *erōs* contains the measuring ground for varying desires, seeking a beautiful and fitting way of being with others (*ET*, 155; 169a f.). However, Plato’s original reflection of *erōs* has been distorted and forgotten, particularly through the contemporary conception of *erōs* as a groundless desire of sensuality. In this light, it is important for us to see the unruly desire as an inauthentic *erōs*, the lawless pursuit of instant beings (cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1253a30). On the other hand, for Socrates, philosophizing is a truly erotic mode of the soul in that the love of wisdom strives for the more lawful and suitable way of being including the erotic power itself (169c; Plato, *Republic*, 403a). Therefore, Heidegger sees that the possibility of knowing implies our natural “attunedness (*Gestimmtheit*)” toward other beings (*ET*, 158; Heidegger, 1962, p. 172). The human desire for knowledge is based not on groundless impulses of an isolated subject, but on determinate connections of one’s own being to the other (*Zueinander-sein*) (*ET*, 160; 160b).

In this regard, the power of speech (*logos*) signifies the most important mode of the soul’s striving for being with others. Heidegger sees that the original meaning of *logos* is to gather and display beings in a certain relationship (*ET*, 160; 206d ff.). To speak in an orderly way (*logizesthai*) implies the natural power of being to associate dispersed beings into a certain unity; on the other hand, the fixed categories of logic cannot fully disclose the soul’s constant movement of knowing (205b). Thus, Heidegger tries to clarify the temporal implication of the Platonic soul, which deliberates in itself “the past and the present things relative to the future” (186b). The soul must have an active power to relate different beings in motion while the dynamic faculty of the *logos* constantly determines the temporal connections of changeable beings (*ET*, 165). Therefore, the true power of a

human being can be understood by unveiling the deeper ground of the soul's movement for knowledge underlying the *logos*.

But the genuine possibility of being with others hardly discloses itself in an easy way. The open power of the Platonic soul still makes us see the uncanny possibilities of something higher, which permanently empowers the human efforts of knowing (*ET*, 171; cf. 186c7). At the same time, the human being belongs to a varying nature of bodily forces. The dispersed and changing sense perceptions cannot fully disclose the true basis of their own functions, while they offer a necessary pathway to the higher possibility of knowing (187a f.; Wood, 1999, p. 814). Then, the problem of the sense perception reveals more serious questions about the necessity of untruth, i.e. the natural ground of opinion (*doxa*).

3. True Opinion (*Alēthes Doxa*) and the Ambiguous Power of Opining (*Doxazein*)

The concrete problems of opinion come up in the context of Theaetetus' second definition of knowledge, namely, as true opinion (187a). For Heidegger, what we need to learn from this passage is not an analytical definition of knowledge but Plato's careful approach to the being of untruth. In other words, Heidegger's basic intention is not to simply analyze an essence of the Platonic methodology but to uncover Plato's confrontation with the difficulty of knowing (cf. Popper, 2003, p. 29). Theaetetus' second answer necessarily emerges from the challenging context of the first answer: the finite possibility of sense perception still maintains its own "*positive* meaning" for Plato's ongoing investigation of knowledge (*ET*, 178; cf. Delueze, 1990, p. 258). The power of the soul can unite the fragmented bodily perceptions only after grasping their relatedness to beings as a whole. It means that the idea of the soul is not to simply oppose the changing forces of bodily perceptions but to reveal the questionable association of truth and opinion. Thus, Heidegger sees that Socrates is cautious "not to tie down this comportment of the soul by any kind of rigid definition, and instead gives substantive guidelines for the question" (*ET*, 179). In this light, Theaetetus' second definition of knowledge as true opinion leads to a newly opened discussion about the soul's power of opining as such.

In Heidegger's view, Plato's view of opinion (*doxa*) is grounded in the possibility of the constant "self-showing [*phainesthai*]" of beings themselves, which varied powers of sense-perception cannot wholly capture. The determinate process of opining is necessary for the soul to approach and disclose the clearer aspects of beings beyond the immediate sensations. The human soul must have a determined view (*doxa*) of beings based on the gathering power of speech (*logos*); at the same time, the root meaning of *doxa* from the verb "*dokein* [appear]" signifies a countering possibility to "*lanthanō* [concealing; forgetting]" (*ET*, 181; Arendt, 1990, p. 80). The original meaning of *doxa* contains the natural possibility of grasping a self-showing of beings in different ways (191b). The definite perspectives of various opinions can conceal the genuine aspect of being because they also contain derivative looks of being, i.e. the possibility of non-being. Therefore, the human power of opining implies the two confused ways of disclosing: the self-showing of being itself and its variable appearances. This ambiguous nature of opinion

indicates that its untrue character never implies a purely oppositional concept of truth. Rather, the possibility of opinion signifies the multiple modes of revealing the truth of being.

Illuminating the Platonic problem of the *doxa*, Heidegger explicates the meaning of Theaetetus' perplexity (*aporia*) before Socrates' questioning (*ET*, 185). Socrates' art of speech continually allows Theaetetus to experience the uncanny thinking about the *being* of untruth (187c f.). The distorted possibilities of opinion inevitably emerge through the soul's recurrent struggle for knowledge. Thus, the discussion about the possible existence of true opinion leads to a contrary question of what makes the false opinion (*pseudēs doxa*) possible. In this light, Heidegger carefully examines Plato's preliminary discussions about the possibility of *pseudēs doxa* (187d–191). Only in light of Plato's cautious efforts to confront the inevitable problems of opinion, we can understand the Socratic art of guiding Theaetetus to overcome his own perplexity.

Heidegger's interpretation primarily focuses on Socrates' thoughts on the intermediary state of being between knowing and not-knowing (188a–d). The possibility of knowledge is based on the persistent experience of learning, i.e. the soul's movement from ignorance to knowledge. However, the transitional situation of “coming-to-know” cannot exist if everything is simply “known or unknown” (*ET*, 190; 188c). Knowing must be an ongoing attempt to grasp clearer aspects of something, although it cannot wholly disclose the truth of being. The possibility of knowledge signifies the necessary being of the in-between (*metaxu*) (Kirkland 2007, 100). In knowing, therefore, human beings must encounter the being of “otherness [*heteron*],” which underlies the diverse movements of *doxa* (*ET*, 193). In other words, the human power of knowing must reveal through the varying views of opining while striving for a true knowledge of something.

Here, Socrates approaches the core problem of *doxa* by questioning how “the one and the other” can be enjoined together through human speech. In speaking of something *through* something *else*, “the one is posited *instead of* the other” (*ET*, 201). For Heidegger, the significant point here is not simply a confusing nature of opining. The impossibility of the *allodoxia* indicates that a certain *being* of something must show itself even in the vague process of opining through something else (190d). The misleading mode of opinion cannot eradicate the natural ground of being that makes itself possible, although the original appearance of a being is often concealed and distorted through opining (*ET*, 202; Kirkland, 2007, p. 108). Therefore, the varying possibilities of opinion do not merely signify a groundlessness or nothingness of untrue speeches. Rather, the untruth of human opining ironically implies the irremovable possibility of being and truth, i.e. the soul's natural power of disclosing a more genuine relationship of beings as a whole.

4. The Natural Possibility of False Opinion (*Pseudēs Doxa*)

The two analogies of Socrates demonstrate the original ground of false opinion (*pseudēs doxa*) in a more vivid way (192–200d). Here, Heidegger uncovers Plato's subtle view about the possibility of untruth inherent in the human power of thinking and opining (*ET*, 204; cf. Heidegger, 2003b, pp. 14–15, 19). Plato's thoughts on falsehood (*pseudos*)

reveals that the being of untruth cannot be simply reduced into a logical error of speech; rather, they demonstrate a more dynamic aspect of being in deed (Lee 2016, 392). Plato's deeper way of thinking is indicated by the dramatic situation. Like Socrates, Theaetetus finally "takes heart" to confront what has perplexed him (191a). Theaetetus is now able to seriously deal with the baffling state of being between knowledge and ignorance. Thereby, he begins to understand the nature of "*mathēsis* [learning]" (ET, 206; 191c): without pursuing a simple answer about knowledge, Theaetetus tries to reflect upon his own perplexity before the being of differing opinions. He now comes to learn Socrates' careful approach to the nature of the in-between (*metaxu*), which is neither simply true nor absolutely false. Thus, Heidegger argues that we need to see how the new possibilities of thinking about untruth is "opened up" here (ET, 207; Kirkland, 2007, pp. 96–97; cf. Nietzsche, 1989, pp. 117; 134–137).

Socrates firstly presents a "simile of the wax" in order to make visible the problematic possibility of "remembrance [*mnēmosynē*]" (191c ff.). This analogy of the wax depicts the imprinting (sealing) power of the soul. The human soul has a power to hold beings within itself as the wax keeps the shape of something; even when beings are physically absent, the soul can have the ideas of them through its memory. Heidegger argues that this simile of the wax illuminates the human power to "make-present [*vergegenwärtigen*]" distinct from the immediate "having-present [*Gegenwärtig-haben*]" of sense perception (ET, 211–212; Heidegger, 1962, pp. 373–374; 421). Human beings can keep an encountered being based on its natural outlook (*eidos*) presented to their souls. However, the making-present of a being cannot reflect its whole presence because a memory of something contains the imitative look (*eidōlon*) of its varying appearances (194a f.).

Socrates then suggests the "simile of the aviary" in order to make clear the retaining power of the soul from a more dynamic perspective of being (197b ff.). The soul's aviary is an imaginary container filled with various sorts of birds: throughout everyday life, human beings encounter many changing beings and try to keep some of them in their souls. The birds that simply enter the container represent the soul's mere collection (possessing) of beings. But the human soul has a higher capacity to dispose and rearrange the encountered beings, namely when the man within the aviary is able to free the birds and catch them again. According to Heidegger, this recurrent mode of the soul's grasp (having) of beings is what Plato calls "*hexis* [disposition]" (ET, 216). For Plato, the varying capacities of knowing and opining are related to the human dispositions, i.e. the individual souls' distinctive manners of dealing with beings in various circumstances (197d).

Heidegger sees that these two similes demonstrate the soul's ambiguous capacity of making-present, in which the natural possibility of being remains throughout the temporal change of beings. For Plato, the possibility of knowledge cannot be separated from the varying possibilities of opinion. The power of opining can determine the changeable nature of beings in a fitting or unfitting way. However, the various retaining powers of the soul show the higher possibility of opinion beyond the immediate sense perceptions, pursuing a more broad relationship to being as a whole (cf. Delueze, 1990, p. 263; Popper,

2003, p. 26). On the other hand, the actual capacities of the human souls are not the same: we need to carefully consider the diverse conditions of the individual souls (*ET*, 218; 194d f.). There is a natural dissimilarity in the human powers to retain, recollect and dispose beings, causing their differing manners of thinking, speaking and opining in everyday life. But Heidegger also emphasizes that the conflicting possibilities of the human souls can be seen only in light of “one and the same” ground of being (*ET*, 219). The multiple opinions of human beings are possible only by their souls’ striving for the higher power of being as such.

The implication of being in the two analogies helps us understand the lively ground of the Platonic untruth. According to Heidegger, the ambiguous nature of opinion is grounded in the two diverging powers of the soul (having-present and making-present). The differing movements of opining reveals that the soul is not to simply make a universal representation of beings within our consciousness; rather, the natural power of the soul persistently strives for a shared ground of being, based on its recurrent grasp of apparent beings. In this light, the striving power of the soul contains several modes of action: sense-perception (*aisthêsis*: having-present), remembrance (*mnêmê*: making-present), and deliberation (*dianoia*: thinking through *logos*) (*ET*, 220; 195d). The actual process of opinion associates these different ways of the soul’s striving for being. In other words, the possibility of opining implies an intentional combination of bodily perceptions and mental recollection.

Thus, Heidegger tries to uncover from Plato’s thoughts on opinion a forgotten path of approaching the genuine problem of being with others. In Heidegger’s view, the logical category of correctness and incorrectness cannot allow us to question the natural occurrence of untruth and its relationship to knowing. Plato’s philosophizing does not simply determine opinion as an oppositional conception of pure knowledge. The distorted viewpoint of false opinion implies not merely a logical error but the concealing and forgetfulness of being with others. For Plato, the truly opposed concept of knowledge is ignorance (*agnoia*), which completely forgets and loses one’s own power of opining (199d; Plato, *Republic*, 478c, 511d). In this light, we cannot simply reject the untrue character of opinion as something without any connection to truth: a whole nature of being, however much it is distorted and forgotten, cannot be entirely concealed, “for it *shows itself*, offers a look, [and] we have a view of it” (*ET*, 227). For Heidegger, the natural perspectives of Plato’s thinking illumine that there must be an origin, direction and end of becoming, i.e. the determining power of being as such; however, the truth of being can be neither easily known by true opinions (with *logos*) nor simply rejected by the untrue ones (210a–b). In this light, Plato’s dialectical approach to the problem of opinion shows that the irremovable possibility of being must reveal itself through the dissimilar modes of knowing (Wood, 1999, p. 826; cf. Nietzsche, 1968, p. 9).

Conclusion: The Differing Ways of Being in the *Polis*

For Heidegger, Plato’s *Theaetetus* reflects not simply on a logical problem of untruth, but on the lively nature of human existence. To coexist with others in a proper way, human beings must confront recurrent struggles of differing opinions. For Plato, the conflicting

forces of opining (*doxazein*) reveal the possibility and limit of *being* underlying human quest for knowledge. In this light, Heidegger's interpretation of the *Theaetetus* illuminates a positive meaning of opinion (*doxa*): in so far as being shows itself through the everyday opinions of beings, we can strive for the higher possibility of being with others (*ET*, 229; 169d). The questioning of being is necessarily difficult because the changeable nature of beings can often be twisted and buried under the determinate views of opinions. In other words, human pursuit of knowledge must confront the vague (false) revelations of everyday being with others. Thus, Plato's thinking about knowledge and opinion indicates the natural limit and power of philosophizing itself: philosophy cannot give us a definite answer about true knowledge of being, but it can guide our thinking and opining to constantly seek the better possibilities of living with others (157d; 173d f.). Thereby, the Socratic questions of knowledge naturally lead to the political problem of being in the *polis* (167c; 170b).

The dramatic contexts of the dialogue indicate that the natural ground of knowledge implies the inevitable problems of being in the *polis* (Mara, 1988, p. 483; Wood, 1999, p. 812; Blitz, 2010, p. 226). Heidegger's interpretation of the *Theaetetus* illuminates the recurring question of being inherent in the Platonic discussion of knowledge and opinion. The intermediate state of knowing implies the human way of being in the varying modes of opining. However, Heidegger fails to notice that in light of the whole context of the dialogue, this questionable nature of being ultimately signifies a political problem of everyday living with others (167c; 177d; 179a). Theaetetus eventually actualized a courageous way of being in the *polis* after the perplexing dialogue with Socrates disclosing the problematic basis of knowledge and opinion. While their discussions cannot determine the pure concept of knowledge, the political implications of the Socratic thinking might let Theaetetus see the actual ground of his own being.

The *Theaetetus* reveals that the human quest for knowledge must pass through the inevitable possibility of untruth. As a determined state of the soul's striving for being, the power of opining cannot be separated from the ongoing practice of learning from error (190a). Thus, as Heidegger rightly points out, Plato's philosophizing is not to simply establish an absolute doctrine of knowledge against the everyday opinions. For Plato, the ambiguous nature of opining further reveals a necessary conflict between the differing perspectives of being, which constantly requires the human striving for the best-possible modes of unity. The power and limit of opinion signifies the dynamic character of the Platonic untruth wavering between awareness and deceptiveness; the natural possibility of false opinion does not imply nothingness or groundlessness of existence but the conflicting movements of being with others. Thus, the possibility and limit of Heidegger's interpretive thinking allows us to read the *Theaetetus* as a whole more carefully, considering the interactive relationship of truth and opinion as a persistent problem of being in the *polis*.

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***Ordinary Interaction and Disconnection
- Relationships Between South Koreans and North Korean Refugees -***

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Abstract

This research focuses on what social relationship they form in the ‘contact zone’ where they interact with South Koreans and the social implication this has. The contact zone this study takes notice of is the ‘work place’, specifically the aspects between these people, and the attitudes of South Koreans on the refugees. And this study concentrates on the changes of the aspects of contact when they are moved from the ‘work place’ to places other than ‘the place’. During the ‘work hours’, everyday interaction occurs naturally, but ‘after work hours’ ordinary disconnection happens too nonchalantly. To conclude, we can’t assert that the testimony of the refugees analyzed here represents all the refugees, but through their testimony, we could figure out, though indirectly, the barren awareness order of South Korean society on the refugees. The dual attitude of South Korean society on these can’t be fully corrected only with the improvements of the economic indicators. Especially, inattention or expulsion of South Korean society reveals this society’s sterile democratic foundation.

Keywords: Ordinary Interaction, Ordinary Disconnection, North Korean Refugee, Contact Zone, Work Place

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I. Introduction

Professor Catherine Moon, the first Korea Chair in Brookings Research Institute, once pointed out, “How can we tell North Koreans that democracy is excellent, as long as the North Korean Refugees remain on the fringe of Korean society?”(Kyoung-hyang Daily, June, 6, 2014). What she was trying to announce was that while it is crucial to identify in which status 30,000 refugees are located in South Korea in dealing with the subject of the unification of Two Koreas, actually most of them are segregated and isolated outside the mainstream, which is a pungent comment.

As of Nov., 2016, North Korean Refugees in South Korea exceeded 30,000 and some of them became a government official and a Congressman. Yet, the majority of them have experienced the discrimination and isolation. In this situation, what national identity the refugees will form will demonstrate the democratic standard of Seoul society. Furthermore, it will be the issue of influencing the two Koreas’ internal integration after the political unification. This study begins with the kind of critical mind.

According to the factual survey on the settlement of the North Korean Refugees in 2016 by Korea Hana Foundation, the contentment level in South Korean life of the refugees was 67%, which increased by 4% in 2015 and their employment-population ratio was 55%, and their unemployment rate was 5.1%. Especially, the refugees’ employment-population ratio increased constantly to reach the better economic state(Korea Hana Foundation, 2016a) and through this I could identify that their standing inside South Korean society is improving. Still, the difficulty and the problem of social adjustment they confront leave something inexplicable, apart from the amelioration of economic indicators.

Then, what kinds of social relationship do the refugees construct with South Koreans. This research focuses on what social relationship they form in the ‘contact zone’ where they interact with South Koreans and the social implication this has. The contact zone this study takes notice of is the ‘work place’, specifically the aspects between these people, and the attitudes of South Koreans on the refugees. And this study concentrates on the changes of the aspects of contact when they are moved from the ‘work place’ to places other than ‘the place’.

If we look into the aspects of interaction revealed in the ‘work place’ between the refugees and South Koreans, then we can easily find the dual looks. If we pay heed to the character of the contact zone called ‘work place’, we can notice the dual aspects of contact between them during the ‘work hours’ and ‘after work hours’: the interaction and the disconnection. If we chase the answer for this problem, we might analyze the root cause of the dual attitude of the South Korean society toward the refugees and the reasons which produce or reproduce this attitude.

II. Methodology

This study defines the ‘work place’ where the interaction and the disconnection between the refugees and South Koreans arise as the contact zone, and examines the relationship between those people who construct social relationship in it focused on the spatial trait and the dual attitude of South Koreans on the refugees. For this

method, one of the researchers executed the in-depth interviews twice during the period from early July, 2016 to early April, 2017 on two refugees, and during the same period, performed thrice of in-depth interviews on the government authorities who had helped the refugees with settlement in South Korean society.

In this research, the age group and the sex of the interviewees amounted to the mid-40s and male, and they entered South Korean society in the mid-2000s. They didn't want to reveal their hometowns and identities except that they graduated from middle school. So, we are marking them as A and B in this study. In addition to this socio-demographic background, they had the common characteristics: they changed their works several times and they had difficulty in adjusting themselves in the previous works.

In the meantime, in this research, we executed the in-depth interview on the persons concerned who had helped three refugees with the settlement in South Korean society so as to examine closely the natures of the relationship between the refugees and South Koreans revealed in the 'work place' and social connotation they contain. Additionally, these three concerned kept intimate relationship with one of the researchers, so they have told the researcher the tough reality the refugees suffer and their serious opinions respecting the reasons apart from the in-depth interview. These three put forward the objective views concerning how the aspects of the interaction between the refugees and South Koreans in the 'work place' change from the 'work hours' to 'after work hours' and why that kind of change take place.

This study reviews how are the aspects of the contact between the refugees and South Koreans in the contact zone called 'work place' and what kind of attitude South Koreans possess toward the refugees and analyzes in what context these aspects are made up. To be more specific, this research is to search the root cause of the dual attitude of South Korean society to the refugees and the ultimate cause which produce or reproduce these aspects.

However, this study also has the same problems as the other ones over the settlement process of the refugees in South Korean society. To be more in detail, the problem of the generalizing the experiences of the few refugees, and the problem that the refugees themselves don't expose their inner minds sufficiently. Accordingly, in this research, to complement the uppermost limit, we performed the in-depth interview on the three persons associated who had helped the refugees to settle in South Korean society with ample sense of the responsibility. We could capture the lives, patterns of behavior, experiences and memories of the refugees in the 'work place' in depth as well as the opinions of the persons concerned.

III. Ordinary Interaction and Disconnection in the 'Work Place'

1. Interaction during the 'work hours'

According to Korea Hana Foundation's social integration survey on the refugees conducted in 2016, those who said they had no experiences of being segregated or ignored (the cases of practical discrimination or disregard, verbally and physically) are estimated to be 75.5%. On the contrary, the same survey shows that the percentage of those who answered that they had any experience of discrimination or

disregard dropped 0.9% as 24.4% compared with that of 2015(Korea Hana Foundation, 2016b). To review only with the figure, we can distinctly confirm that the attitude of South Koreans on the refugees has been improved. However, we researchers found it hard to accept these investigation findings. Because so the great majority of the refugees with whom the researcher had contacted up to nowadays confessed that they had been ignored in the 'work place', and the 'community' simply because they were the refugees.

Having the question about which standard support the reduction of the experiences of the segregation or the disregard toward the refugees, the researcher met the three involved who had helped the refugees with their settlement in South Korean society upon the opportunity of the national research institute project and asked if the discrimination on these people had really decreased. To the question, concerned(C) who worked for the local adjustment center(Hana Center below) which supports the incipient settlement of the refugees replied that "apparently the diminution of the segregation in the 'work place' seems to be genuine". The concerned(b) beside him gave a similar answer as well. He expounded that "the segregation to the refugees seemed to have decreased dramatically, for the government authorities ceaselessly urged the company not to discriminate them".

In early July, 2016, the research met the two refugees with whom he had usually been on good terms, and asked if the frequency of "their being segregated or ignored diminished". The mid-forty refugee(A) responded that the frequency of "publicly using disregarding words in the work or saying that's because he is from North Korea" noticeably diminished. And the mid-forty refugee(B) also said that "in these days those who will be seen odder person inversely if they openly ignore us, so they don't dare to do so".

When I first came to work, they ignored too much. What had you done in North Korea without learning this? I came to employ you inevitably, for I can't find another worker easily nowadays. Otherwise, I wouldn't have recruited you. They treated like these. In these days, things became favorable to us compared with those of those days.(the refugee A)

Meanwhile, the research grew to know the fact that another researcher with whom he picked acquaintance during the process he went through for the project of Ministry of National Unification came from North Korea. Curious about what kind of person he might be who is the same young age group as him, he examined the article of his interview in the media.

The North Korean refugees come to confront the severe circumstances of unemployment and impoverishment. ... The situations of the refugees have been getting dreadful as to go beyond our imagination. They sought after their motherland and freedom, but thousands of them already 'escaped from South Korea'. And not a few of them are considering going back to North Korea and committing suicide. That is the unknown truth.(Daily Korea, 2016/8/22)

In early Jan, 2017, when he was preoccupied with the article of the professor from North Korea, he came to attend an overnight workshop with the three concerned who

had helped the refugees to settle in South Korean society, having met previously, taking the opportunity of the project for the national research institute. During the time, the researcher asked if they happened to know the researcher from North Korea.

Of course, the great majority of the refugees will not disclose lies absolutely. Still, You should not accept all their words as truths. As for my experience of helping them with settlement, I think it evidently true that they are better treated than before in the 'work place'. I don't know if he belong to those who interview with the press in overstatement saying they live a tough life. But a great number of the refugees do so.(concerned(b)

In early Jan, 2017, the researcher has a highly serious conversation with the three concerned after finishing the official schedule of a workshop. "Although I have served them to settle in our society at a close distance, I can't grasp them sometimes. To hear them speak, they say they are always disregarded. I think their coworkers are very considerate to them, though. I find it hard to descry which words to talk to them" said the concerned(A). This leaves something to ponder over.

The concerned(B) followed him. "I occasionally think these people desire too much. One day, I had a dispute with them on an analogous issue". Those concerned agreed with the argument that the refugees have a hard time living their lives in South Korean society and that to some extent they are ignored especially in the 'work place' by South Koreans. But they elucidated that kind of trend is ameliorated considerably. "In fact, in the space called 'work place' even South Koreans are not on good terms with everyone. And those who are from prestigious universities and splendid background disregard those who aren't. However, the refugees appear to think that kind of problem arises just because they descended from North Korea" said the concerned(C). His remarks were inscribed in the researcher's mind.

In the meantime, at the height of the drinking party, the researcher revealed the first time when he came to experience the North Korean refugees to the three involved. It was ten years ago when he met with a female refugee. She was in her mid-50s who had worked for his uncle's restaurant. He heard that she introduced herself to his uncle as a person from Chosun race. After two years' of work there, she managed to confess her real identity as a North Korean refugee to him. She said to the researcher, "I had a worry that my boss would regard me as 'a bad one' if he knew my birthplace, so I disguised myself as a Chosun race person. Otherwise, I could not have had a close relationship with him". The researcher said that her words echoed in his head.

"What we have been talking about all through the night was that the basic awareness on the refugees in South Korean society is improving and the treatment on them in the 'work place' got better. But the awareness of our society on the refugees still seems to be dual. I'm no exception" continued the concerned(B). "Though the treatment of our society on these is ameliorated and they find their jobs more easily, this is not enough to explain their situation. The situation after work hours in the work place seems to be totally different. As I know, the great majority of the refugees don't get along well with their South Korean comrades after work hours" followed the concerned(C).

The experience which the researcher had a talk with the three involved who had helped the refugees with the settlement in South Korean society in early Jan, 2017 intensified the breadth of his understanding on the refugees. On the other hand, however, the researcher's awareness on them became complicated. As examined previously, it is apparent that the treatment on them is improved and it is true that their employment-population ratio is getting better. Especially, the experience of segregation and disrespect on the refugees in the 'work place' is quite decreasing and South Koreans' attitude toward them is also changing. Yet, to take notice of the contact zone named the 'work place', we can perceive that the situation 'after work hours' is absolutely different from that during the 'work hours'.

2. Interaction 'after work hours'

According to the Korea Hana Foundation's social integration survey on the refugees conducted in 2016, we can identify that the number of the companions they can talk to when they are dejected or melancholy add up to 3.3.(Korea Hana Foundation, 2016b). As you can see with the figure, the refugees in South Korean society must be a distressed being in a existential solitude and loneliness in the crevice of the struggle for life. What kind of social meaning these solitude and loneliness have? Sungkyoung Kim thought that this problem arose from that South Korea simplified these refugees as objects of social integration without contemplation and poured out numerous policies and solutions(Hankyoreh, Jun 21, 2017).

What kind of social relationship the refugees form in the South Korean system which provides them with only limited space? The researcher met with two refugees with whom he had kept friendly relationship respectively. He asked them about their experiences, eating dinner. "It's okay during the time I work in the work place, but after the work, the relationship is disconnected" said the mid-40s-refugee(A). After listening to his words, the researcher couldn't continue his remarks. He added, "I want to have a bottle of soju with them, apart from the company dinner, but when the day's work is over, they just gather together and I am left alone and I just go home".

"After work, when I am left alone, I tell myself that I didn't have to come down. Due to this emotion, I can't respond to them freely the next day even though they greet me gladly" said the mid-40s refugee(B). His words gave me many thoughts. It is said that these are left alone 'after work hours' in the 'work place', and grew to feel a lot of loneliness. "Why don't you suggest a bottle of soju to South Koreans. You don't have to wait first" said the researcher. To that, the refugee(B) replied, "At first, I tried doing it. But, even when we had a bottle of soju after my request, the atmosphere felt like an ice. So, I just get out of the work place as soon as I finish my work".

The researcher met the three concerned in April, 2017 for project meeting and during the break time, talked about the loneliness the refugees suffered from, "We want to have a drink with comfortable people. Especially, after we work all day long in the work place, we are more likely to have a drink with those" said the concerned(B). "We can't tell those who work together with the refugees not to discriminate or ignore after work hours" followed the concerned(A). He added, "This kind of problem can't be solved easily, whatever policy the government suggests".

Government authorities send urgings and guidelines continuously lest South Koreans should segregate or disregard the refugees. Coworkers are severely cautious during the 'work hours'. However, the authorities cannot tell South Koreans to have a drink and share their leisure with the refugees. If so, there will occur a counter-effect. I've seen many cases.(the concerned C)

It seems evident that South Korea shows gestures for cohesion and co-existence toward the refugees in legal and institutional dimension, but in everyday life, disrespect and expulsion on them still survives. The refugees live a life of "others deprived of the nature of others" or "others who deprived themselves of the nature of others", but generalized others in South Korea recognize them as "others having the nature of others"(ChunHeung Mo·Soochul Kim, 2016: 119-120).

"They would like to enjoy leisure, but practically their standard of living is not so high that they couldn't enjoy easily. It happens so much. These days, you can't do anything without money" said the concerned(B). It means many things. If you examine the actual survey result of expenditure for leisure activities of the refugees, 'no' expense response adds up to 36.4%, which is the highest, next, '10,000~100,000₩' 29.3%, the following, '100,000~500,000₩' 24.1%, and '500,000₩~', which is the lowest. In particular, as the age group went higher, leisure activities expenditure grew scarce(Korea Hana Foundation, 2016b).

But the survey on the leisure activities expenditure was just a survey. "I don't care if I pay. I'm not a beggar and I don't want to be treated every time. However, When I drink with South Koreans, they just pay, saying, 'I know you have little or no money. I'll pay for you'" said the refugee(B). It left something meaningful. It means that disregard and expulsion of South Korean society on the refugees are still internalized. Kim Sungkyoung's metaphor, "the refugees are not able to make some space in South Korean society, and are floating without being hospitalized enough as a member of a society" was correct(Sung Kyung Kim, 2017: 210).

The researcher said to the refugee(A), "Although it is not satisfactory, you can have a drink fellow refugees, can't you?".

No way. In the atmosphere that the awareness of the refugees are not so favorable, if we meet together and have a talk, they would even loathe us. So, we don't meet each other so often these days. And actually there are many cases of exploiting between ourselves, we avoid each other.(The refugee A)

The researcher had a doubt about the survey result that the refugees trust South Koreans more than their fellow refugees, but after listening to the refugee(A) the suspicion faded away at once. But, the remarks of the concerned(C), "the situation during the work hours and that after work hours are totally different" struck researcher's head once and again.

To take notice of the nature of the contact zone called the 'work place', during the 'work hours' there was no problem in ordinary interaction between the refugees and South Koreans. But 'after work hours', the 'work place' turned into the space where

everyday disconnection arises between them. Problem is that due to the everyday disconnection which occurred ‘after work hours’, the refugees came to shrink during the ‘work hours’.

What is the fundamental reason for this problem? Sungkyung Kim’s argument that “the refugees try to construct their own room at the settlement where they arrived after crossing space, but the place is ‘divisive’, and ‘regressive’” demonstrates it. That is, the refugees live an uneasy life in which they will overcome the division at the place which is chained with the ‘past’, restoring the continuity of time from the context of their own lives, and dream the future escaped from the division (Sung Kyung Kim, 2017: 210). To be brief, in the contact zone named ‘work place’ everyday interaction and disconnection take place between the refugees and South Koreans yesterday, today, and in the near future.

IV. Conclusion

Though there is no answer when we deal with the minority including the refugees, what is certain is that when we face the minority, it’s not desirable to use the nature of others as the mechanism of discrimination and disrespect (ChunHeung Mo·Soochul Kim, 2016: 146). But, we can’t say that the refugees are not excluded and ignored ordinarily in the ‘contact zone’. Why? This is because “South Korea is still ‘pure’ and ‘silly’, so it expects the refugees to accept the status of second-rate citizen ‘with thanks’, which is a queer phenomenon derived from the low awareness level of South Korean society” (Hankyoreh, June 21, 2017).

This study examined what kind of social relationship forms between the refugees and South Koreans in the contact zone and what kind of social meaning it has. Ordinary interaction and disconnection arises continuously between those due to the spatial characteristic in the contact zone called the ‘work place’. During the ‘work hours’, everyday interaction occurs naturally, but ‘after work hours’ ordinary disconnection happens too nonchalantly.

We can’t assert that the testimony of the refugees analyzed here represents all the refugees, but through their testimony, we could figure out, though indirectly, the barren awareness order of South Korean society on the refugees. The dual attitude of South Korean society on these can’t be fully corrected only with the improvements of the economic indicators. Especially, inattention or expulsion of South Korean society reveals this society’s sterile democratic foundation. Because they are suffering from the existential solitude and loneliness because of the dual attitude of South Korean society on them in the contact zone named the ‘work place’.

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***The Realities of North Korean Resettlers: The Affective Politics of Citizenship
in Reality TV Programs Featuring North Korean Resettlers***

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Abstract

This study uncovers the dynamics of cultural politics in the recently emerging reality TV shows featuring North Korean resettlers (NKR2 show, hereafter) in South Korea, by postulating that more things are going on in these reality shows than the given role of media apparatus reproducing a dominant ideology for the resettlers as observed in many previous studies. The analysis showed the dynamics of the cultural politics of the recently shaped emotions involved in the distributional structure of emotions through specific devices and rituals operated in these programs. The present study paid closer attention to the fact that the emergence of the NKR2 program showed the border-crossing behaviors of the resettlers with a focus on the repressive feature of North Korean societal system. At the same time, the programs revealed the conservative ideologies of the resettlers by working through media rituals. Consequently, the programs reflected the distinctive features of civilization and cultural politics. Further interpretations and implications were also discussed.

Keyword: North Korean resettlers, Cultural politics of citizenship, Media rituals, Affective economy, Reality TV

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Introduction

In this paper, we focus on reality television programs in South Korea featuring North Korean resettlers¹ (NKR2s) as guests. These kinds of reality television programs are interesting in many respects. The history of media representations of North Koreans to South Korean audiences from the 1960s onwards shows that North Koreans have been represented primarily through news or TV documentary genres. In particular, North Korean resettlers are a media focus inasmuch as they are objects of the South Korean government's propaganda. With the exception of news and documentary programming, which are straightforward and highly ideological in terms of their messaging, North Koreans have rarely been represented in South Korean media until recently. However, it is only in reality shows that they are becoming more commonplace.

Ever since Korea divided, the system competition between the two countries has consistently provided a background in the many television programs covering the North Korean regime and North Koreans. In these media representations, North Koreans are an easy target of ideological propaganda, which supposedly proves that the North Korean socialist regime has lost the competition by failing to provide a high standard of living to its citizens.

The evident intention driving these programs is to show that North Koreans have suffered greatly because of the failure of the North Korean socialist regime. In the context of these programs, North Koreans are often represented as living proof of the inferiority of the North Korean socialist regime as compared to the South Korean regime. This is the main reason North Korean resettlers have attracted the attention of South Koreans to become an object in the media spectacle in South Korea.

In the present study, we focus on representations of North Korean resettlers in NKR2 shows. Unlike migrants from Southeast Asian countries, for instance, who enter South Korea as documented workers or marriage migrants, North Korean resettlers automatically obtain citizenship as they enter the country.

Yet, it is not uncommon for North Korean resettlers in South Korea not to be seen as full citizens of South Korea. According to one study (Seol & Skrentny, 2009), North Koreans in South Korean society are ranked very low in the South Korean ethnic hierarchy, which consists of many migrants from many foreign countries. North Koreans rank even lower than migrants from other Asian countries who are generally not held in high regard by native South Koreans.

We offer an examination of what happens in NKR2 shows and how this affects the representation of North Korean resettlers in South Korea more generally. In particular, by relying on Sara Ahmed's account of the distribution of emotion towards minorities and others and theories of the cultural politics of citizenship (Ahmed 2004), we

¹ Defector or refugee have been used when referring to the escapees from North Korea. However, in this study, we will use the term "resettler" as a neutral term without referring to the term "other".

explore how NKR2 shows interrupt the affective politics of North Korean resettlers as legal citizens and members of a minority group in South Korean society.

Our approach is distinct from those pursued in existing studies on NKR2 shows, which have recently emerged (Lee, 2014; Oh, 2011; Pang & Lee, 2016; Tae & Hwang, 2012). Based on an ideological analysis of the media texts of NKR2 shows, they commonly argue that the cultural politics and representations in NKR2 shows contribute to the perpetuation of images based on negative perceptions of North Korean resettlers as people who have suffered under North Korean dictatorship. In these studies, this image of North Koreans as victims of the oppressive socialist regime is presented as leading to a dichotomized and contradictory perception of North Korean resettlers: they are either viewed as people with the same blood as South Koreans or as objects of hate, as a threat, feelings originally directed at the North Korean regime as an enemy of South Korea.

However, the existing analyses of NKR2 shows have little to say about the reasons they are still seen as a minority group in South Korea: Why do these negative attitudes toward North Koreans persist? Why are they ranked lowest in the hierarchy of minority groups living in South Korea? What is happening in reality programs can be seen as a reproductive cultural politics that simply relies on and perpetuates a fixed image of North Koreans as our family and our enemy—an image that has existed for several decades and has served to prop up the anti-Communist, Red complex, Cold War ideological landscape in South Korean society? Or, is something else going on?

Focusing on two NKR2 shows, *Now on My Way to Meet You* on Channel A and *The Moran-bong Club* on TV Chosun, two reality shows representative of the genre casting North Korean resettlers, we analyze the representations of North Korean resettlers in these shows. Relying on Sara Ahmed's account of the political economy of emotions and theories on the cultural politics of minorities, we analyze how NKR2 shows interrupt the existing flow of emotion toward North Koreans in South Korean society. Focusing on specific media rituals and apparatus in NKR2 shows as a localized form of reality programs in South Korea, we consider how NKR2 shows are reshaping the image of North Korean resettlers.

Affective Economy and the Entertainment Industry

The neoliberal affective economy considered in this study produces specific effects in regard to intervening in the process of distributing emotions toward others, particularly minorities. As we will demonstrate, this economy produces and distributes prejudice against North Korean resettlers as the Other via an entertainment industry deeply implicated in the affective economy of the neoliberal era. We, therefore, refuse to recognize the entertainment industry as merely an ideological apparatus that simply reproduces or calls for given prejudices and ideologies. Instead, we suggest that at present, the entertainment industry is a crucial component of an affective economy that produces unique effects in relation to the flow of emotions such as prejudice against and hatred toward others.

According to Ahmed (2004, p. 45), in accord with her notion of “the political economy of emotion,” emotions such as prejudice against and hatred toward others are produced as a result of distribution and flow of emotions. This means that emotions such as prejudice and hatred do not actually exist in symbols that represent others, or specific things including persons, or programs in which producers have a particular intention (Ahmed, 2014). For Ahmed, to comprehend emotions in regard to others, it is necessary to observe emotional flow, i.e., the specific way in which emotions are distributed, because emotion is not a characteristic inherent in an object, nor is it inherent in any particular individual or group.

Ahmed’s account of the political economy of emotion is very useful in that it draws our attention to how emotions work, specifically how they arise through the processes of circulation, for example, interactions between people or mediation through the media. Given the ways in which today’s cultural politics of minorities operate in many regions, it is hard to deny the dominance of the media, including social media. We are increasingly watching others through such media rather than in face-to-face contexts. It is critical to consider the process of mediation and representation in the media of certain groups, the minorities in contemporary society.

In this sense, the circulation of emotion, i.e., the affective economy, can contribute greatly to generating, reproducing, amplifying, or reducing emotions. The approach that we draw from Ahmed’s political economy of emotion does not emphasize emotions toward the other in order to present a particular body or object. Instead, we use this approach to shed light on the complex process of creating boundaries that distinguish differences from the others by tying up certain others and their bodies into a category through unceasing movement and flow.

Further, this approach requires moving further from the perspective that the media—especially the entertainment industry here—simply conveys given emotions or reproduces the ideologies associated with them. That being said, we call for a more in-depth analysis of the role of the media beyond old-fashioned theories or the hypothesis of reproduction of ideologically overdetermined texts and symbols.

In the present paper, we focus on answering the following questions: What is the specific role of the media in the post-capitalist era, especially in which the voices, bodies, and behaviors of others are constantly held in the media gaze? In what specific ways does the media revitalize the entertainment industry and thereby affect the distribution of emotions such as prejudice and hatred? How do the logic and rituals of the media affect the dynamics of the affective economy and thereby influence the cultural politics surrounding the representation of others in our society?

In exploring the media representations of others, we call for an analysis not only of the existing ideology but also of the ways in which emotions are distributed by the media. We will analyze the ways in which the media, especially NKR2 shows, can reshape the distribution of emotions and the cultural politics of the affective economy in relation to emotions in regard to North Korean resettlers. Relying on Ahmed’s theoretical account of the political economy of emotions, we will analyze how the affective politics of North Korean resettlers as legal citizens and as a minority group

relate to post-socialist experiences and memories. Analyzing how North Koreans are represented in entertainment media, i.e., reality programs (talk shows), we consider how emotions, voices, and bodies are produced and distributed.

Localization of Reality Shows: Media Rituals and Apparatus of Reality Shows

In the present study, we analyze two reality talk shows starring North Korean resettlers on two major comprehensive programming channels in the South Korean cable network: Channel A and TV Chosun. We emphasize that one of the most distinctive features of the current media representations in South Korea is that the genre of such programs related to North Korean resettlers has shifted from fiction to nonfiction, from news programs to talk shows, and from documentaries to reality shows. *Now on My Way to Meet You* on Channel A and *The Moran-bong Club* on TV Chosun are two representative reality shows that include North Korean resettlers in the cast, which demonstrate contemporary trends in refugee-related reality shows.

In order to understand the distinctive ways in which the media interrupts the affective politics of citizenship in South Korean society today, NKR2 shows are an appropriate object of investigation. At present, North Korean resettlers are overwhelmingly represented in reality shows, one of the most popular kinds of entertainment television programs. The reality program in terms of format, media rituals, and apparatus in South Korea has transformed the South Korean media industry as it tries to survive competition from global media conglomerates by adapting to a fast-changing media environment.

First, the South Korean-style reality show, referred to as a “real variety show” in South Korea, is distinct from global reality shows in that the South Korean version has a larger portion of reality shows featuring celebrities rather than non-celebrity participants. This has led to a very specific impact on the rituals of South Korean-style reality shows, which tend to rely on the “de-celebrification” of celebrities rather than on the “celebrification” of general participants in creating the reality effect of the show (Lee, 2015).

In Western Europe and the United States where reality shows began and from which they are exported, the first reality shows cast non-celebrities. These shows followed specific forms including survival games, auditions, and makeovers. Many ordinary people participate in these programs, and the audiences identify with them.

In terms of genre, the reality show is located somewhere between non-fiction genres such as (soft) news, talk shows, and documentaries, and entertainment (often fictional) genres such as dramas. Given that the cast of any given reality show presents real actions and responses in an artificial setting, reality shows achieve a reality effect even though the reality of these shows is artificial. What is important here is that the shows represent only the plausible real, whereas the implausible real is simply disregarded. One of the easiest ways to achieve this specific effect is by making something unexpected. Many reality programs cast non-celebrities rather than celebrities, the latter of whom generally already have fixed characters in the eyes of the audience.

It is unusual, therefore, to include a lot of celebrities in a reality show because doing so makes it difficult for producers to make something truly unexpected unpredictable with all too familiar faces and characters like celebrities. However, it is not an impossible task. In South Korean-style reality shows, which tend to rely on celebrity crew, the celebrities to appear ordinary by acting very foolishly by using exaggerated gestures, expressing exaggerated emotions, or talking and behaving in unconventional (sometimes, aggressive and offensive) ways (Lee, 2015).

De-celebrification efforts (or conventions) produce a specific reality effect that many audiences of the South Korean reality show as a localized kind of reality program recognize and find to be entertaining. The exaggerated style as a way of creating a reality effect means audiences tend to have specific expectations of these programs in line with the intentions of the program creators. By creating a reciprocal relationship between the producers and the audience, these programs lead us to question what the real effect of reality in these shows is. As Oak and Park (2010) argue, the real found in these shows is closer to 'the entertained real' rather than 'the documented real.'

Another characteristic of NKR2 shows as a localized South Korean-style reality program has to do with new relations between the global and the local in terms of the media industry. The emergence of the reality show is closely associated with accelerated deregulation and unlimited competition in the broadcasting industry, which is in line with globalization. The reality program genre, as a typical example, shows the effects of the simultaneous process of globalization and localization in that format imports and exports help many countries to produce local programs, even though the form of the reality show brings homogeneity in regard to aesthetic form via production methods, technologies, and program styles.

Most NKR2 shows in South Korea are broadcast through three recently founded cable TV networks: Channel A, TV Chosun, and MBN, which are owned by three conservative newspapers, Dong-A Ilbo, Chosun Ilbo, and Maeil Business Newspapers, respectively. With their unstable start as comprehensive programming cable TV broadcasters in 2011, the cable TV channels started seeking cheaper ways to produce programs including news programs, dramas, and entertainment programs. Talk show programming is a cheap solution for these cable TV channels that are criticized for not investing enough money in producing diverse programs and as a result, their programs are not general enough.

The characteristics as described of reality programs modified in the South Korean context provide an important clue to understanding the dynamics of mediated cultural politics of the Other, especially those who have experiences and memories in socialist society and are now living in South Korea. In this paper, we will offer a way to understand the contemporary cultural politics of North Korean resettlers in South Korean society by analyzing the media rituals of reality talk shows. More specifically, we examine the media rituals and apparatus of reality programs that include North Korean resettlers by focusing on three unique relationships: (1) between the celebrities in the cast and the show host, (2) between the celebrity crew and the North Korean resettlers cast in the program, and (3) among the television audience who are

not free from stereotypes of North Korean society.

For our analysis, we selected two representative reality shows, *Now on My Way to Meet You* on Channel A and *The Moran-bong Club* on TV Chosun. Specifically, the top five episodes of *Now on My Way to Meet You* during the second half of 2015 and the top five episodes of *The Moran-bong Club* during the first half of 2016 were selected on the basis of audience ratings. (Table. 1).

Table 1. Programs for Analysis

Channel	Program title	Episode	Air date	Audience rating
Channel A	<i>Now on My Way to Meet You</i>	206	Nov. 29, 2015	3.9%
		207	Dec. 7, 2015	4.3%
		208	Dec. 13, 2015	3.9%
		209	Dec. 20, 2015	4.8%
		210	Dec. 27, 2015	4.5%
TV Chosun	<i>The Moran-bong Club</i>	22	Feb. 13, 2016	2.9%
		25	Mar. 5, 2016	3.1%
		26	Mar. 12, 2016	3.3%
		27	Mar. 19, 2016	3.2%
		29	Apr. 2, 2016	2.8%

Analyzing the Cultural Politics of Citizenship in Two NKR2 Shows

(1) The Role of Celebrities in NKR2 Shows

Most of the casts in NKR2 shows such as *The Moran-bong Club* and *Now on My Way to Meet You* are mostly celebrity entertainers (mainly men). In both programs, most of the celebrities are middle-aged or older, whereas most of the resettlers are in their twenties or younger. The celebrities in the NKR2 shows do not want to appear as if they are celebrities. In order to achieve the specific entertaining effect, the NKR2 shows are likely to follow the conventions of South Korean-style reality shows marked by the use of exaggerated language and dramatic gestures (Lee, 2015). Given that facilitators and crew in NKR2 shows pursue “entertainment reality,” they hardly provide audiences with a contextual understanding through dialogue between the resettlers, the host, and crews. Therefore, audiences do not experience any distance from the process of producing preconceptions or stereotyped images of the Other due to a lack of contextual dialogue.

In addition, audiences tend to interpret the words, actions, and gestures of the North Koreans and other celebrities in these programs. What the North Koreans say about their experiences in North Korea is interpreted as a testimony on historical facts, which creates a documented reality effect like documentary films or news report. But this is not all that is happening in these shows. There is another reality effect, which we refer to as the entertainment reality effect. In particular, stories about what they have seen and experienced since arriving in South Korea tend to enter the specific interpretation process that reality programs create. In this context, what is real does

not lie in the extent to which their stories and experiences are based on historical fact. Instead, what is real depends on how authentic their behaviors and words look as a response to what is happening at the moment in the program.

The mixed reality effect is more prominent in NKR2 shows in which most of the North Korean cast members are young women. In the program, their appearance and voices tend to be seen as a sign of purity and innocence by the South Korean celebrities and hosts in the show. Stories about the harsh reality that the resettlers faced such as surveillance, poverty, and hunger under the oppressive regime and how they risked their lives escaping from North Korea have not prevented them from becoming scapegoats in South Korean society. Instead, their stories about the hardships they faced become perceived as difference and produce a paternalistic sympathy for them on the part of South Koreans.

(2) Interactions Between Celebrity and North Korean Refugee Cast Members

The interaction between the South Korean celebrities and the (female) resettlers is distinctively formed through the media rituals and devices of reality programs. In both shows, middle-aged male celebrities provide female resettlers with advice, just as other celebrities in many reality shows provide expert advice.

However, NKR2 shows use the confessions of North Korean female resettlers in their twenties about their personal experiences in South Korea. In this process, young female resettlers are represented as inexperienced people who need advice whether in regard to money, love, or shopping. At the same time, in the NKR2 shows, the middle-aged male celebrities play the role of well-informed advisers who are well-established citizens, which means that the North Korean female resettlers (especially those in their twenties) are depicted as innocent even “infantile citizens” (Berlant, 1997). This means that the female North Korean resettlers can gain a voice only in the private sphere rather than in the public sphere. This is closely associated with the conservative, sexist politics surrounding cultural citizenship in Korean society, where masculinity and good citizenship are often held to be the same.

(3) The Effect of Audience Expectations in NKR2 Shows

The main story of the North Korean female resettlers in the NKR2 shows is that they have endured extreme hardships that go beyond the life and death process of escaping and yet now have a new life in South Korea. The extreme situations and stories of their everyday lives are mixed together. The refugee stories create complex messages and emotional flows to the audience, as these stories are mixed with the audience's general expectations of the reality show genre. When tracing the history of the media representation of North Korean resettlers, the story has been produced in documentaries and news as the object of media spectacle, not in entertainment talk shows.

However, the stories of their experiences in the reality program format are conveyed to audiences in a very different context from those of news programs or documentaries. Audiences sense that ordinary performers, e.g., the North Korean

female resettlers, in the reality shows are somewhat exaggerated, because they are trying to reach the rank of celebrities through excessive exposure, gestures, and inflated language.² Of course, not all the words and actions of the public performers in the reality programs are regarded as fake or inauthentic. Instead, it has a different reality effect from the testimony of existing news and documentaries. The reality effect of the resettlers' stories can be found not only in the content and truth of their speech, but even in situational factors such as the situations they are coping with in real time.

Nonetheless, it should be considered that the expectations of the audience of NKR2 shows are not the same as their expectations of other reality programs. Most of all, the audiences are not free from stereotypes of ordinary performers, i.e., the North Korean resettlers in the NKR2 shows. The general expectations of program audiences about ordinary performers in Western reality programs are somewhat unfamiliar to Korean audiences who are domesticated to media representation based on anti-Communist propaganda in regard to North Korea. Therefore, it can be seen that ordinary performers are considered active actors empowered in Western reality shows. However, it is hard to see such an active North Korean resettler cast in the NKR2 show. Instead, resettler performers are represented as relatively traditional and fixed roles or relationships, such as family relationships (e.g., in *Living Well*) or marital relationships (*South Guys and North Girls*).

Presenter (Kim Sung-ju): I would like to share with audiences the interesting story of some special North Korean resettlers, Mun jong Sook and Park Sung-hee, Mun's daughter. What motivated you to try to escape from North Korea?
[...]

North Korean refugee (Yun Seo-Yeon): In my case, my family came to Korea ahead of me. When North Korean brokers handed me over in North Korea, I did not say that my family was in Korea. I would be a political prisoner if I failed to escape from North Korea because I had already sent my family to South Korea. So, I hid everything and I said to the smugglers that I would go to China [.....] I resisted desperately, saying that I would die if I were sold. Then the guys seemed to be afraid, and they connected me to the phone. And, they called my mother and asked for a lot of money. (Huh) ... Mom said "I'll give you as much as you ask me, so please do not hurt my daughter. I will send a person." The next day they sold me to my mother, not to another person.

The Moran-bong Club, Episode 29, April 2nd, 2016

² In general, although there are some positive evaluations of public appearances on reality shows, celebrities and ordinary people are clearly distinguished from each other in reality programs. In other words, the entertainerization of the general public is very limited, which is not enough for democratic transformation or expansion of diversity. Even if this happens, they are the lowest among the media celebrities (Curnutt, 2011; Turner, 2010).

The NKR2 Show Media Apparatus

The place where the refugee reality program is produced and the voices of the resettlers are mediated are not natural in any way. It is an artificial space in which multiple devices, e.g., cameras, subtitles, and editing tools, are operating. Among the devices, it is necessary to pay closer attention to the role of subtitles and editing methods as distinctive devices of the NKR2 programs.

Contemporary media rely on technical devices that can capture visual and aural phenomena simultaneously. The NKR2 shows in the current media landscape frequently use a variety of editing methods and subtitles, which are far from straightforward scripts. They encourage a transformation of the resettlers' voices from "the voice as it is" to a "well-organized, but artificial voice with a narrative" (Lee, 2010, p. 66) erasing the ambiguous among what is said. In other words, the technological devices play a significant role in determining what is meaningful or meaningless in the resettlers' voices, and accordingly organize their voices in line with the narrative of the program.

Conclusion

In this study, we examined the distinctive features of NKR2 shows via an analysis of media rituals and the devices of reality TV shows. We paid particular attention to two representative reality TV shows, *Now on My Way to Meet You* and *The Moran-bong Club*, in the South Korean context. Also, based on our analysis of the media rituals and devices of these shows, we sought to identify unique relationships shaping and working between the inside and outside of the media, between the public, the celebrities, and expectations of the audiences. By doing so, we eventually revealed the dynamics of conservative citizenship and cultural politics as they pertain to the North Korean resettlers as a minority group in neo-capitalistic Korean society.

Analyzing media rituals enables a critical approach to NKR2 shows. An analysis of media rituals in TV programs is particularly useful for maintaining a critical perspective on the role and position of the media in contemporary society. Media rituals are based on the myth that media is a pathway to the center of the world or a society (Couldry, 2003). Therefore, media representation based on such a myth of media ritual can be regarded as a kind of mediated act through media. These mediated behaviors are rooted in the notion that media is the most important vehicle for approaching the center of society and are, therefore, deeply engaged in shaping the core categories and boundaries of media in order to justify and reinforce the value of media. Thus, the analysis of media rituals as evinced in NKR2 shows indicates that the specific cultural politics presented therein are linked to having a "desirable civic identity," of being a full citizen living in neoliberal South Korean society (Lee, 2010).

In shaping civic identity as an effect of NKR2 shows, cultural politics are complicated. The identity and role of the North Korean resettlers in these shows fit in relatively stable and traditional private categories such as family and marital relationships. As evidenced in the shows in regard to their daily lives in North Korea, the resettlers

have identities focused on their status as family members, i.e., as a mother, a father, a son, or a daughter. Also, the resettlers in the shows appear as infantile citizens who have not yet fully acclimatized to the highly capitalistic society that is South Korea. The NKR2 show emphasizes that as a unique minority in South Korea, North Korean resettlers must be continually educated.

Although the resettlers have South Korean citizenship, they are socially and culturally situated as a minority group. That is, they are located on the periphery alongside other minority groups (Campbell, 2015, 491). Given that the social and cultural environment surrounding the resettlers has been changing, the ways in which the resettlers are represented in the media have shifted from an emphasis on anti-Communist ideology to a representation arising from conservative cultural politics of citizenship.

To summarize, through an analysis of media rituals and devices, we showed that NKR2 programs represent a version of the roles and expectations of North Korean resettlers and that through these representations the cultural politics of citizenship are expressed and thus the requirements for full South Korean citizenship beyond any legal consideration. Further, we highlighted that the audiences of NKR2 shows are incorporated into the dynamics of a cultural politics that contributes to shaping a conservative citizenship. We thereby showed that these programs are distinctive inasmuch as they are located between entertainment reality and documentary reality.

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***Theoretical Implications of Cosmopolitanism and South Korean Social Studies
Textbooks Analysis***

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Abstract

In an era of diversity and conflicts, we need to consider cosmopolitanism which includes important lessons for all mankind. However, the South Korean social studies textbooks just focus on multiculturalism and do not cover cosmopolitanism enough. This study investigates approaches to cosmopolitanism using literature analysis and analyzes social studies textbooks used in Korean schools—elementary, middle, high schools—by contents analysis. I suggest that textbooks should cover various perspectives on cosmopolitanism beyond fragmentary concepts of cosmopolitanism and the multiculturalism which draws a line between cultures. I will divide the cosmopolitan theories into four perspectives and how those concepts of cosmopolitanism are written in South Korean textbooks. This article argues that the social studies textbooks in South Korea have limited range of cosmopolitanism and fail to provide students with more balanced perspectives.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, Citizenship, Social studies, Theory, Textbook analysis

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I. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to observe current cosmopolitan education in South Korean social studies textbooks using contents analysis of social studies textbooks. I suggest what problems the South Korean social textbooks have on the basis of analysis. In order to achieve the purpose of this article, I firstly examine various theoretical discussions and scholars' arguments. After that, I classify the theoretical discussions and arguments into four notions: Cosmopolitanism as moral value, institutional cosmopolitanism, weak cosmopolitanism, and strong cosmopolitanism. With this alternative analytic frame, this article suggests how South Korean social studies textbooks cover the notion of cosmopolitanism evenly and what problems they have in describing the cosmopolitanism.

Based on that critical mind, this article is divided as follows. Firstly, the paper shows different definitions on cosmopolitanism and preceding discussions from various scholars. Then, the cosmopolitan discussions will be divided into four concepts as an analytic frame for social studies textbooks and I will describe why the social studies textbooks need to deal with the contents on cosmopolitanism. Finally, this paper suggests the result of textbooks analysis and problems in them.

II. Theoretical discussions

1. Different perspectives on Cosmopolitanism

Charles Beitz shows a notion of Moral cosmopolitanism and says that it makes sense more that each person should be treated as having equal standing as an addressee of justification than that a person should be taken into account equally about how to act. According to him, cosmopolitanism opposes to any view that limits the scope of justification to the members of particular types of groups such as specific states or ethnic groups. He argues that if someone limits the scope of justification to a state, then it is not to say cosmopolitanism(Charles Beitz, 2005).

David Miller maintains that ethnicity enhances the trust among citizens and helps to realize social justice, including the issue of redistribution. He thinks that in the level of global community, we cannot expect social justice such as distributive justice because people do not have emotional attachment on a global community but they have attachment on the community they belong to like nations. Miller says that his argument is weak cosmopolitanism and argues that we have to be concerned about the fate and suffering mankind but we do not need to place equal importance on people's need and interest from another country with those from fellow citizens(Son KyungWon, 2013).

Miller criticizes the Beitz's moral cosmopolitanism. He maintains it is nonsense that all human beings have equal moral worth and should be treated equally. According to the moral cosmopolitanism, if A suffers to degree X and B also suffers to degree X, Then it is equally bad regardless of who they are. For example, the situation of starving peasant in Ethiopia is equally bad with the situation in Poland. However, Miller does not think that is the same suffering.

Miller also gives another example of lost child to criticize the logic of moral cosmopolitanism. He suggests that people have different levels of concern and effort to find a child when

someone misses a child. In other words, People have different degree of responsibility to find the child whether he or she is the child's parents, neighborhood, or he or she is from another village. The point is it is not illogical that all people have to be treated equally. Moreover, Miller argues the cosmopolitanism might be connected with the imperialism. If a government integrates different people and cultures based on providing rights and opportunities, it can be benign liberal imperialism(David Miller, 2002).

In contrast to the weak cosmopolitanism, Peter Singer claims to support global community in the basis of ethics and justice saying that his cosmopolitanism is strong cosmopolitanism. According to him, the question of how we cope with the age of globalization depends on how we react ethically to a fact that we are living in one world(Son KyungWon, 2013). The following passage about rich nations in his book "*One World: The Ethics of Globalization*" illustrates his claim well. He says that it is morally wrong for rich nations not to have global ethics. Plus, he argues that "We need to strengthen institutions for global decision-making and make them more responsible to the people they affect". He also stresses the need of world government which is suitable for 21st century(Peter Singer, 2002).

Martha Nussbaum emphasizes the role of compassion that should be extended to all mankind. But she does not overlook the existence of nations and ethnic groups. She argues that nations and ethnicity play an important role in educating people to seek social justice therefore, the existence of nations and ethnic groups can be positive. People can learn about democratic citizenship and the universal value of human rights in a nation or society. Her claim is that people should respect and love their parents or family members and then love a wider society(Stan van Hooft, 2009). As we saw before, Miller believes that people have different intimacy with others depending on distance and relationship. Nussbaum also thinks that people love and feel friendly with close family and friends first and by extension, she claims that we have to expand love and respect to whole mankind.

Rooted cosmopolitanism reminded by Kwame Anthony Appiah can be a new alternative to conflicts and confusion in multicultural societies. Appiah's claim is not to say that all individuals and societies should be integrated into one way of life. He argues that cosmopolitan citizens have duty to others which exceeds blood relatives or bond with fellow citizens. In addition to that, Appiah suggests we have to consider where we come from and devote to local issues. Appiah's approach to cosmopolitanism is weak cosmopolitanism which requires devotion to root(Kwame Anthony Appiah. 2006).

Finally, there are also cosmopolitan arguments in Immanuel Kant's book, *Perpetual Peace*. Kant sees the state of nature as a state of war not as a peace. That's why he says that individual human beings should be governed by civil laws. Kant claims that it is essential for people to belong to three systems to keep perpetual peace and to be free from wars. The first one is a system of civil law and the second one is system of international law that regulates relations among nations. The last one is system of cosmopolitan laws. He considers existence of nations essential and that nations should respect each other. Kant stresses legal and institutional aspects such as civil law, international law, and cosmopolitan law. And he claims that cosmopolitan law is no longer an imaginary and utopian concept and it is indispensable for permanent peace(Immanuel Kant, 1795/2008).

2. Analytic frame

A certain standard is needed to analyze the textbooks based on various theories and discussions. This paper divides cosmopolitanism into Weak cosmopolitanism and Strong cosmopolitanism depending on the level of strength. Also, cosmopolitanism can be divided into Institutional cosmopolitanism which focuses on institutional strategy and device like laws and organizations for realizing cosmopolitanism and Cosmopolitanism as moral value which stresses moral and ethical ideal rather than realization of institutions.

Weak cosmopolitanism claims that we have to accept the notion of cosmopolitanism and respect other cosmopolitan citizens but we love our families, neighbors, and fellow citizens more than others who are far from us or unconnected with us. On the contrary, Strong cosmopolitanism is a point of view that we need to treat and respect all human beings equally. In this respect, People love others without distinction regardless of nationality, distance or intimacy. Institutional cosmopolitanism emphasizes institutional device to make cosmopolitan society such as global organizations, world government and international laws. On the other hand, Cosmopolitanism as moral value focuses more on ethics as global citizens and individual idea and belief rather than on institutions or laws.

As Figure 1 shows, the Beitz's cosmopolitanism belongs to the first section. He says that all individuals in the world have equal value and should be considered equally and he develops a discussion of justification. Thus, Beitz focuses more on moral and ethical aspect than on institutions. So, his argument can be considered as strong cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanism as moral value. Nussbaum and Miller's arguments are weak cosmopolitanism and, at the same time, cosmopolitanism as moral value. That's why Nussbaum and Miller maintain that people feel more intimate with someone close such as family, neighbors, and fellow citizens. Besides, the two scholars do not mention the institutional aspect and global organization. Miller is rather wary of global government and cosmopolitanism's risk of imperialism. A representative scholar whose argument belongs to the third section is Kant. In the *Perpetual Peace*, he considers a state and government as an important actor and stresses the importance of league of nations and league of peace among nations as a way of realizing the perpetual peace. He also emphasizes the institutional aspect for peace such as civil law, international law and cosmopolitan law. Finally, Singer's suggestion is the institutional cosmopolitanism because he asserts the need of a global government and organizations which make a global decision. In addition, his cosmopolitanism is also the strong cosmopolitanism because he urges that global citizens should concern global and cross-border problems.

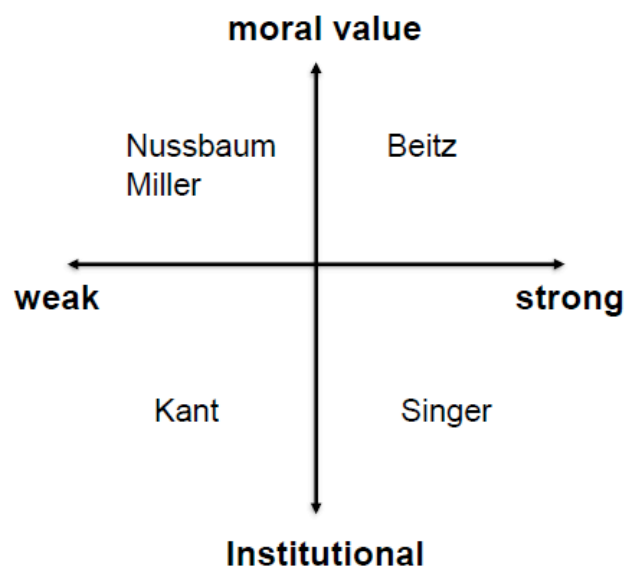


Figure 1: Analytic frame

III. Content analysis in Korean social studies textbooks

3. Cosmopolitanism as citizenship education and the role of social studies textbooks

The cosmopolitanism has not been discussed much in South Korea and there is no clear definition of it. Now, we urgently need communication and agreement on normative recognition and attitude as cosmopolitan citizens in the age of globalization. Currently, there are a lot of discussions about multiculturalism, but research on cosmopolitanism is insufficient. Multiculturalism offers a view that ranges over various cultures and races and has been the basis of national policies. However, multiculturalism is criticized because it depends on sense of belonging to specific groups and reproduces the strong concepts associated with the sense. On the other hand, Cosmopolitanism can be an alternative because it can avoid the risks of essentialism, zero-sum game, and logic of all or nothing (Steven Vertovec et al., 2002). Therefore, We, South Korea, have to consider seriously the cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan citizenship education.

Cosmopolitan education must be treated as a field of civic education. But Democratic civic education has been handled by researchers a lot while cosmopolitan education has rarely been considered. Plato urges the need of civic education in *The Republic*. According to him, the reason why we need civic education is that the ideal political system is a democratic civic society and we need to foster democratic citizens to form, maintain and improve the democratic civic society (Heo Yeongsik et al., 2007). In other words, today's society is affected by the globalization and there are lots of conflicts and problems because of it. In this situation, the cosmopolitan education is needed to form, maintain and improve the globalized societies.

So, why the social studies textbooks? South Korea created "subject of social studies" as major curriculum for civic education in school right after independence and has tried to foster citizens who suit the needs of the time. The subject of social studies has

been the core subject for civic education(Seo Jaechon, 2012). As mentioned earlier, South Korea should carry out the cosmopolitan education and it should be primarily covered in the social studies textbooks as a way of broadening students' perspectives of the world.

South Korean compulsory education course is 12 years and consists of elementary, middle, and high school courses. The elementary school is 6-year-course and the middle school and high school are 3 years each. Elementary school students use national textbooks learning social studies subject from third grade. Middle school students and high school students use government approved textbooks and there are 6 major publishers and 4 major publishers each. In the middle school, students use two textbooks for 3 years: Social studies 1 and Social studies 2. And in this paper, I analyze only first grade's textbooks among high school's social studies textbooks because from the second grade in high school, the subject of social studies is not compulsory.

4. Analysis of Elementary social studies textbooks

In elementary school's social studies textbooks, Contents related to globalization and cosmopolitanism appear in the 6th grade's textbooks. Particularly, in the elementary school's social studies textbook 6-1, there are explanation of cultural diversity. The unit, "2. Different cultures from around the world", illustrates structures in different countries, culture of marriage, meanings of different gestures and so on and suggests that students should respect and understand the cultures of many countries all around the world(Ministry of education, 2016). Besides, the small unit 3 shows the South Korea's present condition of cultural exchange and trade.

The Unit 4 explains the globalization in general. The small unit of 2, The characteristics of globalization and our role, describes notion and features of globalization and problems caused by globalization. This Unit appears to talk about the strong cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanism as moral value. In this part, attitudes that students must have in the global era as cosmopolitan citizens are described as follows.

"We must consider each culture without bias. And we should try to be concerned about and help others thinking we are all the same people of earth."(Ministry of education, 2016)

5. Analysis of Middle school social studies textbooks

Students use two social studies textbooks through three years in middle school. From the middle school *Social studies1*, the contents of multiculturalism appears a lot. All publishers of middle school Social studies1 deal with the perspectives on cultures and the concept of multicultural societies. The textbooks focus on influx of various cultures into South Korea and they also describe different viewpoint on cultures such as Ethnocentrism, cultural toadyism, and cultural relativism. Besides, the Social studies1 claims that students should support the cultural relativism. There are few other details about cosmopolitanism and two publishers, Shinsago and Chunjae education, have fragmentary description on globalization even though they explain the globalization and global societies.

“Because of the globalization, nations and individuals’ activity area is expanded to the world and various factors like economic, social and cultural factors are interacted freely making the global village”(Kim Changhwan et al., 2013)

“Globalization means a phenomenon that all factors expand over nation border and are integrated into one. The background of globalization is advancements in information, communication, and transportation technologies and deregulation of business activities. Due to the reasons, the scope of exchange has been expanded.”(Ryu Jaemyeong et al., 2013)

“...It is Ethnocentrism to regard one’s own culture as superior to others and ignore other cultures”(Kim Yeongsun et al., 2015)

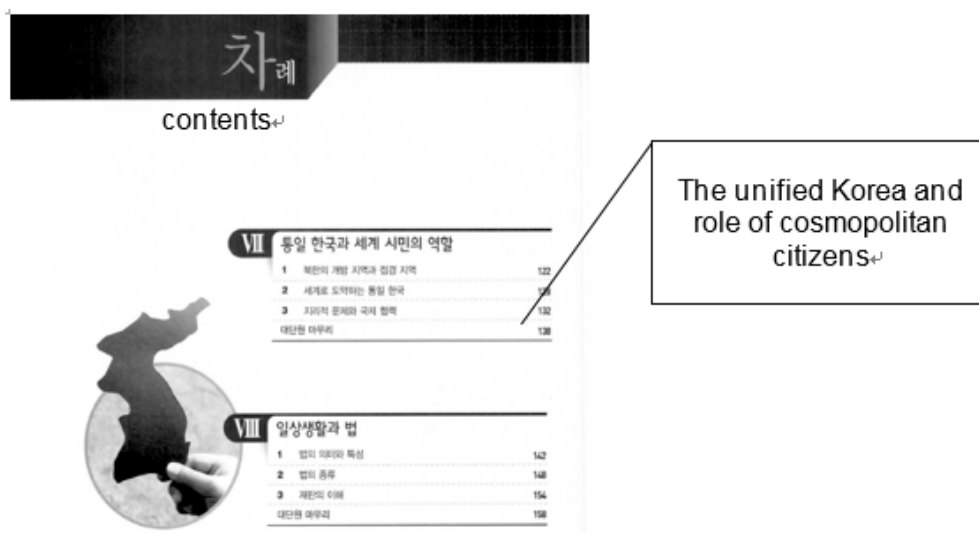
“Cultural toadyism means an attitude to regard other cultures as advanced and right and admire other cultures uncritically.”(Kim Yeongsun et al., 2015)

“It is cultural relativism to recognize cultural diversity and try to understand the background of one society’s culture. The cultural relativism regard each culture is equally precious, so this point of view helps us to understand other cultures without bias.”(Kim Yeongsun et al., 2015)

“Our society is turning into a multicultural society due to international marriage, massive influx of migrant workers, and increasing residents escaping from North Korea.”(Cho Yeongdal et al., 2015)

Middle school *Social studies*² also explains multicultural society with little change from the Social studies¹. The middle school social studies² frequently mentions the contents about globalization. However, it only suggests that the movement of population increases and the culture has been diversified that’s why there appears lots of problems in the world. As we can see below, the Social studies² only explains characteristics of multiculturalism and problems caused by multiculturalism.

All publishers’ textbooks of Social studies² use terms like “role of cosmopolitan citizens” as a title of 7th lesson. But, ironically, the session “The unified Korea and role of cosmopolitan citizens” does not deal with the cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan citizenship. It just covers contents related to the need of Korean unification, geographical advantages of unified Korea, and geographical problems in all over the world.



차례
contents

VII 통일 한국과 세계 시민의 역할

1	북한의 개발 지역과 접근 지역	122
2	세계로 도약하는 통일 한국	129
3	지역적 문제와 국제 협력	132
	대단한 하루	138

VIII 일상생활과 법

1	법의 의미와 특성	142
2	법의 종류	148
3	재판의 의미	154
	대단한 하루	158

The unified Korea and
role of cosmopolitan
citizens

Figure 2: The contents of middle school social studies 2(Publisher: Visang)

Also, the Social studies2 suggests various international organizations like UN, ICJ, UNHCR, etc. as a way of solving geographical problems such as famine, refugees, and conflicts. On the other hand, there are little descriptions about various perspectives on cosmopolitanism and ethics as cosmopolitan citizens. In other words, the Social studies2 just shows us the role of international organizations and institutions for solving global problems, so it focuses on nations' and institutions' role rather than individual role or attitudes as cosmopolitan citizens. This means that the Social studies2 only suggests the 3rd area's view in the Figure 1 that is weak cosmopolitanism and institutional cosmopolitanism.

“The globalization has changed various nations into an integrated society based on development of transportation and communication and increasing exchanges among nations. However, there are various natural environments on Earth, and various people with different cultures live together. Such geographic diversity leads to negative effects such as national competition, conflict and gap between the rich and the poor.”(Kim Changhwan et al., 2013)

“Multicultural phenomenon spreads because cross-cultural exchanges frequently occur and international migration increases as a result of globalization. ...Our country's multicultural phenomenon will increase and there could be conflicts because of it.”(Cho Yeongdal et al., 2015)

“In order to solve the problem of future society, not only the cooperation of the international community but also the individual effort for practice is necessary. Therefore, we should have positive attitude to prepare for the future as owners of the future society.” (Kim Yeongsun et al., 2015)

6. Analysis of High school social studies textbooks

High school social studies textbooks also do not have much contents on cosmopolitanism but they deal with multicultural society a lot. But, they describe cosmopolitan citizenship more concretely compared with elementary and middle schools'. The following passages are contents related to cosmopolitanism except multiculturalism extracted from high school social studies textbooks.

“Individuals are requested to behave not only as people of a country but also as cosmopolitan citizens living in globalized societies. Global citizenship is thoughts and attitude that we should have as members of global world.

Individuals can feel a sense of belonging both as members of global world and as people of a nation, but sometimes both contradict each other and people become confused. In this situation, we have to put universal values and justice of mankind over national interest and interest of specific groups. That is the core value of cosmopolitan citizenship.”(Seol Donghun, 2014)

“Our country will experience a variety of changes with accelerated aging, globalization and informatization. The unification of South and North Korea and conflict are important factors that affect our society. ...Everyone pursues happiness and stability as an individual as well as lives doing roles as a person of a nation and a member of global world. The future is uncertain and will be changed depending on how we prepare and cope with. Therefore, we should pay attention to both our country’s issues and global issues and cooperate with others to go toward desired direction.”(Yuk Geunrok et al., 2015)

“Our role as cosmopolitan citizens is to have national identity as South Korean. Besides, we should try to pursue development of mankind with love for humanity and generous mind to understand and accept various cultures from all over the world.”(Lee Donghwan, 2015)

“In the global era, problems occur which are related to environment, war, famine, and human right that we need to work together to deal with. To solve these problems, we need to have attitude as cosmopolitan citizens like below. We should recognize the world as one community and collaborate with other paying attention to global issues. ... Then, as a member of global society, we have to respect all people’s personality and diversity and treat everyone equally as cosmopolitan citizens not discriminating depending on their country and region. Besides, we should try to settle a conflict peacefully through negotiation.”(Park Yunjin et al., 2015)

One of the publishes’ textbook, Miraen, explains the need of having cosmopolitan citizenship. The textbook maintains that if the values of mankind and values of a nation or individuals are clashed, we should put the values of mankind first. The Miraen’s textbook says as of it is the best answer but it is the view of the first area in the [Figure1]. It just illustrates the perspective of strong cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanism as moral value among four perspectives. Jihaksa’s textbook also illustrates the view of the first area. It mentions the cosmopolitan citizenship as a way of solving problems caused by globalization. It claims that we need to respect all people as cosmopolitan citizens and we should not discriminate all people. Furthermore, this textbook illustrates the individuals’ attitudes as cosmopolitan citizens not about the institutions.

The Visang and Chunjae education’s textbooks suggest only the second area’s view that is weak cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitanism as moral value. The two textbooks claim that we have to develop an attitude as cosmopolitan citizens not forgetting the fact that we are people of one country. This is consistent with Nussbaum, Miller, and Appiah’s claims. There are no details in the textbooks on first,

third, and fourth areas' view.

IV. Conclusion

Social studies textbooks currently used in South Korea lay stress on explaining contents related to multicultural society. However, the multiculturalism and contents on multicultural society still have limits because they divide and set boundaries among cultures. Therefore, the cosmopolitanism can be an alternative and it should be educated in schools with the multiculturalism. This paper examined various discussions and theories on cosmopolitanism before the analysis of textbooks. After that, this article divided the cosmopolitan discussions and theories from many scholars such as Beitz, Miller, Appiah into weak/strong cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitanism as moral value, and institutional cosmopolitanism and then, analyzed South Korean elementary, middle, high schools' social studies textbooks.

Analysis shows that there are prominently small portion of contents on cosmopolitanism. Furthermore, textbooks have poor explanation about the basic contents on cosmopolitanism and concept of cosmopolitanism and sometimes they use wrong definition of cosmopolitanism. Another problem is that there is no continuity of contents on cosmopolitanism in the courses of elementary, middle, high schools. Almost all textbooks deal with multiculturalism and they even repeat the similar contents about the multiculturalism. Although high school social studies textbooks have more details on cosmopolitanism than elementary, middle schools', they are superficial and do not show us various views on cosmopolitanism and they just suggest one or two perspectives.

The cosmopolitanism does not become public and it is not refined theory but it must be educated to students in the global era to grow to be cosmopolitan citizens. Teaching the cosmopolitanism can broaden student's perspectives of the world. We must let students know that they can see the world from various angles and students should have opportunity to choose their own perspective of the world. To have opportunity that they can choose perspective what they want, students need to know what options there are. But, South Korean social studies textbooks still suggest one or two choices. Now, from the academic world, it is desirable for scholars to start discussing the cosmopolitanism and try to make the social textbooks reflect the contents on cosmopolitanism.

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