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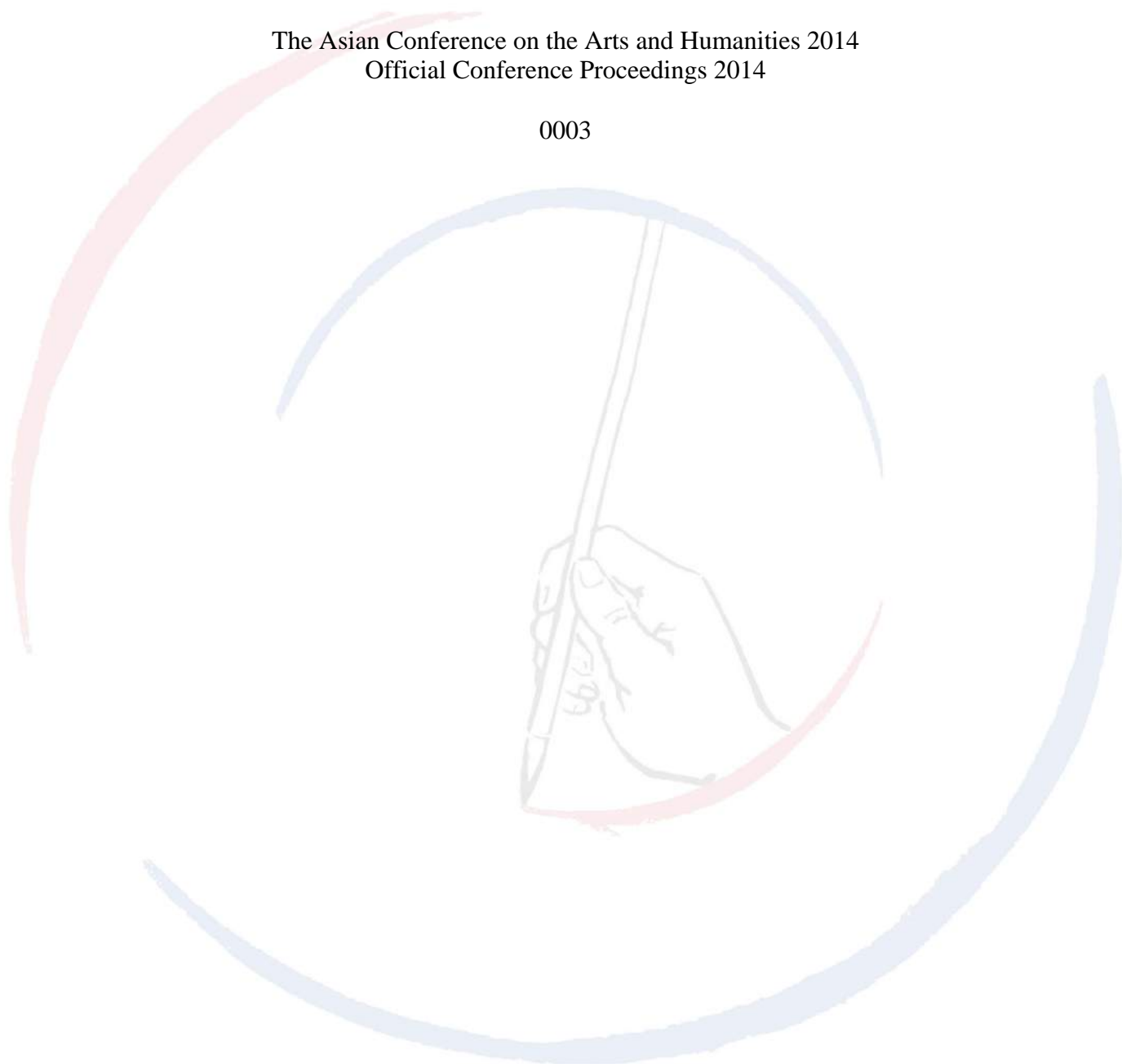
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29 Days in Formosa: Colonial Era Architecture in Taiwan

Kong Ho, University of Brunei Darussalam, Brunei

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0003



Introduction

Inspired by the Western influence on Taiwanese colonial and historical architecture, Prof. Kong Ho has created a series of digital artworks based on his reinterpreting and reimaging digital photographs of the colonial era architecture in Taiwan during his 29 days practice-based research leave in Taiwan from May 18 to June 15, 2013. This series, titled *29 Days in Formosa*, is a body of work based on the manipulation of photographs of vintage patterns and sections of architectural structures that were once common images to Taiwanese, especially those of Chinese descent. Ho manipulates and reformats straightforward images into swirling designs of colour and texture that can only be described as having an association with contemporary digital images of fractals.

In his cross-cultural artistic research, Ho documented architectural sites in Taipei, Taoyuan, and Tainan that had colonial and cultural significance and then he put them into a new context. The resulting fragmented images hold a new identity embossed with a new significance that he presents as a digital photographic memoir of Taiwan history as seen through Ho's bicultural identity as an American-Chinese working in Brunei Darussalam. This paper reveals the non-linear narrative of Taiwan's Western and Oriental influenced culture through the artistic outcome of this research. Specific identities pertaining to the colonial era architecture in Taiwan and can be seen to reverberate the cultural identity of Taiwan through the utilization of altered visual language. This paper also explores how re-contextualization of visual images and cultural messages can transcend sequential history and the political boarder of Taiwan. By analyzing the concepts behind Ho's recent digital artworks, this paper will be able to bring new insights to his nostalgic work, which is about new sensory experiences in Taiwan mingled with memories of familiar old ones of colonial Hong Kong before 1997. This paper is about sharing the experience of remembrance and evolving memories, which is an experience that everyone is familiar with.

Colonial Culture of Taiwan in East Asia

From a modest agricultural island in the east of China, Taiwan (Formosa) transformed into an international trading hub in Asia and earned the reputation as one of the Four Asian Tigers. Taiwan has gone through tremendous changes in its political, economical, social and cultural environments since it was colonized by the Dutch in 1624. According to Manthorpe (2008), the Western influence in Taiwan started after the period when the Portuguese named Taiwan "Formosa", the "Beautiful Island" in the 17th century. The Spanish established a settlement in Tamsui, the northern part of Taiwan for a period of time, but were driven out by the Dutch in 1642. After that, there was an incursion of Han Chinese from Fujian and Guangdong of mainland China. In 1662, Zheng Cheng-gong, general of the Ming Dynasty, defeated the Dutch and occupied the island until 1683 when the Qing Dynasty controlled the island. After the First Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan was under the occupation of the Japan from 1895 to 1945 and became a part of the Japanese colonial expansion push into Southeast Asia and the Pacific during World War II. In 1945, following the end of WWII, the Republic of China (ROC), led by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party or Kuomintang (KMT), took over Taiwan. Designed to be cross-cultural, this practice-based enquiry focuses on Taiwanese multiple colonial architecture under the Dutch,

Spanish, Japanese and Chinese cultural influence.

The aim of this paper is to use multimedia as a means to make a cultural documentary that tells a story. Ho will challenge the traditional documentary of Taiwanese cultural heritage through digital photography and digital imaging technology of Taiwan's significant colonial buildings and the stories behind them. With support from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Brunei Darussalam and University of Brunei Darussalam, Ho was able to stay at the dormitory of National Taiwan University of Arts during his 29 days research leave in Taiwan in May 2013. It was not the first time for Ho to visit Taiwan, however, it was the first time for him to research colonial era architecture in Taiwan from a perspective of a bicultural Chinese.

Born and raised in Hong Kong from 1960s to 1990s, Ho has witnessed the changes of this region from a tiny colonial seaport into the special administrative region of China—one of the world's leading international financial centres. In Ho's memories, there are not too many colonial era buildings that have survived after decades of rapid urbanization in Hong Kong. The most memorable one for Ho is the red brick and granite Clock Tower of the old Kowloon-Canton Railway (KCR) terminus, built in 1915, in Tsimshatsui, Hong Kong. Ho still remembers his father taking him with his brother and sisters there before taking the railway to visit the New Territories in Hong Kong during the holiday season. His father told them repeatedly how he and Ho's mother arrived in Hong Kong through this terminus as Chinese immigrants in 1949 after the Communist Party of China took over mainland China and founded the People's Republic of China (PRC). Undoubtedly, this Clock Tower has witnessed millions of Chinese immigrants from mainland China passed through the railway terminus to begin new lives in Hong Kong. Nowadays, this old Clock Tower has become a memorable Western landmark of British Colonial Revival or pre-Victorian architecture in Tsimshatsui, Kowloon, in front of Victoria Harbour, Hong Kong.

Ho's journey of selecting Taiwanese architecture with significant colonial and cultural value to photograph, deconstruct, manipulate, print, exhibit, and reflect on, is all part of his artistic research, and as such it is also included in this paper as material critical to the understanding of his identity as a bicultural artist and how he has come to understand certain cultural aspects of his youth as a person of Chinese heritage growing up in the colonial city of Hong Kong. Ho's personal journey includes immigrating to the U.S. in early 1990 and his present choice of living in Brunei Darussalam, which is located on the northwest coast of Borneo island in South East Asia.

Ho's first recollection of exposure to the colonial Clock Tower in Hong Kong might be his first experience of memories passing between generations. According to the findings of a Nature Neuroscience study reported by Gallagher (2013), a health and science reporter of BBC News, behavior can be affected by experiences in previous generations, which have been passed on through a form of collective cultural memory to the descendants. Dr. Brian Dias, one of the researchers, told the BBC: "This might be one mechanism that descendants show imprints of their ancestor." Actually, memories passed between generations not only happen in a verbal context or collective cultural inheritance, but also in visual context. Our visual experience of particular historical building reminds us the past memories of our ancestors. In some circumstances, historical buildings are not just perceived as antique architecture but a

compelling illusory memory.

Ho's first encounter with the colonial architecture in Hong Kong was a memorable one. The red brick and gray granite colours of the Clock Tower mixed with crowded travelers in the platform of KCR terminus turned out to be one of the highlights of Ho's childhood life. The loud train sound mingled with the coal smoke smell of the steam engine train helped him to experience the feeling associated with adventure and new destinations. Furthermore, this first memory of colonial architecture has somehow become what seems to be the driving force for Ho to continue developing his art around almost forgotten themes. No matter if it is explored in his complex fractal digital art, memoiristic digital photographs, dissolving videos or transcendental paintings, personal memory is always his favourite motif.



Image 1: Kong Ho. *Whirling Chinese Cranes*. 2013. Digital print, 16"H x 16"W

In Ho's recent digital art piece, *Whirling Chinese Cranes*, shown in Image 1, he conjures up a nostalgic feeling of his childhood life with his now deceased parents in Hong Kong. The whirling composition unveils the synthesis of various ceramic shards from a typical Chinese teacup with a blue crane pattern from the 1960s. The fragment of this traditional vintage Chinese blue and white teacup with a unique blue crane pattern, not only recalls his childhood memory of having a pleasant Chinese tea breakfast with his parents in Hong Kong, but also provides a new dimension or meaning to his current living environment in Borneo.

Memory as Evolving Fragment of Experience

According to Hogenboom (2013), a science reporter for BBC News, our memories are unreliable. Whenever we recall our memories, we reconstruct parts of images stored in collections of memory forming cells. Dr. Xu Liu of the RIKEN-MIT Center for Neural Circuit Genetics told BBC News, "The differing combination of cells could partly explain why memories are not static like a photograph, but constantly evolving" (as cited in *BBC News*, 2013). As a sensitive visual artist, Ho has tried to capture moments of his Taiwan travel memories through his art. However, it is hard for anyone to have an explicit and complete picture of their own specific memories. It is similar to our memory of colours, which is always shifting and uncertain. It is not because we run out of specific names for colours in our art vocabulary, but the incapability of recalling the specific colour in our memory cells, gives rise to interpretations.

"Every time we think we remember something, we could also be making changes to that memory – sometimes we realize sometimes we don't," suggested Dr. Liu. It is similar with the art making experience of Ho's deconstructive fractal-look digital art. The process by which his digital artworks are created along with the media used in the works is a very important part of the final statement or content of the work. For example, in his recent digital art piece, shown in Image 2, which relies on the fractal effect, he is intending to articulate a remembered state of mind through the process of creating the image. Briggs (1992) has described fractal as the tracks and marks left by the process of dynamical change:

Fractals describe the roughness of the world, its energy, its dynamical changes and transformations. Fractals are images of the way things fold and unfold, feeding back into each other and themselves. The study of fractals has confirmed many of the chaologists' insights into chaos, and has uncovered some unexpected secrets of nature's dynamical movements as well" (p. 23).

Digital imaging can create layers, colours, textures, dimensions, repetitions, rotations and transformations to form differing combinations and changes, which are different from hand-drawn static composition. Ho cannot visualize the final outcome of the images, but the process always reminds him of his free-floating fractured memory with no defined space or time. Also, each magnification of his digital fractal image reveals more details of the similar pattern, which is hard to present in a traditional hand-painted image.



Image 2: Kong Ho. *National Concert Hall*. 2013. Digital print, 16"H x 16"W

According to Hogenboom (2013), a science reporter for BBC News, the human brain creates false memories. Human memory constantly adapts and moulds itself to fit the world. Kimberley Wade at the University of Warwick, UK, told BBC News, "Our perceptual systems aren't built to notice absolutely everything in our environment. We take in formation through all our senses but there are gaps" (as cited in *BBC News*, 2013). Wade added, "So when we remember an event, what our memory ultimately does is fills in those gaps by thinking about what we know about the world." At the end, our imaginations lead us to create compelling false memories. In Ho's *29 Days in Formosa* practice-led research, he tried to capture evolving memories of the particular historical sites he had visited in Taiwan in the summer of 2013 through his digital art.

When Ho starts out to make an image of a particular architecture site in Taiwan he knows that he is only creating an illusory memory of that site. Through the use of manipulated digital photos from the particular architectural site, he begins to enhance that architecture's most outstanding feature. This coupled with his recollection of having experienced the colours, patterns, and textures of the interior and exterior of that particular building on that specific day adds to his desire to work his subject into an image that can engage others into seeing the compelling illusory world around us. The composition of this recent body of work inspires others to experience a transcendental kind of space, which may turn out to include spiral, rotational, transforming, dissolving, or overlapping elements. The picture plane may end up resembling an evolving memory or a transient moment or an illusory place with no beginning or end, or it may be more like the interweaving of time and space. *Ximen Read House*, one of his digital art pieces generated by Adobe Photoshop, shown in Image 3, reveals the transfiguration of a colonial architecture. A series of photos of this colonial building was taken in Taipei's Ximen. This digital art piece uses the Red House, built in 1908 during the Japanese occupation. The Red House

expresses Ho's passion with the red-brick octagonal architecture and the Fibonacci Sequence and his delight with seeing this Western-style colonial building turned into a revival hall for visual and performing art in Taipei.



Image 3: Kong Ho. *Ximen Red House*. 2013. Digital print, 16"H x 16"W

The Red House has undergone a series of transformation since 2007 from a public market to a multi-purpose cultural arts hub for the creative industries in Taipei. It houses diverse visual and performing art organisations and provides exhibition and performance space and boutique space for young artists and designers. Ho transfigured his memories of the interior and exterior space of this colonial building coupled with his personal feeling towards the displays and setting inside the Red House. Ho never has a preconceived notion of how his digital images will turn out. He is not sure how to depict his evolving memories of the Red House. However, repeatedly he transfigures those memories into digital images. Digital art, like painting, allows Ho to explore colours and to use his intuition to direct his image toward a composition that finally feels "right" and matches his associated memories.

He selected three major digital photos of the Red House for the transfiguration of this digital art piece, including a outside front view of the building, a white linear architectural drawing of the building on red background, and an inside view of a display case in the main lobby. He applied the actions effect of Adobe Photoshop to transform the cutout images of the Red House based on his formulated imaging effects, such as resizing, rotating, moving, changing colour, adding blurry effect, duplicating, grouping, rearranging and merging layers. Then he organized different groups of transformed images according to the formalistic visual relationship of individual groups of images and background images.

In a way, the digital medium allows Ho the luxury of working in a manner that is not

only original and bold in its outcome, but digital art is also practical because it is so transportable and printable. He took advantage of these characteristics of digital art by presenting his recent digital art pieces in a group exhibition in Hong Kong in March 2014. This new method of working has come to affect almost every aspect of his art and life. His latest work with a focus on impermanence or transition follows the principles put forth in the writings of French art historian Hippolyte Taine in his essay titled "Le Bouddhisme" published in 1865:

Nature is ... an infinite chain of causes from effects and effects from causes, an infinite progeny into the past and the future of decompositions and recompositions with no beginning and no end. Such is the view of the whole to which [Buddhists] are led, on the one hand, by their main theme of nothingness and, on the other, by the spectacle of things incessantly changing. Having suppressed fixed causes, there remains only the series of changing effects. Thereupon, the imagination comes alive. (Taine, 1886 [1865], p. 291)

Reconnection to the Past Colonial Experience and Bicultural Background

The creative impetus or intent behind Ho's recent spiral fractal digital art based on Taiwanese colonial architecture is to reconnect to his past colonial experience in Hong Kong. Psychologically, the motivation behind his transfigurations of a colonial building found in Taiwan is to hold on to the essence of the transitional feeling, memory, time and space of a fleeting moment. In Ho's recent digital art piece, *Dr. Sun Yat-Sen*, shown in Image 4, he suggests the nostalgic feeling of his childhood Chinese history education of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, the founding father of modern China, in Hong Kong. The whirling composition of the statues of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen found in the Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Hall in Taipei, reveals the synthesis of various digital photos, including the statues found in these two sites. Two famous quotes of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen – "universal love" and "the world as a commonwealth shared by all," and the sign of the Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Memorial Hall also inspired Ho. The bronze statue of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen is transformed into a negative from previous film photography, which not only recalls his childhood memory of black and white photography, but also provides a new dimension or meaning to Ho's current understanding of his Chinese cultural heritage. Ho started to search for his cultural identity when he left Hong Kong for the U.S. in the early 1990s but only realized the appreciation of his Chinese heritage when he was away from Hong Kong. It may seem contradictory to try to reconnect to a past that is already gone, but a part of the large historical list behind humankind's reasons for making art seems to favour this endeavour.



Image 4: Kong Ho. *Dr. Sun Yat-Sen*. 2013. Digital print, 16"H x 16"W

Human life is full of contradictions and so is art. Artists like Ho try to capture impermanent memories in our lives through reconnections with their past and identity. It is not clear that whether the past affects the present or the present is an illusion of the past. Similarly, we cannot be sure whether we can live without our memories. The only certainty is that our world and personal experience are in a state of flux. The connection to our past gives us a reason for preserving the present. It stops us from creating a world where the past is erased.

For Ho, the tortuous colonial history of Taiwan is not just about political control of particular territorial locations for a certain period of time or a cultural collision between different civilizations. Political history and cultural diversity are important to study, but personal interactions between individuals and the historical sites are also significant. Because we are living in a globalized world where the notion of pluralistic art has become the new mainstream norm, artists like Ho who are not part of some specialized groups must seek out their reasons and beliefs for making art, which unless reported by the artist would perhaps go unnoticed in the competitive art world. For the several past decades Ho has been cultivating a relationship between the concepts of Zen Buddhism and his art. He transforms his digital images using the motifs of simple natural objects or common artifacts or historical buildings in a Zen Buddhist intuitive manner. This means that on some levels, he realizes how or why the final composition was arrived at. Sometimes he has to just let go and trust his instincts when manipulating his digital images.

This is the kind of intuitive feeling that comes from losing oneself in the enormity of experience. According to Baas (2005), "Buddhism challenges thinking as a path to knowing. And what both the creation and the perception of art share with Buddhist mediation practice is that they allow us to forget ourselves and thus realize ourselves.

They are parallel practices" (p. 11). This sort of experience has led Ho to try and capture the over-whelming elements that make up the fragments of our evolving memories unconsciously. Even though Ho has relocated to many places during the past twenty years: from humid Hong Kong to dry Texas; hot Texas to cold Pennsylvania; and from snowy Pennsylvania to sunny Brunei, the way the Taipei 101 skyscraper looks in Taipei, shown in Image 5, is the one thing that feels familiar to his city memory of Hong Kong – an enclosed narrow space within an enormous cement jungle.

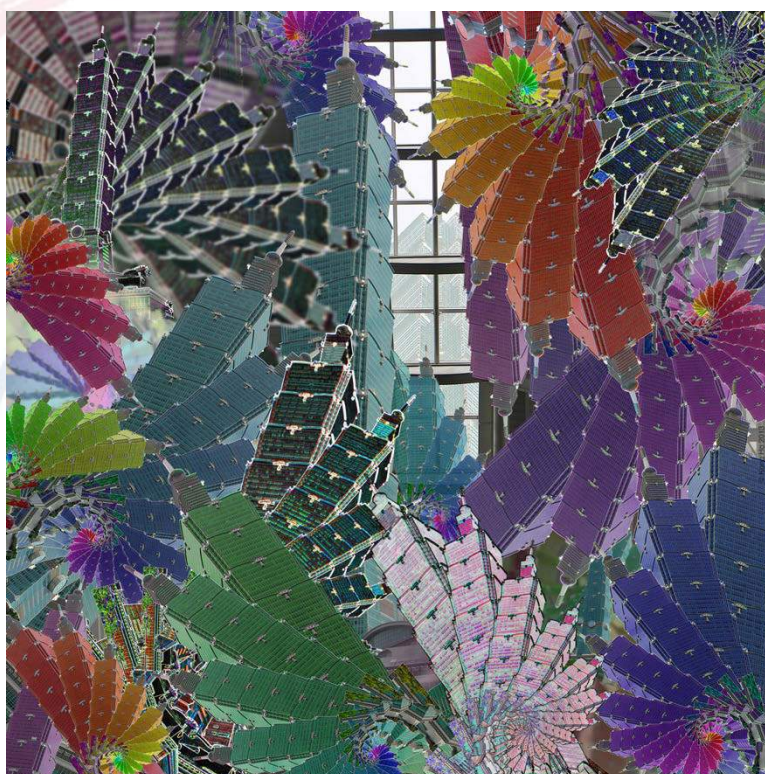


Image 5: Kong Ho. *Taipei 101*, 2013. Digital print, 16"H x 16"W

Looking back on the work that he has produced for his recent group exhibition, *Mural•list•mania: Multimedia Art Exhibition*, in Hong Kong in March 2014, Ho can see that his digital art pieces carry a common thread, a growing nostalgia for the past and a romantic attitude towards cultural identity.

The visually attractive *Fort San Domingo*, shown in Image 6, resembles the "picturesque" style of the late eighteenth century's Romanticism, because of its carefully orchestrated casualness of composition. The colourful and attractive appearances of the spiral Spanish battleship and Fort San Domingo are not the content of Ho's art but instead the images of battleship and fort embody the transitory nature as it is revealed in an expression of memory. Ho believes that before he can make art, whether it is digital photography or a painting, that certain elements must be present, including a bitter-sweet mix of emotions. According to the Taoist/Buddhist perspective, the transient nature of being can be seen in natural phenomena, such as the cyclical nature of any human made structure that goes from construction to demolition. The beauty of a colonial architecture evokes a melancholic sense of the transience of being and leaves a fragment of memory. Ho's digital photos of historical buildings taken in different places in Taiwan during his 29-day visit still feel timeless

to him, but they take on a slightly intangible almost ethereal quality when he transfigures them.



Image 6: Kong Ho. *Fort San Domingo*. 2013. Digital print, 16"H x 16"W

Conclusion: Transpersonal Experience

The visual styles of Ho's spiral fractal-inspired digital art series based on spiraling forms, and the nostalgic quality of his "memoiristic" digital photographs of Taiwanese colonial architecture have their starting point in the real world, but the same representational starting point that grounds the digital photos in the center of compelling, make-believe colours also transforms them before the viewers eyes into pure visual patterns, colors and relationships. This is something that Ho sees as being akin to Claude Monet's *Water Lilies*, an Impressionist masterwork depicting his water garden in Giverny, France. Like the water lilies in Monet's paintings, the water lilies are about colours and sense of place, which are not painted in realistic style. However, the poetic and time-shifting feeling of Monet's *Water Lilies* as it is described by Baas (2005) echoes the qualities that Ho is seeking in his art. According to the description of Baas (2005) about Monet's *Water Lilies*:

The painting seems to contain a moment or—better—a totality of moments in deep summer, when the greens go dark and the water reflects a bottomless sky. The sensation of a moment I wasn't even aware of losing is suddenly mine again. Or maybe what the painting embodies is change itself, and the awareness is an awareness of time and the losses that time brings (p. 19).

In his new series of digital art, Ho intends to use his spiral fractal-looking digital art to trace the inspirational forms that frequently materialize in his work. Just as with everything else in life, the images in Ho's digital art appear to have fluid meanings

and even to take on different physical characteristics when one looks carefully at the structure of the work and contemplates the image as a whole. *Confucius Temple*, shown in Image 7, reveals the synthesis of a single view of the main hall of Confucius Temple in Taipei. The view of this temple with an orange-yellow roof and mint green doors, not only recalls Ho's memory of the Sik Sik Yuen Wong Tai Sin Temple, a home to Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism, in Hong Kong, but also provides a new imaginative dimension of Confucianism. On another level, his digital art can be considered to be visual interpretations of the Confucian philosophical and ethical teachings because his art reflects humanism – the core of Confucian philosophy. This belief states that human beings are teachable, improvable, and perfectible through personal endeavour, especially self-cultivation and self-creation.

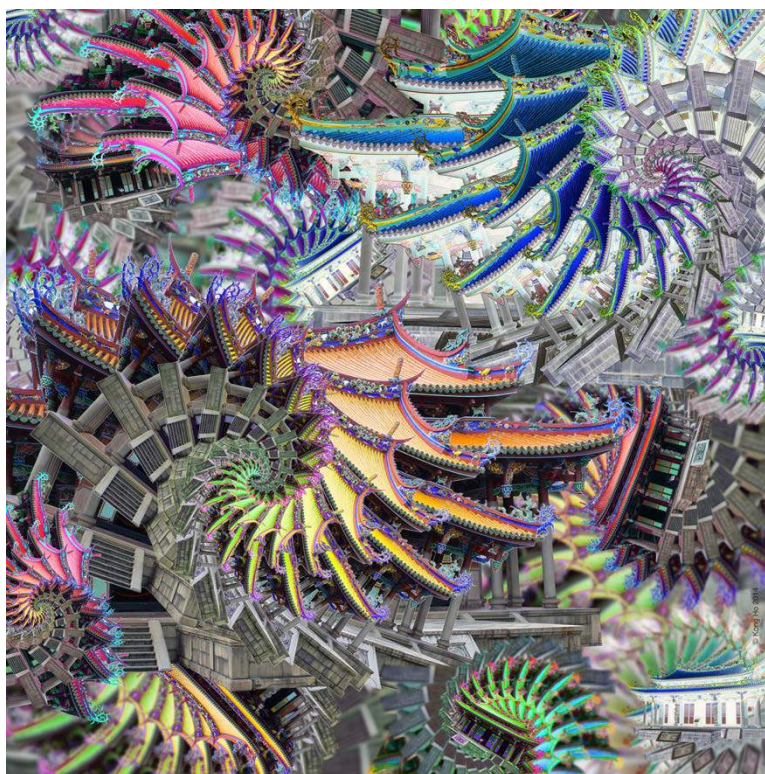


Image 7: Kong Ho. *Confucius Temple*, 2013. Digital print, 16"H x 16"W

During Ho's 29 days of research leave, he visited and documented numerous sites in Taipei, New Taipei City, Taichung, Tainan, Taiwan with colonial and cultural significances. After his research visit, he posted his research findings, digital photos and digital art pieces on his online research blog, *Photographic Memoir of Taiwan*, at <http://photographicmemoirtaiwan.blogspot.com>, to share his practice-based research with other interested researchers. Six pieces of his recent digital art series, *29 Days in Formosa*, all embedded with cultural references and personal memorable experiences were displayed in the recent group exhibition, *Mural•list•mania: Multimedia Art Exhibition*, in Hong Kong. All of these seven digital art images have textured cultural segments of Taiwan revealing the non-linear narrative of Taiwan's Western influenced culture and the tendency of reconstruction of personal memories.

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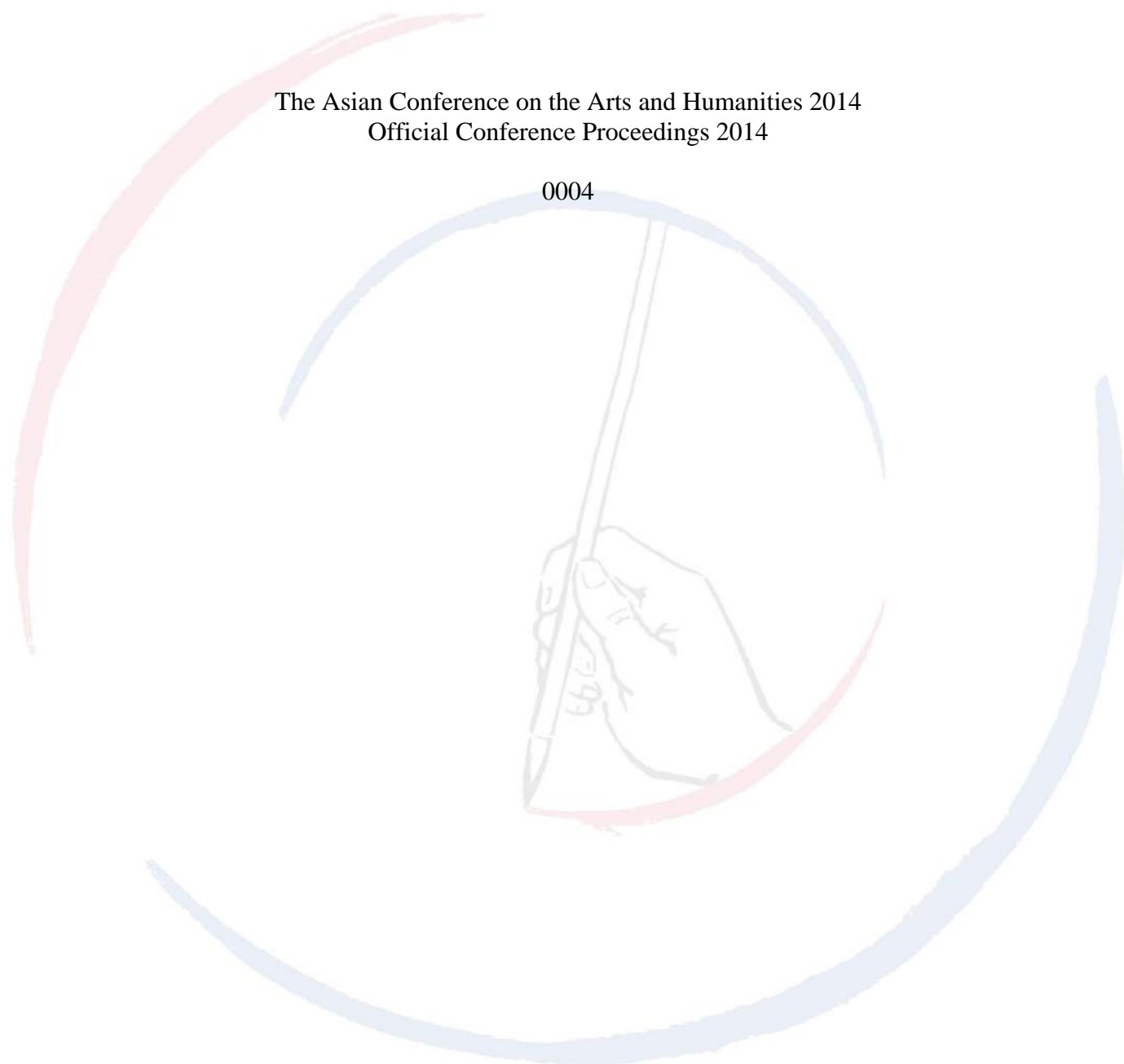
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Guardians of a Shifting Industry: Current Worship Rituals of Taiwan's Pottery Gods

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Romancing the Kiln

Romancing the kiln through rituals, such as the making of kiln gods, celebrate ceramic production processes and can be seen as a means for amplifying the spiritual connection that some Western ceramists feel when they are engaged in the creative acts of designing, making and most importantly, firing ceramics. Simple private rituals such as "pretending" to honor kiln deities by pinching together a spontaneous raw clay creature, or kiln god, can heighten the studio potter's sensitivity towards creativity and perhaps even help with bridging a closer connection to the mysterious elements of heat and fire, which often seem beyond the control of the potter. The ritual making of kiln gods seems particularly appealing as a kind of satisfying ritual act for ceramists working in the United States because it seems that this ceramic community of like-minded potters are looking for a little luck or even a paranormal edge that will help them to control the firing processes of clay when it is subjected to the transformative forces of heat and, or fire. (Geiger-Ho, 2012, p. 1-2). American and other Western potters are not the only artisans working in clay that honor the kiln gods; in China and Taiwan the mythology and practice of prescribed kiln rituals and elaborate ceremonies honoring patron kiln deities have been undertaken for centuries.

As with The People's Republic of China, every ceramic producing region in the Republic of China, or Taiwan (formally Formosa), supports a specific kiln deity with a unique local ceramic mythology that is part of a religion that combines the beliefs, symbolism, and customs followed by practitioners of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism. The West has named this amalgamated religion, "Chinese folk-religion" or "Chinese popular-religion"¹ and regards its worship practices as falling under these headings no matter if it is practiced on the mainland or in Taiwan. A handout entitled, "The Religious Life of the Taiwanese" from the Museum of World Religions in Taipei, notes that:

Taiwanese people believe that there are unknown storms in nature: good or bad luck can happen to people at any time. To ward off bad luck, people worship gods, goddesses, and Buddha, and they venerate objects installed in villages, temples, and houses that are believed to ensure safety and protect from the evil. When people are experiencing difficulties, they turn to fortune-telling and divination by *bagua* in order to avoid evil and have good luck. (Museum of World Religions, n.d., p. 1).

An example of how deities are incorporated into Chinese folk-religion can be noted in how the "earth god" and the special local ceramic deity, Lo Ming have both been worshiped by untold generations of potters² working in the ceramic industry in the small town of Yingge, which is situated south of Taipei City in a region that is known as New Taipei City, Taiwan.

Worshipping the Kiln God, Lo Ming in Yingge

The sunset industry of ceramics in Yingge gained the chance to begin a bright, new chapter in its history when the New Taipei City Yingge Ceramics Museum opened in 1990. Also contributing to the revitalization of the ceramics industry was the organization of the city's center into a vibrant community of galleries catering to a wide variety of Taiwanese handmade ceramics and antique Chinese artifacts. The old cobblestone streets are lined with art filled shops and Yingge has been turned into a bustling tourist center where both traditional and unconventional pottery can be admired and purchased. (Taiwan Tourism Bureau. (n.d.). *Yingge pottery town*). In addition to its many specialty shops, Yingge has also become an important hub of intellectual activity and a haven for historians, ceramists and other scholars from around the world who wish to learn more about both past and current cultural practices of local pottery production. According to Zhou and Zeng (2004, p. 180) because of its large output of sanitary ware, sculpture and various kinds of dinnerware in addition to a large community of practicing studio potters, "Yingge is regarded as the Jingdezhen of Taiwan."

The story of how Lo Ming became the trade deity of the Yingge ceramics industry is a legend that evolved out of the ritual practices and oral storytelling traditions conducted within the Yingge pottery community. Although distinct in its details and connection to Yingge's pottery industry, the underlying mythology of Lo Ming marks this story as part of a small anthology of tales about the travails and importance of ceramic deities that are located and honored at ceramic kiln sites throughout Taiwan. Fading fast into the twilight of history, these stories are still barely kept alive by a small following of believers who honor them as part of a common Chinese worship system, which even in Mandarin translates as "folk religion". Held in high regard by diverse groups of people to include followers of folk-religion, secular ceramists and art historians alike, these tales need to be recovered while they are still accessible through living informants if they are to retain their verisimilitude. This need for collecting kiln god worship practices and mythology is the same for both Taiwan and China, however, while China and its Special Administrative Region of Hong Kong, has a different pottery deity for every ceramic producing region, Taiwan appears to only have two deities who, by coincidence, are brothers. One of these two brothers still acts as the pottery deity at each of Taiwan's important industrial kiln sites and ceramic producing regions that I visited. Furthermore, my research into this topic has led me to believe that any Taiwanese ceramic production site with a long history, will worship either Lo Ming or Lo Wen.

The origins of the closely connected legends of Lo Ming and his brother Lo Wen are lost in a past that is so distant and murky that no one can recollect with certainty the details of their emergence. However, just because there is no written records of exactly how and when the myths about these gods came into being doesn't mean that there are not a few experts on the subject, like temple keepers and retired ceramics business owners, who can give first hand accounts of their understanding and involvement with Taiwan's two most revered pottery gods.

Visiting Lo Ming at the Temple, Fu Hsing Kung

I began my interview with Mr. Wang Wu Hsiung, the caretaker for the Fu Sin Kung (Fortune Prospectus Temple), shown in Figure 1 and 2, in Yingge, where the small bearded statue of Lo Ming resides, shown in Figure 3, by asking how the statue of Lo Ming came to be housed there along with the earth god.



Figure 1: Fu Sin Kung (Fortune Prospectus Temple) in Yingge. Note the metal covering added in 2007, to protect the original fragile temple built in 1960. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.



Figure 2: Angle view of the Fu Sin Kung (Fortune Prospectus Temple) showing the center main entrance to the earth god altar, and the two temple side chambers. The statue of Lo Ming is located on an altar in the left chamber. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.

As Wang began to explain about the historical importance of the Fu Hsing Kung, or the Fortune Prospectus Temple, a casually dressed local woman sauntered into the open courtyard and bowed before a large incense brazier that was puffing out smoke in the center of the space. After doing this she continued across the small tiled space and through the open doorway of the temple. Wang didn't take any notice of the visiting worshiper since it is expected that temple patrons know how they wish to pay

their respects to the deity or deities of their own choosing. After the woman had disappeared into the dusty temple and Wang had stopped speaking, Julia Hsin-Yi Yang, (my hired assistant) began her translation of Wang's remarks. Julia explained in her perfect American English, that Wang told her that the first god to be installed at the site of the present day temple was the earth god because a square stone tablet with the deeply carved likeness of this ancient and well venerated Chinese deity was originally located at a shrine, shown in Figure 4, which stood on the location of the present Fortune Prospectus Temple. At that time the shrine and its surrounding land supported a highly successful large pottery factory. Because the ceramic business that the kiln supported was doing well, it was believed that the stone tablet was blessed and that the Earth god was looking out for the welfare of both the workers and owners of the factory.



Figure 3: The statue of Lo Ming on his altar at the Fu Sin Kung (Fortune Prospectus Temple) in Yingge. (May 22, 2013). Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.



Figure 4: Altar of earth god in the Fu Sin Kung (Fortune Prospectus Temple). Note the wilted dried sprout hanging down from the top right-hand corner of the craved stone image of the earth god. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.

According to Julia, Wang had no knowledge of how the belief in Lo Ming got its start in Yingge, but he did have some interesting things to say about his relationship to the ceramic factories in the local region. Pointing to the side hall where the wooden statue of Lo Ming's sat in his glass case on a large red lacquer colored table along with other popular deities from the Chinese pantheon of gods, Wang explained that although Lo Ming did not mind sharing the temple with the earth god, his followers were hoping to someday build a temple dedicated just to him. After turning his attention back to Kong Ho, Julia Yang, and me, Wang continued his full account of Lo Ming. The following paraphrased narrative was translated by Julia Yang and edited for grammar by this author:

I know about Lo Ming through his representation as the Pottery God for the ceramic industry that has flourished in Yingge for over a hundred years. Lo Ming came to Taiwan with his brother Lo Wen, but there is no statue for Lo Wen because his form of pottery making on the potters wheel was not as important to aiding the skills of the factory works as was the coil making abilities of Lo Ming. Because handbuilding was the most necessary method of pottery production in northern Taiwan, people chose to honor him. In the past the statue of Lo Ming was passed in turn from one ceramic factory to another on a yearly basis. The factory owner would take care of the statue during the year and make sure that Lo Ming was happy. At the end of each year there would be a celebration for the pottery god and for all of the workers in the ceramic industry. That year's pottery god caretaker would make all of the arrangements for the parade and huge feast in honor of Lo Ming who had made everyone wealthy because he had kept the bad spirits at bay and had brought the city of Yingge good fortune. However, this kind of celebration stopped when the large industrial kilns started to close one by one in the 1970's because people started to purchase tableware and other functional articles made from plastic. After the last big factory closed the pottery statue came to live in the Fortune Prospectus Temple. Everyone in Yingge knows that Lo Ming enjoys being at the temple because he has his own temple hall (the side chamber room). All of these arrangements have been made possible because when the temple was enlarged sometime in the past, the land that was

owned by the original ceramic factory was bequeathed to the Yingge community so that everyone could worship there.

I didn't need to ask Wang how he knew that Lo Ming was satisfied with his new home because I had seen the divination blocks, also known as oracle blocks, carefully laid out at the end of his worship table. Also on the table, but closer to Lo Ming was a small container bristling with slender sticks of both spent and fresh incense, some of which burned before him. The smoldering incense explained why there was a layer of gray ash on everything in the room, giving the impression that a miniature volcano had erupted somewhere close by.

Julia explained on Wang's behalf that once a year Lo Ming gave his consent to travel to New Taipei City Municipal Yingge Vocational High School so that he could participate in an important ceremony for blessing the success of new students and honoring the masters that accepted them. At least, to the best of Wang's knowledge, that is what took place when Lo Ming was enticed to the vocational school through offerings of fresh fruit and incense.

Collecting Data on Yingge's Tao Shen (Pottery God) From the Yingge New City Ceramics Museum

Wang's rich account of Lo Ming made me feel lucky for visiting the Fortune Prospectus Temple at the right hour of the morning for my fortuitous interview. I also felt as though the University of Brunei Darussalam³ had granted my research trip at the most opportune time because my research was falling perfectly into place. Earlier on that same morning, before our sojourn to the temple, Julia had arranged for me to meet with Mr. Cheng Wen Hung, the Chief of the Education Promotional Department at the New Taipei City Yingge Ceramics Museum, and Ms. Chen Ting-Hsuan, from the museum's programing and research department, shown in Figure 5. The reason for the informal get-together was so that I could collect any data that the museum had in its files about local and greater Taiwanese pottery gods.⁴ Furthermore I also needed directions to the Fortune Prospectus Temple.



Figure 5: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho (left four) with her research assistant, Julia Yang (left three), interviewed Cheng Wen-Hung (left one) and Chen Ting-Hsuan (left two). Photo credit: Kong Ho.

The discourse on Taiwanese pottery god customs that Hung gave me, prior to my visit to the Fortune Prospectus Temple, had been compiled in 2006, under the direction of the New Taipei City Yingge Ceramics Museum's research and promotion department by Ms. Chen Ting-Hsuan and Ms. Liao Mei-Ling.⁵ The purpose of this informal summary of pertinent information and stories about Chinese kiln gods was put together for the educational benefit of the museum's staff so that they could better prepare for a museum facilitated two-day symposium about pottery god customs called, "A Talk with Yingge Longstanding Ceramic Masters Regarding the Tao Shen (Pottery God)." This special symposium was held on September 20 and September 24, 2006,⁶ according to the Western Gregorian calendar. However, this wasn't the only event on the topic of pottery gods to be held in 2006. According to an internal report, complete with printed photos, (also given to me by Cheng) there was a whole festival of events dedicated to pottery god customs that took place during the summer and fall in Yingge that year.

Recalling The Veneration of Lo Ming as the Patron Pottery God for Yingge's Now Shuttered Old Ceramic Factory Kilns

I had to wait for Master Sheng Chai Wom to finish teaching his afternoon teapot making workshop before I could talk with him about his personal experiences as one of the past protectors and keepers of Lo Ming's spirit statue. I was exceptionally lucky to be meeting with Master Sheng, shown in Figure 6, since he just happened to be giving a rare workshop at the New Taipei City Yingge Ceramics Museum on the same day as my first visit and interview at the Fortune Prospectus Temple.



Figure 6: Cheng Wen-Hung (left one) translated the old Taiwanese dialect spoken by Master Sheng (left two) to Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.

Even after having just completed a workshop, Master Sheng was eager to share his understanding and adventures with Lo Ming in his incarnate form as a small statue. Master Sheng's accounts of Lo Ming were especially timely and poignant because his accounts were first hand memories of actual events and customs involving the protection and worship of Lo Ming. Master Sheng began recounting his knowledge of Lo Ming by describing how, before the 1960's ushered in the era of plastics, which

eventually came to replace functional ceramic articles such as dinner ware, the ceramic table-ware and utilitarian ware industries in Yingge were thriving. Yingge was a beehive of commerce and many companies operated large kilns that were constantly kept busy. And at the heart of this energetic world was Lo Ming. As the reigning local patron god of such an important industry, Lo Ming was so highly respected that his small statue was kept on a private altar placed in the home of a different factory owner each year. The statue was passed between the owners of the ceramic factories on a rotational basis along with the responsibility of arranging for that year's celebration honoring the pottery god and giving gratitude for another year of good fortune.

Master Sheng went on to explain to me that before Lo Ming consented to move to the Fortune Prospectus Temple that he had stayed with him for about 4 to 5 years! The reason for this was because sometime around 15 years ago, when they were only a handful of the original old ceramic factories left, the 7 or 8 remaining owners got together and voted that he take charge of the pottery god and also hold on to the association money that had been donated for a temple to someday be erected just for Lo Ming. Master Sheng told Cheng and me that he still had the money and all of the bookkeeping records showing who had made donations for the future temple. Additionally Master Sheng explained that he also had a gold plaque, which he hoped would someday be displayed at Lo Ming's new temple.

When I asked Master Sheng to please explain how Lo Ming had come to Yingge, he delivered an excellent short tale about how the god was once, a long time ago, one of three brothers living in Fuzhou, China. Each of the brothers had a skill that was special for making ceramics. Lo Ming, brought with him the skill of coiling and Lo Wen was the master of throwing forms. The other brother, whose name is forgotten, was not brought to Taiwan. At present, only Lo Ming is represented by a traditional wooden statue and it is unknown who made it, or when. Master Sheng was not really sure if the statue was made to follow any specific requests pertaining to its character and manner of dress. This last bit of information had me thinking about how experts go about interpreting the category or classification of unidentified carved deities.

In his book, *"Gods of Taiwan: A Collector's Account"* (2006), Neal Donnelly, describes ways for generally interpreting the ranking and type of deity that an unidentified wooden sculpture might represent. If a figure has been carved in a sitting position on a rock or wooden bench, the god can probably be denoted as either a Taoist god or an immortal. Also, Taoist gods often have a gourds filled with medicine or a magic whisk. Lo Ming has been carved to appear as though he is sitting on a rock-hewn seat, and in his right hand he holds a whisk made of soft yellow fibers or hair.

Pottery God Worship Customs at Shui-Li Snake Kiln and Ceramics Cultural Park

Cherished as a cultural heritage site by those who appreciate hands-on workshops and learning experiences featuring traditional Chinese native pottery crafts, the converted Shui-Li old pottery factory is both a kind of living museum and a rich heritage site. Located on the out-skirts of Shueili Shiang, in Nantou County, the Shui-Li Snake Kiln

and Ceramics Cultural Park affords visitors with a unique cultural experience at a preserved traditional ceramics production site that is set amidst a soothing semi-tropical respite of green woodlands and moss covered rocks. Easily visited on a day trip from Taipei by train, the tranquil Snake Kiln and surrounding cultural park allows visitors to study the history of the site by strolling through a museum that integrates well with its surrounding original kiln and building structures. The use of rough hewn wood and large ceramic pots as structural building materials is a motif employed throughout the park in order to enhance the feeling of how the kiln factory's original buildings made use of the region's clay and timber to their full advantage. I was still wondering about which of the park's structures were new and which were old enough to be deemed relics, when a tall smiling man and his assistant strolled across the cement and tile courtyard that my companions and I had just entered. Taking her cue in her usual smiling and bubbly manner, Julia introduced Kong and me to Mr. Lin Kuo Long, the president and third generation owner of the historic snake kiln, shown in Figure 7, and his executive assistant and daughter, Ms. Lin Hsiao Yin.



Figure 7: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho interviewed Master Lin Kuo Long (left two) with Julia Yang. Photo credit: Kong Ho.



Figure 8: The Shui-Li Snake Kiln with chords of dry wood stacked on top. The large rustic kiln building also houses the site's pottery museum and a small café. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.



Figure 9: The majestic cement and fiberglass statue of the coiling deity, known as Lo Ming, located in the open garden space next to the snake kiln in Shui-Li, Taiwan. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.

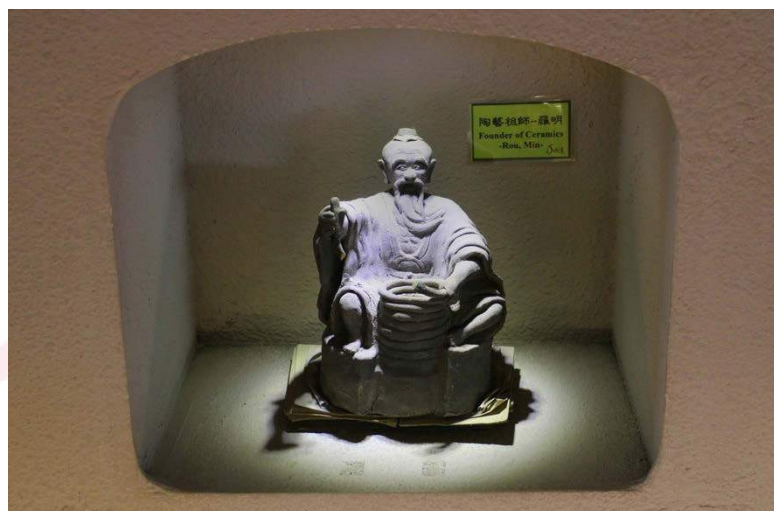


Figure 10: The small unfired clay model of the coiling master Lo Ming created by Master Lin Kuo Long. Displayed in the Shui-Li Snake Kiln Museum complex. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.

Julia and I directed our conversation towards the key subject of kiln gods and their worship practices. During the rapid exchange of conversation between Julia and Lin, his daughter brought us tea and a stack of over-sized books and documents. Over the course of the next hour Lin recounted the complete history of the Shui-Li Snake Kiln, shown in Figure 8. Because of the length and extent of the discussion that developed between all of us, the following conversation is recounted from my field-notes and recordings and summarizes Lin's main points that are germane to understanding the religious culture of kiln god worship at the snake kiln site.

1. There are other old ceramic factories in the central region of Taiwan that have also been saved through their conversion to teaching/tourist centers. It was under Ling's management that the aging and no longer productive factory (est. 1927) was transformed into the Shui-Li Snake Kiln and Ceramics Cultural Park, which opened in 1993. The conversion took 13 years to complete.
2. Lo Ming has always been venerated at Shui-Li Snake Kiln because he is the deity known and admired for his coiling skills. When he was designing the new features for updating the snake kiln factory site, Lin drafted the plans for a monumental sculpture to be made from fiberglass-cement in honor of Lo Ming, shown in Figure 9. Today, in addition to the two identical castings of his large sculpture, one near the kiln and the other just outside the entrance to the cultural park, Lin's original small handbuilt clay model of Lo Ming can be seen on display in the museum area, shown in Figure 10.
3. In addition to the worship of Lo Ming, there are also beliefs related to who may enter the snake kiln and under what circumstances.
4. A ritual cleansing of the famous snake-kiln takes place before it is fired.
5. There are two oral myths that are sometimes told about why the spirit of Lo Ming decided to take up residence at the Shui-Li factory. One story says that he first appeared as an old man who fixed the cracks of worn pots and he stayed because the people were grateful for his help. The other story has him entering the factory as an indigent asking for water, which he received with kindness. He repaid this kindness by staying at the kiln as its protector.
6. Lo Ming is also worshiped at the beginning and middle of each month, and before a new kiln firing. He is supplicated with incense and cups of tea, which are placed on his permanent shelf-altar that is placed high on a wall. His altar

is located on the ground floor of the clay-factory slip casting area, shown in Figure 11.

7. Special celebration days are set aside each year for honoring Lo Ming.
8. Tourists do not light incense for Lo Ming because there is no public altar set aside for this purpose.



Figure 11: Elevated altar to Lo Ming who is honored on a daily basis in the factory area of the Shui-Li Snake Kiln. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.

Curious to know more about the cultural history of the factory I asked Master Lin if the fifty year occupation by the Japanese had changed the kiln god customs in any manner and he replied that the Japanese were not interested in the beliefs of the Taiwanese people, but that they did enjoy the high caliber of art and commercial utilitarian articles that were produced at Shui-Li. Research that I later conducted informed me that in Yingge the modern kilns and ceramic factories built during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) usually produced large-scale household items like clay ceramic heaters, and large wine jugs, while smaller and more refined ceramic items were shipped from Japan. (Chuang, 2009, p. 9).

Of course, not too many tourists who visit the Shui-Li Snake Kiln and Ceramics Cultural Park come to seek knowledge about the legend of Lo Ming, however, for those people, like myself who are undertaking historical research, Master Lin is happy to oblige them with a personal interview. Yet, even if a visitor to the park has never heard of a kiln god, they will still enjoy encountering Master Lin's personable, larger than life sculpture of Lo Ming.⁷ Furthermore, Chinese visitors will especially appreciate the good luck large red and gold paper charms, shown in Figure 12, that notify them that: if they are women looking to marry, entering the kiln will help them to secure a good husband; and if someone is looking for good health, entering the kiln will bestow it upon them. The caveat to all of these good-luck, sharing activities is that the snake kiln also picks up some bad energy when people enter it, so it must be cleansed prior to firing to remove this negative energy that could ultimately even attract bad spirits. Master Lin explained that this cleansing ceremony is undertaken by the senior firing master who renews the spirit of the kiln by splashing rice wine, sticky rice, grass, and salt throughout the interior of the kiln before it is loaded and fired.



Figure 12: Side passage way into the snake kiln showing good luck charms explaining the touring of kiln will bring to good luck to women who wish to find a good husband. The other side said that anyone entering the kiln will have good health. Photo credit: Dr. Martie Geiger-Ho.

Conclusion

Many of the myths surrounding the gods and goddesses that are central to Taiwan's folk-religion are recounted through more than one version of telling, and often these versions touch upon similar events, or share characters and aspects of morality that contribute to the outcome of their meaning. The reason for these different versions of a single tale is that stories change over time and they may even merge or morph into a different story altogether if the myth is transplanted to a new place.

The mythology, rituals and celebrations surrounding Taiwan's pottery gods are inherited legends that are a vibrant part of Taiwanese culture and religion. Moreover, these myths have been passed down from generation to generation, forming bonds between pottery masters and novices, trade workers and peers, and community members to a special place and time.

Archeologists rely on shards and pots to piece together the stories and histories of lost civilizations, but what about the hopes, dreams and beliefs of the people who actually fashioned and fired the ceramics that filled the palaces, towns, and even trade ships of those that they served? The potter's and their place in history should not be a forgotten when a quest to understand and appreciate an artifact's purpose and artistic qualities is undertaken. No matter how removed a Chinese porcelain vessel might seem in a refined collection or museum, from the place where it was fashioned, its providence will always start at the kiln site where it was created, decorated and fired under the watchful guard of a revered pottery god.

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Endnotes

¹ It should be noted that Chinese folk-religion is different from Chinese ancestor worship, which involves a special altar and place for honoring newly departed family members and ancestors.

² Verification of a date for marking when the current belief system for worshipping the kiln deity, Lo Ming, in Yingge first began is impossible because this information has never officially been recorded.

³ Research for this study was undertaken through a University Research Grant, granted to me by the University of Brunei Darussalam, Brunei Darussalam, where I am currently a Senior Lecturer. This grant enabled me to hire Julia Hsin-Yi Yang as my assistant and interpreter. Furthermore, the National Taiwan National University of Arts further supported my research by offering me a Visiting Research Fellowship, which included housing and full-use of their library.

⁴ An unpublished internal document with four kiln god stories collected by Mei-Ying Liao and Ting-Hsuan Chen under the direction of the New Taipei City Yingge Ceramics Museum.

⁵ This document, "A Few Stories About Chinese Pottery Gods", was translated into English by Julia Hsin-Yi Yang and is presented in this exegesis under the heading of Addendum. None of the stories, which were written in Chinese, have citations so there is no way of confirming their original source.

⁶ Two symposium dates have been mentioned in the internal report document that Chen gave me about all of the events for honoring the kiln gods in 2006, but only the date of Wednesday September 20th is noted on the internal document containing the symposium proceedings, or records for "A Talk with Yingge's Longstanding Ceramic Masters".

⁷ The sculpture of Lo Ming that is just outside of the entrance to the Shui-Li Snake Kiln and Ceramics Cultural Park is featured prominently in an article by Sun Chan (2002, November) "Discussion of Yingge pottery god belief" found in *Traditional Art*, 24, 52-54. This sculpture is identical to the one located inside the park and bears the inscription, "Illustrious First Founder of Pottery, the Coiler, Lo Ming." However, Chan explains in his story about the kiln god brothers Lo Ming and Lo Wen, that Lo Ming was a thrower of ceramic pots and that Lo Wen was a coiler. Chan may have transposed the correct ceramic production skills between the brothers because when he used the image of Lo Ming's sculpture in his article, he could not read what was written on the statue's plaque because it was hidden by plant growth. The sculpture kept inside the ceramics park is elevated and the words on his plaque are easy to read.

*The Psychoanalysis of Khōra and Mother Khōra
and Their Transformations of Inner-Abjection in The Reader*

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Abstract

The thesis adopts the concepts of khōra given from Plato, Julia Kristeva and Jacques Derrida and develops it into a new compound idea – Mother Khōra. The 12 characteristics of khōra are regarded as ways of thinking to examine the multiple dimensions of the essence of khōra such as sexual drives, abjection, and projection. This inspires further ideas in regard to khōra that goes beyond the concept of the mother archetype of Mother Khōra. Based on the concepts of mother archetype by C. G. Jung, the features of mother image and its variations are the major motif to conceive the filmic images into a brand new way of thinking in the 2008 film *The Reader*. This study will examine the characteristics of khōra with its nature of “receptacle” and the “formation” of love, sex drives and moral judgment in the inner psyche that operates between two protagonists Michael Berg and Hanna Schmitz. In applying textual analysis with psychoanalytic approach to *The Reader*, this thesis aims to explain the ideas of khōra and its flow of time, its place, and the interrelationships that have been represented between subjects and objects, thereby providing a fresh perspective of the maternal archetype in a cross-disciplinary manner. Regarded as an exercise in train-of-thought, the concepts of khōra reveal a relative, neutral way of thinking and spirituality.

A. Statement of Problem

The Reader (2008), directed by Stephen Daldry, is a film that depicts a love affair between the characters Michael Berg and Hanna Schmitz. It utilizes interwoven plots to reveal their inner secrets, each of which influences their decisions, yet includes the idea of an inter-mediate state in regard to their formation of sex drives and moral obligations. This state of formation has generated the characteristics of *khōra*, which are defined as “formless,”¹ “nothingness,”² and “receptacle”³ as a means of considering the interrelationships between their secrets and decisions. Michael and Hanna’s behaviors provide the source for analyzing their decisions and therefore provide further chances to consider the workings of their inner psyches and its conflict between imagination and reality.

The transformation of their perspectives reveals the cause-and-effect relationships involved and also clarifies the problem of the limitations their situation has produced. This means that Michael and Hanna have violated social norms and, specifically, have acted on a subversive way of thinking that has created the major torments and conflict to the self, Michael. The juxtaposition of their portrayals, however, illustrates the patterns of transformation between the interchangeable self and other based on the concept of *khōra*, particularly aspect of psyche.

This thesis therefore focuses on the characteristics of *khōra* and the “formation”⁴ of love, moral judgment, and concepts of justice in the inner psyche. This transformation takes place from the beginning through a “gap,” a “rupture,” and a “chasm”⁵ to an inter-mediate space. This enables the film to depict all of the components of transformation process. Every aspect of the affair, the moral judgments and considerations of justice has much to consider with, thereby apparently providing more space for rethinking the given, preconditioned fixed thoughts. This inspires further ideas in regard to *khōra* that goes beyond the concept of the mother archetype of Mother *Khōra*, a new expanded place beyond the limit of *khōra*.

¹ The author will provide a detailed account and definition about the term “formless” in Chapter II. According to the concepts of “*khōra*,” first of all, Plato claimed, “is an invisible and formless being which receives all things and in some mysterious way partakes of the intelligible, and is most incomprehensible,” see Plato. Julia Kristeva said, “an essentially mobile and extremely provisional articulation constituted by movements and their ephemeral states,” see *Revolution in Poetic Language* 25. Jacques Derrida noted, “and yet, ‘invisible’ and without sensible form,” see *On the Name* 90.

² According to the concepts of “nothingness,” Derrida said, “this very singular impropriety, which precisely is nothing, is just what *khōra* must, if you like, *keep*; it is just what must *be kept for it*, what *we* must keep for it,” see *On the Name* 97.

³ The term of “receptacle,” Plato said, “is an invisible and formless being which receives all things and in some mysterious way partakes of the intelligible,” see “*Timaeus*” 51b.

⁴ The author has developed the term from Lacan’s *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis*, see 66.

⁵ In terms of analytical psychology, the term “gap” refers to “the fundamental rupture between man and Nature, especially in mirror stage,” see *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* 71, “rupture” means, “the break which produces the positing of signification, a *thetic* phase,” see *Revolution in Poetic Language* 43 and “chasm” explicates the abyss between all these couples and another which would not even be their other, see *On the Name* 104 and in this study, the author tends to use “rupture” and “chasm” to explain the difference between projection and reality on the formation of Mother *Khōra*.

In applying textual analysis with psychoanalytic approach to the film *The Reader*, this thesis aims to explain the ideas of khōra and Mother Khōra, its flow of time, its location, and the interrelationships that have been represented between the self Michael and the other Hanna, thereby providing a fresh perspective of the mother archetype in a cross-disciplinary manner. Regarded as an exercise in train-of-thought, the core of khōra *per se* reveals a relative, neutral way of thinking and spirituality.

B. Theoretical Approach

This thesis, applying textual analysis with psychoanalytical approach, employs the various philosophy of khōra to analyze cause and effect in the film *The Reader* and suggests another conceptualization of Mother Khōra to explain the interrelationships between self and others. It explains khōra's features in order to develop Plato's, Julia Kristeva's, and Jacques Derrida's concepts of khōra into compound ideas, thereby providing multiple perspectives of the interrelationships between khōra and sex drives.

Interrelationships between khōra and sex drives can resemble sex drives in place of khōra where they can oscillate between characters, neither receiving nor rejecting, and involve being neither reached nor touched. This thesis therefore emphasizes interrelationships between Mother Khōra and sex drives as well as amorphous characteristics of khōra. It also addresses the further concepts of fragmentation and ambiguity between self and others in regard to interrelationships, which may be considered as a psychoanalytic perspective of the characters, Michael and Hanna, who are also the projectors with a limited, straightforward view. That enables this thesis to identify several of the decisions they make and their inner reasons for doing so. Even though the form/less khōra with its sub-form/less Mother Khōra are an abstract concept to portray, it nevertheless makes Hanna's or young Michael's secrets and transformation of ego more convincing and recognizable.

This section explains treatment in *The Reader* of both erotic affairs and the nature of moral obligations and sex drives. The concepts of khōra may be conceived of as a third space, as it transcends structure and therefore provides more possibilities for contemplating the interrelationships between the characters of the sex drives and khōra, based on the perspectives of Derrida, as a new deriving concept to consider in regard to the concept of "such" instead of the concept of "this" or "that," a term by Plato,⁶ which would not limit its meaning. Khōra may also be considered to be an initial space for reflecting each person's sex drives as the final contribution and therefore the sex drives become transient and immediately transforming into their own Mother Khōra. In other words, khōra is an abstract concept that maintains the state of pure and formless with no substantial border, so the transitory schema diverts each form to khōra.

That the plot centers on a love affair that emphasizes the formation of Mother Khōra into three stages in order to portray the whole process of interaction between such self as Michael and Hanna and others as characters themselves and books. It therefore assumes that the arrival of the sex drives indicates the creation of Mother Khōra, passing through the transitory schema into the formless khōra. As long as the

⁶ "this" or "that," a term by Plato. See "Timaeus" 50b.

projection⁷ of their sex drives continues, the final Mother Khōra follows them in order to adjust to the in/complete process of transformation.

Because of the participators of sex drives, they pass through the transitory schema into the place of khōra and then produce the final outcome Mother Khōra. The final Mother Khōra would therefore be the duplication of the characters' sex drives, which challenges a straightforward view of others, characters themselves and books when Hanna and young Michael cannot adjust to the route and reaction of abjection, which Kristeva defines as the fear that people feel when confronted with an object that used to be part of them (1982, p. 2). When it comes to the projection of the final Mother Khōra, ideas of Lacan should be understood as permeating the entire configuration of Mother Khōra including the psyche and the artworks such as literature and language. Mother Khōra explains the projection of sex drives' subtle relationships with others such as characters themselves or artworks when sex drives want to create their own projection.

Khōra's characteristics also oscillate between neither receiving and nor rejecting in regard to the perspectives of moral judgments, alternative ego and sex drives. This characteristic is another perspective to consider inter-mediate moral judgments and the philosophy of "nothingness" (1955, p. 97) and especially the decisions made by Hanna and young Michael.

When the film reveals its reality of projected characters or artworks, the reality develops a chasm between Michael and Hanna because they have no choice but to confront the differences between their Mother Khōra and the projected others (either characters or artworks) *per se*. When their sex drives become immersed in it, their abjections become increasingly extensive and then transformed into their alternative egos⁸. This means that alternative egos of Hanna and young Michael reconfigure their sex drives to address the problem of their abjection.

When the self's projection of sex drives and transformation of ego are completed, it partakes of the self rather than the other. This means that their inner motivations are to struggle against the loss of reality. This has an impact on their psyches and then affects their final decisions in regard to reconfiguring their sex drives again, thereby transferring the transformation of their Mother Khōra into another one.

The concept of Mother Khōra also includes the reconfiguring their sex drives when they encounter the chasm between Mother Khōra and the projection of sex drives in reality as well as in khōra's features. This could therefore provide opportunities to consider what value, belief as well as aims occupy in their minds. Khōra's content should be the means for considering these effects. This thesis will therefore analyze (a) what khōra's characteristics that Plato, Kristeva, and Derrida considered to be, (b) how the Mother Khōra transformations work within *The Reader*, (c) how secrets lead the karma as well as doom between Hanna and Michael, (d) how inter-mediate moral judgments and obligations integrate with khōra, (e) how Mother Khōra builds up the psyche, (f) how artworks (books, poem, audio-recorder, and tapes) and "receptacles"

see "Timaeus" 51b.⁷ In this text, projection refers to "a defence mechanism in which an internal desire/thought/ feeling is displaced and located outside the subject, in another subject. See Lacan's *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* 152.

⁸See, Freud, *The Ego and the Id* 24.

(a building, an apartment, a room, a bed, a bathtub, the jail, the church, the tomb, and the tin can) generate khōra and Mother Khōra and, (g) what the gap is between Mother Khōra and reality, and (h) how inner guilt works to reconfigure sex drives.

The study is divided into four chapters. The first chapter introduces the motivation, theoretical approach and research questions. The next chapter focuses on the transformation of khōra into three stages. The first stage is the purest one, constituting khōra, which is formless and amorphous. The configurations contain the sex drives as they shift into the next stage of schema, which has a transitional role and also “cut-out”⁹ the coming configurations. This means that this stage strengthens only the structure of law without contents because it possesses the state of form only. These three stages correspond in *The Reader* to (a) young Michael’s home and his parents, (b) Michael’s school and his female classmate, Sophie, and (c) Hanna and her apartment.

The third chapter of this thesis addresses the formation of Mother Khōra as it develops the projection based on their sex drives. This provides the sources of the development of Hanna and young Michael’s sex drives on its Mother Khōra as long as they have projected it into its reflective others. This third chapter addresses the chasm between the reality and Mother Khōra and then perceives the inner-abjection of young Michael and Hanna. The subtle changes of transformation between such self as Michael and other as Hanna, or vice versa are taken as new resurrection.

This thesis’s final chapter explains the problematical nature of a straightforward view of the projection of sex drives. The problematical nature discusses the appearance of abjection when reality emerges and transforms into an alternative sex drives. Khōra, in the final analysis, becomes a place to incubate the core of personal values and beliefs in young Michael/Hanna’s life. Mother Khōra should therefore be understood as a projection of shifting sex drives that has multi-layered forms that separate themselves from reality because the projection cannot match the reality. These shifting sex drives project themselves into khōra space, which neither receives nor rejects the sex drives themselves, so sex drives can respond to reflections from the characters, Hanna and young Michael. This means that the formation on khōra space does not depend on the sex drives, because it is “nothing” and “empty,”¹⁰ a site for the projection and its lacking desire, such as the search for reunion, to relocate in. Because of the insufficiency for reaching the complete wholeness, the place of belief thus becomes a home of which they dream for.

C. Literature Reviews

The concepts of khōra, focused on Derrida, stem from such ideas from Plato, Kristeva and Derrida as oscillation, neither receiving nor rejecting, and being neither reached nor touched. The philosophy of khōra involves trains of thought leading to several decisions *The Reader*’s protagonists make and provides insight into the reasons. Even though the concepts of khōra have been portrayed this abstractly, they do make Hanna’s and young Michael’s dark, repressed secrets more convincing and

⁹ Borrowed from Derrida, see 95.

¹⁰ Concerning the term “empty,” Kristeva explained it as, “what we call a chora: a non-expressive totality formed by drives and their states in a motility that is as full of movement as it is regulated,” see *Revolution in Poetic Language* 23. The author will discuss the terms in details in Chapter II.

recognizable.

1. The Concepts of Khōra

Plato, in his *Timaeus*, explained the concepts of chora as similar to universal nature, which is a natural “recipient” because it rejects nothing. Its universal nature is analogous to the features of mother with the kindness to receive all living beings. In order to receive everything chora must maintain an inter-mediate position and be devoid of any particular form. Chora has three characteristics. These are (a) having a form that receives nothing into itself and depends on nothing, (b) sometimes experiencing motion and sometimes not experiencing motion, and (c) being an eternal home for all things. Plato described these in a dreamlike way. Chora is also never still and continually oscillates (c1961, 50d).

Plato considered the universe to be comprised of three classes of entities, noting that “the third one is a difficult and dim one, and the definition of the third one would be considered as the receptacle and in a manner the nurse, of all generation” (c1961, 49b). The third class is chora. As noted earlier, Plato preferred to use the word “such” in regard to chora rather than “this” or “that” in order to avoid limiting chora’s meaning. For Plato, the word “such” leads toward a similar principle and includes all of chora’s aspects.

In her *Revolution in Poetic Language*, Kristeva explained that the signification process has two categories, called the semiotic chora and the symbolic (1984, p. 19). She asserted that poetic language was involved in the process of signifying, consisted of a semiotic system, and introduced the concept of chora, which she borrowed from Plato’s *Timaeus* and used to explain mobile and provisional articulation.

With the borrowed concept of chora, Kristeva adopted the concept of semiotic chora in the aspects of linguistics especially the process of signifying. Again, Kristeva introduced the concept of semiotic chora into the signifying process to explain the ephemeral relationship between signifiers and what they signified. She also contended that the subject was not sacred in writing, and that it was composed of both the conscious and unconscious minds. Elaborating on the idea of the subject in language, Kristeva explained that this modality of two trends of semiotic chora and the symbolic could explain both the drive’s disposition, which was similar to the Freudian unconscious, and the places where it coalesces and replaces primary processes.

The drives insofar as Kristeva’s conception are the “energy charges” which connect with the “empty signifier” as well as the “chora” on account of the characterization of “non-expressive totality.” The facilitation of drives is to resurrect the fragmented body or in other words, the drives involve with pre-oedipal semiotic functions that will orient the body to the mother. Even though all the semiotic chora could be regulated by means of drives, the specific regulation of semiotic chora is hard to distinguish in the signifying process. The outcome of semiotic chora is very general. To be more in details, Kristeva jointed the feature of semiotic chora with the language and claimed that the semiotic chora works in ways of rupture, part of articulation, verisimilitude, spatiality and temporality.

In Derrida's *On the Name*, he re-defined the concepts of "khōra" which is derived from Plato's *Timaeus*, raising the question to think about the definition of "khōra." In Plato's *Timaeus*, "khōra" would be given the metaphor of "mother," "nurse," or "receptacle." However, Derrida argued that she/it did not belong to any genus or catalogue and he reconsidered that she/it would go beyond the division as "triton genos" (1955, p. 91). Plato held the idea of "non-contradiction philosophy" of which Vernant speaks which is close to Derrida's notion of the so-called "third class." The "non-contradiction philosophy" rejects the question of opposition, and, similarly, Derrida believed that "khōra" contained the ideas of "exclusion and participation" that leads/makes khōra go beyond the boundary of polarity. Derrida explained, "khōra" would be in the state of ambiguous situation which meant that she/it posited herself/itself in the state of in-between. Derrida explained, she/it would be "empty" or, in other words, "nothingness" and she/it was cognized as "receptacle" but she/it would stay in the receptacle only for a moment. Such a khōra, as a passenger, instead of a permanent resident, would not be situated but be situating and she/it would never been received as receptacle's possession. Therefore she/it did not belong to anyone and she/it was definitely an individual uniqueness. In Derrida's words, the "khōra" itself is associated with the transitory stage of schema which contains only structure rather than the given essence or sources in the place of khōra because she/it goes with structural law which no longer has any meaning with regard to it. The determination of essence to "khōra" is produced from the secondary impression of process of naming which is partly different from Plato's "virgin wax."¹¹

Taken the terms of "chora," "semiotic chora," and "khōra" as brief review, the study puts the emphasis on Derrida's khōra as an inspiration to discuss about the mutual relations between Derrida's khōra and the projection of sex drives on the psyche of main protagonists, Michael and Hanna. Because of the inter-relations between projection of sex drives and inner psyche, the mental relations on C. G. Jung's mother archetype, Jacques Lacan's projection, Freud's ego and id, Raymond Gibbs' figurative thought, Slavoj Žižek's fantasy, Julia Kristeva's abjection, was regarded as explanations to discuss about Michael and Hanna's mental function on projection of sex drives.

2. The Concepts of Psyche

In his 1972 *Four Archetypes*, C. G. Jung proclaimed the collective unconsciousness that people find it strange and then took them up as ideas of unconsciousness. With these ideas, people would express them by means of familiar conceptions (1976, p. 3). That is, Jung considered that archetype would come out from an unconscious content so that there is an "*a priori*" (1976, p. 13) factor in all human activities. When it comes to *a priori* factor, it comes from inside and cannot be verified (1976, p. 10) and therefore, an *a priori* factor would be taken as the inborn, preconscious and unconscious individual structure of the psyche. He would like to explicate the indeterminate state because we cannot see it in clear way. To be more specific, Jung thought the preconscious psyche would be formed tremendously complicated; on the contrary, would be defined by individual entity. When it comes to definition, it

¹¹ In terms of "virgin wax," Derrida said, "a wax that is always virgin, absolutely preceding any possible impression, always older, because a temporal, than everything that seems to affect it in order to take form in it," see, *On the Name* 116.

associates with the coming of “image” (1976, p. 12) because it would not only explore the form of the activity but also peculiar way of activity. As a result, the associations between images and the archetypes would be correlative with each other and then take shape “spontaneously” (1976, p. 13).

The idea of mother archetype is regarded as the unconsciousness of human being so that human being associates the images with mother features with the process of projection of I. The process of projection of I derived from Lacan’s mirror stages helps to explain the mutual relations between imaginary objects and the objects themselves.

In his *Écrits: A Selection*, Jacques Lacan adopted “the formation of I” to explicate the conception of mirror stage which “the formation of I” had the intensive relations with identification. Under “the formation of I,” Lacan considered that the process was integrated into several steps where begin with the infant stages which were supposed to approach to his mother’s caring on account of his incapability to himself. Lacan designated that mother would stay in the primordial form and played the roles as the libidinal dynamism (c1977, p. 2). The significance of mother was the initiation to the “I” as the part of the total “I.” Lacan also adopted the word “Gestalt”¹² (c1977, p. 3) to portray the idea of form which reflected the images from the mother. “Gestalt” possessed the meaning of “figure” and “pattern” and also gave the idea as more active rather than passive one while constituting the form of the images. The “I” had to confront the beginning identification from the mother. The first identification of mirror stages to Lacan would be taken as the process of the organism. He wanted to explain the process of the organism with the natural reality. “The formation of I” was taken as another interpretation as the formation of “imago.” The idea could be able to draw out the “I” which was related to the outer surroundings. Lacan took the concepts of “the *innenwelt* and the *umwelt*” (c1977, p. 4) into account in order to reclaim that the mirror stage that would be “the threshold of the visible world” (c1977, p. 3) because Lacan considered that the mirror stage had the gap as well as “dehiscence” (c1977, p. 4) between two worlds. Because of the denial to the organism, “I” would proceed to the next identification from “fragmented body-image” (c1977, p. 5) to its totality “I” as the secondary identification. The complete formation of identification would lead to its reality and achieve the projection of completed I given by “sexual libido or the narcissistic libido” (c1977, p. 6). Because of the process based on the insufficiency to anticipation, Lacan also proclaimed another idea of “*méconnaissance*”¹³ (c1977, p. 7) which constituted the ego and given by the images. It looked upon the misrecognition of the symbolic knowledge from reality.

Lacan’s projection of I explained the reunion with the projection of the object in order to make up the fragmented limbs. The act of reunion was transformed the fragmented limbs into the completed I and thus satisfied the problem of the fragmented limbs.

¹² See, Lacan explained, “[it] is a German word meaning an organized pattern or whole which has properties other than those of its components in isolation,” see his *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian* 74.

¹³ Lacan said, “[it] corresponds roughly to the English words ‘misunderstanding’ and ‘misrecognition’. Thus, in the imaginary order, self-knowledge (*me-connaissance*) is synonymous with misunderstanding (*méconnaissance*), because the process by which the EGO is formed in the mirror stage is at the same time the institution of alienation from the symbolic determination of being,” see, *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* 109.

Because of the process of reunion, the satisfaction associated the projection of object given by “I,” and therefore the projection of I resulted from inter-relations between mental function such as ego and id. Taken Freud’s ideas of ego and id, they explained the association of object and transferred the attachment toward the object from id into ego by means of identification.

Sigmund Freud, in *The Ego and the Id*, explicated a mental function to a system into three factors with the ego, the repressed and the id within mental apparatus. In the beginning, Freud explicated the inter-relations between the concept of the ego and the reality. Freud considered that the ego had not only the great influence from the outside world but also projection of a surface of outer world. That is to say, with the influence of outside world, the ego constructs a character when the intensive dependence works on the object. What is more, if the dependence of object has been taken away, the substitution of identification would come into being. When the ego contains with identification, it would be referred to as the character to replacement of missing “object-cathexis” (1989, p. 23) and to contain the “history of those object-choices” (1989, p. 24) because the loss of object has been set up inside the ego. The ego is replaced by the “alteration of the ego” (1989, p. 24) and it is “reason and common sense” not “passion” (1989, p. 19). The repressed as well as the unconscious brings about the powerful effect without any conscious. The relations between the conscious and the unconscious would result in the similar situation between the coherent ego and the repressed. By the contrast, another factor, the repressed not only has been cut off sharply from the ego by the resistances of repression but also possesses the factor of passion. To be more specific, the resistances of repression would be the transitory place on the mental apparatus.

Lacan’s projection also explains the Raymond Gibbs’ figurative thought between the “intension of term” and “its extension.” The mutual relations of term and extension are adopted into the process of projection with expectation of reunion of insufficiency when fragmented I has the intensive association with literary artworks and makes up the insufficiency especially the function of imagination. The projection of literal words result from Raymond Gibbs’ figurative thought to explain the process of extension within mental function.

In his *The Poetics of Mind :Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding*, Raymond Gibbs proclaimed that the ability of thinking went beyond the written words so that it was the reason why Raymond Gibbs would put the emphasis on mental function to literary words by poetic imagination. Raymond Gibbs not only unfolded the ideas of poetic imagination as ways of getting immersed into the basic schema of daily life experience but also released the limitation of thinking. What is more, he considered that the poetic thought would not distort the usual way of world and nevertheless be taken as the basic elements of human cognition (1994, p. 1). In other words, the figurative thought to literary words would construct the basic schemes of perspective of daily life (1994, p. 7) and would maintain the continuous process through reflection of mind into the languages. The focus would not only elaborate how language explores inner structure of mind (1994, p. 2) but also take a risk to make up the gap between the speakers and the listeners. The figurative thought would provide the chance to get along with ordinary concept into novel ways. That is the reason why he would like to adopt “ubiquity of figurative thought” (1994, p. 15) in order to depict the scheme of thought from the ordinary experience. To be more

specific, the figurative thought to literary words would be a creative act. On the other hand, expressive languages are not only composed of words but also contained multiple meanings to each individual. When it concerns about multiple meanings, expressive languages associate with “the referential theory of word meaning” (1994, p. 29). The idea of reference comes out with the problem of insufficiency due to the fact of identity of meaning. Therefore, Raymond Gibbs proclaimed the two concepts were included “the intension of a term” and “its extension” (1994, p. 30). The former one, “the intension of a term” points out the existence of objects but otherwise the later one breaks down the one-to-one relation.

Taken either Freud’s object of love or Raymond Gibbs’ extension, their projection and imagination have intimate relations with images given by Lacan. The images are taken as reunion with fragmented I in order to be completed I but otherwise the images are taken as fantasy given by Slavoj Žižek. Because of aim of desire, Žižek explained the extension of images given by desire and also perceived the reality by means of desire with looking awry.

In Slavoj Žižek’s *Looking Awry*, he explicated the relations of the subject to the object when the inaccessible “fantasy” (1992, p. 6) comes out into being. Based on the scene of fantasy, Žižek applied the idea of looking awry to explain “the place unnoticed” (1992, p. 1) because the projection of drives to the object concerned about the problematic situation between the subject and the object. The inter-relations with the object would be the demands, however, not the final goal; on the contrary, the “exchange value” of drives (1992, p. 5) would become another craving form. The projection to the object brings about the disturbance of drives. The concept of “fantasy” provides the place to understand the inner desire from the subject. The desire does not focus on the satisfaction but otherwise reproduces another desire (1992, p. 5). To be more specific, the fantasy is the agent to realize the subject’s inner desire. That is to say, the idea of drive concerns more about the aim because it reproduces more drives instead of satisfactions of the drive to the object. To be more specific, the projection of drive to the object would be anticipated as “the confirmation of the attitude from the other” (1992, p. 5) rather than the satisfaction from the other when the object has complied. Above all the details of drives, the idea of Žižek’s looking awry notices the inner feeling from the subject. When the function of projection of drive moves on, the subject installs drives into the object and completes the whole process with straightforward view, which is taken as looking of the other instead of looking of the self. On the aspect of looking awry, it would be an aid to build up the other from the projection because it would disclose the installment of the subject being clear and obvious. Therefore, looking awry helps realize the inner inconsistency of the subject because the visible part would not be accessible to the object itself and what is more goes astray the projected object.

The fantasy with the participation of drive projects into so-called “the thirteenth floor” so that the place of “unnoticed” comes out obviously. The place of “unnoticed” is taken as the part of reality and thus comes nearby with the feeling of abjection borrowed from Kristeva to explain the gap between the straightforward view and the reality when there is none similarity with the straightforward view of object itself.

In her *Powers of Horror*, Kristeva explicated not only “my own death” (1982, p. 3) but also the act of depreciation when the subject could not find out any similarity.

When the subject perceives the gap with the other, the reactions of the subject protect itself from the imaginary object because the imaginary one possesses no similarity toward the subject. Therefore, all the subject can do is “to expel, to spit, to abject itself” (1982, p. 3) and then the imaginary object is taken as being opposed to I (1982, p. 1). With the conscious of “the abject,” the subject regards these images which are not an object facing me and yet are not I name or imagine (1982, p. 1). As a result, the images have been discriminated as something unclean and polluted, and furthermore they have been regarded not only as “perpetual danger,” (1982, p. 9) in other words, but also as “narcissistic crisis”¹⁴ (1982, p. 14). That is to say, the images reflect the narcissism of the subject rather than emanation of the object. The abjection has blocked (1982, p. 14) the drives from the subject in order to embrace the imaginary one. In other words, Kristeva considered the abjection would not put up with; by the contrast the abjection disturbed all the time when the border of approaching the other has been passed through. As the matter of fact, the abjection plays the roles of safeguard to block the craving for the other.

In conclusion, all the concepts of psyche in literature reviews explain the mutual projection between main characters, young Michael and Hanna and then consider the aftermath given by the projection in *The Reader*. These concepts start with Jung’s mother archetypes as a motive and then adopt the concepts of khōra from Derrida into compound idea—Mother Khōra. The compound idea, Mother Khōra provides the subtle developments of the main characters themselves from the projected other such as characters and artworks. The developments unfold the way of projection of the self either from young Michael or from Hanna to explain the inner lacking within their psyche. As a result (see figure 1), two ideas from Freud’s ego and id and Raymond Gibbs’s figurative thought are taken as tactics to penetrate how they project their lacking of sex drives into their own satisfaction. When the projection moves on, the development of mirror stages explains the problem of chasm and rupture; the characters come across and then conceive the way of straightforward view on projected object. When it comes to the chasm and rupture, the way of looking modifies from straightforward view into Žižek’s *Looking Awry* and then adopts Kristeva’s abjection to explain the inner struggles of the psyche when satisfaction cannot fit in with the reality.

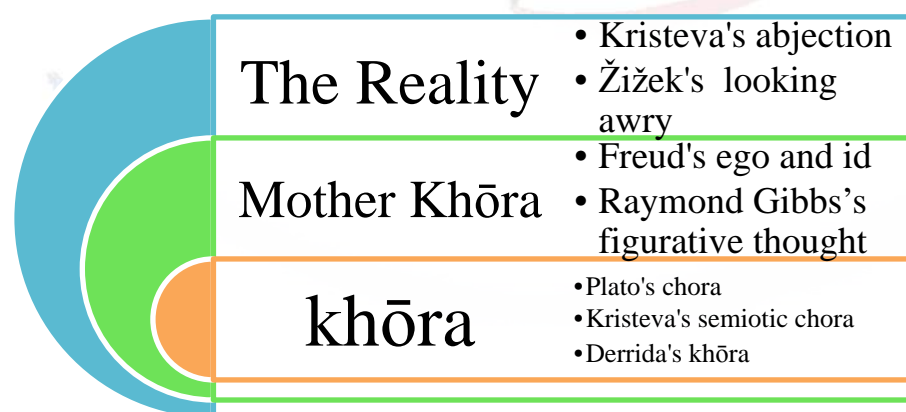


Fig. 1. Each main idea of thesis is supported by concepts of khōra and concepts of psyche.

¹⁴ Kristeva said, “it is witness to the ephemeral aspect of the state called ‘narcissism’ and nevertheless, it blocks the desire craving another,” see, *Powers of Horror*14.

D. Introduction and Synopsis of *The Reader*

The 2008 film *The Reader* has been nominated by the 81st Academy Awards for the Best Film, Best Director, Best Cinematography, and Best Adapted Screenplay, and Best Actress. And Kate Winslet has won the best actress award. Film critic Kenneth Turan said, “it is Winslet's haunting performance that gives the film what success it has.” Film critic, Melinda Sue Gordon pointed out, the film was “scrupulously tasteful — more on that word tasteful later.” Some critics showed a mixed review about the film. Film critic Ron Rosenbaum noted, “it would be certain to call *The Reader* ‘the worst holocaust film ever made.’”

In 1958, in Neustadt, West Germany, a 15 years-old boy Michael Berg has an love affair with Hanna Schmitz who is 21 older than him; however, the affair only sustains one summer, but it is to develop into a great impact to his subsequent life.

The story begins with when high school teenager young Michael leaves school for home with weak body because of the attack of scarlet fever. On the way home, he keeps vomiting on the street. Hanna comes to help him and invites him to take a rest in her apartment before he is ahead home. After three months, Michael is fully recovery, and he visits Hanna's apartment again for expressing his gratitude to her kindness. At the visit, it is Michael's first time to voyeur Hanna's partly body—sexy and mysterious, and whose image has occupied the mind of this young school boy with sex drives. He decides to revisit Hanna. When he meets her this time, they end up having sex.

The protagonist Hanna obviously is a sexy mature woman with great passion to literature such as *The Odyssey*, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. During the course of their affair, she has continually requested Michael to read those classical novels for her. Michael is also willing to do the reading for her. They seem to enjoy the book-reading greatly and the reading rituals as the result have become a pre-condition before their sexual intercourses.

Young Michael has been developing a strong attachment to Hanna. But, Hanna has persuaded young Michael going back to school to make friends with his classmates, but he just cannot really find any fun with them including the beautiful sweet Sophie who seems to adore Michael very much. Yet, his mind and soul are fully occupied by the existence of Hanna. One day, Hanna suddenly disappears without leaving any note to him. Young Michael cannot take the facts for her sudden leaving and also not even say good-bye to him in person.

Michael later goes to college, becoming a law student. In a 1966 seminar in Heidelberg Law School, Michael is attending a war-crimes trial concerning Nazi genocide during World War II, which is a class proposition guided by Professor Rohl. Unexpectedly, in the court, Michael happens to see Hanna who is among one of the six defendants. During the trial, young Michael finally realizes the truth about Hanna's illiteracy and her notorious past experiences of being a Nazi guard before 1944.

Because of ashamed of her illiteracy, Hanna would not willingly provide a sample of her handwriting to the court. For doing so, she cannot prove that she was not the one who wrote the SS report. In the end of the trial, she thus is sentenced to imprisonment for life.

In 1976 of Neustadt, West Germany, divorced Michael takes his daughter Julia back to the hometown to visit his mother and delivers the message of divorce to her. In the old house in which he has grown up and still keeps his old stuff, Michael unpacks the box filled with books which seem to remind him of his unspeakable past and then he begins to indulge into the literary works again and record the works into audio-tapes day in and day out.

In West Berlin of 1980, Hanna starts to receive the audio-tapes from Michael and which at the same time also inspires her to learn reading and writing with the books available in the prison's library. She eventually is able to write letters to Michael and eagerly expects Michael's responses to her.

In 1988, Michael receives a phone call from the Hanna's consuler, Ms. Louisa Brenner, learning the information about the coming release of Hanna after 20 years in prison. Under such a circumstance, Michael is willingly to take the responsibility to arrange Hanna's life when she is released. This would be the first time Michael re-visits Hanna again since 1966. In the visit, Michael honestly expresses his present true feeling to Hanna and rejects any further romance-related affair with Hanna who seems still to remain in the good-old day of 1958 when she and young Michael just met. Hanna finally recognizes the reality, one that she cannot bear, which ultimately leads her to commit suicide in jail. She leaves a small tea tin with 7,000 marks as well as a note to Michael, asking him help her to send the money to Ms. Mather, who has survived from the fire in a church with a door locked by Nazi guards, and it leads to 300 Jews burned to death in this incident.

The story next goes to the United State in 1988. Michael carries the tea tin with money and delivers it with Hanna's will to Ms. Mather, a daughter of a survivor of concentration camp. Ms. Mather has learned the effect of erotic affair made by Hanna on Michael's life time and she also conveys the cruel facts about the camp to Michael. However, she does not take the money; she keeps the tea tin only.

The story has come to an ending when Michael starts to reveal his past affair with Hanna to her daughter Julia as he takes her to visit Hanna's graveyard.

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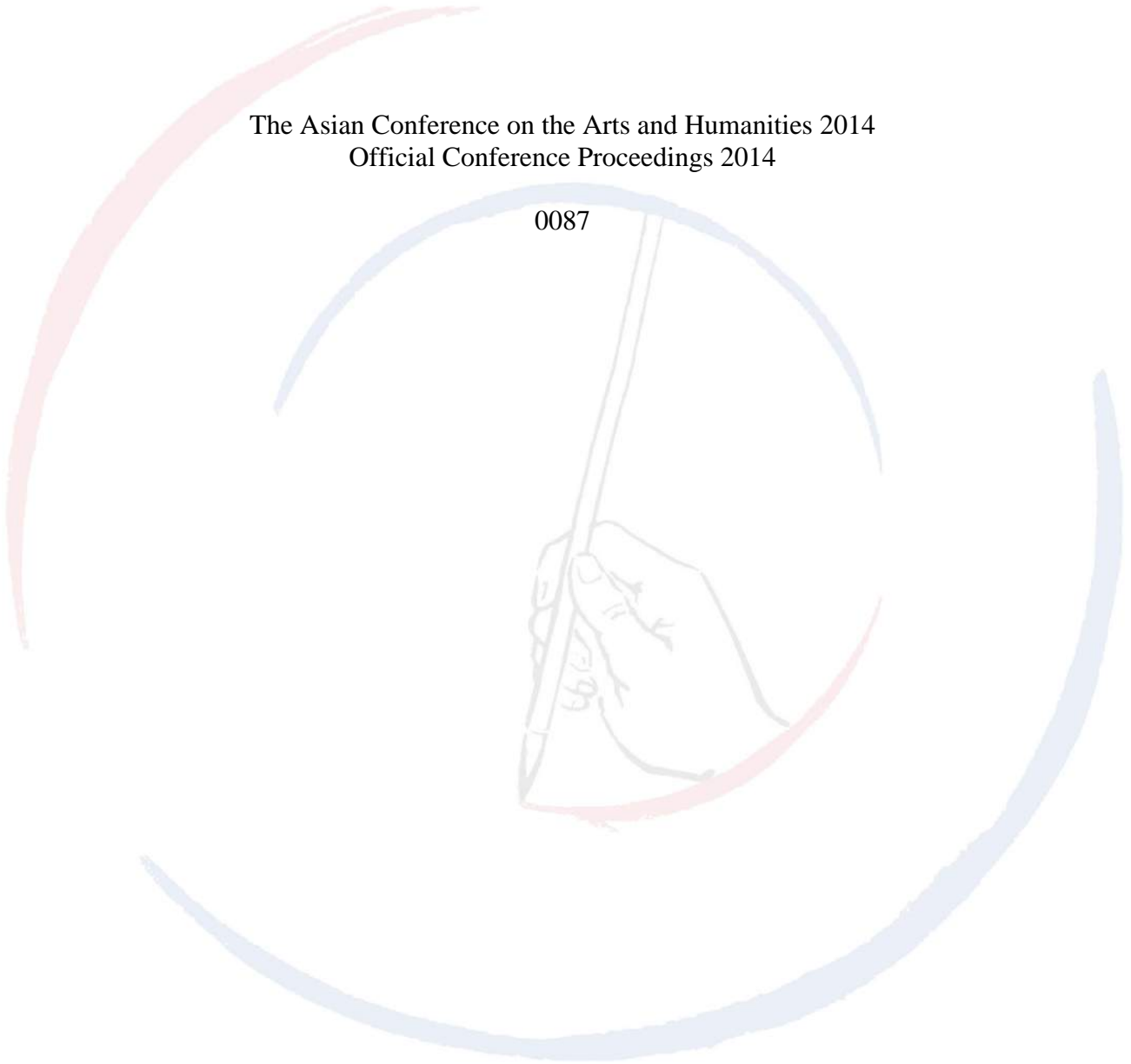
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***'Norman Angell Redux: Economic Interdependence Hedging against the US-
Chinese Security Dilemma'***

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The Asian Conference on the Arts and Humanities 2014
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0087



Introduction

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thank you for your time in attending my presentation. As this is an ongoing work in progress, I look forward to receiving your feedback.¹

It being early April, I would like to begin my presentation with a slightly belated, historically-based April Fool's joke. In April 1915, at the height of the First World War, a French pilot reportedly overflew the German trenches and dropped what appeared to be a bomb, sending the Germans fleeing. Yet, there was no explosion, causing the German soldiers to inspect the object that had been dropped. It turned out to be a football with a note that read, 'April Fool!'

Joking aside, this year marks the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War. In this regard, the classical realist notion that human history has been marked by cyclical periods of peace and war brings to the fore concern over the prospects of peace and security, all the more so given the Crimean Crisis and increasingly acrimonious maritime territorial disputes in the Asia Pacific. At the same time, however, the vastly different worlds of 1914 and 2014 require us to avoid unnecessary extrapolation. I propose to illustrate this with a comparative study of Anglo-German relations in the run-up to the First World War and of US-Chinese relations today, with reference to these four factors: economic interdependence, nationalism, the political alignment of the major powers, and military technology and doctrine. Based on a comparison of these factors, I will then conclude in assessing the prospects for peace and security in the Asia Pacific's 21st century.

1914, 2014

The spectacular rise of China as an emerging superpower since the 1990s has led to speculation and fears of a clash with the status quo superpower, the United States. In this regard, some offensive realists and prospect theorists note the rise of Germany as a comparative latecomer among the European powers at the end of the 19th century. Unified as a German nation-state only in 1871, Germany's great power ambitions led to the implementation of *Weltpolitik* under Kaiser Wilhelm II, involving attempts to build an overseas colonial empire and the construction of the German High Seas Fleet to enable Germany to achieve its 'Place in the Sun'.² Such a course of action arguably brought Germany on a collision course with the status quo power, Britain, which responded with its own naval expansion, with the resulting dreadnought race arguably contributing to Anglo-German tensions that culminated in the outbreak of the First World War.

Transplanted within the contemporary context, it may be tempting for some observers to view the United States today as the predominant status quo superpower that has dominated the economic, military political spheres of power since the end of the Cold War. Set against this backdrop, China's rise as an emerging superpower to shake off

¹ The author wishes to thank (in alphabetical order of surname), Kim Seung Jin, Qian Jiwei, Michael Märcher, Craig Mark, Matthias Morys, David Stevenson, and Michael Thim, for their feedback on this project.

² Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), pp.150-52.

its ‘Century of Humiliation’ (百年國恥; *bǎinián guóchǐ*) has led to regional fears of a collision course with the US role as status quo power. Thus, for instance, offensive realists such as John Mearsheimer argue that, even in the absence of hostile intentions between rival states, the inability of great powers to distinguish each others’ intentions as offensive or defensive will invariably lead to a clash of interests, even conflict, between a status quo power and its emerging challenger; Hence, Mearsheimer’s assertion that ‘China cannot rise peacefully.’³

The notion that one state’s attempts to increase its security should come at the expense of its rival’s security describes a familiar dynamic – the security dilemma, referred to by Nicholas Wheeler and Ken Booth as the ‘quintessential dilemma’ of international relations, which they redefined in their 2008 book as a ‘two-level strategic predicament’, consisting of the dilemmas of interpretation and response:

- The dilemma of interpretation: is the rival state arming itself for offensive purposes, or for defensive ones?
- The dilemma of response: should the state adopt a posture of diplomatic and military firmness, to deter aggression by the rival? Or should the state adopt a posture of reassurance to assuage the rival’s security fears?
- Addressing both dilemmas carry elements of risk, hence the dilemma facing policymakers.⁴

Set against this backdrop, given the high level of commercial and financial interaction between the US and China, what are the prospects that such economic interdependence can help to hedge against the prospect of conflict in US-China relations?

The notion of economic interdependence as a hedge against conflict is not a new one, having been explored by Norman Angell in his 1909 work, *The Great Illusion*. It is, however, somewhat unfortunate that World War One broke out shortly after the publication of the latter, with the result that many scholars have misinterpreted Angell’s conclusions, as illustrated by this sample of citations of Angell’s work (emphasis added):

- ‘Angell showed that in the present financial and economic interdependence of nations, the victor would suffer equally with the vanquished; therefore war had become unprofitable; therefore **no nation would be so foolish as to start one.**’ - Barbara Tuchman⁵
- ‘imagine ... China and the United States owning large proportions of real estate, companies, and financial instruments within each other’s country. This might not prevent conflict, but it would raise ‘economic deterrence’ stakes against war to an unprecedented height. Norman Angell was wrong to think that **economic interdependence among the Great Powers would**

³ John Mearsheimer, ‘Why China Cannot Rise Peacefully’, Guest Lecture Delivered at the Centre for International Policy Studies, University of Ottawa, 17 October 2012, available at <http://cips.uottawa.ca/event/why-china-cannot-rise-peacefully/>, date accessed 20 March 2014.

⁴ Ken Booth and Nicholas J Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008), pp.3-7.

⁵ Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York: Random House, 1962), pp.11-12.

prevent war in 1913.' in *Power and Restraint: A Shared Vision for the US China Relationship*.⁶

- 'In the opinion of the crusading journalist Norman Angell, **there was no way the world could now afford to go to war.** Its economies had become so interdependent that war would ruin them all.' – Margaret MacMillan⁷
- Note the central argument in these quotes: based on the logic of Angell, **war would not have broken out in 1914** because of economic interdependence.

These arguments, and others like them, essentially portray Angell as claiming that the high level of economic interdependence between Britain and Germany at the beginning of the 20th century made war between them impossible. Such perspectives are, however, misinterpretations of Angell's argument. Closer scrutiny of *The Great Illusion* reveals certain passages that suggest that Angell was, in fact, arguing that, from a strictly economic point of view, warfare between Britain and Germany was futile and hence irrational.⁸

Angell's analysis is premised on the assumption that governments are rational actors. Furthermore, given the extent to which the Industrial Revolution had transformed society and the global economy, Angell argued that two key factors underlined the futility of war between industrialised nations:

- i) physical impossibility of using force to seize intangible economic assets and financial credit (in contrast with past wars for control of commodities). Angell argued that 'it is a physical and economic possibility to capture the external or carrying trade of another nation by military conquest. Large navies are impotent to create trade for the nations owning them, and can do nothing to 'confine the commercial rivalry' of other nations.'⁹
- ii) costs of military mobilisation, projecting power overseas, occupation of rival's territory etc, would lead to a level of economic damage to self outweighing any benefit. In this regard, Angell argued that the German Generalissimo in London might be no more civilized than Attila himself, but he would soon find the difference between himself and Attila. Attila, luckily for him, did not have to worry about a bank-rate and such-like complications; but the German General, while trying to sack the Bank of England, would find that his own balance in the Bank of Germany would have vanished into thin air, and the value of even the best of his investments dwindled as though by a miracle.¹⁰

⁶ Lawrence Lau, Mingchun Sun, Victor Fung, David K Richards and Richard Rosecrance, 'US-China Economic Interactions: Trade, Finance, and Economic Modernisation', in Richard Rosecrance and Gu Guoliang (ed.), *Power and Restraint: A Shared Vision for the US China Relationship* (PublicAffairs: New York, 200) p.44.

⁷ Margaret MacMillan, '1914 and 2014: should we be worried?', *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, No.1 (2014), p.61

⁸ Ali Wyne, 'Can Economic Interdependence Help to Prevent a U.S.-China War?', *BigThink*, 11 May 2012, <http://bigthink.com/power-games/can-economic-interdependence-help-to-prevent-a-us-china-war>, accessed 15 March 2014.

⁹ Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), p.47

¹⁰ Angell, *The Great Illusion*, p.52

Taken together, Angell's argument was that the convergence of greater financial and trade interdependence would entail such a severe economic cost of war that would outweigh benefits of victory, hence diminishing (but not ruling out the possibility) the likelihood of conflict.

What was unfortunate for Angell was the outbreak of World War One shortly after the publication of *The Great Illusion*, leading to the aforementioned critics claiming that economic interdependence did nothing to prevent the Anglo-German security dilemma escalating into armed conflict. If, on the other hand, we take a closer scrutiny at specific economic, political, geostrategic and military variables that underpinned Anglo-German relations in 1914, we find a so-called 'perfect storm' of circumstances that led to the outbreak of World War, high economic interdependence notwithstanding. If these circumstances are examined with reference to US-China relations at the present time, one finds grounds for assuming a level of cautious optimism arising from economic interdependence.

Economic Interdependence in 1914

To begin with, it is apparent that Angell over-estimated the extent of economic interdependence that underpinned Anglo-German relations in 1914. Given the success of Angell's work at the time of publication, *The Great Illusion* was read widely by British policymaking circles. Yet, there is some evidence to indicate that many of the latter drew the wrong conclusions from Angell. Angell's work was published in a society greatly influenced by Julian Corbett's emphasis on strategic naval chokepoints to control maritime lines of communications. Under such circumstances, Admiral Charles Ottley, Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence and Admiral Jackie Fisher, First Sea Lord, became convinced that naval power as instruments of economic warfare to starve Germany into submission, even whilst enabling Britain to abstain from involvement in a land war on the European continent.¹¹

Moreover, as World War One illustrated, the high level of economic interdependence between Britain and Germany did not prevent both sides from finding alternative means of powering the economies that underpinned their respective war efforts. Given that the bulk of pre-July 1914 trade was in the form of commerce and manufactured goods, both sides were able to substitute commerce with each other in favour of trade within their respective empires and alliance blocs. Furthermore, although the high levels of military expenditure was to have a disastrous impact on the economies of Europe, the opposing coalitions were nonetheless able to finance their war efforts through issuing war bonds that placed an increased supply into circulation.¹² More to the point though, as Erik Gartzke and Yonatan Lupu note, it is also necessary to underline that the initial hostilities that marked the outbreak of World War One did not take place between the inter-connected economies of Western Europe, but rather between the less interconnected economies of the Balkans and Eastern Europe.¹³

¹¹ Nicholas Lambert, *Planning Armageddon: British Economic Warfare and the First World War* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp.115-27.

¹² Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), pp.319-331.

¹³ Erik Gartzke, Yonatan Lupu, 'Trading on Preconceptions: Why World War I Was Not a Failure of Economic Interdependence', *International Security*,⁴⁹Vol. 36, No. 4 (2012), pp.122-31.

Nationalism

If Angell had over-estimated the extent of economic interdependence between Britain and Germany, it is also apparent that he underestimated the impact of nationalism on both sides. It is notable that, in much of *The Great Illusion*, Angell focuses on the notion of war being undertaken for the purpose of economic gain, such as the seizure of commercial assets and commodities. Yet, in so doing, it appears that Angell downplayed the significance of nationalism as a potential fault-line that ran the risk of conflict; Angell, for instance, argued that ‘the prestige of the foreign country rarely counts for anything in the matter when it comes to the real facts of everyday life, so shallow is the real sentiment which now divides States.’¹⁴ Yet, when the July Crisis broke out, the majority of Europeans responded with enthusiastic fervour, subscribing to jingoistic views that saw enlisting to fight for their respective empires as the patriotic thing to do, as a result of which death on behalf of national glory was seen as honourable.¹⁵ Such sentiments were reflected in the poetry of Jessie Pope and Rupert Brooke, extracts which I’ve cited here, as views that were widespread in European society in 1914.

The European Chessboard in 1914

A third factor that was crucial in contributing to the escalation of the July Crisis was the extremely complicated political alignment of the countries that stumbled into war in August 1914. As a result of their shared fear of Germany, France and Russia had an alliance with each other. Due to their shared Slavic heritage, Russia saw itself as a superpower patron of Serbia.¹⁶ Although Britain had faced severe 19th century colonial rivalry with France and Russia, it too had reason to be fearful of the rising power of Germany, hence an *entente* or ‘understanding’ with Paris and St Petersburg that did not translate into an alliance commitment. Although much has been said about the Anglo-German naval arms race, it should also be emphasised that there was a land arms race between the Franco-Russian alliance on the one hand, and Germany on the other, with France and Russia upgrading their railways lines and artillery formations in the expectation of encircling Germany in a conflict.¹⁷ Conversely, Germany faced the prospect of strategic isolation. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was a weak ally due to internal divisions, whilst Italy failed to honour its alliance commitments and ended up defecting to the Western Allies. Faced with such unfavourable circumstances, the German Schlieffen Plan envisaged rapid mobilization at the start of a crisis to invade Belgium en route to knocking France out of the war in a Clausewitzian-like decisive victory, before redeploying east to face Russia.¹⁸

Set amidst this complicated set of political alignments, Britain initially favoured splendid isolation, in the belief that naval supremacy ensured security against the rise of Germany. As the July Crisis escalated however, the British Cabinet increasingly realized that neutrality undermined British security, for two reasons: first, the prospect

¹⁴ Angell, *The Great Illusion*, p.197

¹⁵ Angell, *The Pity of War*, pp.197-204.

¹⁶ Clark, *The Sleepwalkers*, pp.121-59.

¹⁷ David Stevenson, *Armaments and the Coming of War: Europe 1904-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp.159-64, 176-77.

¹⁸ Tuchman, *The Guns of August*, pp.21-26.

of a German invasion of the Belgian and French Channel Ports would have granted the Germans increased access to the English Channel (thereby challenging British naval supremacy), and second, that a British failure to support its Entente partners would mean having to face Germany alone (in the event of a German victory) or renewed future rivalry with France and Russia (in the event that the Franco-Russian alliance won).¹⁹

Military doctrine and technology in 1914

The fourth factor that undermined the prospects for stability in 1914 stemmed from the nature of military doctrine and technology in 1914. It is notable that Angell's analysis is somewhat superficial in examining the instruments of military power at the time; in *The Great Illusion*, he makes vague references 'large navies' as instruments of commercial rivalry and Germany's 'armies of occupation', without actually examining the nature of military doctrine in 1914. In particular, the writings of the Russian Ivan Bloch – who predicted that industrialised war would entail unprecedented devastation – was not cited by Angell.

With the benefit of hindsight, the military balance of power was significantly more precarious than Angell realised. Stephen Van Evera has identified a 'Cult of the Offensive' that dominated European strategic thinking in the run-up to the First World War. This Cult of the Offensive describes the belief held by generals and officers in 1914 that offensive military postures and rapid mobilisation were key to winning a decisive battle – hence the Schlieffen Plan and the French Army's War Plan XVII – and the emphasis on mobilising quickly by railway.²⁰ These circumstances were particularly severe for the German leadership. Having failed to support Austria-Hungary against Serbia during the Balkan War of 1912, Chief of the German General Staff Moltke the Younger argued that Germany faced a closing window of opportunity for the successful implementation of the Schlieffen Plan, as French and Russian upgrades to their land warfare capabilities were taking place alongside the increasingly irresolute Austro-Hungarian Empire; it should be noted that the German leadership envisaged Austro-Hungarian support against the Russian Empire during the initial stages of the Schlieffen Plan. Under such circumstances, it is apparent that the German leadership, believing that war was inevitable, had little interest in a negotiated resolution of the July Crisis.

Economic Interdependence in 2014

If the aforementioned four variables are placed with the US-PRC relationship, it appears that there are grounds to argue that there are reasonable prospects for stability. To begin with, there is a much higher level of economic interdependence between the US and China. Since the adoption of Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms during the 1980s, China's external trade has increased an estimated 4,500%, such that 60% of China's GDP today comes from external commerce and 90% of capital flow in China comes from foreign investment.²¹ Within the context of Washington-Beijing relations,

¹⁹ Clark, *The Sleepwalkers*, pp.545-46.

²⁰ Stephen Van Evera, 'The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War', *International Security*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1984), pp.59-70.

²¹ This data is based on statistics provided by the US Census Bureau, 'Trade in Goods with China', <http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5700.html>, accessed 20 February 2014.

since 2001, US exports to China have increased 468%;²² this stands in contrast of an increase in British exports to Germany of 107.7% in the period 1888-1912.²³ Moreover, an enormous portion of the wealth of both the US and China is held overseas – it should be noted that Beijing holds more than US\$1 trillion in US treasury bonds, whilst China's elite have moved an estimated US\$400 to \$700 billion into overseas offshore accounts. Within the event of a crisis involving either or both countries, the extent of the financial damage would be far higher than the economic costs faced by Britain and Germany with the outbreak of the First World War. Moreover, bearing in mind the extent of tertiary-level industries in both the US and China, it should be noted that both economies are heavily dependent on Direct Foreign Investment, hence a mutual interest in maintaining confidence in regional stability. In other words, a conflict between the US and China will be 'MADE' – 'Mutually Assured Destruction, Economically.'

Nationalism in 2014

Further helping to hedge against the prospect of a US-PRC clash of interests is that both sides have rather lower levels of nationalism compared to 1914. Although I am mindful of occasionally ugly displays of militant nationalism and jingoism in their mutual interaction, antagonism in US-China relations is largely an exaggerated social construct. Thus, for instance, the Pentagon has made repeated claims that continual increases in the PRC's defense spending (12.2% in 2014, 10.7% in 2013, 11.2% in 2012, 12.7% in 2011) is evidence of ambitions to develop increased power projection capability.²⁴ Yet, as Adam Liff and Andrew Erickson point out, increased levels of expenditure in China's defence spending is not necessarily evidence of ambitions to develop regional power projection capabilities aimed at revising the territorial status quo in the Asia Pacific. Rather, Liff and Erickson note that China has made increased effort to provide increased transparency and accountability behind its defense budget. Furthermore, given the large numbers of outdated Chinese military assets, a significant portion of Chinese defence spending can be described as the kind of military modernization routinely practiced by other countries.²⁵ Herein, although the media spotlight has been on China's development on stealth fighters and an aircraft carrier, Fravel and other scholars note that the bulk of China's increased spending has been on developing capacity for military operations other than war (internal security, anti-piracy operations).²⁶ Rather, as Robert Dujarric noted, the appeal of US soft power is such that 'we are more likely to see [young Chinese] studying in Ivy League campuses, eating in Wall Street cafés, and living in Hong Kong flats than leading platoons and companies of soldiers in the frozen hills of Manchuria or the scorching deserts of Xinjiang.'²⁷ Equally notable is that, since succeeding to the Presidency of

²² US Census Bureau, 'Trade in Goods with China'.

²³ This data is based on statistics cited by Edgar Crammond, 'The Economic Relations of the British and German Empires', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, July 1914, pp.782-89.

²⁴ China defence spending to rise 12.2% in 2014, *Channel News Asia*, 5 March 2014, <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asiapacific/china-defence-spending-to/1020972.html>, accessed 5 March 2014.

²⁵ Adam P. Liff and Andrew S. Erickson, 'Demystifying China's Defence Spending: Less Mysterious in the Aggregate', *China Quarterly*, December 2013, pp.809-15.

²⁶ M. Taylor Fravel, *Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China's Territorial Disputes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp.300-314.

²⁷ Robert Dujarric, China Is Not 1914 Germany, *The Diplomat*, 20 February 2014, <http://thediplomat.com/2014/02/china-is-not-1914-germany/>, accessed 25 February 2014.

the PRC, Xi Jinping has shown some awareness that the rise of China may arouse the concerns of other states – in November 2013, Xi noted that ‘we all need to work together to avoid the Thucydides trap - destructive tensions between an emerging power and established powers, or between established powers themselves.’²⁸

The Asia Pacific Chessboard in 2014

Conversely, the media has cast the spotlight on Barack Obama’s ‘pivot strategy’ toward Asia as evidence of a coming clash of US and Chinese interests. Here again, the prospect of such a clash has been exaggerated. The US deployment of the Marine Rotational Force to Darwin brings with it an additional 2,500 US military personnel – a force that pales in comparison to the 100,000 US military presence in the Asia Pacific during the Cold War. If anything, the political alignments of the Asia Pacific region in 2014 are significantly less ambiguous in comparison to the complicated web of entangling alliances that characterized European geopolitics in 1914.

On the one hand, China has territorial and sovereignty disputes with Japan, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. This is counterbalanced by the following alignments: first, US alliance relations with ROK, Japan, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand; and second, a policy of ‘Strategic Ambiguity’ with Taipei under the Taiwan Relations Act (under which the US retains the option of intervening militarily in the event of a crisis). Further afield is the Five Power Defence Arrangement between Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand, and UK. It is also notable that China’s territorial disputes with the Philippines and Vietnam over the Spratley Islands has led to tentative balance of power politics. In spite of ideological differences, Vietnam is in the process of establishing improved relations with the Philippines and the US.

Set against this lineup, the closest that China might have as an ally would be Russia, and even so, the notion of a Sino-Russian alliance is not likely, as it appears that Beijing and Moscow view each other as allies of convenience – it is notable that, during the ongoing Crimean Crisis, Beijing’s position was a call to ‘respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine’. Given that China and Russia have historically supported each other at the UN Security Council, it is particularly notable that Beijing abstained from voting in the 15 March 2014 resolution calling for sanctions against Russia. In other words, it is apparent that Xi Jinping prioritises Beijing’s relations with Washington over Moscow.

Doctrine and technology in 2014

The final variable forming my analysis concerns the nature of military doctrine and technology between the US and China. In contrast to 1914, there is little ‘Cult of the Offensive’ in US-China relations. In spite of the Obama Administration’s vision of a non-nuclear world and an increasingly strained defense budget, the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review affirmed the continued relevance of the US nuclear deterrent. With an estimated 450 ICBMs, 288 SLBMs and 113 bomber-launched nuclear missiles as well

²⁸ Cited in Mark Valencia, ‘China needs patience to achieve a peaceful rise’, South China Morning Post, 7 February 2014, <http://www.scmp.com/comment/insight-opinion/article/1422780/china-needs-patience-achieve-peaceful-rise?page=all>, accessed 16 February 2014.

as advanced MIRV capability,²⁹ there is little doubt of the US ability to deliver nuclear warheads at any point on the globe. Combined with hardened alternate command centres and the National Missile Defense System, there is little doubt that the US military has an unquestioned 'Second Strike' nuclear capability. In contrast to this, China's nuclear deterrent capability is significantly weaker. The bulk of the PRC's nuclear missiles are medium or short range weapons which do not have the range to target the continental United States. Rather, China only has a force of some 66-75 ICBMs and 36 SLBMs, and remains behind in the development of MIRV and missile defense capabilities.³⁰ Given that the nuclear balance clearly favours the US, China has little interest in conflict with the US.

The conventional balance of power further underlines the prospective devastation that would result in a conflict between the US and China. The US maintains 10 Nimitz class aircraft carriers (five of which are assigned to the Pacific Theater), each capable of operating some 80-90 aircraft;³¹ this is not counting air and naval assets from US allies in the region. This in turn is combined with development of a new Mach-5 hypersonic surface attack missile and long experience in integration of the information based Revolution in Military Affairs.³² Conversely, the media hype notwithstanding, China's conventional force capability is rather more limited. Significant design limitations of the Liaoning-class aircraft carrier constrain its power projection capability. The original design philosophy of the Varyag-class carrier from which the Liaoning is based had focused on a large surface vessel designed to launch long-range antiship cruise missiles, limiting it to a complement of 30 fixed wing aircraft.

Although much has been said about China's growing A2/AD capabilities, these again do not necessarily confer upon China power projection capability in the wider Asia Pacific region. In line with my earlier citation of Fravel's work, it appears that China's development of long-range antiship cruise missiles is aimed primarily at maintaining a level of strategic depth to protect China's coastal cities and economic infrastructure. If anything, China's increasingly assertive territorial claims since last year have led to Taiwan and Japan developing A2/AD capabilities of their own. Moreover, the modernization of China's amphibious warfare capability has been somewhat limited. The People's Liberation Army Navy operates only three Type 71 amphibious transports, each capable of deploying only marine battalion. Although an elite force, the PLA's Marines number only two brigades – a small force for the purpose of invading a large island such as Taiwan. If anything, the 20th century history of amphibious warfare recalls such episodes as Gallipoli, Dieppe and the D-Day landings, all of which were incurred heavy casualties, as a result of which there is

²⁹ 'Increasing Transparency in the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Stockpile', US Department of Defense Fact Sheet, http://www.defense.gov/npr/docs/10-05-03_Fact_Sheet_US_Nuclear_Transparency_FINAL_w_Date.pdf, accessed 10 January 2014.

³⁰ US Department of Defense Annual Report to Congress, Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China, 2010, http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/2010_CMPR_Final.pdf, accessed 10 January 2014.

³¹ Website of the United States Navy Third Fleet, <http://www.c3f.navy.mil/about.html>, accessed 15 January 2014; website of the United States Navy Seventh Fleet, <http://www.c7f.navy.mil/forces.htm>, accessed 15 January 2014.

³² Zachary Keck, 'US to Test Hypersonic Missile in August', The Diplomat, 20 March 2014, <http://thediplomat.com/2014/03/us-to-test-hypersonic-missile-in-august/>, accessed 22 March 2014.

little 'Cult of the Offensive' in the event of a conflict between the US and China in the Asia Pacific region.

Conclusion

In light of these aforementioned variables, there are grounds to argue that 2014 is not 1914. There is a much higher level of economic interdependence between the US and China today, compared to between Britain and Germany in 1914; conversely, nationalism in the US and China is much lower. Moreover, in contrast to the ambiguous the political alignments that characterized Europe during the July Crisis, there is comparatively little ambiguity in the Asia Pacific that a Chinese attempt to revise the territorial status quo will lead to a stronger balance of power against China. Finally, in contrast to the July Crisis of 1914, there is no 'Cult of the Offensive' amongst statesmen and military officers in the Asia Pacific; rather, it is recognized that any conflict between the US and China in the region will involve an unprecedented level of devastation.

Yet, this is not to say that conflict between the US and China is an impossible scenario. Such complacency is a potentially dangerous perspective that ignores the existence of possible fault-lines between Washington and Beijing. Rather, two plausible conflict scenarios between the US and China, both arising from domestic developments, can be identified.

The first of these concerns the possibility of using nationalism as a means of redirecting internal dissent that would otherwise be aimed at the political executive. Susan Shirk has argued that Beijing has unofficially tolerated protests against the US, Japan and Taiwan as a way of redirecting internal dissent arising from social tensions such as the rich-poor divide.³³ Conversely, it has been claimed that the Clinton Administration's bombing of Al Qaida outposts in Afghanistan and Sudan in 1998 was intended to distract the US public from the Monica Lewinsky scandal.³⁴ Seen in this light, I think there is the possibility, however remote, of a clash between the US and China arising if either side goes too far in casting the other as a lightning rod for internal discontent and such a war of words gets out of hand.

The second possible scenario overlaps with the first to some degree, and arises from what Dale Copeland referred to as the problem of 'future uncertainty'. Copeland noted that, even when relations between states are comparatively benign, internal developments can still lead to the emergence of new leaderships with a more aggressive, militaristic outlook. Thus, for instance, the comparatively benign Weimar Republic in Germany was internally displaced by Hitler's NSDAP at the ballot box in 1933.³⁵ Within the context of US-China relations, such a scenario is plausible. Although Xi Jinping's crackdown on corruption in the Chinese government has been

³³ Susan Shirk, *China Fragile Superpower: How China's Internal Politics Could Derail its Peaceful Rise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.255.

³⁴ 'Is Kosovo Clinton's Most Dangerous Wag-the-Dog Exercise?' Center for Security Policy, 27 March 1999, <http://www.centerforsecuritypolicy.org/1999/03/27/is-kosovo-clintons-most-dangerous-wag-the-dog-exercise-2/>, accessed 10 January 2014.

³⁵ Dale Copeland, 'The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay of Social Theory of International Politics by Alexander Wendt', *International Security*, Vol.25 No.2 (2000), p.210.

effective in increasing transparency, it may have the potential to lead to internal tussles for power within the CCP. Conversely, the continuing slow progress in generating employment in the US as well as accusations of the Obama Administration's lack of resolve in affirming US national security may well lead to a Republican comeback in the US 2016 elections.

Set against these scenarios, the extent of devastation that would result from a clash between the US and China underlines the urgency and importance in consolidating and expanding the extent of cooperation between Washington and Beijing in hedging against future conflict. Robert Jervis argued that rival states can mitigate the security dilemma by building a security regime, which he defined as 'principles, rules, and norms that permit nations to be re-strained in their behavior in the belief that others will reciprocate. This concept implies not only norms and expectations that facilitate cooperation, but a form of cooperation that is more than the following of short-run self-interest.'³⁶ Given the various issues at stake for both the US and the PRC as well as the international community, ranging from the global economy, counter-piracy and sustainable energy policy, it is hopeful that such an expanded security regime can provide an additional level of stability and cooperating in ensuring that the US-PRC partnership forms an institutional basis that encourages the peaceful rise of China, thereby averting a rerun of the events of 1914.³⁷

³⁶ Robert Jervis, 'Security Regimes', *International Organization*, Vol.36, No. 2(1982), p.357.

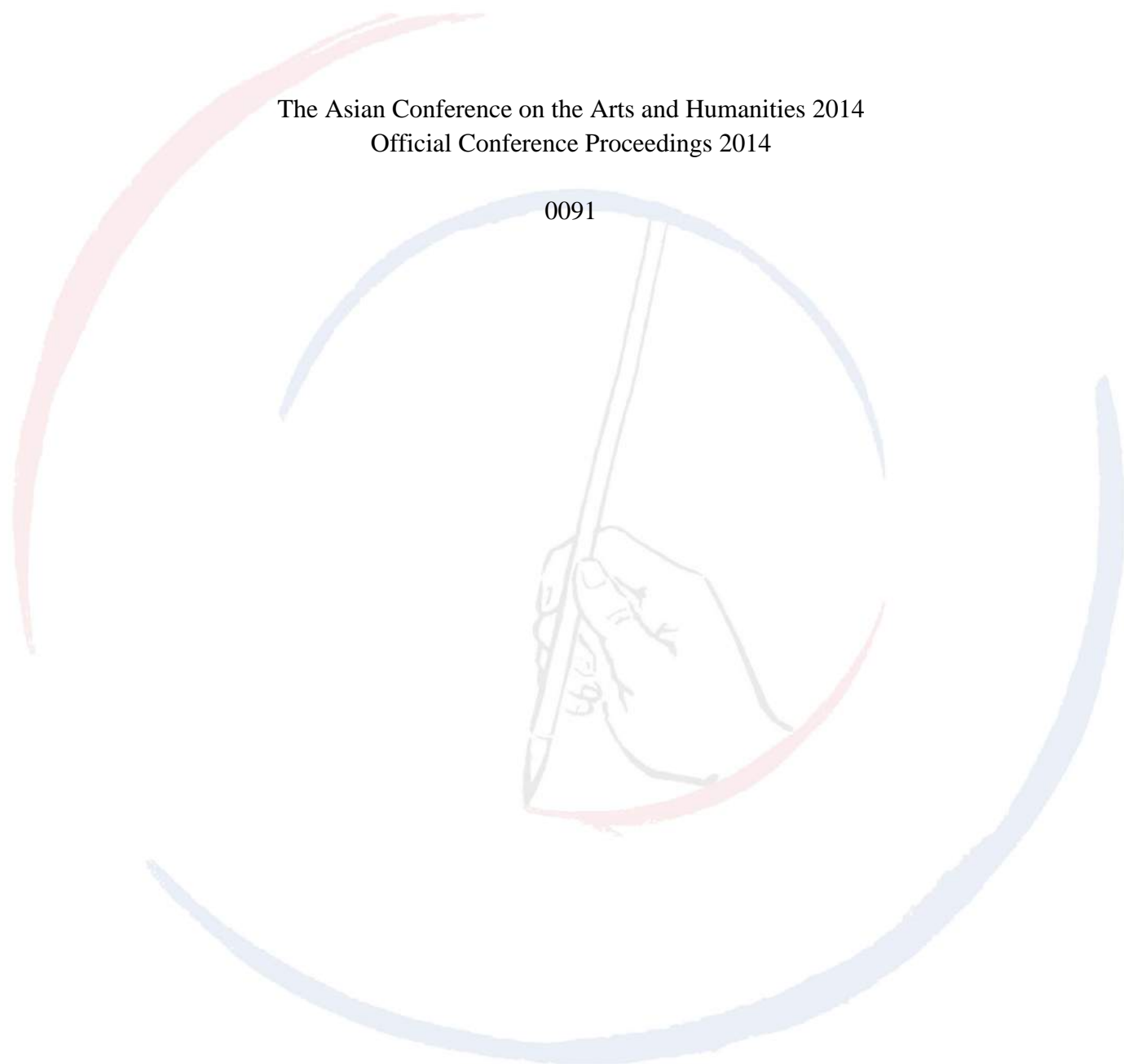
³⁷ See, for instance, Zbigniew Brzezinski's Op-Ed, 'How to Stay Friends With China', *New York Times*, 2 January 2011.

Feeling the (Un)ideal Pengyou: Trauma, Monstrosity and Unheimlich in Song at Midnight

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Our literature as a whole at times seems a chamber of horrors disguised as an amusement park “fun house,” where we pay to play at terror and are confronted in the innermost chamber with a series of inter-reflecting mirrors which present us with a thousand versions of our own face.

(Skal, 2001, p. 29)

Prelusion

Under natural and artificial destructions, films have increasingly become isolated cultural data that must be canonized, showcased and commemorated, while the original perceptions and public spectacles connected with them are confined to a series of presupposed common senses. The technological limitations in horror films that hinders authenticity, reflected in the visual black and white, acoustic experimentations and exaggerated performances, seem to attenuate the element of terror that these films aim to manifest. Despite the ideological interpretation and technological immaturity of these films, one may wonder what helps to bring the mechanics of visual suppression, such as the closing of the eyes, to their full strength. *Song at Midnight* (Ma-Xu Weibang, 1937), released at the dawn of the Sino-Japan Wars, reflects the inter-related social and psychological symptoms that can be traced back to the threshold of Chinese revolutionary modernity.

Most reviewers agree with the historical narration of political leftists as well as emphasize the motifs of anti-imperialism and anti-conservatism. Such motifs are reinforced by the corporative playwright Tian Han, also the writer of the three theme songs in *Song at Midnight*, and more notably, the PRC national anthem. This statement implies that the fear of being persecuted by the power, from which the element of horror comes from, must be resisted and eliminated.

Zhang Zhen shares a clear, elaborate discussion of *Song at Midnight* in the last chapter of her book *The Amorous History of Silver Screen* (2005). Zhang (2005) defines *Song at Midnight* as an iconic node in the music industry which integrates different technical aspects of silent and sound films. Films explore the intertextuality within the film industry and social events, as well as investigate the cinematic technologies that induce terror or elicit other emotions from the audience.

In response to the ideologist approach, this paper emphasizes the “hazard” of both art and revolution, as well as the situational complexity of films, generated by the different political and commercial conditions in Shanghai during the 1930s. The fear of uncontrolled art and revolution comes from the experienced transgression that characterize both actions. Filmmakers often adopted several strategies to answer back the political panopticon of the Xin Hua Film Company [新華電影公司] and the concession government. They also resorted to this approach in order to in the film industry during a period of financial struggle and uncertainty.

Although Zhang has provided an insightful analysis on *Song at Midnight*, several of her arguments can be extended to create a broader picture of the relationship between the representation of trauma and the film language in horrors. Zhang (2005) define the revelation of the monstrous face of the hero as the pivotal moment. However, she has failed to probe deeper into the decisive moment with a closer look at the concatenation of media representations in and out of the movie, and more broadly, the desire for a new human that has emerged alongside the social transformation of modern China. Body politics presents another relevant, which relates the geographical and spatial knowledge to the corporal experience.

Economy of Revolution and Politics of Desire

Ge (2008) implies a sort of performance dilemma to reconsider the discourse of an integral leftist's movements in dramatic arts, which are unintentionally involved in the Shanghai mosaic. Artworks, especially those created by the avant-garde and the political vanguard, are supposed to address, and revitalize the anti-imperialism craze during the construction of a new China. Despite these utopian invocations, the artists must maintain some sort of balance on the multilayered spectrum that stretches across mechanization and propagandism, across quality and public access, and across consensus and private desire. In other words, theatrical art represents a hybridity form forged by various conflicting motifs to combine the "grotesque" with the "rational" [Retrieved from the documentary still in *Ma-Xu Weibang and Song at Night*, Old Shanghai, Old Films (2005)].

The film begins by showing a troupe of traveling dramatists arriving at a deserted theater — a spatial setting that plays a disquieting role in horror films — and faces the risk of encountering financial burden and identity crises. This situation, which reflects that of Chinese dramatists in 1930s, effectively represents leftist influence that dominates the urban spaces of the region. The indistinct association of domestic companies with official or unofficial leaders guarantees provisional stability; however, criticisms from the "political-right" camps are inevitable. The producer of *Song at Midnight* has lived a legendary, and disputed life. Zhang Shankun was a keen believer of film commercialization, which greatly contradicted the supposed binary opposition between art and business. The commercial success of *Song at Midnight* has provided a half-unshackled political space during his negotiation with Japanese cultural personalities concerning the possibilities of conducting a "cinema war" (Shao, 2012, p. 153) and the strategic protection of Chinese film artists under the command of the nationalist secret service (Shao, p. 201). As one of the landmark films of the Xin Hua Film Company, *Song at Midnight* has embraced equivocal anti-imperialist ideologies, with the theme songs aiming to induce a heated *vox populi* with regards to the development of an integral and sturdy nation.

Vanguard political ideologies were not advertised by Shun Pao, one of the most popular influential media outlets in modern China. In addition, the genre stamp and the vigor of the audience, rather than their revolutionary appeal, have become crucial in the development of an attraction economy:

Street gossip goes as “zombie is coming!”
The first horror in the film industry to make your soul stirred.
Cold moonlights, dreary midnight wind, song on a thread, flickering ghost.
Wailing of the attic phantom in the depth of night.

[From the documentary still in *Ma-Xu Weibang and Song at Night*, Old Shanghai, Old Films (2005)].

A piece of advertisement by a periodical, Radio Research [無線電研究], is inserted at the bottom left part. The recording of *Song at Midnight* is developed by radio made by “China Radio Laboratory,” [中華無線電研究所], including its theme songs that play in the movie, the emporium, other public spaces, and households. The invention of the phonograph introduced a new way of listening to movies, which along with the radio, was initially imagined as an experimental art form; however, it was soon subjected under the manipulation of political and economical institutions.

Business mogul Zhang Shankun, who introduced late shows and multimedia dramas [連環戲] in Shanghai, was urged to conduct performance experiments as a strategy to attract more spectators. In *Madam White Snake*, a fake snake creeps through the beams and transforms into a human being. Creative performances were also used in the marketing of *Song at Midnight*, including the stretching a huge Gorgonian poster that extended from seven to eight floors, and the placing of an actual coffin at the movie house (Shao, 2012, pp. 193–194). These examples of inserting fantasy into reality create an immersive experience in both the artistic and commercial interfaces of filmic and urban spectacles.

Meanwhile, one vital feature of the star system is its exploitation of sexual desires of the audience. At the same time, the star culture of the film industry represents a contradiction between the economy of desire and the leftist ideology. All the leading roles in *Song at Midnight* were filled by major celebrities in China at that time, such as Jin Shan, Hu Ping, Zhou Wenzhu, and Shi Chao. The role of the villain, Tang Jun, who went to Gu Menghe, a pioneering actor in the early film industry and was famous for the recording of *March of the Volunteers*. In the film, Tang Jun covets Li and orders the destruction Song out of jealousy. The audience may feel contradicting emotions toward Tang because he is the only person in the film who can exhibit the same dandy manners of Sun (Zhang, 2005) as well as the menacing brutality and

sexuality that can be demonstrated by the man-beast and the man-devil. In the film, Sun can only prove his masculinity by performing the heroic roles assigned to him both on and off stage. The feminization of male characters is intensified in *Qiu Haitang* (1943), in which the lead character suffers from a sexual identity crisis because of the queer role he plays in the Peking Opera.

It is apparent that persistent revolts exist against the torments bought about by carriage trade function as the impulsion of epitasis. However, the oppression of the feminized male protagonist, Sun Xiaoou, by another force, i.e., the true director of the boffo dramas, the backstage disfigured revolutionist Song Danping, is not as apparent. After being deprived of the skills to sing and fall in love in public, Song enlightens Sun while Sun appears hesitant to accept his profession and affection. In other words, Sun intensifies his subjectivity by yielding to a stronger will, as reflected by Song's obsession over an unfinished revolution and his beloved woman. Resistance and libido cannot simply represent participation of leftists in the film industry. The endeavors of Sun to express his identity with progressive calling do not project the sensitivity and political ambiguity of the director's. The industrialization and entertainment of Chinese films at that time offer additional resources for the manipulation of materials that cannot be derived from the experiences of filmmakers. The depressed zeitgeist of "here and now" (Fu, 2008, p. 51) needs to be re-instilled as soon as possible.

Technologies of Veiling and Revealing

The decisive moment in the film is extended to prolong the feeling of pain and suspension, which is represented by the doctor removing the bandages that cover Song's face. Although Song talks to his caregivers in a hushed voice, the audience can still feel a sense of terror in his voice as it passes through the strips of clothing that cover his mouth. Such feeling of dread stems from the sense of uncertainty and the delayed revelation of truth. Mask has become a crucial motif in other horror films, such as *The Phantom of the Opera* (Lon Chaney et al., 1925), *Eyes Without a Face* (Georges Franju, 1960), *Devil Woman* (Kaneto Shindô, 1964), through *The Face of Another* (Hiroshi Teshigahara, 1966), and *The Cat and the Canary* (Radley Metzger, 1979). In this sense, it can be said that cinematic technology guides and hinders the ability of the audience to feel or not to feel. The horror of procrastination is reminiscent of the short story, *Monkey's Paw* (W. W. Jacobs, 1902), in which a father wishes for the disappearance of an unearthly being that's been knocking on the door of his house, whom he assumes to be his dead, mutilated son.

Going back to our movie, the valiant sacrifice of the hero in *Song at Midnight* is almost forgotten at the end of the film when the mobs hunt and kill the monstrous figure. The face of the hero is not immediately shown to the audience. Instead, Song eventually sees his face on the mirror reflected by a dim candlelight, which he breaks in despair to declare his "death." In the end, the director cleverly reveals the disfigured face of the lead character through a reflection rather than a close-up to make the scene

less traumatic for the audience.

Samuel Beckett's Film (Alan Schneider, 1965) offers an insightful investigation of the visual technologies often adopted by filmmakers. In blind man's buff, the character and the audience continue to encounter real and geometric eyes despite the dodging camera angles; this technique shows deep disfavor of eye contact, which can be likened to the revelation of truth. Wrapping or tearing up the verification of visuality by no means prevents him from facing the mirror image of his own, whose blind eye uncovers the glory and animosity of his memory of war.

Song shows a old photo to Sun as a way of narrating personal history. After the introduction of photography in China as a new form of media, people have begun to believe that shadows ingest the souls of the human or objects that cast them. It may sound strange but this seems reasonable if the mechanical capacity of cameras to capture a "gone" self is considered. Old people always look serious in photographs not only because of the extended exposure time, but also because of the role of the photographs in preserving the reputation of the host. Ge and Shi (2011) claim that photographs help maintain the identity of a person because "fame is maintained as long as the image exists" [圖不磨者，名亦不磨] (p. 25). The authors point that majority of the early customers to the photograph studios were prostitutes, opera singers and "new women," but they fail to put enough emphasis on the souvenir photos of revolutionists (Ge & Shi, 2011, pp. 40–41).

Song uses the photograph to reconstruct his ego physically and mentally as well as to lure Sun to become "pengyou", the Chinese term for a friend, who shares the same ambition. Instead of calling Sun by his real name, Song keeps calling his as an "ideal friend." In the title song, Song identifies himself as a "historiographer suffering from castration," which implies that he is incapable of achieving the objects of his desire, namely, the revolution and the female body. Thus, after Sun satisfying the desires, Song rushes off to his death.

By eradicating the concept of "beast", the film asks the audience what they must look for in an ideal friend, i.e., an ideal friend inside and outside of the movie? And how traumatic histories collide and intertwine with the development of a utopian future?

The humiliation and destruction of imperialism in China has also increased the demand for an evolution. The conceptual newness of modernity alludes to a future that is modeled on contemporary Western society, and a determined farewell to the past. The Chinese term for revolution [革命] implies that the success of revolution depends on the extent to which the old institutions are purged violently. The finalism mode, which is the French mode of revolution was repeated in 1912 anti-Manchu revolt. On the other side of the spectrum, we can see the utopian spectacle of a new

man [新民] and of a new China that has been waived profoundly into the practical national transformations (e.g., the New Life Movement and the Rectification Movement). These were launched by the Nationalist and Communist parties, respectively, to promote health, wellness and political rightness. Hence, violences and dissection of identities make the promotion of a purified newness an impossible task to achieve.

According to Foucault (1975; 1995), the mobilization of power can be realized by the public display of atrocity. The barbaric of punishments that are scattered throughout Chinese history continue to astonish the spectators despite the fact that they have been captured in images. The disfigured soldiers represent another sort of power display, namely, the power of machine lethality and national violence. Although the face of has been disfigured by the throwing of a modern hazard (nitric acid), his deformed face reminds the audience of the veterans who stagger in the urban area of their country? Each individual, therefore, becomes a target of the potential dangers, lynchings and wars that they strive to avoid. Similar to avant-garde art, the political revolutions in China are always handicapped by the “monstrosity” of daily knowledge, especially about power and sex, as well as by the mythical divide between the intelligentsia and the proletariat. Therefore, as a “return of the repressed” (Keas, 2011, p. 101), the image of Song must be killed both inside and outside of the screen. Because,

[t]he boundaries of their bodies no longer existed; the inside had become the outside, and was no longer contained within the boundaries of the self. This experience has the effect of blurring and confusing the senses. Corpses become not only a visual but also a physical reality. More importantly, they become the embodiment of lack of containment. Corpses have to be disposed of, or just ignored.

(Koureas, 2007, p. 98)

Perceptual Topology

Titford (1973), meanwhile, suggests that the spatial design of the expressionist films contributes induces claustrophobic feelings from the audience. In fact, the relationship between artistic space and subjective feelings has been examined long before the invention of films. Despite the lack of empirical research, several key German philosophers and estheticians proposed that the perception of space (rather than visual) is more sensual. In other words, our bodily interiors mold, and reproduce the spatial topology that embraces us. With regards the mutual construction of war trauma and cinematic spectatorship, Keas (2011) concludes that the presentation of cramped spaces in expressionist films echo the hypnotic experiences of individuals when walking in trenches and tombs.

Although I have not obtained any material about the influence of expressionist films

on Ma-Xu Weibang, such influence is still evident in his films, as Zhang (2005) has noted. The expressionist style is notable in the works by Ma-Xu Weibang. Psychos, creeps, phantoms, freaks and murderers strike on one stage after another, pushing the expressionist carnival to its climax. The audiovisual dynamics of the stage design and mise-en-scene in expressionist films also present a subject of interest. Apart from the strange feelings that emanate from gothic theaters and frosty groves, the cinematography of these films creates a situation in which the audience can feel either confused or scared. In *Song at Midnight*, the adventure of the dramatic troupe through the theater corridors are captured by the longitudinal shots of the troupe members facing the audience and the endless dark pathway. Hence, the entire scene pushes the audience into feelings of suspension and insecurity.

By emphasizing the cinematic articulation among dead woods, storms and the corporal and spiritual conditions of the characters, Zhang (2005) also shows how the images of natural phenomena simultaneously relate to images of beauty and horror. The national identity of the human body must be further discussed considering that understanding corporality is crucial in understanding the cultural construction of China as a nation. Here, the bodily metaphors in pre-modern times are in stock, as expressed in the Chan Kuo idiom, “the lips being lost, the teeth feel cold,” especially during the rise of the imperialism. The modern poet Wen Yiduo wrote the “Songs of Seven Sons” in 1925, which heavily used the bodily metaphor runs through the whole poem from the first part of “Macao”, one of the most famous contemporary Chinese poems:

You know? Macau is not my name real.
 Mother! I have been far from the swaddle for long.
 But it is my body that they ravish.
 Still you are taking good care of my soul...

(Wen Yiduo, 1925)

The image of China the youngster (Shaonian zhongguo) has reemerged in modern Chinese art and literature, reflecting a greater myth that the antagonism of the older and new generation facilitates the evaluation of the national organism. Revolution, at least in partial and political propagandas, is widely perceived as a once-and-for-all project that aims to create a new China from the ruins of its dying fragments. Hence, the screening of *Song at Midnight* amid the looming Sino-Japan War reflects the desire of the Chinese to exclude multifaceted otherness. However, imperialism exists in a dispersive, interpretive space. Despite the parallelisms between the disfigured face of Qiu Haitang and that of China under imperial rule taking the shape of Qiu Haitang flower (begonia) on map the script can still be performed and filmed after modification, thus implying the enemy of Asia (i.e., the West) or referring to grand illusions of “justice” and “patriotism” (Shao, 2012, p. 197; p. 219).

The fractured images of ceaseless hiatus and reconstruction provide the ontological topology for framing the materiality and spirituality of the 20th century China. One

considerable image of art and revolution is the aerial photograph of air attack explosion that captures the moment of the surface inside out. I am not trying to imply that the freakish physiognomy of Song symbolizes the destruction of the nation, though the perceptual relevance between history and its iterations and incarnations is still enlightening. However, by drawing similarities between a crowd avoiding a airplane swoop to a blossoming rose (Virilio, 2009, p. 25), Benito Mussolini perceived the overhead view of a mise-en-scene, which is typical in a traditional musical film. The images of the cities under attack, and of women always concur in the “womb of civilization.” However, Fu (2008) states that the discourse of body politics points to the disgrace of the national and of males rather than to the trauma of the private individuals, especially the females (pp. 127–130).

Francis Derwent Wood, Who reconstructed the disfigured faces of war survivors in the Nose Room of the Third London Hospital, also created the Machine Gun Corps Memorial (1925). This work is a smooth, strong male body armed with weapons, which are considered as the extensions of his own masculinity. The mask tries to restore the face from the wounds, but fails to do so because the mask/inside is made from the mold/outside, which reveals the coloboma. The memories of the sculptor and of the patients can hardly be relieved (Koureas, 2007, pp. 138–142). Considering the surface of the wound and the insufficient medical and constructive surgery techniques at that time, Song’s facial reconstruction seemed impossible. Hence, the cloak and the mask that hide his physiognomy, also inevitably expose his situation.

Film as Event

The doubt of human knowledge, which expressionist films often keep open, allows for the alternative and subversive interpretations of a seemingly concluded scenario. The ambiguity of the narrative partly results from the mental sickness of the protagonist, as can be seen in *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (Robert Wiene, 1920) and *Nosferatu* (F. W. Murnau, 1922). I also want to discuss the dubitable happy ending of the film, where Sun embraces Li from the back with the rising sun in the background. Dismissing dead ex-lovers and the nightmares seem too hurried although it may satisfy the movie ending preferences of the Chinese audience. Meanwhile, Japanese military force had began to assault Shanghai six months after the screening of *Song at Midnight*, which was followed by the assault of the eastern Paris. The war-related trauma and the effect of the film would be integrated into the daily life of the people. However, there is a implied idea that a brighter future would come for them.

According to Douban website (<http://movie.douban.com/>), which focus on sharing of artistic information, Ma-Xu has directed 29 films, and co-directed seven films, acted in six, and co-wrote three films. However, only three of his cinematic works can be accessed by the public on line, including *Song at Midnight* (1937), *Qiu Haitang* (1943) and *Blood-Stained Flowers* (1954), remain open to public access online.

Meanwhile, the documentary *Old Films and Old Shanghai* (2005) underscores the disappearance of Hu Ping and the death of Zhou Wenzhu at a grand movie house. The canonization of artwork pushes forward the question of whether the horror of film, or the film of horror, is rooted in the audiovisual representation per se (the lagging and discordance of the sound effects in *Song at Midnight* distracts the audience as well as reflects the insufficient sound technology), in the social construction of the horror that has yet to be experienced, in the fantasies and ideologies of the producers (i.e., the procrastination and trademark black costumes of Ma-Xu, or the perceived perceptive frame of references that is inherent in the audience).

As reported by Shun Pao, the victim is frightened by the imitative living dead right after stepping out of an electric tramway. Ma-Xu Weibang died in a road accident 24 years after the release of *Song at Midnight*. Travels, adventures and accidents that distort the existing structure of space and time underlie the basic, visceral experience of modern adventurers (the recent horror stories about new media add to the genealogy). Horror films, as it were, encourage the audience to participate in a virtual dangerous journey where they are exposed to monstrosities and the converse with other co-genres. However, in reality, such confrontation is doomed to be suppressed, exterminated, and recollected in deformation, both artistically and politically. The decisive moment in 1937 that engendered waves of fleeing to the outfields China also saw the bloodiest war in East Asia during the 20th century. Then the war leaves the haunting of the other, the “Japanese devil” [日本鬼子], for us to reevaluate history and knowledge.

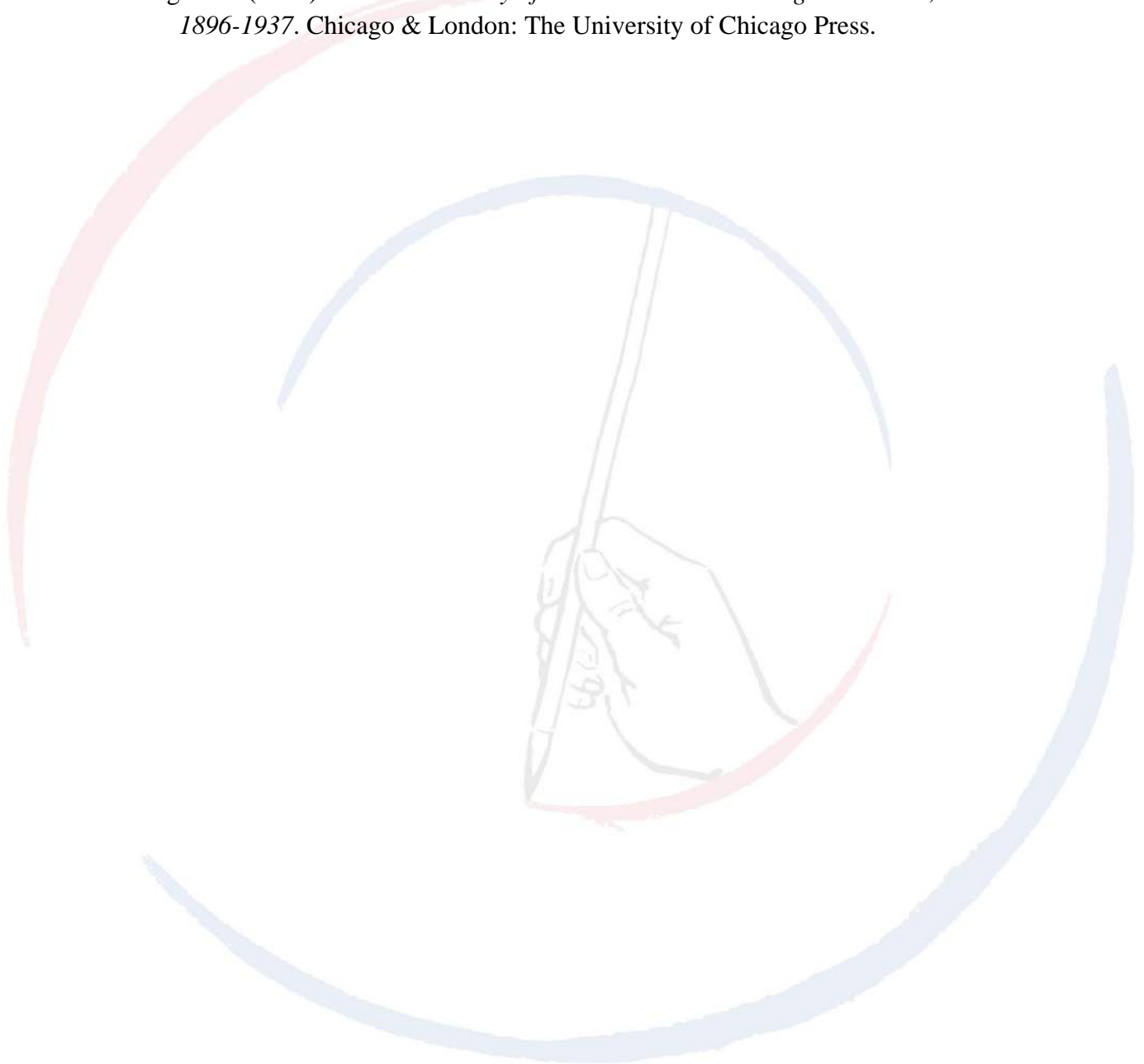
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Appendix



Figure 1: Song's invisible face

Retrieved from <http://movie.douban.com/photos/photo/1640125729/>



Figure 2: Avulsion of surface by modernized violence

Retrieved from http://www.lzbs.com.cn/wb/2009-04/22/content_1801132.htm

Lesbian's representation evolution in mainstream media.

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Abstract

This article summarizes my three - year PHD journey, it attempts to explore how the Lesbian character is represented in the media throughout the past eighty years (1930's - today) and what the Lesbian community perception of their representation in the media is. Are Lesbian characters receiving the "right" amount of media exposure? Is the representation "mainstream" enough? Or is it still stereotypical? Has the representation evolved into mainstream over the years? Or has it stayed the same? Through various relevant theories analysis, media analysis (film, T.V internet), anonymous questionnaires, focus group and personal interviews; the conclusion was unanimous. Lesbian representation has defiantly evolved in mainstream, thus showing the "Queer theory" is no longer relevant in our tumultuous times.

Key words: lesbians, mainstreamism, stereotypes, media, evolution,

Throughout media history, Lesbians were hardly ever represented as mainstream looking - straight looking. In the past fifteen years, we witness a rise in “Lesbian mainstreamism awareness”, especially in television shows. Not only in all gay oriented shows such as: “Ellen”, “Queer as Folk”, “The L Word”, “Lip Service”, “South of Nowhere” and web series such as: “Exes&Ohs”, “Venice”, “Girl Girl scene”, “Anyone but me”, “Sugar Rush”, “Chica Busca Chica”, “We have to stop now” and “Seeking Simone”; but in every prime - time television show that considers itself mainstream, there is at least one or two gay or Lesbian characters, for example – “Friends”, “Grey’s Anatomy”, “Flash forward”, “Glee”, “Beverly Hills 90210”, “L.A Law”, “Party of Five”. “Ally Mcbeal”, “All my children”, “Sex and the city”, “The OC”, “Glee”, “True blood”, “Buffy the Vampire slayer”, “Fast Lane”, “The wire”, and “Orange is the new black”. It all started when gay men revolutionized and changed the way the world apprehends Gay men; when straight, well known actors, playing gay characters in different films such as: River Phoenix in “My own *Private Idaho*” (1991, based on a William Shakespeare play, adjusted for screen and directed by - Gus Van Sant) Tom hanks in the movie “Philadelphia” in 1993 (directed by: Jonathan demme, Written by: Ron Nyswane), Robin Williams in “*The Birdcage*” (1996, based on the play by Jean Poiret, directed by Mike Nichols) Greg Kinnear in “As good as it gets” (1997, written by Mark Andrews, directed by James L. Brooks) Hillary Swank in “Boys don’t cry” (1999, written and directed by Kimberly Pierce) Charlize Theron and Christina Ricci in “Monster” (2003, written and directed by Patty Jenkins) Heath Ledger and Jake Jyllenhall in “*Brokeback Mountain*” (2005, based on a short play by Annie Proulx, directed by Ang Lee).

Note, that the Lesbian characters above were either a transgender, who was murdered at the end, or a murderous hooker and were based on a true story. The first prime-time Gay oriented television show, which was aired in the United States from 1998 – 2006, was the sitcom “Will and Grace”. Despite initial criticism for its particular portrayal of homosexuals, the show aired for eight years and won numerous awards. In the British version of the show “Queer as folk” in 1999, and the American version of it in 2001-2005; Gay men were portrayed as mostly main - stream looking, however, demonstrating very promiscuous lives. The only Lesbian representation on that show was of one lesbian couple, which was very stereotypical looking and divided into a “Butch and Femme” pattern. The show - “The L Word” which was aired in the US on 2004 - 2009, it was the first time we saw mainstream looking Lesbians on prime time television. Although the show was aired on a niche channel, (Showtime) it was seen by both Gay and straight women.

As a lesbian film maker, living in Israel, I notice that Gay media awareness is extremely evolved in our country, even though we are portrayed as a middle eastern, religious and slightly primitive country, I have noticed the tolerance towards the Gay and Lesbian community, in prime time television shows such as “A star is born” (the Israeli version of American Idol) there were two openly Gay men in the jury and one transgender female singer (Dana international - who won the Eurovision contest in 1998); and with the new “X Factor” arriving to Israel, one of the judges is an openly famous Gay singer. However, the Gay community, around the world, is still looked upon as one – Gay, Lesbian Bisexual and Transgender - LGBT. Why are we all connected as a community? Is it even right? Why aren't all dark skin people connected? Or all Asian people? Or all Spanish speaking people? Or even all white

males or white females?

I have encountered several books and films written about the male Gay community and its representation in the media in Israel, such as: the award winning Israeli film - "Yossi and Jager" in 2002 (directed by Eytan Fox, written by Avner Bernheimer). Portrays the secret love affair of two Israeli officers in an IDF position on the Israeli-Lebanese border. The sequel of this film was released on 2012, and did not deal with forbidden Gay relationships in the Israeli army- as the first film did, but showed an open and proud army, which does not care whether the characters were gay or not. The film has defiantly showed the progress in tolerance and involvement of the Gay community within it self and its acceptance into mainstream by the majority.

In Professor Amit Kama's book: "The newspaper and the closet": Israeli Gay men's communication Patterns (Published in 2003) he explains that the stigma Gay men carry is just like a scar, he relates to the homosexuality stigma as being able to be manipulated. If a Gay man decides to "come out of the closet" he is "declared" Gay, this declaration is a problematic concept. Freud called it "inversion" (1920) claiming it was a result of lack of coping with the maturity process (Oedipus/Electra complex) Freud claims that gay men never addressed the complex, therefore a homosexual is the "third kind" – masculine female or feminine male. However, Freud referred mostly to men in his research. There are a variety of films, which represent the Gay men community in Israel, there is also a Gay film festival in Tel – Aviv once a year, but most of the representation is about Gay men. Although there is a small Lesbian film festival in the past three years called "Lethal Lesbian" (even the name is stereotypical) it is only addressing to Lesbian audiences and not to the majority of the population, like the Gay film festival attracts all kinds of audiences. Where is the Lesbian agenda? Professor Kama calls it "symbolic extinction" and blames Lesbians themselves.

Moritz (1994) refers to the "Lesbian extinction", when discussing the "Gay" subject, it is referred to Gay men only middle - upper class, white males.

Lesbians were never punished by law; no religious book ever referred to them and sexual intercourse between two women is not considered to be a sin, as apposed to gay men. Further more, the stigma that comes with the word "Lesbian" automatically makes one imagine a woman who is - masculine, ugly, fat and other "flattering" qualities. While living in New York and visiting several European countries in the past decade, I have noticed that you can still find "Butch" Lesbians everywhere you go, just like you can still find feminine Gay men; surprisingly however, the majority of young Lesbians look extremely straight. The need to stand out and scream "Queer" is no longer necessary. The question is – what came first, television shows like "The L word", which portrayed Lesbians as mainstream - straight looking? Or Lesbians themselves – who got "tired" of living the stigma? Just like Gay men, do not necessarily need to scream queer anymore – and be flamboyant, loud and extra feminine in our days – they can be straight looking firemen, soldiers and policemen, and do not need to flaunt their sexual orientations to the world. Most researches only focus on Gay men and their evolution and assimilation in modern society, there are very few researches, which explore the Lesbian point of view. Perhaps Lesbians do not have the urge to be prominent and simply wish to live their lives in peace and let other minorities fight for their rights. I believe we are at a place where sexual

orientation is not the first thing you need to know about the person in front of you, but a part of one's long list of details in one's perplexing personality. While looking at our modern international eclectic society, the need to stand out as individuals is stronger than ever, as individuals I mean – dress a certain way, wear our hair a certain way, show our intellectual sophistication, level of education, family member of some sort, college graduate, economic state; the last thing on that long list is our sexual orientation. It is no longer necessary to present ones self as Queer at first and the rest of our complex personality second. Being Gay is one of the last details people need to know about us, not because of shame, but because of its prevalence. Which brings me to question whether “The Queer Theory” is even relevant in our modern days. In my full research, I have combined a two staged multiple methods - Qualitative and Quantitative research, I began with the data analysis, moved into two different closed anonymous questioners, then a small convenient sample focus group and finally personal in – depth interviews. I have began with the data analysis, these were the findings:

While looking into the films I have selected to examine in my research, I divided them into eight categories: year of release, country of release, type of film, based on a true story or not, butch and femme pattern division, occupation of main character, positive or negative representation of lesbians and how the environment in the film reacted to the Lesbian theme. I have found that 73% of the films were American, 6% Canadian, and 1% other countries such as – New Zealand, Germany, Taiwan, Israel and Brazil. 66% were dramatic films, 33% documentaries, 10% comedy and 6% made for television. 76% were not based on a true story, 63% had a butch and femme categorization of its main character, 66% presented Lesbians in a negative light and only 33% showed them in a positive one. In 63% of the films the close environment of the main character did not accept or react well to them being Gay. And finally, 36% of the main characters were teenage girls or students, only 6% were educated, 16% housewives, and 6% models, artists, athletes or hookers.

While looking into the various Television shows, I have selected to examine in my research, I divided them also into eight categories: years of playing, country, type of show, butch and femme division, positive or negative representation of lesbians, how the environment in the show reacted to the Lesbian theme and whether the show was of straight or Gay theme. I have found that 90% of the Television shows were American, 5% British, and 5% Scottish. 65% were considered Drama, 10% Comedy, 10% Sci Fi, 5% - Action, Day time - Soap, and Talk show. On TV, only 25% had a butch and femme categorization of its main character, and unlike Film, 100% presented Lesbians in a positive way. In 85% of the shows the close environment of the main character accepted or reacted well to them being Gay. And finally, 75% of the researched Television shows were of Straight theme, and the gay characters were secondary, or had a recurring role, or were told their "Gay story" within the main theme.

While looking into the various all Lesbian web shows, I have selected to examine in my research, I divided them also into eight categories: years of playing, country, type of show, butch and femme division, positive or negative representation of Lesbians, how the environment in the show reacted to the Lesbian theme, race of actors and added a YouTube rating measurement – up to 10,000 views will be registered as

"Minimal Exposure", up to 100,000 views will be registered as "Great Exposure", and 1,000,000 views and up will be registered as "Excellent Exposure". I have found that 75% were American productions, 5% British, 10% Spanish from Spain and 10% Canadian. 85% of the web series were considered Drama 5% Sci Fi and only 10% Comedy. 70% featured White actresses, 10% Homogenic, 10% Spanish – European, 5% Latino and 5% Black. only 35% had a butch and femme categorization of its main character, and 95% presented Lesbians in a positive way. In 95% of the shows the close involvement of the main character accepted or reacted well to them being Gay. And finally, 35% had "Minimal exposure", 45% had "Great Exposure" and only 20% had "Excellent Exposure".

The findings from the first closed questionere, which included 10 closed questions with 2 - 4 possible answers and was focused mainly on the all Lesbian Television series "**The L word**" and tried to measure how Lesbian women today, portray themselves in relation to the lesbian characters in the series. My main research population, was lesbians, ages 20-40, from Israel, Europe and the USA. The research method was quantitative - a questionnaire which was compiled of 10 closed questions about the series and a little about the subject's personal lives. The questionnaire was anonymous and published on the Internet from various sites, such as Facebook, emails and forums and was answered by approximately 84. Even though this questionere was conducted in 2009, I was surprised to discover that Lesbian themselves, consider their sexual orientation to be unaccepted by society. I was disappointed to find that straight women do not know the series, and have zero accessibility to Lesbian content. But I comfort myself with the fact that when the movie "Waiting to exhale" in 1995, aired publicly starring Whitney Houston, most of the audience was compiled of African American women. You would not expect to find middle - upper white men and women at the cinema when that film was screened. I believe it was Buckingham (1993), who said that "you cannot see an isolated interaction between the text and the reader, but as a social process in which the speaking of a text, has an important role in itself". This kind of analysis assumes the text representation of an experience are not the same. This does not mean necessarily that "mainstreamism" does not occur, but as individuals the smaller the common denominator is, the smaller the audience.

The findings from the second questionnaire were surprising, Even though this questioner was also conducted in 2009, over 50 women – gay and straight answered it anonymously, from various countries, such as – Israel, Romania, Italy, and the United States. When it came to low budget web series, most lesbians did not know the shows in question, which only comes to show that Lesbians today do not need to look for someone or something related to – a character like them, but they want to be entertained and the need for niche experimental low budget web series that focus on small sample group of audience – for example African American lesbians, which make the most of web series now days, are not the "mainstream" of Lesbians interest.

Even though I realized the age variation was lacking an entire age spectrum – ages 20-30, the conclusion from the focus group was conclusive. They all said that Lesbians have enormously evolved with representation in the various media, all subjects believe that film is still the most stereotypical format of all and all think that being a

Lesbian today is no different from being black or white, however they all greed that unlike those identities – male female, black or white, it is not the first thing you notice about the person in front of you, since it is no longer necessary to stand out in that aspect, there are many different aspects one can stand out for, being a Lesbina is not one of them. Farther more, the differences in perception between the two younger subjects (19 years old) and the older ones (ages 34 -39) were very conspicuous, the younger ones did not know many of the older films- the more butch identified, like "Go fish", which was a mile stone in Lesbian representation of the 1990's. They also did not understand the big deal of being a Lesbian today, an issue that was very perceptive with the older subjects, who grew up in a world thinking they were the only Lesbians on earth; since the media did not expose Lesbians to the mass, but kept them hidden away from the majority, the subject of homosexuality was taboo.

To conclude the focus group findings, the age difference was positive after all, since it utterly proved hands on the evolution of the Lesbians in the media – since the younger generation does not make a big deal of sexual orientation anymore. however, I continued to explore the age group that was absent from it, ages 20-30 and ages 40 and up in the in – depth interviews. I have conducted face to face interviews with women living in Israel and skype interviews with women living in other countries such as New York and Germany. The questions were the same, the answers were very different from each other, the duration of each interview was approximately an hour. the findings were conclusive. Just like the focus group summerized, even though I thought the age variable of the 20 year old might show different results, all Lesbians and Bi-sexual women gave the same answers. Five of them were in a relationship at the time the interview was conducted, four of them were Lesbians and only two declared to be bi-sexual, one of which was in a relationship with a man. All six women are educated and employed.

Taking into consideration all the different research methods – from the literature review and analysis, examining the different theories such as: Gender and sexuality theories, psychology and physiology theories – focusing on the major differences between men and women, sociology theories, feminism and post feminism theories, the various relevant media theories and especially the queer theory. One must clarify the conceptual framework and various theories used in this research once again, in order to shatter it:

MAINSTREAMISM:

The transition from the comic, criminal, abstract margins, to the normal lifestyle representation monogamist partnership, career and family oriented. (Kama 2003)

QUEER:

Whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant, an identity without an essence. 'Queer' then, demarcates not a positivity but a positionality vis-à-vis the normative. (Halperin 1997)

GENDER AND PSYCHOLOGY:

Gender is a range of characteristics of femininity and masculinity, the term may refer to such concepts as sex, social roles, or gender identity. It was Sigmund Freud who presented his theory of psychosexual development in Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, in 1905.

SEXUALITY:

In this research, I have explored gay women only – Lesbians. **Lesbian** is a term most widely used in the English language to describe sexual and romantic desire between females. The word may be used as a noun, to refer to women who identify themselves or are characterized by others as having the primary attribute of female homosexuality, or as an adjective, to describe characteristics of an object or activity related to female same - sex desire. Lesbian as a concept, used to differentiate women with a shared sexual orientation, is a 20th - century construct. Throughout history, women have not had the freedom or independence to pursue homosexual relationships as men have, but neither have they met the harsh punishment in some societies as homosexual men. Instead, lesbian relationships have often been regarded as harmless and incomparable to heterosexual. As a result, there is not a lot of documentation of it throughout history.

BUTCH & FEMME:

In this research, Gender studies related to the classic definition of gender, while looking into a “Butch” and “Femme” pattern – as described by the LGBT community: masculine and feminine traits, behaviors, styles, expressions, and self-perception. Those specifications are often used in the lesbian, bisexual and gay subcultures ***Butch*** and ***femme*** can sometimes be used to categorize identities of gay or lesbian individuals in terms that are recognized as analogous to heterosexual gender roles, with ***butch*** representing the traditionally masculine counterpart - the male role in heterosexual couples and ***femme*** the traditionally feminine role - the female role in heterosexual couples.

PSYCHOLOGY, PHYSIOLOGY AND FEMINISM:

The division into those patterns in the lesbian community was very obvious throughout the various media, only with the **second feminism wave**. Feminists have taken many different approaches to the analysis of cinema. These include discussions of the function of women characters in particular film narratives or in particular genres, such as film noir, where a woman character can often be seen to embody a subversive sexuality that is dangerous to men – a femme fatal and is ultimately punished with death In considering the way that films are put together, many feminist

film critics, such as Laura Mulvey, have pointed to the "male gaze" that predominates in classical Hollywood film making. Feminist film theory of the last twenty years is heavily influenced by the general transformation in the field of aesthetics, including the new options of articulating the gaze, offered by psychoanalytical French feminism. For western homosexual women, **butch - femme** has had varying levels of acceptance throughout the 20th century. People who prefer "**femme on femme**" and "**butch on butch**" relationships face discrimination and cultural repression within their own cultures. This was common in the mid-twentieth century, United States working - class lesbian butch - femme scene.

SOCIOLOGY:

There are a number of approaches to the study of deviance, along with explanations for why deviant behavior occurs, and how it might be addressed. Numerous colleges and universities offer coursework in this subject, and there are professional publications dedicated to this topic and there are professional publications dedicated to this topic, including the creatively named "**Deviant Behavior.**" The first step in understanding deviant behavior is the study of cultural and social norms. Norms vary widely across cultures, and in some cases, behavior which is polite or expected in one culture may be considered rude or inappropriate in another. With that being said: Lesbians were never declared deviant, even in the bible there is no reference of Lesbians, nor were they punished by "God".

MEDIA:

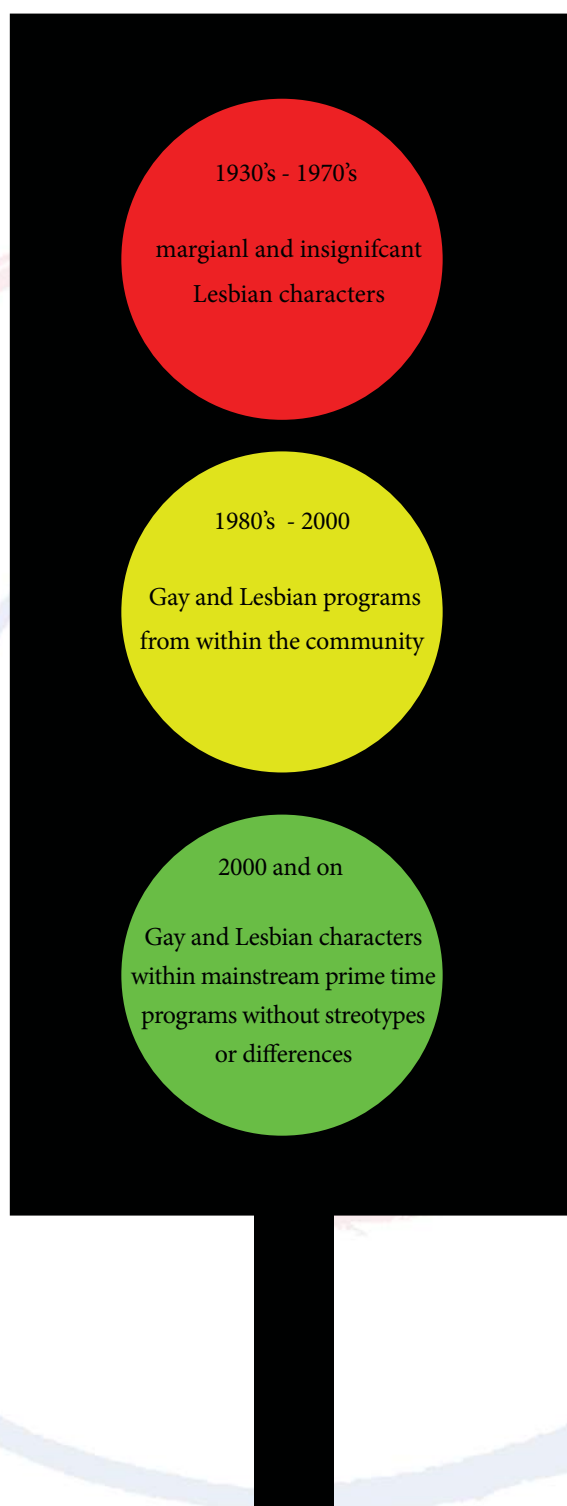
Most researches in this area focus on traditional culture in women's genre, such as soap operas, novels, women's journals and female studies such as: Ang, 1985; Currie, 1997; Frazer, 1987; Modleski, 1984; Radway, 1984, these female scholars argued that women's attitude towards popular texts, stems from the awareness of self reflection. Furthermore, it is assumed that these texts and the ideology of women's fight against the patriarchal and capitalist hegemony ideology while being positioned within it. Buckingham (1993) emphasizes the ways in which complex interaction with texts contributes to the identities, including gender - specific words identities. As a general rule, therefore, the communication is taken, as of reception, which occurs the process of incessant construction of woman's identity. The process by which, according to Simone de Beauvoir "one is not born a woman, but becomes one". (From the "opposite sex" 1949).

QUEER THEORY:

In the late 1980s, Judith Butler began lecturing regularly on the topic of gender identity and, in 1990, Butler published her seminar work called: **“Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity”**. Butler's central thesis argues that gender identity does not oppose sexual biology but performs the possibility of something otherwise than male or female. Gender Trouble is often regarded as the most groundbreaking work on feminist theory and gender studies. The term **“queer theory”** was introduced in 1990, with Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Judith Butler, Adrienne Rich and Diana Fuss, following the work of Michel Foucault, being among its foundational proponents. Teresa de Lauretis is the one who invented the phrase **“Queer Theory”**.

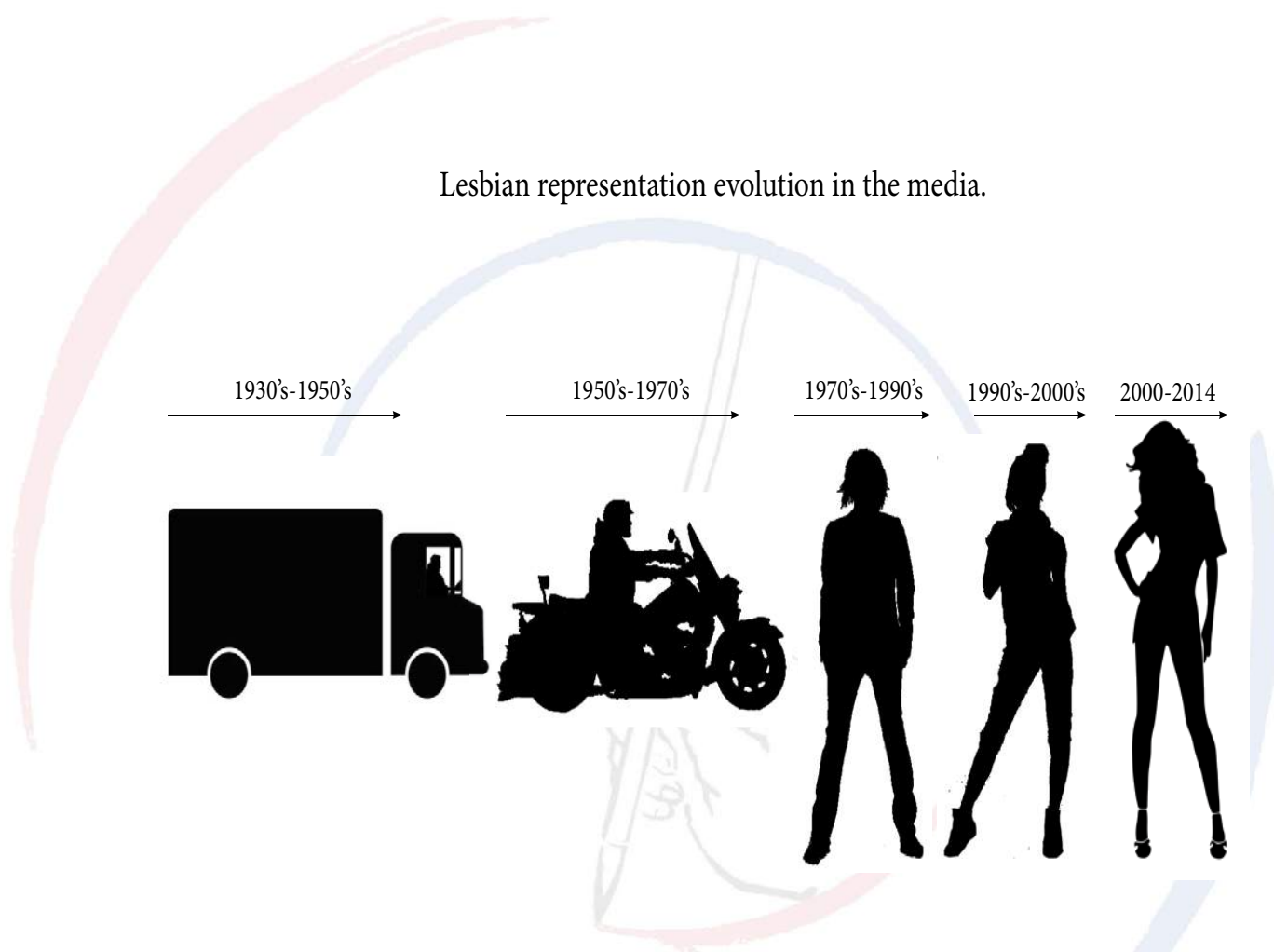
The most important theory in this research is the Queer Theory, since it differentiates **“normal”** for **“non – normal”** **“Queer from non – queer”**, by identifying who is gay and who is straight, by physical and mental behaviorism patterns. However, in our times, **“normal”** is a number of things that are no longer defined by majority, Normal is what we - as individuals make of it, and is no longer dictated to us by primitive regimes or so called experts. There for, we have come a long way in a very short time – moving up from labeling people by **“the queer theory”** and mainstreaming everyone without judging their external mannerism. The best and most powerful example of it is Barak Husain Obama- the first African American president with Muslim roots, at the top of the highly white populated United States of America. But looking back on stigmas and patterns, in this next diagram we can see how it all comes together, merging it all into mainstream, thus showing the evolution of Lesbian representation, not only in the media, but throughout all channels of person to person communication, thus proving that **“The Queer theory”** is no longer necessary or even relevant for our times to define, well, anyone! Not the colour of our skin, our religion or nationality and most defiantly our sexual orientation.

The first model is to example the way Gay and Lesbians characters have integrated in the various media throughout the years, showing the opening of possibilities for the Gay and Lesbian community throughout all media types during the years 1930’s until today:

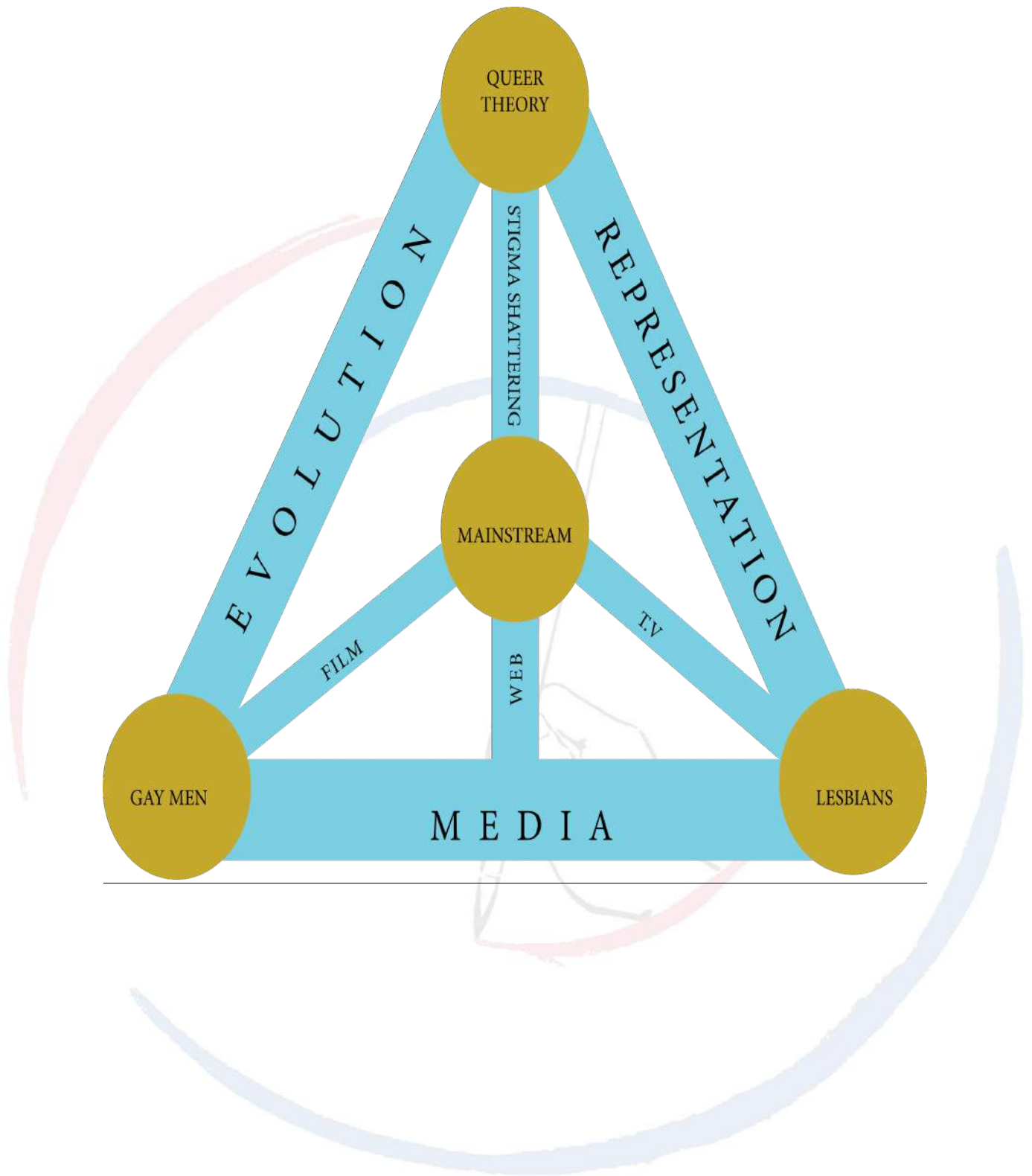


The second model, which I have used in the focus group and in the personal in - depth interviews, examines only the Lesbian evolution in the media throughout the years 1930's until today, showing the shattering of stereotypes and patterns throughout the years and the evolvement of the Lesbian characters within the various types of media, leaving prejudice behind and mainstreaming into the “Norm”:

Lesbian representation evolution in the media.



And finally, showing how it all comes together in a very simple model - of how everything leads to mainstream – how gay men and Lesbians come together, the different evolution stages throughout the years, the continues representation of lesbians in the media, the media itself opening its gates to Lesbian characters, within the queer theory shattering all stigmas and moving into mainstream awareness, not only within the media, but within society itself, thus proving the queer theory is no longer relevant in the year 2014.



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Curriculum without Boundaries: Developing an Ecological Connection for Higher Education Curriculum

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Abstract

*This study was conducted to discuss the concept of higher education curriculum and its practices from an ecological perspective. First, the significance of ecology is investigated based on two streams of thought; the ecological concept of the university proposed by Ronald Barnett, and the text *The Three Ecologies*, authored by the Italian philosopher Félix Guattari. Second, the notion of ecology is explored, and certain thoughts on the ecological curriculum and its possibility are elaborated. Third, the perspective of outcome-based education is currently the predominant curriculum practices in higher education. From an ecological perspective, this learning approach is arguably insufficient. Finally, the practices for achieving an ecological connection of curriculum in higher education are discussed, with particular regard to the aspects of curriculum organization and learning processes.*

Keywords: curriculum, ecology, higher education, Guattari, Barnett

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Introduction

Teaching and learning innovation have become necessary in higher education to face the challenge in this new age. A new paradigm for considering higher education curriculum is necessary, to cultivate a new mode of global citizens in universities in respond to the trend of globalisation. In *Being a University*, Ronald Barnett (2011a) proposed a novel concept called *ecological university* which emphasises an essential connection between the university and society, and also between university students and the outer environment. Barnett raised a profound discussion on the concept of higher education; based on the ecological university concept, he presented the university's invaluable role and responsibility in this multifaceted world. By this novel concept, he invoked the related concept of the *ecological curriculum*. In his subsequent paper, he suggested ecological concepts for university curriculum practices. Barnett's study inspired my interest regarding the value and feasibility of implementing ecological university curriculum. It is a valuable endeavour to explore, and even to expand this original concept of an ecological curriculum.

Regarding the ecological university, the first question that comes into my mind is, 'how can university curriculum be ecological?' To answer this question, another relevant question must be raised: 'what is the significance of the ecology concept in the conceiving of university curriculum?' According to Barnett (2013), the ecological university is in a process of its own becoming, which is 'guided by the ideas of sustainability and wellbeing' (p. 113). Barnett argued that, compared with sustainability, wellbeing is more essential because it can always be advanced. Regarding the university curriculum, it can be a motivational force for advancing the wellbeing of both universities and of people. Establishing an ecological connection with curriculum practices can reconnect the university campus with wider society, thereby enhancing their mutual wellbeing. This has motivated me to further contemplate the feasibility of applying an ecological perspective to university curriculum.

In this paper, I discuss the potential of applying an ecological perspective to higher education curriculum. The significance of *ecology* is investigated to explore the implications of the ecological curriculum concept and its application in curriculum practices. First, the concept of ecology requires clarification because it is typically oriented towards environmental arrangement or natural awareness; however, its interpretations differ in philosophy and education. My understanding of ecology is derived primarily from two streams of research: first, the ecological university

concept proposed by Barnett has profound implications in higher education curriculum; the second stream derives from *The Three Ecologies*, authored by the Italian philosopher Félix Guattari (2012). This work offers a poststructural perspective on the ecology concept. Both of these readings are undertaken as an approach to the theoretical profundity of the ecology concept. Second, following the exposition of the notion of ecology, I anticipate that the idea of ecological curriculum can be made more explicit. I delineate the ecological curriculum concept, and consider its potential development in university curriculum. Third, the concept of outcome-based (or standard-based) education (OBE) currently predominates higher education curriculum practices. I argue that this learning approach is ecologically insufficient. Finally, I raise the concept of feasible practices for ecological connection of curriculum, especially in regard to curriculum organization and the learning process.

The Concept of the Ecological University and Ecological Curriculum

Barnett (2012) depicted three modes of university that are common today. First, the *metaphysical university* is founded upon religious tradition, in which learning is connected to dimensions of spirituality. The university is a place to support learners to form a relationship with God, thereby enriching an otherwise mundane life; it is the *university-for-the-beyond*, as Barnett commented. Through knowledge, the metaphysical university offers a beneficial mechanism for the enlightenment of being. The second is the so-called *research university*. Knowledge production is paramount in this type of university. According to Barnett, it is the *university-in-itself*, where teachers who work in an 'ivory tower' are keener for research than for teaching. It is also the *scientific university* because scientific research is more predominant and receives more political interests in comparison with the humanities. The third mode of university is the *entrepreneurial university*. It has developed in the global trend of marketisation. The ambition of these universities is to pursue greater academic impact. They carefully measure each outcome to maximise their economic prosperity. Knowledge here is valued by its exchange value. According to Lyotard, it is the *performative university*. Barnett noted that it is a *university-for-itself*.

In Barnett's conceptual inquiry, apart from these three modes of universities, the being of the university, however, could have many possibilities. He conceptualized the ecological university concept, and claimed that this new mode of university is coming (Barnett, 2011b). For Barnett, the ecological concept comprises two dimensions, authenticity and responsibility, satisfying both inward quality and

outward advancement. The notion of authenticity implies a zealous exploration for truth. The responsibility that Barnett invoked is the responsibility to this world. Barnett explains that an ecological university 'is a university that takes seriously both the world's interconnectedness and the university's interconnectedness with the world' (Barnett, 2011b, p. 451). Consequently, the university students are also global citizens; they learn concern for the world, and they understand their responsibility towards the world. Through the networks that are formed between universities and wider society, universities activate knowledge resources for improving the world. In Barnett view, this ecological university is neither *in-itself* nor *for-itself*, but *for-others* (Barnett, 2011b, p 452). He regards ecological university as a 'feasible utopia' (Barnett, 2012); it cares neither for academic reputation nor economic benefits, but for human wellbeing.

Barnett further developed the ecological university concept with regard to university curriculum, called the ecological curriculum (Barnett, 2011c). In an ecological curriculum, learning is sensitive to its interconnectedness. Knowledge is interdisciplinary, and multidisciplinary learning is encouraged to expand abundant experiences. The university can create learning spaces for students to engage amongst themselves, with society, and with the world. For Barnett, the role of students in an ecological curriculum is that of global citizens; they care for the world, have active empathy for the world, and enquire into their own being in this uncertain world. To live in this challenging world, knowledge and skills are insufficient for students. Barnett indicated that the concepts of disposition and quality should be a substitute for graduate attributes, which is the predominant learning competence dominant in discourse on university curriculum. These dispositions include the willingness to learn, encounter strangeness, engage, listen, be changed through learning, and the determination to maintain persistence (Barnett, 2011d).

For Barnett, a curriculum is a type of educational ecology where various forces interact (Barnett & Coate, 2005). He considered that *knowing*, *acting* and *being* are three dimensions that are at the core of the curriculum ecology. These three dimensions are interacting; they inform each other dynamically. In addition, these three domains are themselves dynamic: the '*ing*' refers to a problematic and testing situation. Barnett asserted that in these three domains, *being* is more specifically at the heart of the curriculum ecology, they determine whether the intentions of the curriculum will be realised.

Guattari's Notion of Ecology

In *The Three Ecologies*, Guattari addresses three ecological registers, which he called *ecosophy*. They are the environment, social relations and human subjectivity. These three dimensions comprise Guattari's conceptual framework of examining ecology. He comprehended the world from these perspectives.

Regarding the damage of ecology in this modern society, Guattari critiqued Integrated World Capitalism (IWC), which is a new industrial power that governs human subjectivity. Individual thinking and behavior has been controlled unconsciously by advertising, the media, and scientific technology, which are under-employed in the pursuit of commercial profit. This produces a collective, mass-media subjectivity that jeopardises ecology because our lives are trapped in a cycle of deathly repetitions. The multiplicity of the environment, social relations, and human subjectivity are hence endangered by this form of capitalism. Pindar and Sutton (2012) noted that 'Guattari has extended his definition of ecology beyond merely environmental concerns to include human subjectivity itself' (p. 9). The scope of ecology is broader than the concept of nature. Nature cannot be separated from culture. The environment and social relations are the ecological context that people inhabit. Guattari's writing offers a profound examination of the production of dominant capitalistic subjectivity in the damaging effect of marketisation and industrialisation on society. We should resist this effect through ecological practices.

For Guattari, ecological system is not a mechanical device; rather, it is a multiple movement that is full of diversity. As a rhizomatic system, it is always open and it allows for any movement. Guattari emphasised the aesthetic paradigms of human life in ecology. He raised the example of painting or literature; there is no regulation that governs these works. The effort of a painter is not to reproduce an identical painting, and so it is with an author and his or her writing. In the evolutive processes, human life is not a movement of entering deadlock; it has inner power to develop heterogeneous existence. Life is an ongoing 'aesthetico-existential process' (Pindar & Sutton, 2012, p. 8); therefore, we must create our lives like an artist. As Guattari (2012) argued, 'Ecological praxes strive to scout out the potential vectors of subjectification and singularization at each partial existential locus' (p. 30). The new ecological practice is a continual movement to tap potential energy in ecological system to break through the inert subjectivity. Guattari anticipated a singular event to change our lives. As a node in the multiple network of rhizome, this chance event is a singular point that can lead us in a new direction and open a different movement of

life. Following the development of ecological diversity, the modalities of subjectivity should be composed with diversity.

Guattari (2012) asserted that ecology 'questions the whole of subjectivity and capitalistic power formations' (p. 35). The purpose of his resistance is working for humanity. He insisted on the position that the production of subjectivity should shift from an economic mode to an aesthetic mode. Guattari's concept inspired me to consider the three ecologies of the university, and the potential for creative proliferation in university teaching and learning. The ecological practice can, in Guattari's view, be applied in culture, educational institutes, and specifically in our daily lives. It can alter the condition of problems in higher education that are caused by capitalism. I applied his concept and Barnett's concept to contemplate the development of higher education curriculum.

How Can University Curriculum Be Ecological?

In Guattari's view, an insidious ecology is manipulated by economic worth and economic well-being. Our perspective of the world, however, should be expanded beyond economic quantification. Universities have been governed by the value of the free market under economic requirement. Guattari's *The Three Ecologies* reminds us that the ecological system of higher education is endangered for the sake of cultivating productive economic subjectivity. A good higher education system should extend existential territories for learners, rather than limiting the direction of their life development. University curriculum should encourage students to search for Guattari's so-called singular event, which can lead them in a new direction, and develop their being in a better condition.

For this purpose, the university can provide more opportunities that support students to expand their life horizons. Through various curricula, heterogeneous environment is provided that encourages learners to explore. Learning supports the process of subjectification. In the continuous process of subjectification, various new perspectives are obtained by the university students, thus constituting creative subjectivity. This is an ecological development with regard to learning, and this approach transmits a positive energy in the university ecology. The university becomes an open space in which network is continuously interconnected and expanded, as the power of life.

The idea of ecology reminds us that the metaphorical protective fence surrounding the university should be torn down. Morris (2012) noted that 'Ecocentric thinking shifts the focus from students and teachers in an isolated schoolroom, to students and teachers in society-in-the-world. Ecocentric thinking is a more integrative way to think about ourselves as creatures living in an ecosphere' (p. 581). Learning cannot be an exercise in self-closure. It is always contextualized in relation to the environment, social relations and human subjectivity. The same principle applies to ecosystems; learning is a process of evolution that is dynamic and constantly changing. Epistemology in university learning can be extended horizontally, by space, and vertically, by time; boundless space and fluid time are revealed by the ecological curriculum perspective. This mode of curriculum facilitates a form of human subjectivity that facilitates harmonious coexistence with the environment and social relations. In the face of uncertainty, the learner should be promoted to own their *adaptive capacity* (Sterling, 2010) to harmoniously adapt to new environments that are subject to constant change. This capacity shows that the cognition of learners is also ecological. In other words, this ecological response, a long process of trial and error, breaks through the limit of knowing towards environment.

Barnett proposed the ecological university concept whereby the university has a responsibility to enhance world or global well-being. By fulfilling this responsibility, the university achieves a harmonious interconnectedness with this world. The interiority and exteriority of the university present a harmonious symbiosis; both produce complementary forces for sustainability. The symbiotic structure between the inner and outer university facilitates cooperation in addressing unknown environmental challenges, constituting a flourishing ecosystem that escapes from deadly movement. Harmonious cooperation for the great good of the whole that simultaneously serves the needs of the parts (Ophuls, 2011). The positive energy in this ecosystem returns and influences human life. Similarly, the care for the world that is projected from the university in turn creates a richer form of human subjectivity. This type of engagement in the ecosystem nurtures the optimal education that can be derived from the original concept of ecology. The being both of the university and of the learners can thus be activated.

The Application of Outcome-based Education in Higher Education

Outcome-based education (OBE) is the predominant form of higher education learning and has been proposed for the improvement of quality enhancement and quality assurance in higher education. It is also called *standard-based education*,

whereby learning outcomes (or standards) are established in advance as a guide to teaching and learning. Educational effectiveness therefore becomes easy to be measured during the learning process. The American educationalist, William G. Spady was an initiator of OBE. In his definition, 'an outcome is not a score or a grade, but the end product of a clearly defined process that students carry out' (Spady, 1994). OBE is called in question in certain points: First, it transforms student learning performance into a concrete description or number that is quantifiable. Second, an outcome-based approach is inclined to aim-guided; it is taken for granted to overlook certain learning processes. Third, educational objectives are designed to meet essential standards. Although Spady advocated an approach of transformational OBE instead of traditional OBE, in which learning outcomes must be applied in real-life contexts. In other words, the core competence is based on what students need in their real lives. Most educators who employ this approach associate learning outcomes more with skills or knowledge than with attitude or disposition, which are difficult to quantify. OBE has been criticised for its lack of empirical support. In addition, time consuming and onerous assessment practices are always associated with OBE. A critique of Australia's adoption of an OBE system is that it does not represent the world's best curriculum and it fails to successfully support teachers in their work (Donnelly, 2007).

OBE requires careful consideration of what constitutes an outcome, and whether these outcomes meet the needs of those they are designed to fulfil. Outcomes can easily become only superficial knowledge and understanding if we do not clearly consider its essential basis. The objective of higher education is typically not the improvement of quality of life, but fulfilling economic requirement in society or the personal requirement for future job hunting. In his work, Barnett (1994) criticised that traditional definitions of knowledge are inadequate for meeting the systems-wide problems faced by contemporary society. He suggests that competent professionals 'will be able not simply to cope with change but actively to shape change' (p. 73). Barnett continued:

In a higher education for life, the concept of outcomes would have little if any place. In genuinely open, interactive, forms of reason and engagement, there are no outcomes. Only continuing processes, with intermediate stopping points before the discussion is resumed. The notion of an outcome is characteristic of instrumental reason, of getting things done, of saying things for a purpose. (Barnett, 1994, p. 78)

According to Barnett's critique, OBE has become an insidious ecology that is a predominant and instrumental reason for inertness in the development of individual learning. Similar to Dewey's concept of pragmatism, Barnett considered that there is no final outcome in an open system. For university learning, limited educational outcomes should be substituted with an infinite on-going process. This on-going process is similar to the movement of an ecosystem; it stops momentarily, but it never ends. Barnett's concept of learning is highly ecological. This is a positive thought that can be drawn from ecology.

The Danger of Outcome-Based Education

OBE has become an 'ecology of weeds', and has been associated with occupational obtainment. If we return to Herbert Spencer's question of 'what knowledge is of most worth?', the optimal answer in current practices of higher education is similar to Spencer's utilitarian reply—acquiring the capacities to earn a living in society. Undoubtedly, occupation plays an essential role in the economic foundation of a person's life. However, in the aim of education, preparing for a future life is not equal to creating a better life. Occupation is only one part of life, not the entirety of a person's life. Similarly, curriculum content cannot be restricted to only certain functional skills. Having a good job, and compatible skills and knowledge does not imply that a person is capable of facing every challenge in this complex society. The value of a person's life is difficult to define based on specific outcomes. Connected with globalisation and marketisation, OBE yet homogenised student subjectivity. Market-driven technologies have deeply modified collective subjectivity in higher education in various aspects. According to Guattari's ecological perspective, this insidious normalization of our approach to higher education should be resisted.

Outcome-based learning violates the essence of ecology. This teaching approach predetermines learning outcomes; it is designed to dominate objectives and outcomes, and it is based on the assumption that learning situations can be systematically manipulated. A type of standardised teaching and learning is shaped in this manner. According to the ecology concept, nature is not a mechanism that can be manipulated. Instead of a linear structure, ecosystems 'are characterized by nonlinear dynamics that make them difficult to understand and harder to control' (Ophuls, 2011, p. 30). This nonlinear dynamic mirrors the complexity of the organic world. The learning process is a vital part of sustainable development which cannot be predetermined. To treat learning situations as simply a machine to be manipulated at will demonstrates a poor understanding of curriculum implementation. In addition, the utilitarian view of OBE

does not establish a rich ecological connection; rather, it typically emphasises a person's wellbeing rather than on the sustainability between humanity and the world. The mutualistic symbiosis that facilitates social responsibility is distant from learning outcomes under the ideology of vocationalism.

Towards an Ecological Connection for Higher Education Curriculum

Based on Guattari's notion, an ecological perspective on higher education strives for the creation of human life. This differs from the OBE approach, which collects outcomes for a prosperous life. People and environment are entangled and codependent in an ecosystem. Ecological thought leads us to think of our interrelationships with others and with this world. Our interactions with the outer environment in turn affect the formation of our subjectivity. These ecological connections present numerous possibilities in higher education and provide valuable implications for higher education curriculum practices. I shall discuss this from two sides; curriculum organization and learning process.

Curriculum Organization

If we conceptualise a curriculum as an ecological system, it has multiple connections in its network. In a university, these connections can be between different disciplines, courses, levels of study, educators, learning settings, or learning experiences. The diversity of curricula increases with the number of elements that are connected. Hence, curriculum organisation in a university can be encouraged to create more connections. For example, cooperation can improve teacher communication or establish integrated courses that incorporate different professional specialties. To facilitate various learning experiences, university students can enrol in courses that are cross-disciplinary. University teachers can organise multiple activities to expand learning horizons. In an ecological system, curriculum organization is nonlinear; it is an open system, just as the rhizome allows diverse connections. Any teaching event can constitute one of Guattari's so-called singular events, which guides students in a new direction, and broaden their world view.

Learning process

In higher education, the focus has been shifting from teaching to learning. Compared with teachers, students are the main concern in curriculum, which is why I prefer to discuss learning processes in this section rather than teaching processes. University

curriculum should be designed to enable connections between students and the world. In this sense, the learning materials and teaching activities can be broader, from professional knowledge or skills to the exploration of the outer environment. Furthermore, students should learn to solve social problems based on their professional specialty. This demonstrates Barnett's ecological university concept, whereby students should be equipped with the predisposition of a global citizen throughout the learning process. The responsibility of caring for the world should be adopted by higher education to facilitate sustainable global development. The task of university students is not only to adapt to uncertainty, but also to apply their ability to instigate change.

Guattari's ecological perspective reminds us that university curriculum should focus on three dimensions: the environment, social relations, and human subjectivity. By acquiring knowledge on the environment, social relations are reflected back at the knowing of the learners' life. These three dimensions are interconnected. Rather than a collective subjectivity, the productive economic subjectivity, a university should facilitate diversity in the production of human subjectivity through open learning processes. Applying an ecological perspective can thus prevent the university learning from a deadly repetition.

Conclusion

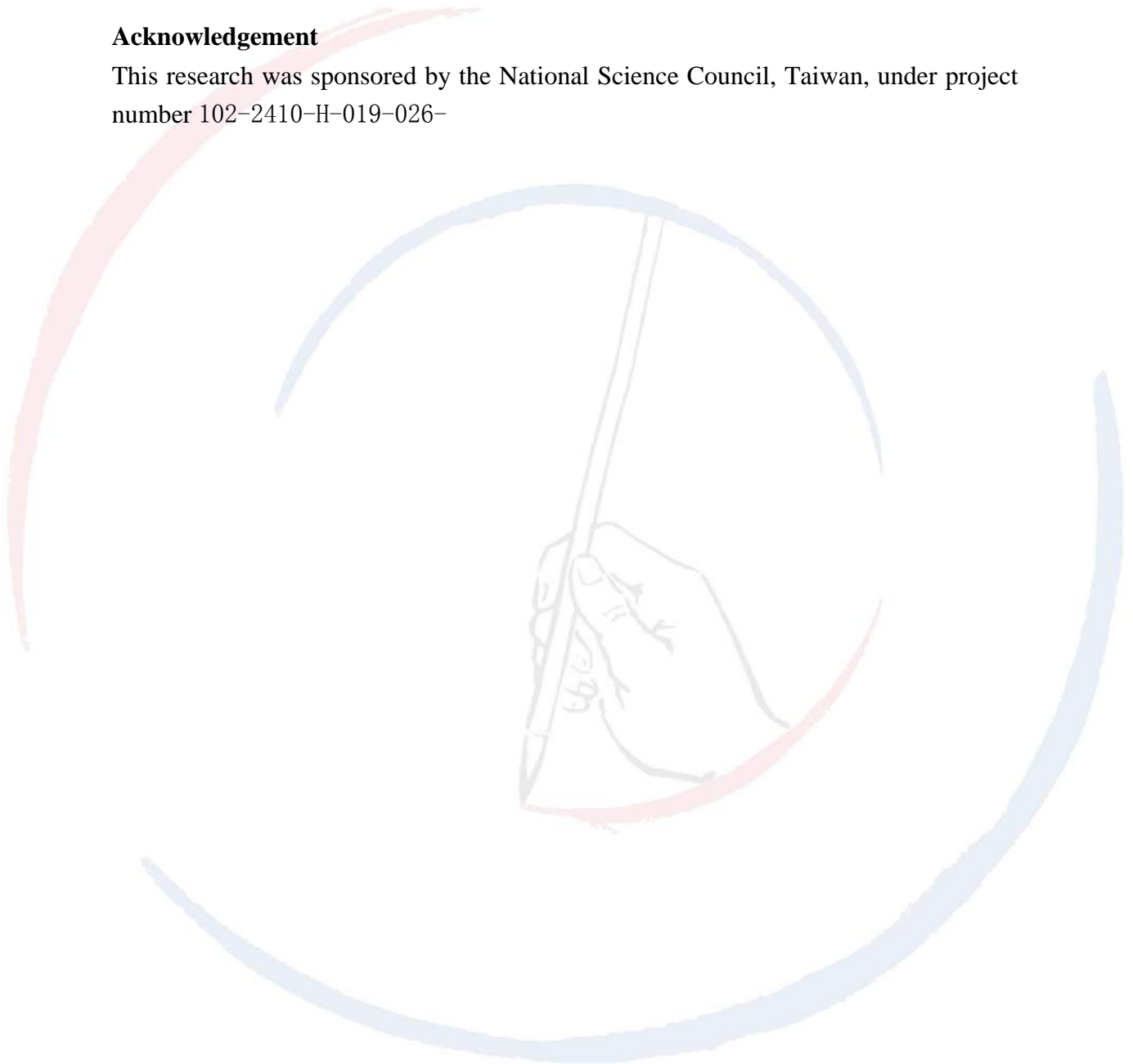
In this paper, I argued that applying an ecological perspective can enhance a higher education curriculum without boundaries. Typically, the boundaries of higher education have been established based on three aspects: The first is the hindrance of a clear curriculum structure, such as the structure of discipline, academic department, and teaching materials. The second is the narrow vision of *performativity* utterance (according to Lyotard) in curriculum practices, which is evident in the manner that learning is transformed into a tangible and quantifiable outcome, such as in the approach of outcome-based learning. The third aspect is the normalised approach of composing our subjectivity in the modernised process of economic development. This critique can be seen in the work of Foucault, as well as in Guattari's perspective on ecology.

Based on the concepts proposed by Barnett and Guattari, I assert that an ecological connection can overcome the boundary of higher education curriculum. Curricula can be considered a dynamic ecological system that varies in composition. Human subjectivity is a part of the world's ecosystem; it has enabled numerous creations

through interactions with the environment. Universities can provide opportunities to create this subjectivity. University curriculum can also support ecological practices by facilitating the shift in the production of subjectivity from an economic mode to an aesthetic mode, as noted by Guattari. This is the implication that we can take from an ecological perspective on higher education curriculum.

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Product Storytelling of Five-Star Local Product Champions

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Abstract

The objectives were the following: to 1) study the history of Local Product groups, writing, and problems of the product storytelling of five-star Local Product Champions; and 2) discover means to improve their product storytelling writing. This was a qualitative research project. The study sites were provinces in Northeast Thailand located along the Mekong River. Purposive sampling was used to select respondents from the Local Product groups and members of the Community Development Department staff, for a total of 31 respondents. Research tools were semi-structured interviews, an interview guide for in-depth interviews, an observation guide, field notes, and photographs. Descriptive and interpretive analysis methods were employed to analyze data. Results were 1) The history of the Local Product groups with five-star rating under the government project was not uniform because of the differences in their reasons for forming the groups. However, they share the same goal as Local Product, which is to bring supplemental income and harmony to the local community, thereby leading to sustainability by using local materials, labour and local wisdom to produce the groups' products. 2) Product storytelling was more often written about the history or a story of the local village or local community than about the product itself, or its uniqueness. 3) The problems were that the Local Product groups did not understand how to write product storytelling. As a result, most of them did not have any product storytelling. The groups with product storytelling tended to focus mainly on the history of local villages or the biography of the group leaders due to their incorrect understanding of this kind of writing. 4) The means to improve product storytelling include organizing a training course for educating and practicing product storytelling writing for the groups.

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1. Introduction

Business operation is usually different in competitions depending on strategies of the business used in marketing and advertising because a number of producers are now increasing while customers or consumers also have more alternatives. Production not only considers to quality and price but also applies interesting strategies for the products, such as packaging, colour, size, and history or story of the products.

One Tambon One Product (OTOP) Project is one project of government's policies for supporting local development process. Also, the government would like to make strong community to be self-reliance by offering people an opportunity to have a part in creating a job and income by developing the products from resources and local wisdom. Furthermore, the people should be given a chance to service good-quality, featured, and added-value products corresponding with culture and local life required by domestic and foreign markets. To implement OTOP policies rapidly with unity and efficiency, the government set up the National OTOP Administrative Committee under the Deputy Prime Minister, the committee chairman. The chairman determined the concept in operating One Tambon One Product Project on OTOP Product Champions chosen in province, region, and country. There was Local Link Global determined the concept in selecting Product Champions of the province, region, and country as follows: 1) Exportable with brand equity 2) Continuous and consistent 3) Standardization with quality and customers' satisfaction 4) Story of product

These product selection criteria led the products produced by grassroots community to have a chance in selection by using the criteria applied to supply side for linking the standard of product quality brought to national selection based on the criteria applied to demand side in exporting. Also, it was materialistic Local Link Global, and this research emphasized the study of product history or storytelling.

Anyhow, the operation of OTOP Product Champion Selection Project under the Ministry of Interior was to select OTOP Product Champions from every province of all regions, and to find potential OTOP products for exhibition and distribution in global market based on the concept of Local Link Global. This project applied the criteria to consider the capability in production together with the demand of the market considering to exporting capability. Furthermore, other factors were also considered, such as brand equity, continuous and consistent, standardization with quality and customers' satisfaction especially the appearance of product story.

2. Objectives

- 1) To study the history of five-star Local Product Champions
- 2) To study writing problems of the product storytelling of five-star Local Product Champions
- 3) To discover means to improve storytelling writing of five-star Local Product Champions

3. Concept of Local Product or One Tambon One Product (OTOP)

The selection of five-star Local Product (OTOP) Champions divided the products into six categories, such as food, drink, cloth, utensil and decoration, invention art and souvenir, and herb but herbal food and medicine.

The selection criteria of Thai OTOP Champions consist of three parts, for instance, general information, general criteria, and specific criteria. 1) General information consists of several factors, such as group name, a number of members, product categories, name of group leaders, sites, and group contacts including group status and number of labors. 2) General criteria consist of production, marketing, product development, story or storytelling of products, and community strength. 3) Specific criteria consist of general characteristics with standard certification mark.

Product level of OTOP Product Champions comprises of different factors in general criteria and specific criteria defining product in five levels as follows:

- 1) Five-star level for score 90 and above
- 2) Four-star level for score 70 – 80
- 3) Three-star level for score 50 – 60
- 4) Two-star level for score 30 – 40
- 5) One-star level for score 30 and below

Selection results at provincial and regional levels were considered by the OTOP Administrative Subcommittee in supply side according to the criteria. Then these results were transferred to the subcommittee of competition in order to organize the competition to select OTOP Product Champions by using the criteria for considering demand side.

Product levels for considering demand side comprises of four levels as follows:

- 1) Level A is products promptly exportable.
- 2) Level B is products with high potential, acceptable at national level, and be able to be developed at international level supported by government sector.
- 3) Level C is middle-class products which can be developed to become level B by improving weak points and limitations of products supported by government sector.
- 4) Level D is low potential products comprising of two means of development:
 - 4.1) D1 is products which can be developed to become level C supported by government sector and sporadically evaluated the potential.
 - 4.2) D2 is products which cannot be developed to become level C because of several weak points and difficulty of development. The government sector may not support these products.

Otherwise, storytelling of the products was one element of product selection from many participants. The products which were joined in the participation must have the history consisting of several factors. First, story of product means the history of product, such as raw materials, production processes, and wisdoms used in production. Another, local wisdom or local identity means capability in applying knowledge, skills, and production capabilities inherited from ancestors in local community for production. The story of products was an important factor for distributing goods and motivating consumers for buying. It is said that in the era of information society, communication capability actually causes authority and success. Storytelling of goods could add value of products [1] ; however, there were not any researches directly studying on storytelling or history of products. Meanwhile, Wipawee Grisanaputi, Wassana Siangdung, and Apichart Sangkrai [2] studied on “Study and Development of OTOP Products of Khon Kaen Province toward

Internationalization” found that value added product was one problem reflected by producers and developers especially in history or storytelling writing because the producers were short of knowledge and skills in storytelling writing. The objectives of storytelling writing were to tell the history and distribute local wisdom and products at the same time. Furthermore, both producers and packaging designers believed that storytelling of products could make the consumers know the history and thorough or complex product processes. These could make the consumers awake to value and importance of products, and be able to add more value of products as well.

4. Scope of the Research

This is the study only OTOP products in the provinces located along the Mekong River. The product types were unlimited and selected by OTOP Administrative Committee of Five-Star OTOP Product Champions Project in five provinces located along the Mekong River as follows:

- 1) Loei consists of sticky rice box, cutwork dress, Thai clay artificial flower, and mineral water
- 2) Nong Khai consists of Khid-patterned silk and three-shelf wooden plate
- 3) Nakhon Phanom consists of sour-fermented Giant Snakehead Fish (Pla Chado)
- 4) Mukdahan consists of Kaew Ka Long patterned shawl and Kalamae
- 5) Ubon Ratchathani consists of jerked Nile Tilapia mixed with herbs

Data of product storytelling or history was collected from product labels, packaging data, information from application form of Product Champions selection, and saying from group leaders and Community Development Department staff or developers.

5. Research Methodology

This is qualitative research. Research tools used in data collection were interview guide for in-depth interview. Respondents were from OTOP groups, people concerned with production understanding the storytelling of five-star OTOP Product Champions selected by OTOP Administrative Committee. These Product Champions were from the provinces in the Northeast of Thailand located along the Mekong River, such as Loei, Nong Khai, Nakhon Phanom, Mukdahan, and Ubon Ratchathani. Researchers chose specific respondents who were willing to give information about five-star OTOP Product Champions totally 27 people comprising of 9 group leaders and 18 Community Development staff or developers.

6. Research Result

6.1 The History of OTOP Groups with Five-star Rating

OTOP groups were different in history and reasons to form the groups. These groups similarly aimed to bring supplemental income to the family and bring harmony to the local community leading to the sustainability by using local materials, labors and local wisdom to produce the groups' products.

For OTOP groups with five-star rating, people in the community had to learn and try to live interdependently. Moreover, they had to believe that every portion did not live solitarily but interdependently like holistic life. There were cohabitation and

collaboration between nature and other people, and sharing of positive thinking unlimited in any ages, genders, administrative districts, and countries. Those were the use of positive power to new step of income development.

The concept of OTOP product selection stimulated each local community or village to have products or services produced by using capital in local community efficiently, such as biological capital or raw materials, cultural capital or local wisdom, and social capital. To bring the income and harmony to the local community, the policies were to make the community more progress. Moreover, the policies were to improve the living of Thai people in countryside by creating jobs, careers, income, and harmony to their local community from the development of local community by own thinking and creating to reach the goals of happy living, good quality of people's life, and discovering main foundation of the country. In addition, it also inherited great local culture, created the pride for next generations, and laid main foundation of the country. Thai society comprises of two main factors as follows:

- 1) Internal Factors: People in the village devote energy and spirit to each other under the same ambitions. Also, they can be creative in developing the natural resources and local wisdom to become good quality products based on local wisdom and culture, feature, value added, and market demand both inside and outside the country. Moreover, internal factors mean thinking process, conservation of natural resources, environment, and local wisdom, tourism, art and cultural, and tradition. Local wisdom can be developed not only in the pattern of goods but also in the pattern of tourism services.
- 2) External Factors: Government must be ready to support people about modern knowledge, management, application of production technology, and marketing for making products and services distribute to both inside and outside the country.

However, there were three basic principles or philosophy of OTOP policies that the government would like to have:

- 1) Local Get Global is production and service made from local wisdom and culture to become acceptable at international level.
- 2) Self-Reliance-Creativity is making dreams come true by OTOP process and creating activities by using the potential of local community.
- 3) Human Resource Development is implantation the people to fight for life daringly and preaching the soul of creativity by spending time to learn and develop for good-quality products.

Furthermore, there was the concept of a core product for each village. The product is not only the good but it is also thinking process, conservation of natural resources, environment, Thai wisdom, tourism, art and culture, and tradition including development of local wisdom. In addition, it is also knowledge sharing for being good quality and popular all over the world produced from raw materials and local natural resources. This concept can reduce rural-to-urban migration problem and create community economy related to sufficiency economy development according to the royal thoughts.

Consequently, although the government had the process of using social and cultural capital specified as one of criteria in awarding consideration, there were not clear

measure and regulation in creating the history or storytelling of products because the main goal was market expansion acceptable at national level toward export market.

6.2 Product Storytelling Writing

OTOP groups were more likely to write the history of the local village or community more than write product storytelling or outstanding identity of the products because they did not know the history of the products. However, selected products would be written the local history due to the criteria of OTOP Champions selection stated that the product story must be written. Therefore, the history or storytelling of the products was crucial in considering five-star OTOP products.

Anyhow, non-selected groups did not write product storytelling while selected groups with no storytelling were helped by development officers for storytelling writing, or these groups would ask the officers for help. The officers were responsible for illuminate the significance of storytelling and try to persuade every group to write product storytelling by themselves. If the groups had written their own storytelling, they would have described the local history about outstanding manners of the community; however, if the officers had written the storytelling, they would have described the story according to their own understanding about local condition and goods.

Nevertheless, developers played a key role in writing OTOP product storytelling by studying the data from group leaders' saying about characteristics of goods, and history of group formation and goods. When the data was reasonably collected, the developers wrote and augmented the story by themselves; however, the writing of product storytelling or story of goods should be short and brief. The content of storytelling should consist of the story of goods, local community including quality, benefit, and product components associated with each other for storytelling writing. Also, the structure of history or storytelling usually consists of background information, local community history, unique tradition and culture of community, and components or quality of products.

Developers played a key role in writing OTOP product storytelling as follows:

- 1) Support in writing the history of products from the saying. The groups participating in selection emphasized product storytelling writing especially in strong and successful groups. In contrast, new groups did not have any product storytelling because they did not focus on product storytelling, so district developers would support and show these groups the importance of product storytelling.
- 2) Collaboration with community to write storytelling and local wisdom used in production. The developers not only persuaded the community to emphasize on product storytelling writing, but also approached the groups to converse with and collect data about products, and history of group formation and products including the objectives and reasons of production and use of local wisdom in production. However, some production groups were unable to write the product storytelling because they were short of skills to bring the history of community to write the story. Mostly, the storytelling was written by the developers, or in case of some groups with origin and outline of the story, the developers were responsible for screening and approving the writing. Then the developers had the provincial developers check over again.

Incidentally, most of production groups attempted to write the history of products according to the conditions of product selection frame. However, product storytelling was not specifically described; it was not identified the product quality and feature, but the content of current market situation was inserted in product storytelling, for example:

“Silk weaving of the villagers in Ban Nong Khwai started from local wisdom of the ancestors desiring to weave for wearing purpose, and the wisdom was learned and inherited by their descendants by creating many patterns of silk for a long time. Now, the groups mostly have weaved Khid-patterned silk in response to the demand of markets, and in addition to experiences and skills of weaving regularly developed, they can weave more elaborate, beautiful, and distinguished silk”

Product storytelling writing was different in the content; for instance, product development process, production method and improvement of product development or production standard, and general feature of goods. Actually, product storytelling was short of the data on product history; however, it was written in overall image showing the way of life, culture, tradition, rite, and play which were outstanding characteristics of local community more than specific characteristics of products; for instance,

“Cutwork dress and Phi Ta Khon pattern are patchwork art for presenting the story of playing Phi Ta Khon in “*Boon Luang Festival*” at Dan Sai District, Loei Province which is the uniqueness of this province.”

6.3 Problems of Storytelling Writing

Mostly, OTOP groups did not understand product storytelling writing, so most of production groups did not have product storytelling. However, the groups with product storytelling tended to focus mainly on the history of local village or community due to their incorrect understanding of product storytelling writing. The problems of product storytelling consist of:

1) Problems of OTOP Groups: Production groups did not focus on product storytelling writing because they did not know the benefits of product storytelling writing except the criteria in the selection of five-star OTOP Product Champions. Also, they believed that storytelling writing would have not affected to circulation or quality of products if it had needed to write due to one condition in the specifications of five-star product competition. Therefore, to participate in product selection, they did not attend to write product storytelling. Moreover, they did not present the history and significance of products which were participated in the competition because they did not know how to write product storytelling, and the expressions of storytelling writing were not fine enough to convince the consumers.

When development officers found these problems, they conversed with the production groups to encourage them to emphasize on product storytelling writing. Then the officers had group leaders and producers do brainstorming to bring the feature of products and local wisdom indicating about living related to cultural traditions to make the relationship with product storytelling writing. Additionally, the officers tried

to make the groups realize in the importance and benefits of storytelling by informing the groups to be ready and make a note of wisdom from the products.

2) Problem of Developers: The different experience of developers or officers concerning with OTOP products caused the lacking of understanding of products, so they could not advise and support in product storytelling writing. Some developers who were not responsible for OTOP products did not realize in the importance of product storytelling, so they did not actually support and access to producer groups. Meanwhile, the developers who emphasized in product storytelling writing were not skilled in storytelling writing, so they could not be the leaders of storytelling writing. Also, because these developers had got several responsibilities, they had less time to support and advise the groups perfectly, and they sometimes received unreal data, and they wrote the story by their own opinions but not referred to the background information of village community.

Nevertheless, many products in the project of local community product were not written the product storytelling. Actually, product storytelling was extremely useful because it not only made the readers know the history and complex production process but also made them appreciate these products finally resulting in the increase of product value. In addition, products with storytelling could make the products more universal and be improved toward international level. Moreover, storytelling could be also used as a way in promoting the products according to Chairatana Isarangkura [3] stated that interesting history or story could make the reliability, feeling, and memorizing for the consumers.

Product storytelling writing of local community should be orderly and systematically managed in order to receive interesting product storytelling for the readers, so it was important to have a great plan of writing.

6.4 Suggestions and Means to Improve Product Storytelling Writing

Means to support the products should be organized a training course for educating product development process for developers and community enterprise groups by sharing knowledge, and practicing storytelling writing of the groups related to living in modern age and presenting local wisdom used in production. Moreover, it should be organized a training course for OTOP storytelling writing, and product competition to encourage and improve local wisdom writing as well.

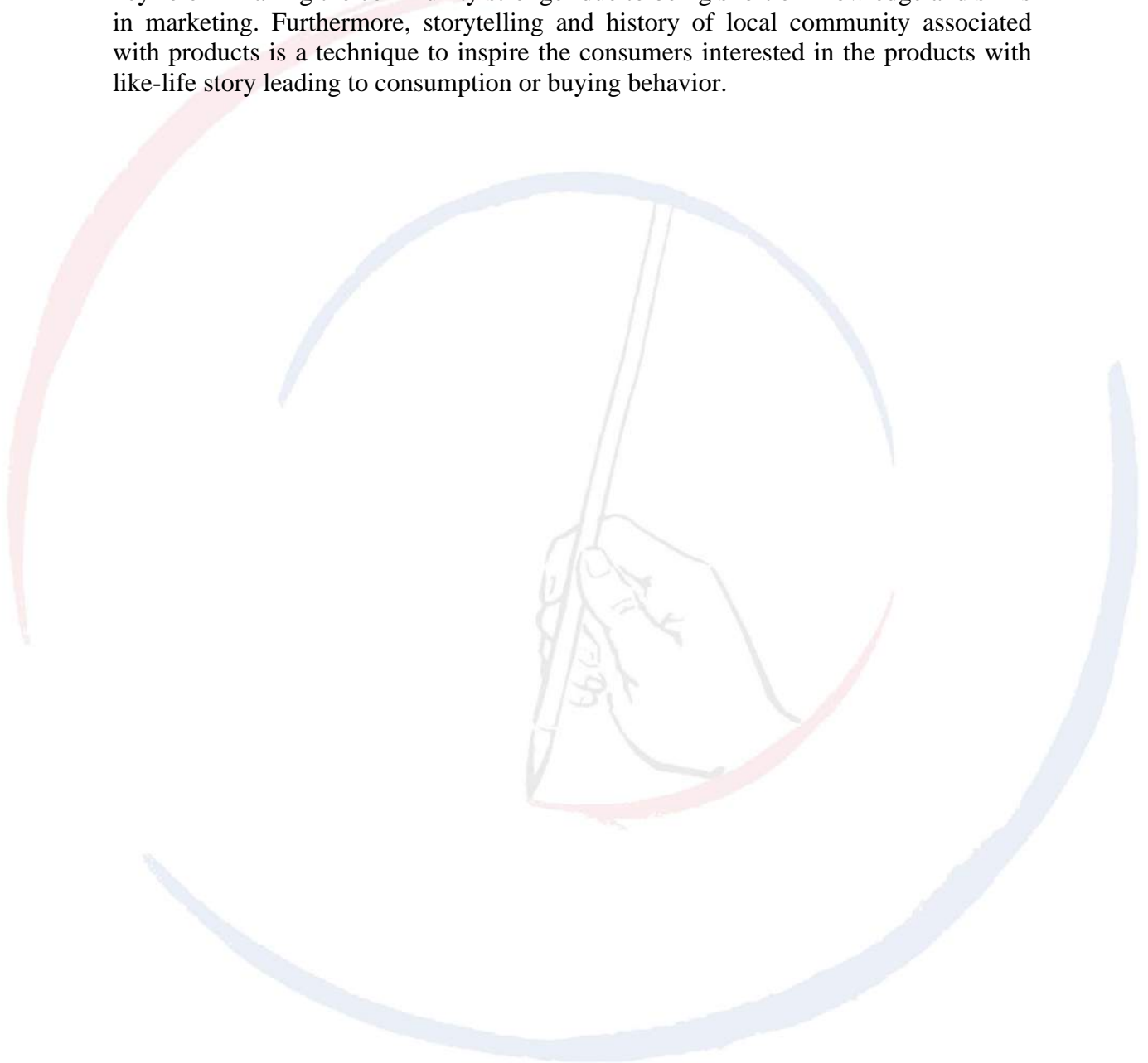
Additionally, every sector should conscientiously promote main activities of OTOP policies according to the policies of government as follows:

1) Extend goods to the markets both inside and outside the country. The products must correspond to cultural traditions of local community in order to be conserved and become strong point of local community, and develop the quality of products for expanding the markets to local areas, city, and global market.

2) Produce and create products by using knowledge and ability from collaboration of people in local community. Concerning provincial organizations, ministries, divisions, and departments should recommend and support in technology, equipments and instrument creation, and research.

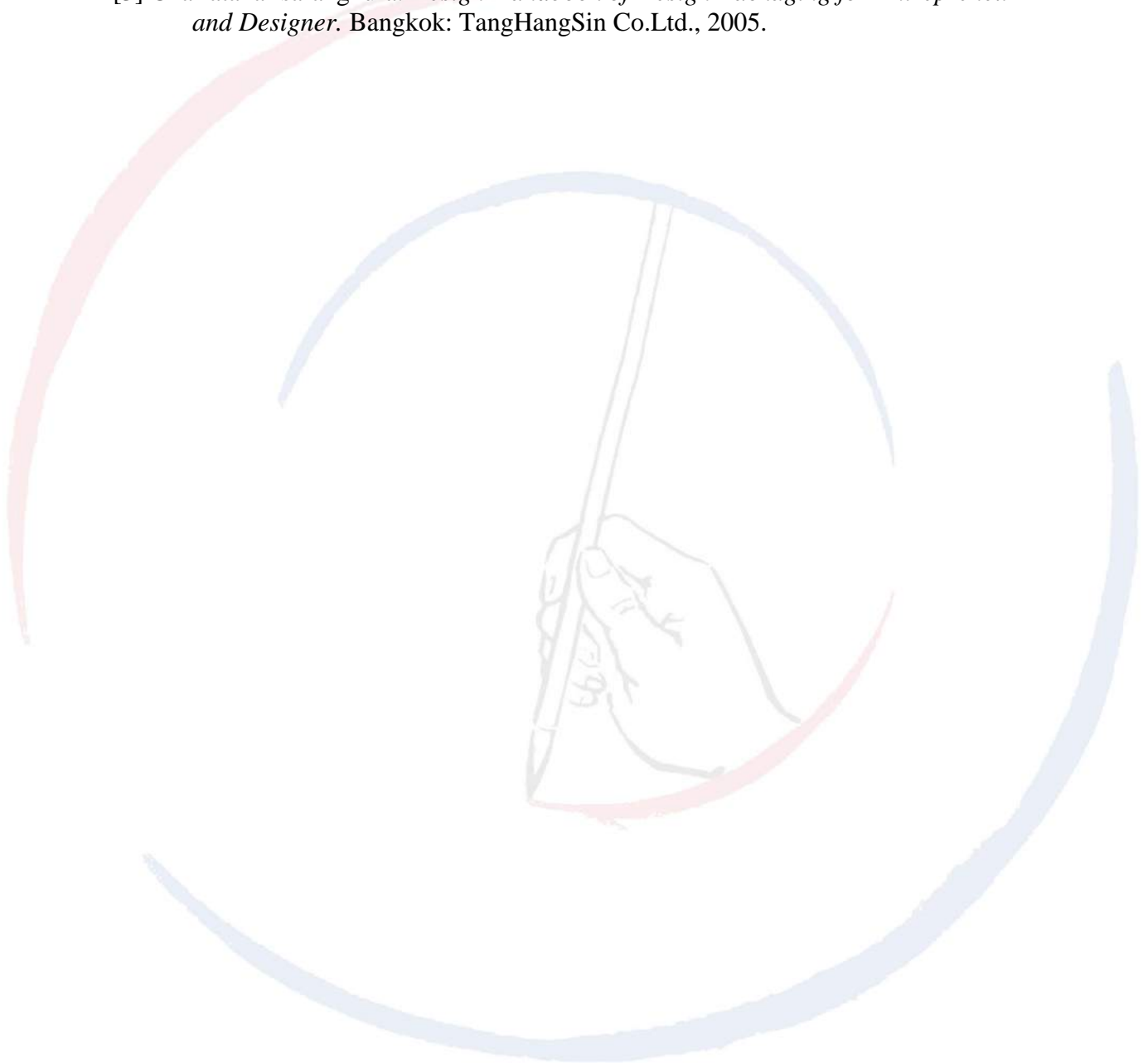
3) Produce high-quality personnel of local community. The community should select intellectual and skilled personnel who can be farsighted, plan in long term, and be acceptable in local community to share the idea for solving and improving the products in the future.

For the support and promotion of using social and cultural capital through OTOP production of production groups, both government and private sectors should play a key role in making the community stronger due to being short of knowledge and skills in marketing. Furthermore, storytelling and history of local community associated with products is a technique to inspire the consumers interested in the products with like-life story leading to consumption or buying behavior.



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Elites' Conflict and the Control of the Social Sphere: the case of Egypt

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Abstract

The current study seeks for analyzing the contemporary democratic conflict within the Egyptian society in the wake of the 25th of Jan. uprising. The researcher examines the underpinnings of "Robert Dahl" and "Pierre Bourdieu" regarding the socio-political outcomes of political groups that function in the social sphere. It is aimed at to figures out the different patterns of conflicts that comes out of the ideological differences between the elites. Right now, conflict is between social groups due to their differences in terms of: ideology, creed, politics and economy. This resulted in both polarization and marginalization of a whole set of ideas in the Egyptian society. Furthermore, violent actions were repercussion in different places of the society in a way to control the social sphere of the community. Finally, the study tries to sketch out the impacts of this conflict on the current social crack that inherent in the Egyptian social fabric.

Introduction:

January 25, 2011 represents a case of community solidarity among most segments of Egyptian society, where the collective mind of the community agreed on the need to revolt against the existing political regime at the time because of its inability to fulfill people's aspirations for freedom and social justice among all segments. All political powers combined succeeded in removing Mubarak from office and neutralizing the Egyptian military as a result of the overwhelming revolutionary momentum and the consensus to topple the regime.

It was necessary to enter a new phase, in which the state could attempt to rebuild its political, social and economic systems in light of the new changes. The situation evolved into qualitative transitions to diagnose the Egyptian case; from solidarity to conflict, through the process of uneven competition among various political powers to control of the social sphere.

Socio-theoretical approach:

The concept of the elite imposed itself forcefully on the Egyptian scene in the wake of the 25 January Revolution. Given the political and social transformations, the fall of the dominant traditional elite and the emergence of new elites expressing the emerging revolutionary trends were inevitable. Although "Dahl" rejected the concept of the elite both theoretically and methodologically, he paved the way for the concept of "Plural elites", as he assumed that power is distributed among all social groups without being monopolized by any single group. The political understanding of the concept of the elite declined and was replaced by social groups, which possess social awareness and an ability to achieve internal cohesion. (Zayed, 2005:40).

In the course of his remarks about "the sociology of the central authority", "Bourdieu" expressed the nature of relations between culture, social structure and action, by asking questions about how social systems and domination persist and reproduce intergenerationally without powerful resistance, and without the conscious recognition of its members (Scott, 2009: 115). Stripping society of its centralization refers to the adoption of a look that considers social structures built in the ongoing processes, which occur in time and space, and are not determined by reasons. The meaning of the state, as a concept - for example - does not exist in social life in a fixed position. (Nash, 2013: 113).

- 1 The questions raised in this connection are related to the following: Are these rebellious social groups capable of transforming themselves into effective elites? Are these social groups capable of rebuilding the state, despite their limited political capabilities? Do they possess the tools that enable them to carry out the rebuilding process? Will the elements of the deep state allow them to do so? Is merely being able to dominate the street and its orientations sufficient to transform the regime, in accordance with modernist democratic approaches?

Those who define the material practices, forms and meanings of money, time or space entrench certain basic rules of the social game. The ideological and political hegemony in any society depends on its ability to control the material context of personal and social experience. (Harvey, 2005: 265 - 266). The link between what is

political and what is social remains a requirement of the complete crystallization of demands, as it becomes incumbent upon the political and social powers to develop themselves in order to produce political leaderships from the heart of the social reality, and form new elites that lead significant social movements on the ground with the purpose of meeting their demands and protecting the rights of the sectors of society that they represent; or else the result of these efforts will be a return to square one and stagnation. (Al-Ajati, 2011: 243).

The Egyptian elites, despite their different approaches in their quest for power, found that the main key to their path can only be attained through control of the social sphere and the network of social relations among common Egyptian masses. There is nothing stronger than controlling the directions of the street, which is the main supporter of any political group, but this key, is not easily controlled because of the population density and diversity in Egypt and sharp diversity of social classes, as well as the disparate morphological formations of the segments of Egyptian society. Therefore, each political group had to search for tools to control and influence the street, and try to understand the social and political outcomes of social groups in the social space, which rules political practices. Perhaps this embodies the reason for the failure to achieve tangible progress on the level of democratic reality, giving the traditional elite an opportunity to regroup and unite their efforts in order to make a strong come back.

Egypt's social morphology and the revolutionary reality:

The study of the status of the revolutionary reality in Egypt presupposes a multi-disciplinary approach, which includes two main angles for analysis: The first one reflects political ideological analysis, and the second one reflects socio-cultural analysis (Al-Jabri, 2000: 185). The political aspect of democracy is inseparable from the socio-cultural one, which is manifested by the impossibility for members of the community to exercise their freedoms in the absence of collective representations and the ethnic and religious loyalties deeply rooted in society's fabric of values. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between democracy as an indisputable principle and the procedural formalities of practicing this principle, which may vary according to the circumstances, level of development and political system in each society. This necessarily calls for research into the formation of the society in which contrasting visions of how to achieve democracy arise. (Khatabi, 2006: 83 - 84).

Researching the folds of the morphology of Egyptian society leads to the identification of a set of characteristics, which are at first associated with the idea of cultural blending among the various segments and groups of society, which created a historical, civilizational, social, cultural and psychological climate that governs the national concept of the Egyptian political community, as well as the geographical reality, which is governed by the Nile River, the narrow, fertile green valley and flat comparable land. This resulted in a central government and bureaucratic institutions, which imposed regulation and urbanization long ago. This is an important aspect of the special nature of the civilization and culture of Egyptian society (Fouad, 2005: 186 - 187). This civilizational and cultural heritage, with its historical and geographical sides, has affected the components of the dominant culture, especially its political aspect, which is governed by patterns of values, conflicts and political structures. (Siam, 2005: 247).

It is no secret that all the elites, whether traditional or modern, raise slogans of democracy, freedom and self-determination, which are the keys to peoples' doors and the visa that guarantees citizens' support for their political positions. In their pursuit of this support, they must wear social attire made up of slogans about social justice, and equality for all before the law. Freedom is a primarily social requirement, and secondarily a political one. However, the tools that achieve democracy clash with the nature of the socio-cultural context of Egyptian society.

Therefore, we witness the concepts of class stratification and sectarianism, whether in the countryside or in Upper Egypt, and the extent of its impact on votes, and the existence of interest-based alliances between politicians and large families, in addition to the exploitation of lower classes and their basic needs to collect electoral votes. Moreover, the opportunism of the middle class is exploited in an attempt to take advantage of intellectuals and make them play their enlightening role in order to falsify awareness, and to exploit the desire of the vast majority of young people to have stability and solidarity in order to maintain Egypt's alleged leadership and capabilities as a country that has an impact on the international level.

Democracy is associated with many economic conditions, including low per capita income, primitive agriculture, lack of mechanical energy consumption, primitive industry... etc., as well as the social conditions associated with underdevelopment, which is manifested in high illiteracy rates, malnutrition, deteriorating health conditions, increasing birth rates... etc. (Hijab, 2000: 98). Unemployment - as an example of economic problems - has an impact that exceeds the economic and social aspects, because it essentially means disabling the manpower capable of achieving development. Therefore, it is a fertile ground for social and political revolution (Al-Madini, 2011: 59). Furthermore, the experience of social injustice demonstrates itself clearly when protests are triggered by social, economic, political and moral motives (Affaya, Ibid: 28). However, this issue has a more dangerous sociological aspect, which is the relationship between authority and popular powers, community formations, and sectarian structures, which are widespread in the social fabric (Al-Ansari, 2005: 109).

The 25 January Revolution was an attempt to change the situation comprehensively, and create new situations, according to the demands and visions of those responsible for it, which were characterized as generally popular visions. They were not just political actions by some group, party, organization or institution (Rashed, 2011: 17). The subsequent emergence of organized efforts by the elites or groups of citizens, as representatives of popular masses, lacked formal representation based on the values, which are upheld by each political group and expressed by social protest movements (Al-Shobaki, 2011: 30).

If the traditional elite have lost their status as a result of the overwhelming solidarity among all social and political powers and factions, then the adoption of the policy of "divide and conquer" becomes appropriate in dealing with this new case of solidarity. This can only be achieved by highlighting each faction's internal rejection of the other, and the focus on intellectual and ideological differences, as well as the methods of action adopted by all powers, as the conflict shifts from a vertical form between emerging and traditional elites, to a horizontal conflict among all the new elites,

which seek to exercise social influence and political action. At this stage, the conflict must take symbolic forms linked to ideological trends, rather than become a visible conflict.

In this atmosphere of partisanship and polarization within Egyptian society, attempts to banish and exclude the other emerge, and exclusion mechanisms multiply, but they remain evident in the paradoxical binary structure. There is no better proof of this than the example of (Islamist versus secular). The Islamist bases his exclusion of the secular on accusations that the latter has violated the fundamental principles of the nation and adopted an intellectual, political and social project that leads to more dependency on the West. Likewise, the secular excludes the Islamist on the basis that he builds his project on the illusions of recreating the past and the absence of a socio-political project with clear goals and objectives, or specific action and implementation measures (Abu Zeid, 2010: 24).

Throughout its history, Egypt has never witnessed such fragmentation of its community fabric as it did in the wake of the January Revolution. This is probably due to several factors, including:

- The contrast between the social morphologies, which shape the Egyptian Social structure.
- Novice understanding of democracy.
- Different ideologies and visions of the future.
- Conflict between the traditional elites and the emerging elites.
- Internal conflict between emerging elites.

Islamists and the military institution emerged as the most prominent powers, which possess the tools of socio-political action, as a result of their possession of capabilities that are not available to other powers. The military elite have possessed an accumulated popularity throughout modern Egyptian history as the country's safety net. In addition, they adopted a neutral stance toward the people's January Revolution, and all elites are well aware of the military's possession of sufficient repressive tools to impose their dominance on all sectors of society - if it decided to do so. Therefore, all elites, including the Islamists, dealt with the military in a non-confrontational way, because they realized that a clash with the military institution would inevitably be in the latter's favour, despite the adoption of the civil orientations of the desired political system.

In contrast, we notice that the Islamist elites are a force to be reckoned with in the Egyptian street, especially since the military is fully aware of the intrinsic relations between the soldiers, as a military component, and their social and cultural origins, which revere religion. These elite have gained prominence and translated their dominance of the social sphere into victories in all elections, thanks to the tools available to them; namely religious discourse and social and cultural work.

This framework became competitive on the surface and conflictive under the surface, as a foregone conclusion between these two powers. However, the rest of the powers did not lack the tools of alliances to cope with such an uneven competition with these two elites. There is no better proof of this than the alliances between Christians, liberals, secularists and leftists with the pillars of the old regime at times, and with the military at other times, despite their revolutionary approaches, which reject the return

of the old regime or military rule, and their recurrent emphasis on the civil nature of the state. What prompted them to forge such alliances was their perception of the weakness of their existential abilities on the social level, as opposed to the Islamists.

The elites and the Egyptian street:

The fact of the matter is that the element of collective agreement began to wane as a result of the different orientations of those who launched the revolution and the failure to agree on compromises. Given their novice involvement in politics, they were content with timidly playing the role of political opposition, and, of course, the mechanisms of the opposition differ from those of the exercise of power. Therefore, the conflict between these powers was transformed from a political conflict to a social one. The revolutionary momentum continued and was exploited by political powers to rally supporters and confront opponents. Thus, the conflict turned into an attempt to gain control of the Egyptian street and the social sphere by taking advantage of the tools available to each faction, and the main objective became using the social sphere to support the political one, instead of the other way around.

1 In spite of the fact that democracy is the product of cultural liberalism and modernity, and that the Arab world's knowledge of it was obtained through the individual contributions of thinkers and pioneers, it remained locked as a result of a deep-rooted undemocratic heritage. Even the concept of freedom has become a source of controversy and dispute because of its Arab and Islamic cultural references, as opposed to its counterpart in modern liberalism. Now, each faction has its own agenda, regardless of whether its background is liberal, leftist, Islamist or Arab nationalist (Mustafa, 2010: 10 - 11). Each social group now draws visions and goals according to its own theoretical and ideological orientations, overlooking the concept of community partnership between the other social morphologies in the community. They even reject the idea of communicating with different visions, which are not in harmony with their own orientations.

As a result, a gap has emerged between the subjective and the objective. This contentious relationship was explained by "Bourdieu" as the result of practice that embodies a historical act steered from the past into the social sphere (*habitus*), i.e. the field through which social actions between self and society are determined; and where opportunities exist for using cultural connotations to determine the distances and differences between social groups. So, it was necessary to understand the political and scientific output and the nature of the social work of humanitarian groups in the social sphere (Ohi, 2000: 147).

Consequently, social practices embody a verbal expression of different patterns of social elements linked to specific areas of social life, and the relationship between these elements is logical, dialectic and contradictory. The rhetorical element incorporated into social practice is not the same. It is a partial expression of the pattern of social relations. (Fairclough, 2009: 63 - 64). As long as social practices are created in accordance with dialectic paradoxical relations, its appearance can be emphasized as it carries with it the seeds of its own destruction, in line with the rules of the dialectical approach. This may explain the failure to achieve democratic transition - until this paper was written. Socio-political structure is not based on the

rejection of the other or the attempt to exclude him, but rather on the integration of all components of the structure.

As a result of the immense social diversity in many Arab societies, including Egypt, several cases of religious, ideological, ethnic and class polarization have emerged in the face of the autocracy of the past. This was reflected by the absence of a stable democratic understanding. (Al-Badawi, 2011: 456).

In light of this diversity, many elites have emerged in Egyptian society, and entered into a conflict with their counterparts, using all the tools available to them. Perhaps the most prominent of these elites and the groups they include are the following:

- The traditional elite with members of the old regime and the military institution.
- The Islamic elite with all its trends, led by the Muslim Brotherhood.
- The liberal, secular and leftist elites, in addition to the church. (An alliance formed for the purpose of confrontation).
- The youth elite (which includes revolutionary youths).

The class of wealthy businessmen is the first of these tools. The owners of large businesses formed the only social class that supported the autocratic regime, and even sought to own mass media, especially newspapers and television channels, to promote this regime. In return, the regime paved the way for the gradual return to capitalism, after the public sector and the centralized economy had dominated the scene in earlier stages of Egypt's history. This means that democracy would pose a threat to them, if Islamists came to power. (Abdel Khaleq & Al syed, 2011: 394).

This capitalist class took advantage of the fears of all political trends, which oppose the political Islamist movement, and sought to finance the movements opposing the rule of the Islamists. It also held seminars and conferences seeking to terrify citizens of the nature of Islamic rule and the restrictions it might impose on personal and public freedoms, and emphasized the negative impact of attempts to slap a religious façade on the identity of the state, citing fears of replicating the Algerian, Iranian and Sudanese scenarios. They did all this for fear of applying an Islamic economic system that would threaten the economic empires they have built under the previous economic systems. The capitalists also used their global economic relations to export those fears to the international community, and explained the danger that Islamic economic and political systems pose to the foreign interests within Egyptian society. (Abdel Khaleq & Alsyed, 2011: 294 - 396).

With such restrictions, crises were exacerbated due to the nature of the nationalist repressive, non-democratic state, which is the result of either hereditary rule or a military coup. It tried hard to import ideologies to entrench its political legitimacy. This multitude of ideologies stretched from the far right (Wahhabism) to the far left (National Socialism). (Abu Zeid, 2010: 18). Consequently, the people became trapped between military and religious fascisms. Everyone forgot that the average man in the street is less interested in the type of government than in meeting his basic needs, which were also the demands of the revolution (bread, freedom, human dignity and social justice).

The contemporary media have emerged as one of the effective tools of political action and as an outstanding conflictual tool as well. Social movements are highly dependent on the mass media through which appeals are made, protests staged, and images made

effective in capturing public imagination and feeling (Nash, 2013: 2013). There is a variety of satellite television networks privately owned by rival political groups in order to influence their followers and achieve more social mobilization to support their ideas.

Satellite television networks have spread and become an important source of religious information for different age groups, particularly young people who resort to them more than to the clergy. (Mesbah, 2009: 152). This led to a qualitative shift in the style of traditional religious discourse, in the face of the secular and liberal discourse patterns.

However, the media are not confined to the roles of satellite television channels and newspapers, which are the mouthpieces of each faction. Modern mass media, such as the internet and social media, have gained prominence. The 25 January Revolution was driven primarily by youth, but communication technology was the dark horse, with each social group forming its own electronic brigades to express its views and objectives and endeavour to mobilize supporters. Although the role of these sites is to disseminate and exchange ideas, they practiced other roles at the conflictual level. They aimed to penetrate rival websites, spread rumours and use computer technology to falsify the facts or promote lies. This gave the conflict a modernist electronic dimension that suits young people in the community on the one hand, and the contemporary conditions and the penetration of spatial barriers on other.

The social media played enormous roles in the call for demonstrations in the squares and streets by all the parties to the conflict, and the situation evolved from mere verbal friction to bloody clashes in light of many political incidents and stances, which were clearly manifested in the "Maspero" and "Mohamed Mahmoud" incidents. As a result of all this, the methods of confrontation escalated from a conflict of ideas to verbal violence to the eventual direct physical conflict between disparate social groups.

The role of intellectuals in this conflict also emerged effectively, as autocratic regimes are used to containing and politically manipulating them, through calls for defending stability in order to achieve the common interests of both the regime and the elite. (AL - Badawi, 2011: 462). This is what "Foucault" referred to when he distinguished between the cosmic intellectual, who represents the classic position of commitment to the attempt to uncover the absolute values, which are summoned during socio-political discussions, and the qualitative intellectual who is confined to his area of technical expertise, and whose power of political discourse is governed by the particularity and sensibleness of his knowledge. (Paugam, 2012: 207).

The nay-Sayers, the individuals at odds with their society and therefore outsiders and exiles so far as privileges, power, and honours are concerned. The pattern that sets the course for the intellectual as outsider is best exemplified by the condition of exile, the state of never being fully adjusted, always feeling outside the chatty, familiar world inhabited by natives. The intellectual always has a choice either to side with the weaker, the less well represented, the forgotten or ignored, or to side with the more powerful. (Saeed, 2006: 98-100).

It is obvious in light of these discrepancies that totalitarian Arab parties - especially in Egypt - have a strong hold on political life. They adopt a totalitarian and exclusionary

approach that led to the suppression of other progressive revolutionary powers, and the support of dictatorship and tyranny under revolutionary and nationalist slogans (Salama, 2011: 53).

Although the multi-party system is the prevailing one in Egyptian society, the collapse of the National Democratic Party, which monopolized power in the face of a group of cosmetic parties that had no presence on the ground, with the exception of the "Wafd" Party, which has a long history at the theoretical level only, none of the existing political parties revealed any specific programs or visions. Therefore, they have not been able to attract these haphazard social groups. Nor have they been able to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of the National Democratic Party, and this led to the continuation of the protest movements, demonstrations and all forms of rebellion. Therefore, Arab regimes have noticeably used several methods in the face of revolutions and youth protests. They resort first to a display of their brutal force, and as the scope of popular anger widens, they tend to offer economic advantages and political promises; and when the ceiling of demands is raised, they resort to violence once again. (Youssef et al., 2011: 142).

The outcome of the above was widespread chaos and rampant lawlessness in Egyptian society in an unprecedented way. Political solutions disappeared in the face of escalating protests, the prestige of the state was broken, and so was the barrier of fear among many sectors within Egyptian society. The conflict was transformed from a struggle for power to a struggle for existence that can only be won by any given group by the elimination of other groups, which do not agree with its own orientations.

Conclusion:

The forms of this conflict were manifested in the paradoxical binaries, most notably: a hidden conflict that turned into an explicit one; a vertical conflict that turned into a horizontal one; a moral conflict that turned into a material one; an ideological conflict that turned into an existential and materialistic one, and a virtual electronic conflict that turned into a realistic social one. As these patterns of conflict prevailed, community divisions in Egypt's social sphere seemed like a modern social phenomenon, which is unprecedented in both modern and ancient history, and the entire society became trapped in a state of danger, which requires all factions, sects and groups firstly to end the dogmatic state that dominates their orientations; secondly, to be convinced that diversity is the standard of intellectual and community richness; thirdly, to search for common grounds that could serve as a starting point on the path to community consensus, which should not necessarily be complete; and fourthly, to rally around the concept of the homeland, not the concept of power. A homeland requires transforming the conflict into the logic of competition that leads to progress, unlike the concept of power, which fuels a conflict in which all parties lose.

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***The Myth of the Second Front:
How 'the experts' and 'the global jihad' appropriate Asian insurgencies***

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Abstract

The immediacy and locality witnessed in the parochial and specific features in some of Asia's most violent and intractable insurgencies has been manipulated, appropriated and commandeered by a community far beyond its provincial actors. A connection to a supra cultural force, the global jihad, perhaps the defining 'conflict' of our epoch, has been affirmed by both the 'members' of the global jihad and congruently self titled experts. The resulting discourse challenges our ideas of community and conflict.

Many of the connections advocated under the guise of academic research are contradicted by empirical fieldwork, which suggests that the global jihad, as contemporaneous in Asia, is rarely connected through a tangible network of terrorists. More accurately, the communities of those living in these insurgencies are connected to the global jihad through variant degrees of cerebral, emotional and ethical connections. Faisal Devji has posited that the jihad is less a traditional conflict, or even a new war, but rather, a global social movement akin to environmentalism.

Our understanding of what the local and global dimensions in conflict constitute has been hampered by the continued reliance of what should be the long forgotten idea of the second front. The very notion that the global jihad is a conflict with fronts, be they real or imagines, physical or not, is dangerous and regressive.

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My name is Tom Smith and I would like to talk to you about this idea of *the second front*. A pernicious and dangerous idea that refuses to go away¹. In particular, I want to demonstrate that the second front needs a renewed critique because of the appropriation of various Asian insurgencies by both so-called ‘terrorist experts’ and the ‘actors’ of the global jihad. This critique illuminates some of the most interesting and forward-thinking ideas addressing our conference themes of conflict and community. Indeed what we will do is challenge the very definitions of those words and ask ourselves what is the conflict and what is the community.

Now some of you may be well versed in this ‘second front’ idea and be curious as to why I am still bothering to put energy into discrediting it. Well, I wish I didn’t have to, however research and commentary on terrorism in Asia (and elsewhere) continues to be influenced by the idea. Which like all ideas is difficult to delete. The wealth of material that was produced advocating the region, as the second front remains well referenced and regarded today – certainly in some policy circles. But more than this, and any notion of ‘I told you so’, those that lead the charge in claiming links between Asian insurgencies and the dark dangerous network of al Qaeda, have recently renewed their vigor for this subject.

Zachary Abuza (Abuza, 2009), Maria Ressa (Ressa, 2013) and Rohan Gunaratna (Gunaratna & Acharya, 2012) been the three most visible of the so called experts on the regions insurgencies. What they did and continue to do, is connect the local to global by way of citing movements of people, arms, funding and ideology from one time and place to another. This conflation of the so called-connections, of which the best known story is that of the Afghan Mujahedeen returning to South East Asia equipped and fuelled to fight their local jihad as part of a wider global jihad, is not evidenced unproven. It’s an attractive story and a fascinating idea but alas I have found by some good old-fashioned empirical research and some all too rare fieldwork in the region it to be a fanciful one.

Over the past few years I have focused on both the Southern Thai and Filipino insurgencies as supposed examples par excellence of the second front. Asking what, if anything, connects the Pattani or Mindanao to ‘the global jihad’. But for today’s purposes I would ask you to not just limit yourselves to these two locales, but others, while they work well as a case study comparison as both are situated in non Muslim states, distant from the capitol, with similar geographies, the second front idea was expanded to other areas, obviously Indonesia and Malaysia. But following last month’s knife attack in Kunming, it certainly raised the spectre of Xinjiang becoming a more prominent example of the jihad in Asia and sparking further revival of the second front thesis (Kaiman, 2014). Such positing of the local within greater global contexts by both government officials and the media, as is nearly always done, and continued here with Kunming.

¹ See various proponents of the second front idea such as; Abuza, 2003; Bond, 2009; Conboy, 2005; Gunaratna, 2003a, 2003b; Ramakrishna & Tan, 2003; Ressa, 2004; Singh, 2007; Smith, 2005; Tan, 2011

It is this which what interests me. How is it connected to the jihad? – So, I set out to see what others had claimed and scrutinized their sources and evidencing, but more pointedly I went to the locales myself– the immediacies of the insurgencies and asked the people if and how the insurgency was connected to the others events around the world.

For the most part this meant riding a motorbike and playing football in a jungle fringed landscape occasionally broken up by mosques and malls. I spoke to a wide selection of people but was particularly interested to hear the views of young people. The ‘angry young men’ trope who have supposedly been radicalized by an evil ideology into a dark network was beginning to be exposed and discredited and eventually gave rise to the discipline of critical terrorism studies as an application of critical theory.

Examples of others who have noted the weakness in the second front thesis need to be held up as academic heroes in the field. Natasha Hamilton Hart beat me to the punch by noting the terrible trend for definitive tones in this field. She says: *“At no stage do the books written by Abuza, Gunaratna or Ressa – or most of the analysts who cite them – discuss issues of credibility or interpretation with regard to official information...Rather than offering any reflection on his sources, Gunaratna frequently fails to even cite a specific source for his claims, or fails to identify the source sufficiently. Yet there is no sign of doubt or uncertainty in his work.”*(Hamilton-Hart, 2005, p. 308)

Likewise Michael Connors who warned us that *“Despite the fact that his work has been criticized for overreliance on intelligence agency materials and for often making unsubstantiated claims, Gunaratna remains an authoritative international figure”*(Connors, 2006, p. 147).

What has Kevin Bacon got to do with Terrorism in Asia Tom? – well about as much as Al Qaeda does it seems. I honestly don’t mean to be flippant, but this fantastic insight by Graham Brown needs repeating, sharing, and circulating amongst peers once more. If you would allow me another quote: *“The general way in which different types of source are utilized and, in particular, how tentative allegations are transmuted, through a kind of process of academic Chinese Whispers, into established facts, studies of international terrorism in Southeast Asia and elsewhere would benefit from much greater contextualization within the domestic politics of the country in question, rather than their current focus on specific individuals, organizations and networks”*(Brown, 2006, p. 160)

This portrayal Brown criticizes of a conflict where individuals are supposedly members of groups and networks is rarely evidenced, yet it exists as an almost existential truth. Bin Laden even on his death was considered the mastermind, despite any evidence to substantiate this. We all somehow know him as being in control of a global network with tentacles everywhere(Abuza, 2002; Brimley, 2006).

The result is a narrative of an informal hierarchy which even if cellular or hydra in structure was and is inherently top down with central leadership hidden away somewhere in remote caves or jungles yet benefiting from all the joys of a globalized 21st century CEO.

But its simply not true of course, this thinking was built on an outmoded top-down model, the same model in which Islam was portrayed in International Relations when Oliver Roy described the Islamic world in terms of a Centre and peripheries(Roy, 2004, p. 304). In the post 9/11 space, the idea of a global jihad was simply overlaid onto this model complete with a center – be it Afghanistan or Iraq as the source of purity or an authenticity which needed to be exported to the periphery by missionaries to the far flung corners where safe havens and sanctuaries could be created for exotic jihad.

What we have been left with is straight from Hollywood, of a puppet master and powerful and connected network pulling the strings. But it is time for the puppets to cut the strings. It is time we inverted the pyramid and rethought our conceptualization of the jihad, particularly in Asia and with it challenge our ideas of community and conflict. In much the same way that Mary Kaldor made the distinction between New Wars and Old Wars(Kaldor, 1999), I suggest we now have old wars, new wars and the Jihad. Where the individual is at the apex – at the center of the ‘everyday conflict’. Able to pull down or download whatever they want and need from the jihad which has become not a single doctrine for disciples but an ethereal groundswell co-opted and manipulated, abused and challenged, but with every act, donation, internet forum post, video download and discussion, the groundswell, the jihad grows for later appropriation. We have already become accustomed with the idea, if not comfortable with the practice of web 2.0 and the idea of social collaboration and 2 way platforms for dialogue and exchange. In such a case I suggest we start to think about the jihad and consider this conflict as jihad 2.0 if that helps us move on intellectually from regressive ideas of networked terrorists and the second front.

The jihad as a mashup, a hosting service, a platform from which the jihad is crowdsourced. It always was this way, but the language and ideas from technology and media and the challenge they bring to our previous incarnations of identity and community are striking in discussing the jihad.

I saved todays presentation (or more accurately todays selection of pictures and videos) on Google Drive, somewhere up in the cloud. The jihad is the cloud, it is everything and anything for anyone and everyone to take what they will from. No control. No direction. No indoctrination. No radicalization.

Manifest examples of this are in the art of the jihad, the nasheed videos on YouTube, Facebook and twitter. Ethnically and culturally diverse, regionally appropriate and suitable to whatever setting be it Chechnya, Kashmir, Palestine or Patani and Mindanao. They acknowledge their heritage, they recall the tradition of a global religion or omnipresent identity that recalls international brotherhood, kinship and sympathy. Whether the practice of the hadji or one of the 5 pillars of the faith – to give to charity, the jihad becomes interwoven with 21st century Muslim life and identity, expanding the individuals horizons and ideas of community beyond their local mosque and immediate family but to the plight and suffering of fellow Muslims far away. This cosmopolitan caring and empathy should be regarded as the most important connection to the jihad

rather than looking for mythical instances of al Qaeda moving people and arms and plans from one battle field to the next. The reality for young Muslims and non Muslims is a connection based cerebrally. An empathy, a sense of duty, a 6th Pillar of Islam – the jihad, to contribute to do your bit in what ever way. To post a comment, to like a video, this jihadi clicktivism is the connection we shouldn't ignore and should restrain from condemning.

But its also very modern as well as displaying hallmarks of tradition and heritage, vibrantly so. Its even dare I say in some respects quite progressive, and acutely feminine in some senses. The non-violent contributions are just as important as the violent ones. The violence obviously catches our eye and we obsess over it naturally, but in doing so we neglect the underbelly of non-violence. For which the violent act-out on behalf of. The chest beating idea or 'representing' their people is strangely familiar to the jihad in several locales. It is manifestly challenging, which in itself is striking and enchanting.

Are Jihadist like environmentalists, part of a global social movement akin to others acting ethically or humanitarially for others far away? Faisal Devji suggested this in his groundbreaking philosophical 2005 work Landscape of the jihad(Devji, 2005). An the idea that has so far not been tested or followed up. The idea antagonizes some who find it repellant to analyze jihadists in the same way we would other activists and global social movements, but the violence does not take place in a vacuum and we must learn to appreciate that behind the violence lies a growing environment or what Devji calls beliefs and practices of non-violent participation, a fuel which lacks central control and authority. This we can evidence, we can cite it can be verified it can be attested to in the public domain and it runs counter to the second front radicalizing network narrative.

So, the next time you hear or read of somewhere long forgotten becoming the next breeding ground or sanctuary for the jihad, ask yourself if that is credible, if the evidence they put forward is substantive enough compared to what you see all around you and what I have suggested today. The idea that Jihad in Paradise is the threat we all face is false. There are no fronts to this war, conflict, insurgency or whatever we come to call it, be you in paradise, downtown Manhattan, London or catching a train in Madrid, the plausibility for a connection to the jihad remains. So even if Disney decide to make a movie based on Mark Bowdens article Jihadists in Paradise(Bowden, 2007), we all know the difference between storytelling and reality.

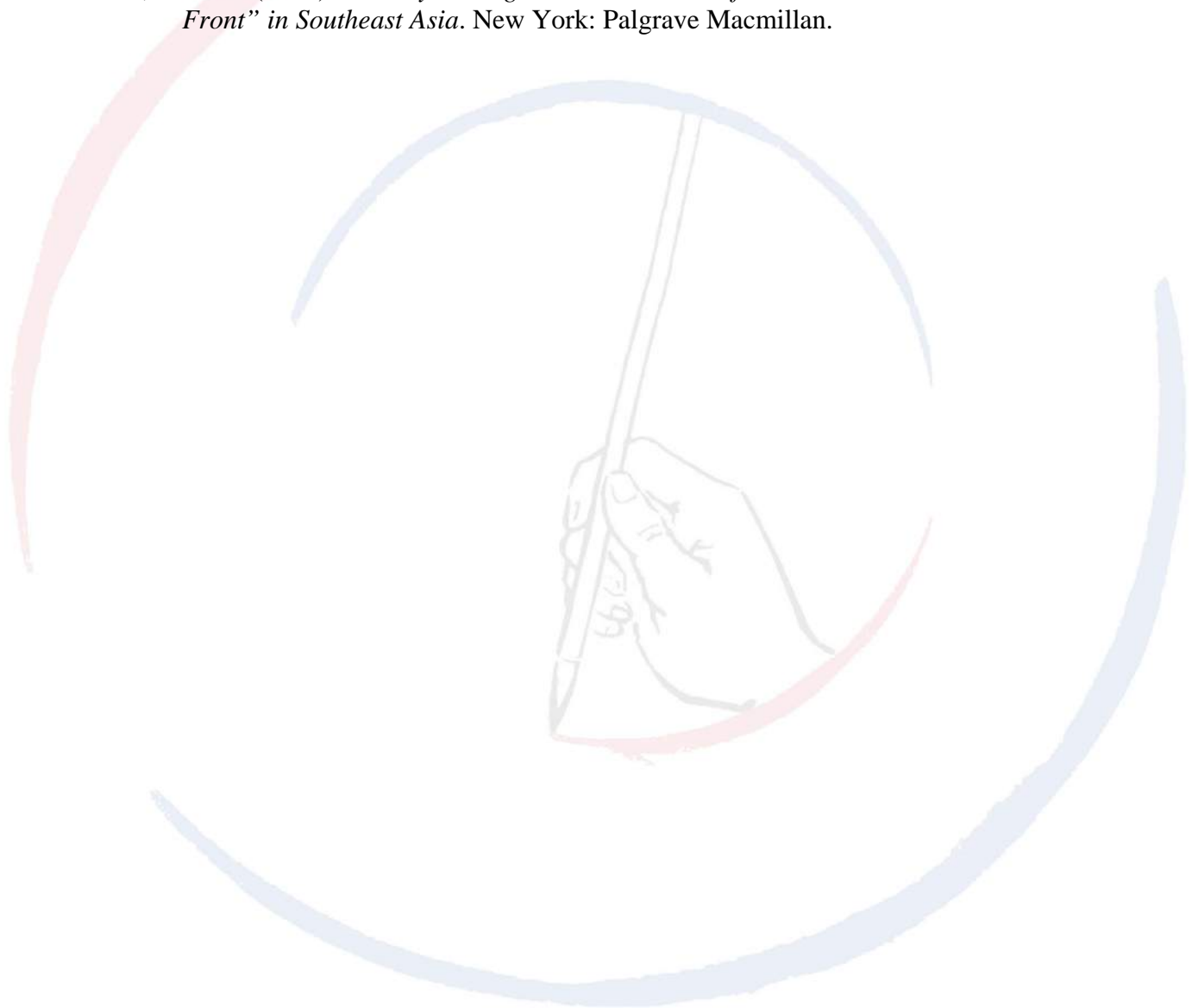
There is no second front, there are no fronts. What we can only be sure of is that the sentiment shared by individuals is been misread by experts as evidence or radicalization and appropriated by violent sociopaths as consent. The jihad is, as yet, rarely articulate, perhaps because of its metaphysical inexactitude. Without any order and cohesion and while the jihad revels in been contested, argued upon like a politician who says they act in 'the public interest' the jihad will ask more questions of us than anyone has answers for. At the very least we should caution against those who attest to having the inside story from secret sources, demanding a better standard of basic academic disciplines and peer-reviewed rigor.

At the very least, the next time you are exposed to these issues if the ideas of who they are and what is their fight are not at the forefront of your mind, one should be very skeptical.

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***Effectiveness of line drawing in depicting scientific illustrations:
Linking physical situation and visual representation***

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Introduction:

Visual impression supports mental images, scientific illustrations as visualizations are important part of many science fields. Every illustration in a scientific report gives a visual impression, clarifies, portrays facts, and demonstrates relations that cannot be described clearly by written words. Illustrations as images can be a high-bandwidth data representations. So presenting illustrations through traditional or new realms of media have many to offer scientists, who are taking management decisions, depicting their own understanding about the scientific data, to expand their ideas, facilitate sharing of information with other scientists and researchers.

Over hundreds of years, Visual thinking-affected by different cultures and various scientific environments- played a great role in scientific discovery and technological invention using picture-like representations as internal mental models or as external depictions. Visual thinking is one of the keys to a holistic understanding of any concept or subject, often represented through line drawing sketching which is considered as external representations that play both a mirror role to externalize rough mental models, and an unveiling role as gateways to imaginary entities. Some of sketch-note drawings help scientists visualize the topics, while others can be instrumental in helping to explain difficult concepts and highlight areas of confusion. This paper presents the fundamental role of imagery in science as accurate scientific information is wedded with artistic expression in a wide range of styles through the mutual role of the scientist and the illustrator, aiming to clarify the important role of line drawing styles to produce pictorial representation of layered complexity scientific concepts and to portray a specific structure form of an object through different considered line types defining the outlines and the surfaces with controlling line characteristics, so that the essential features and the inter-relationships of the subject become apparent and clear. Finally, scientists can delegate cognitive features to external representations through semiotic attributions and documentary aspects because in many scientific studies' situations the internal computation would involve a very great effort because of human mind's limited capacity, so line drawing in scientific illustration take an effective role as graphical method in parallel with analytical scientific methods.

Linking mental visualization and physical situation :

Thinking through drawing plays a central role in scientific creativity. The thematic organization of images and visualization within science can help in the generation and evaluation of scientific studies, and serve as a focus for professional development programs in visual-spatial thinking for scientists. Visual-spatial thinking includes vision using the eyes to identify, locate, and think about objects in the world, and imagery of the formation, inspection, transformation, and maintenance of images in the mind's eye in the absence of a visual stimulus. A spatial image preserves relationships among a complex set of ideas as a single chunk in working memory, increasing the amount of information that can be maintained in consciousness at a given moment.

Spatial transformations on external supports can be used to create and transform external drawings and the resulting internal/mental representations may undergo further mental transformations to create and modify the subsequent internal images.

So mentally manipulating both external drawings and internal representations is extremely important for the scientist that uses both the drawn figure and the own mental representation. (Magnani, 2013).

Vision and imagery are fundamental cognitive processes using specialized pathways in the brain and rely on the memory of prior experience. Scientific creativity can be considered as an amalgam of three closely allied mental formats: images; metaphors; and unifying ideas. (Mathewson, 1999). Scientists use visual thinking as a way to organize their thoughts and improve their ability to think and communicate. It's a way to expand range and capacity by going beyond the linear world of the written word, list and spreadsheet, and entering the non-linear world of complex special relationships by using certain drawing styles and different traditional and digital tools to externalize their internal thinking processes, linking mental images and physical situation with visual representation making ideas and subjects more clear, explicit and actionable. (Gray, 2013).

It is important to articulate and formalize the role that conceptual visualization (creation of visual paradigms) as well as descriptive visualization (display of data) skills play in science research. (Sorensen, 1989). but without omitting the fact that whatever ideas are allowed to imagine in science is often consistent with the laws of scientific studies and the cultural values. We can't allow ourselves to seriously imagine things which are obviously in contradiction to the known laws of nature except for some scientific exaggerations. Scientists should have the imagination to think of something that has never been seen before, never been heard of before but at the same time the thoughts are restricted in a straitjacket, limited by the conditions that come from their knowledge of the way nature really is. The problem of creating something which is new, but which is compatible with everything which has been seen before, is one of extreme difficulty. And so comes the need to combine the illustrative techniques and drawing styles with the pre-existing scientific knowledge. (Taffesse & Kassa 2005).

The relationship between scientists and scientific illustrators as artists - designers:

Creating scientific illustrations require collaborations between scientists and scientific illustrators as fine artists. Few scientists have the technical or artistic skills to prepare finished characterized illustrations regardless of their artistic ability. Some of them acquire such skills by study and practice or by seeking advice from experts, but most of them rely on professional illustrators, with specific skills and visions. (Weekes, 2013).

Scientists create drawings or build models to understand and communicate their science. Over ages affected by ideological implications and cultural scientific environments, artists have developed artistic styles and techniques to create visual representations in particular communication goals. Working on scientific visualization problems, illustrators as artists already interact with scientists and adopt their problems. Artists can help with inspiration and feedback on the visual and communicative aspects of visualization, but scientists define the tasks performed and therefore must ultimately evaluate the success of the methods. (Laidlaw, 2001).

Unless the scientist is also an artist, the best situation in a scientific environment is to work with an illustrator in a team who should possess the following attributes:

- Enough Scientific culture background to understand the basis of the research, and potentially a person whose own work is related to the research field.
- Identify significant problem areas and keep a stimulating dialog with the scientists.
- Sensitive to the purpose of the research, as well as applications to society, and think with a conscience.
- Give very valuable feedback about long term implications, which could very well impact the next level of research undertaken.
- Able to work as a designer, applying his sense of the pragmatic to original, fresh representations, utilizing his well-developed visual perception and communication skills in the final display of the data.

The illustrator as an artist and designer plugs directly into three parts of the research process including:

- Identification of research problems, recording information, conceptualization of visual models, observation and description of a phenomenon or group of phenomena or a specific idea; recording process.
- Running of the experiment, gathering data, testing, and modeling for study. Use of the hypothesis to predict the existence of other phenomena, or to predict quantitatively the results of new observations; analysis process, detailed analysis of the graphical languages that have been applied to the representations of the scientific subject.
- Dissemination, giving form to the display of the results, or performance of experimental tests of the predictions, for communication purposes.; Design process. (Sorensen, 1989). The graphic syntax of the display of the subject reveals the assumptions of a period, a culture, a technology, a discipline. (Saunders, 1995).

Some scientists entrust the illustrators with the critical mission of translating their sparks of genius into immersive images, storybook style sequences and crafted data visualizations. The art and act of translating their science is as full of experimentation; research, ideation, interpretation, composition, color, technique. These sparks are the catalysts of creativity; in their wake come wild theories, hypotheses and experiments, both scientific and artistic. It's where the idea-translation process comes into focus. Through an active partnership between scientist and artist, a symbiosis results which has the potential of impacting our life. (Ehlert, 2013).

The line drawing process in scientific illustration:

There is a direct appeal to the imagination in line drawing. The power a line possesses of instinctively directing the eye along its course is of the utmost value, enabling the concentration of attention where the centers of interests in conjunction with the movement of lines.

Line drawing has been used for centuries to record the exciting progress of scientific investigation as it has been mirrored in the art used to document its ideas and breakthroughs. Scientists or scientific illustrators use line drawing as a shorthand for a particular kind of simple, sparse, monochrome drawing, which can optionally vary in width, juxtaposition, and density to produce³⁰ spatial and tonal effects where the edges,

contours, and important features of the objects being represented, to emphasize form and outline, over color, shading, and texture tending towards realism, or being an ideograph or glyph. Line drawing has been shown to excel at:

- Explanatory illustrations where the detailed representation of tonal variation or texture are required and speed of interpretation is important; this potentially explains why line drawings are often used in various botanical, technical scientific documentation.
- Situations where information is still a group of changeable suggested ideas. As line drawings are clear representations that can still be interpreted as provisional and have the adjustability in later stages. (Healey, Interrante, Kremers, Laidlaw, Rheingans, 2001).

Line Drawing in science includes the full range of simple, rough to detailed, finished illustrations. Scientists and illustrators often make several sketches before starting a complex drawing. Whether the purpose is to record general features, convey certain beliefs or create a life-like illustration, the most important thing about drawing in science is representing what is seen, predicted, expected to be examined, studied accurately and sometimes imagined; materialize the mental images. It is possible to highlight important features as well as to show different stages of development through different kinds of artistic drawing styles whether they have a carefully constructed look or they are loose drawings or a combination of both, (Weekes, 2013) (Buckley, 2013) (Sousa & Prusinkiewicz, 2003) including the following as examples:

- Real Life drawing; literal representation that results from direct or real observations and portrays all the expressions that are viewed by the artist and captured in the illustration. (fig 1) It may be applied to botanical, zoological and biological illustration, or other fields as geosciences.
- Analytical drawing which is created for clear understanding and representation of observations dividing them into small parts for a better perspective. Cutaway drawing studies or exploded views can be used to examine and analyze the shape, form, proportion and geometry of objects; and the space, scale relationship and configuration of objects clustered in a group. (fig 2)
- Iconic drawing to convey the most typical characters of the studied object so that the icon's action is captured or the concept is represented having a conventional formulaic style. (fig 3)
- Geometric drawing to visually communicate information of a technical nature, particularly, in construction fields that demand specific dimensions. Measured scales, true sides, sections, and various other descriptive views are represented through geometric drawing. (fig 4)
- Diagrammatic drawing to depict adjacencies and happenstance that are likely to take place in the immediate future, serving as active design process for the ideas so conceived to document concepts and ideas which are explored and investigated. (fig 5) . (types-of-drawing 2014).

Drawings, being reflections of the scientist and artist's mental abstraction have a natural multi-layered structure. Often artists use a combination of two main approaches to hierarchy drawing structure. The first is level by level as subjects prefer to completely deal with one level in the hierarchy, before proceeding to the next level; to start with basic skeleton and add detail, visualizing the basic shapes that underlay a complex surface, The second where subjects complete sub hierarchies one by one,

which involves an imaginary box, working from the outside in, imagining basic shapes that the form fits within. (Fu, Zhou, Liu & Mitra 2011) (South, 2014). The drawing process in scientific illustration operates on three levels:

- A simple accurate line diagram such as a visual description, a plan, a map for working out the initial drawings and layout or using a camera attached to a microscope to draw some of the minutest specimens as plants. (fig 6). It may be visual-note taking different patterns; linear, vertical, radial, path, modular or other according to the studied subject to engage the mind, create a visual map, help the concentration and tap the visual language.
- An illustration that describes the subject accurately but incorporates specific surface detail such as color and texture, etc. in a special style (fig7) . The details are checked with the scientist before the final rendering begins to get approval of the accuracy of the work. Once the elements of the drawing have been decided the illustrator then lays them out on the page in a logical order.
- An artwork that could be described as an illustration based on all of the above but could combines aesthetics with science. (fig 8).

Most likely, drawings should have title, magnification according to the studied case, labels of the important features of the subject, annotations and scale. The important issues for the scientists are that the illustration shows all the necessary parts clearly and accurately, to impart the information they are trying to communicate. Complex relationships can be compiled and presented by combining results from multiple datasets into a synergistic and clear graphical representation. The Illustrator emphasizes that they are science led and that the main consideration is accuracy and care to include enough information without cluttering the drawing with unnecessary detail. It is to illustrator credit that he is able to create both a scientifically accurate illustration and visually stunning work. (Weekes, 2013) (Buckley, 2013) (Crowe & Laseau, 2011) (Rohde, 2012).

Characteristics of line drawing in scientific illustration:

Line drawing styles often varied between individual artists, acting to define their unique illustrative techniques and achieve a sense in a drawing. The illustrator shapes and connects the feature lines of the objects in different ways, subtly varies their orientation, length, density coarseness, weight and breaks them, and puts them in various relations with respect to each other. These actions and their effects are collectively known as linear phrasing. They are achieved by a combination of three specific elements:

- Definition of connectives consists of specifying various ways in which lines relate to each other. These relations occur when lines are connected together, broken by gaps, or emerge from each other.
- Definition of enclosures consists of indicating object out-lines with lines that are not completely closed, but nevertheless give a fair idea of the intended shape. Enclosures are typically defined by combining the connectives.
- Weight control consists of suggesting shapes and volumes by drawing lines that are thicker at certain curvatures and junctions, or parts in the focus of attention. (Sousa & Prusinkiewicz, 2003) (Healey, 2001).

Line drawing weight:

Line weight which refers to the thickness or thinness of the line as conventionally practiced in scientific illustration has a significant effect on the ability to correctly interpret scientific subjects. It is possibly the most useful tool in increasing the expressive complexity of line drawing. (fig 9). The relative weight of the line used to surround an object determines whether the outline is perceptually grouped with the object or with the background, or, alternatively, whether the line stands apart from both and demands recognition as an entity in its own right. The amount of depth conveyed in drawing will vary considerably depending on the effectiveness with which the outline is drawn; in the cases where the line assumes its own identity.(Fussell, 2012). Line thickness in a line drawing can be varied for a number of reasons according to the drawing style to convey the intended subject :

- Increased thickness can be used to indicate the proximity or the importance of the object being rendered.
- Line thickness can be varied within patterns of lines used for shading, resulting in varied tonal density.
- Line thickness can be used to indicate structural hierarchies, i.e. the line indicating the outline of the object versus the ground could be thick, while lines representing internal detail could be thinner.
- Lines can be dynamically varied to create the sense of volume or weight, i.e. Lines may become wider or thicker in areas where the object itself is thicker. And lines on or toward the bottom of objects could be thicker than lines on the top of objects. (Michael, 2008).

Line drawing spacing:

When lines are used to represent surfaces areas rather than boundaries of form, the thickness and spacing of the individual strokes is often varied over the image depending on the tone desired in each region. By changing the frequency of the use of line, and the amount of space between the lines, the illustrator can create a full range of value in the scientific drawing. An important concern in any scientific illustration is emphasis and to define the focus of attention in a drawing by varying the contrast with which different parts of the subject are depicted and, concomitantly, varying the amount of detail that is represented in each part. (fig 10)

Adding opaque strokes to transparent surfaces is to allow the form of the depicted objects to be more easily and intuitively understood without distracting the attention of the observer, confusing the appearance with adding visual noise that detracts from rather than enhances the overall effectiveness of the presentation. This may be one reason that the circular texture elements are so rarely employed by scientific illustrators for the purpose of more explicitly depicting surface shape.

Line drawing Orientation:

Orientation is the path or direction a line stroke follows. The lengths of the individual strokes and the precision with which they are drawn including the regularity of the patterning and the amount by which the individual strokes fluctuate in direction influence the impression and the information conveyed by a drawing. The essential shape of an object, both within and apart from the shading, is conveyed most clearly by the orientations of the lines that fill and bound its form.(fig 11).

A line's direction describes spatial relationships. Whether it is horizontal to imply inactivity, vertical to describe the potential of action, diagonal to suggest movement, or curved paths to suggest flowing movement and define boundaries and shape. There are a number of different commonly-accepted techniques for defining line orientation. Possibly the simplest approach, and incidentally the one that communicates applying the strokes in a meant direction to reflect the nature of the information to be expressed. Although the orientation of the lines is often independent of the three-dimensional space occupied by the depicted objects, perception of form is nevertheless affected by the choice of line direction.

Other line drawing characteristics controlled by illustrators - putting in consideration factors affecting stroke making as simplicity, proximity, collinearity, similarity and symmetry- (Fu et al, 2011) are the length and the number of individual line strokes as the length is often used to differentiate between contextually different parts of a subject, and the number of strokes laid down in a fixed area of the paper or the amount of lines to be placed by following the principle that "less in a drawing is not the same as less of a drawing". Extraneous details are visually eliminated, reducing the subject to simple lines depicting key shape features. Also the coarseness of the used tool as a pen to apply a stroke causes visible bristle lines and surface roughness. (Healey, 2001) (Sousa & Prusinkiewicz, 2003)

Depicting through line drawing types:

Line drawings bring together an abundance of lines to yield a depiction of a subject. Different types of lines convey geometry and shading in a way that's compatible with the visual perception. Scientists as specialists seem to interpret this subject easily and accurately being very specific about what information is available in a line drawing. This is the information that the perceptual systems are probably using. Essentially, each line in a drawing places a constraint on the depicted shape but perceptual systems excel at uncovering the most reasonable and most likely interpretations. Different types of lines provide different kinds of depicted information as lines can mark:

- View dependent locations on the shape focusing on the geometric forms that give the subject its overall shape, through contour line (external and internal silhouettes, Suggestive contour and apparent ridges).
- Fixed locations on a shape as features that define the interior volumes and surfaces through creases (sharp folds), ridges and valleys, surface (markings as texture features and material boundaries) and line hatching.
- Lighting-dependent through line hatching, stippling and others. (Decarlo 2008) (Sousa & Prusinkiewicz, 2003).

Contour lines: are lines whose location depends on the chosen and oriented viewpoint. There are two situations when contours are formed : On a smooth surface, contours are produced when the surface is viewed edge-on. Or on an arbitrary surface, contours can also appear along a crease. (Decarlo, 2008).

Pure contour line drawing is the simplest form of linear expression. The line describes visible edges-outline-of an object in strength, clarity and simplicity. Surface details such as color, shadow and highlight are ignored. Some edges are clear, with a defined start and finish. But when the edge turns a corner or flattens out

the line should be implied. The artist needs to decide where the drawn line ends. The choice shouldn't be arbitrary, but should aim to help the viewer to make sense of the form. The transition from edge to plane, or the line along an edge which isn't sharp, may be implied or suggested by making breaks in a line, a dotted line, or some variation between the two. Line weight may also be used. Complex object with many edges may give the appearance of detail, but a simple object will often offer no information about its three-dimensional form.(fig 12) (South, 2014). Extension of contours draw lines where no true contour exists, but a contour would exist if the viewpoint were slightly changed.(Cole, 2008). While contours are, of course, of prominent importance for visual perception displaying all the contours of a scene in a line drawing will regularly fail to convey the essential parts of an image. There is a critical step between the extraction of edges and their assignment as object contours. The visual system understands how to determine which contours are the critical ones and beyond a certain level in the hierarchy of visual cortex, only those contours should remain. Shadow borders and other accidental contours must be removed in order to keep only the object contours.

Following the initial critical choice of lines to include, the elements that are central to the information conveyed by line drawings are those parts of an image where contours touch or intersect and many authors have shown how these various junctions form a set of constraints that are often sufficient to specify and convey the features of the original object through analytic drawing. For example, a T-junction is formed when one object interrupts the contours of another object behind it; a Y-junction is seen at the front corner of a cube; an X-junction is formed when the contours of a transparent material cross those of a background surface. Contours also may end on their own when smooth surfaces self-occlude. These local junction cues are clearly used by the visual system to make sense of line drawings (Sayim & Cavanagh, 2011).

Contours in map making track across a surface linking points of the same height, so are very different in appearance and purpose to the pure contours referred to they are view independent shapes. This type of cartographic contour has more in common with an artist's 'cross contours', which are drawn to describe imaginary lines that cut across the form. (Fig 13)

Cross contour lines or Contour line Hatching may curve slightly or even a great bit depending on the contours of the object. Lines of this nature can further the illusion of form by giving information about the actual 3-dimensional qualities of the object. Hatching placed at a slight angle may create a moire-like effect, the diamond-shaped fragments of white paper enlivening the denser areas of value. the direction of line helps to suggest the cross-contours of the object. (fig 14) (Fussell, 2013).

Creases which mark discontinuities in surface orientation are visible in a real image as a discontinuity in tone. (fig 15). These lines are intrinsic properties of the shape, (Cole, 2008) as adding detail gives more information about the form. Varied line weight - lighter lines or implied lines, where a line breaks off and resumes - makes it clear that these are not sharply defined contours, but surface details or softer edges.(South, 2014).

Ridges and valleys mark locally maximal changes in surface orientation. They can appear as smooth but sudden changes in tone. The ridges are particularly effective at conveying shape, when drawn with the contours. Illustrators sometimes abstract shading with lines. Although these lines are most obviously image space features. (fig 16) Ridges and valleys are reasonable candidates for line drawings, as there is psychological evidence that viewers can reliably locate them in realistic images. (Decarlo, 2008). Apparent ridges are related to, but distinct from, suggestive contours. Both are based on view dependent and view independent factors. They produce more natural images for facial features, and more informative images for convex surfaces. Initial edge detection experiments also suggest that apparent ridges are important lines independent of a specific lighting situation.(Judd, Durand, Adelson, 2007).

Hatching- cross hatching line strokes:

The use of repeating parallel patterns of lines forms the basis of hatching. These lines convey shape in two different ways;

- Directly when they are drawn along geodesics, effective renderings are obtained when lines of curvatures are used, which align with the principal directions of the surface.
- Indirectly through careful control of their density, which can be used to produce a gradation of tone across the surface. (Decarlo, 2008).

When cross hatching is used as a line drawing technique, the artist may begin adding value as hatching, but then allow the lines to cross over each other. Many artists approach the addition of crossing lines as a science, following a specific order or vertical lines, followed by horizontal lines, followed by diagonal lines, and so on. This method produces very deliberate drawings that are very exact and precise. Others simply cross the lines at random leading to looser drawings. Some looser approaches work better for some subjects, while more rigid approaches are suitable for other subjects. (fig 17) (Fussell, 2013).

Other Line drawing types as scumbling and stippling are used individually or combined with other line types especially when form is added by alternating line-weight, line direction to give dimension and depth to the subject and suggest modeling. They all show how artists are able to depict such various features as depth, folds, occlusion, texture, brightness, mental energy, or motion by choosing the right lines, revealing that artists implicitly or explicitly understand the code of the visual system.

Line drawing types work well with a variety of different media techniques including traditional hand pen and ink - the most prevalent type -, graphite, colored, pastels and digital tools or different methods derived from traditional drawing techniques to be mixed with digital techniques. Most computer generated line drawings are effective form of non-photo realistic rendering which has made significant advances during the past decades. Since lines' features: length, width, intensity, density, quality, direction, etc. can be combined to create shaded, textured, and expressive images which capture the essence of the form of an object. So visual representations of complex information are constructed to support rapid, accurate exploration and analysis.

Conclusions:

- Art and science intersect to create a visual language that can have an impact that fuels both the scientist's and the artist's desire to look at more, create, share, learn and be entertained throughout the experience.
- The scientist-artist partnership provides a greater chance for clear communication and idea development, The line drawing styles and techniques work to communicate the intended message and serve as catalysts for change that continues the advancement of science field.
- Variety of line drawing treatments can be vital expressive tool to create and reconstruct the information in a visual manner that help special readers as scientists in analyzing, interpreting so dealing with the scientific outlooks. The illustrative power of the resulting images depends on the interplay between the depicted lines and the imagination of the scientist.
- Applying discipline to creativity can capture both aesthetic elements and functional structure in the scientific data, linking physical situation and visual representation.

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Appendix:

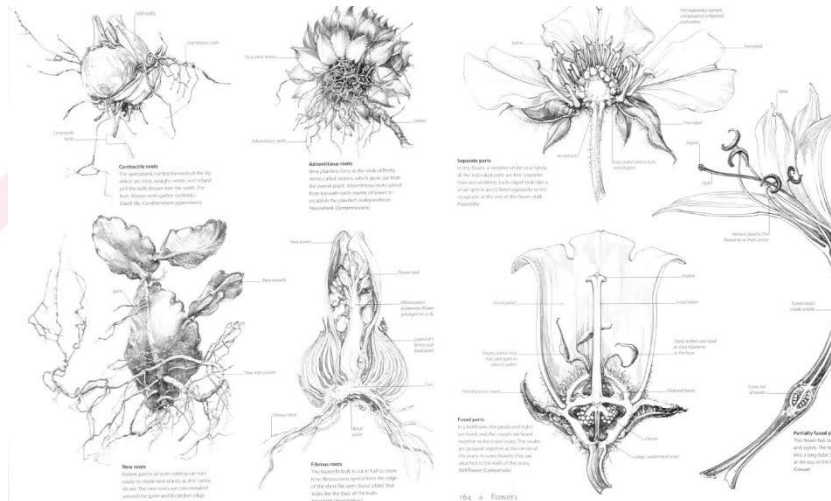


Fig 1. Botanical illustration - shows an example of literal representation that results from direct or real observations

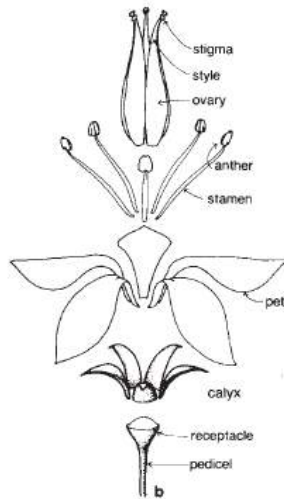


Fig 2. Botanical illustration - shows an example of analytical drawing-exploded view- which is created for clear understanding and representation of observations

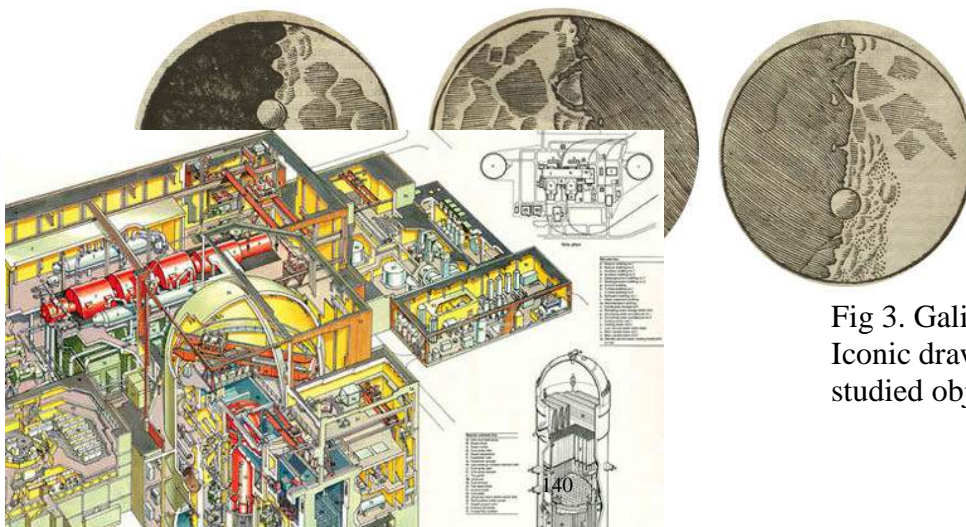


Fig 3. GalileoSNMoons illustration - s Iconic drawing to convey the most typical studied object

Fig 4. Geometric drawing to communicate information of a technical nature.

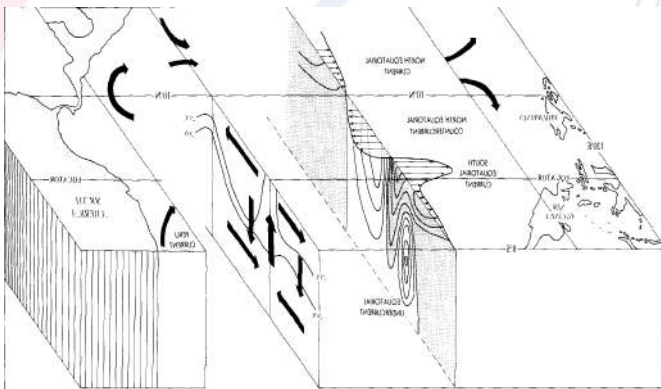


Fig 5. Diagrammatic drawing serving as active design process for the ideas to document concepts and ideas which are explored and investigated.

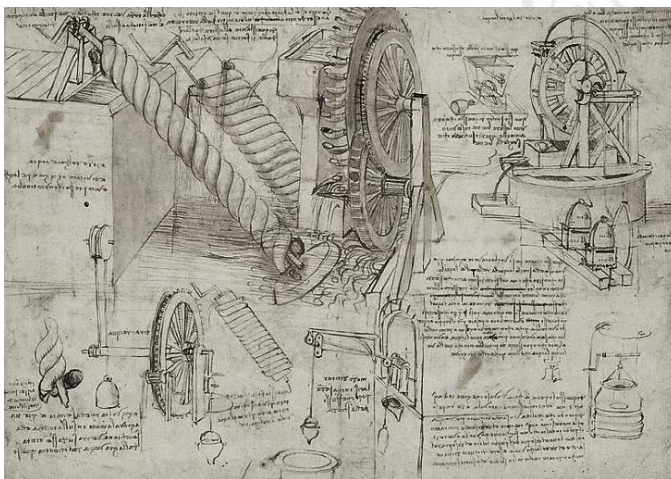


Fig 6.. a simple accurate line diagram for working out the initial drawings.

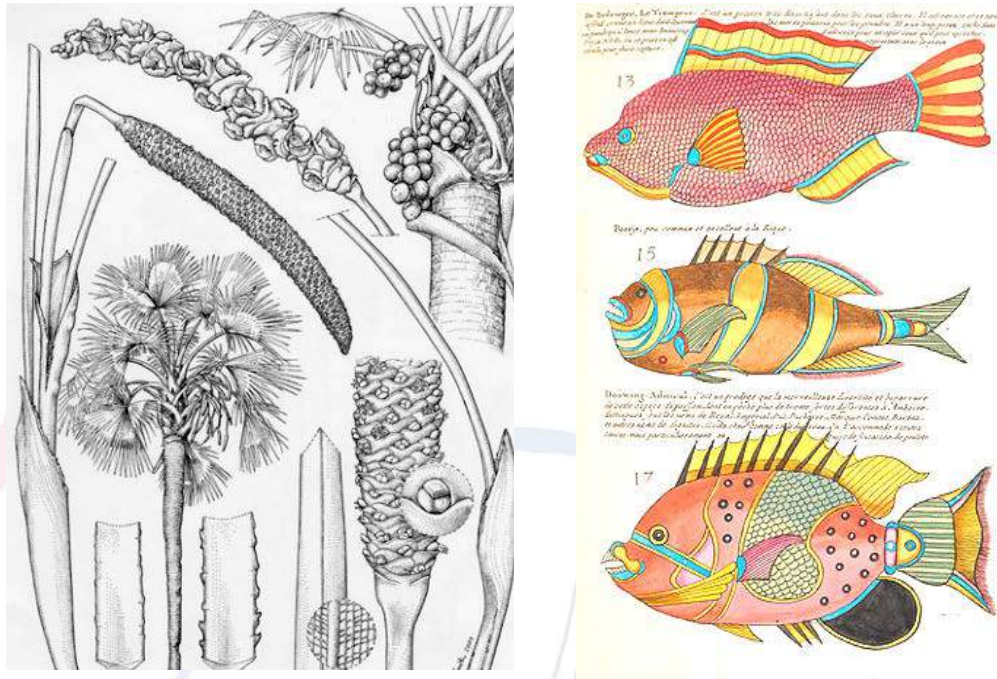


Fig 7 a

Fig 7 a-b illustrations that describes the subject accurately but incorporates specific surface detail such as color and texture, in a special style.



Fig 8 an illustration that combines aesthetics with science

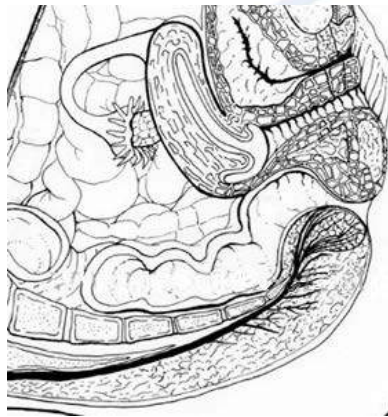


Fig 9 a

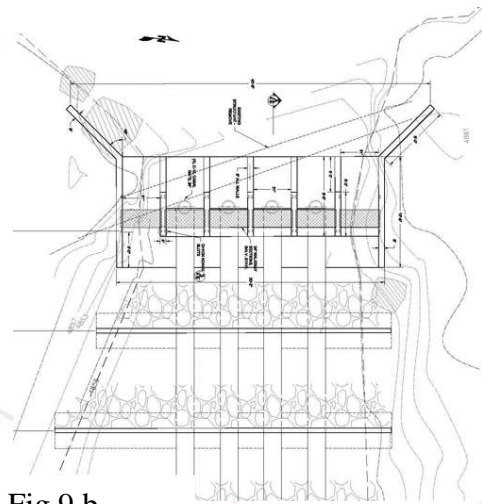


Fig 9 b

Fig 9:a-b variations in Line thickness

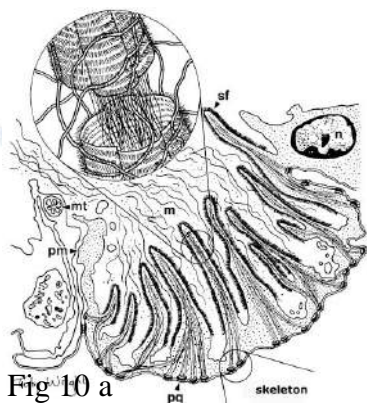


Fig 10 a

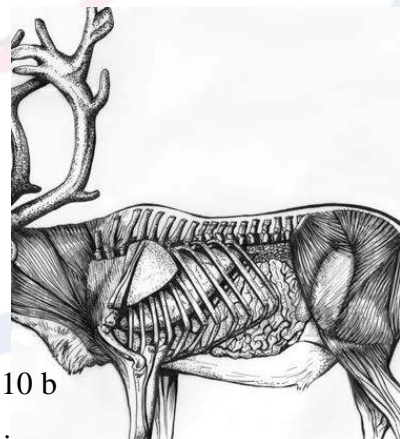
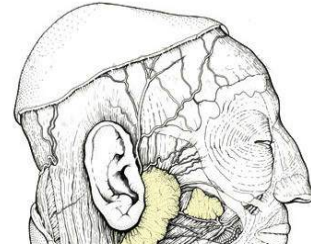
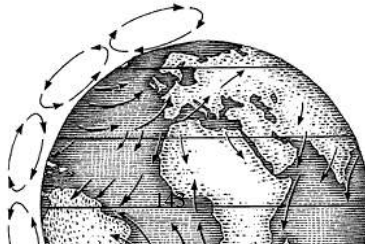
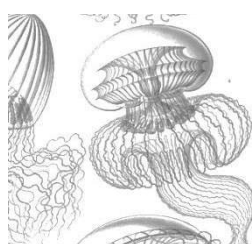


Fig 10 b

Fig 10 a-b variations in Line spacing and line thickness



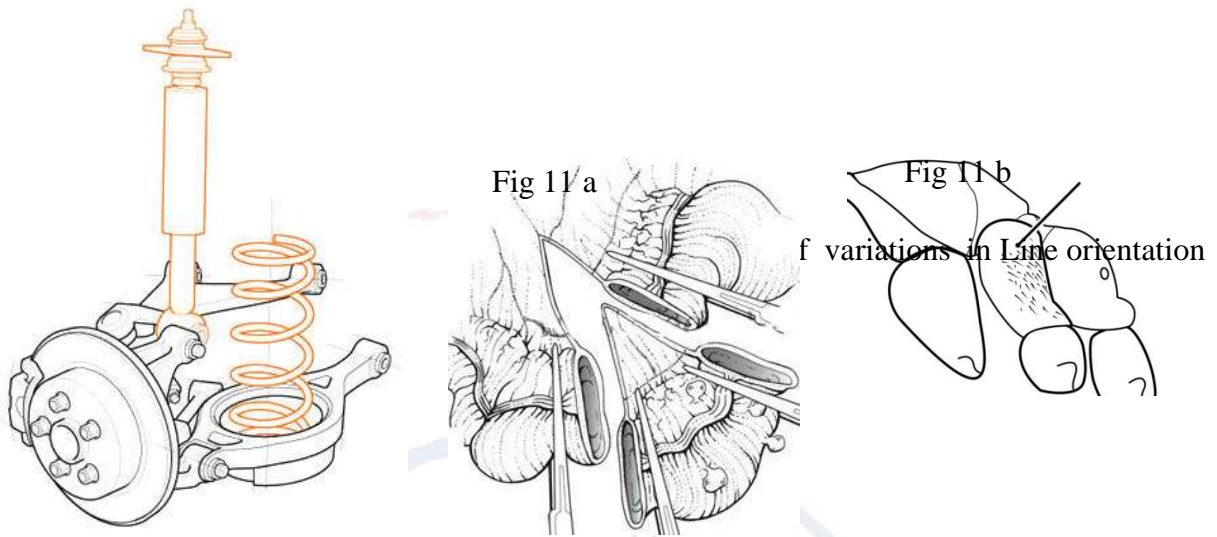


Fig 12. Contour line drawing is the simplest form of linear expression. The line describes visible edges-outline-of an object . Some edges are clear, with a defined start and finish. The transition from edge to plane, or the line along an edge which isn't sharp, may be implied or suggested by making breaks in a line, a dotted line, or some variation between the two.

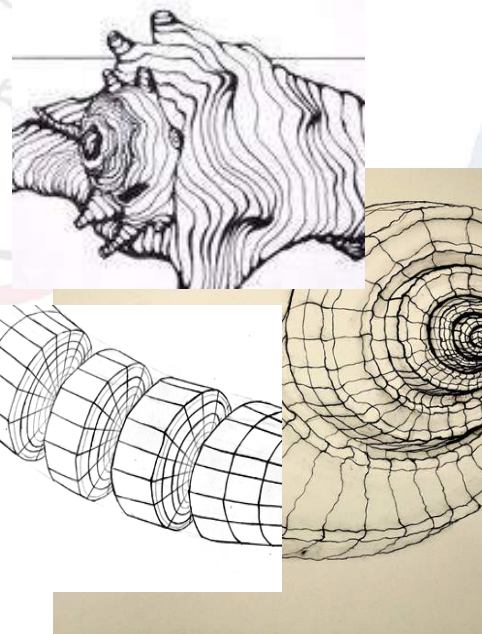


Fig 13. Contour lines in map are drawn to describe imaginary lines that cut across the form.

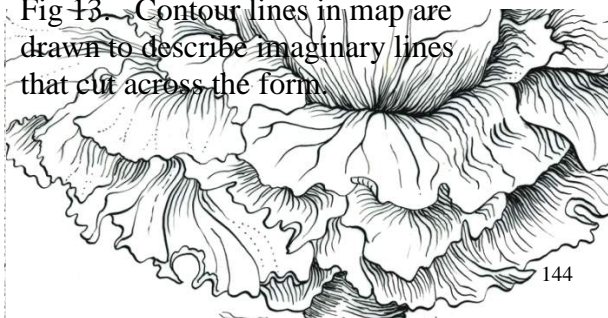


Fig 14a-b-c. Cross contour lines may curve slightly or even a great bit depending on the contours of the object.

Fig 15. Creases lines are intrinsic properties of the shape, as adding detail gives more information about the form.

Fig 16. Ridges and valleys mark locally maximal changes in surface orientation. they can appear as smooth but sudden changes in tone. The ridges are particularly effective at conveying shape, when drawn with the contours.

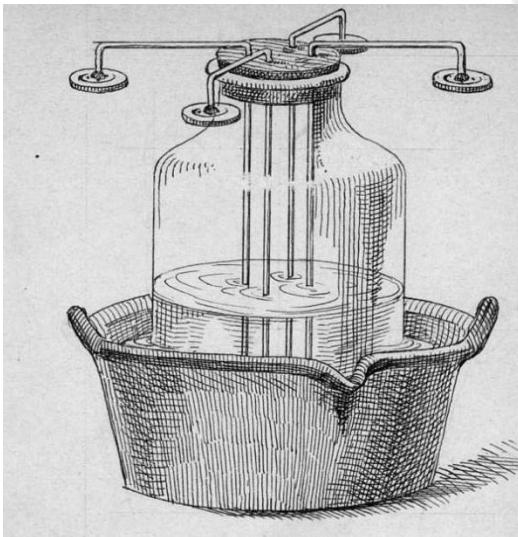


Fig 17. Cross hatching - hatching. convey shape in two different ways; Directly when they are drawn along geodesics, and Indirectly through careful control of their density, which can be used to produce a gradation of tone across the surface.

***Does Mother Tongue Influence Have a Great Effect on English Pronunciation?
How to Reduce the Effect in a Humanistic Way as an English Language Teacher***

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0178

Abstract

Language is only humane. It is for expressing our ideas and thoughts through communication. It is a gift to mankind to interact at personal, social and intellectual level. It is the embodiment of culture. In the modern day, English is considered as the most widely accepted international language. It is working as a link language in this 'Global Village'. Books from many languages are translated and even added in curriculum in English. English is used as L2 or second language in administration and government sector. However, as we know, there are some sounds which are found in one language, but cannot be replicated in another. Mother tongue is truly the most natural form of language that we learn. From the monosyllables as a child to the toughest of words as an adolescent, the mother language is never taught to us, it just comes naturally from the surroundings we live in, people we stay with, and the happenings around us. The problem comes when we try to put the Mother Tongue Influence (MTI) in L2. By far the most profound effect of a mother tongue is visible on the pronunciation of a foreign language like English. It makes us self-conscious and kills our confidence. A major part can be attributed to the pronunciation of similar constructions in the mother tongue, as in English. It seems that changes in our social, political and economic life have nothing or little to do with L2 teaching, whilst, actually they do. I personally noticed that students know answers in class, but are hesitant of speaking as their spoken English is not fluent and full of local effect. This paper discusses the same idea at length with suggested modifications from the perspective of an English Language Teacher.

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Language is only Humane. It is for expressing our ideas and thoughts through communication. It is a gift to mankind to interact at personal, social and intellectual level. Language is a system related with sounds, words, and structures. It helps to grow knowledge and wisdom. It is the embodiment of culture. Out of all the languages in the present world, English is considered as the most widely accepted and used international language. It plays a vital role in the modern scenario. It is working as a link language in 'Global Village'. Books from many languages are translated and even added in curriculum in English. English is used as L2 or second language in administration and government sector.

The ultimate goal of second language learning is to attain fluency similar to one's mother tongue. We all want to learn English as fluent as our regional Mother Tongue. But it remains a dream for many learners especially in the area of pronunciation and speaking, although we read and write correct English. On numerous occasions, we recognise Nationality or Regionalism of a particular person by their pronunciation and accent in a heterogeneous group.

Mother Tongue Influence

English has developed itself into an international language and a means of communication globally, spoken nearly all over the world. But native language remains present even in absentia when we talk about pronunciation. First Language is the language which a child becomes acquainted with when he begins speaking. It comes very naturally with imitation and exposure. Actually L1 or the mother tongue, as it is more commonly known as, is present since we start speaking and the learner learns second language afterwards. So, the effect of mother tongue remains widely visible in the pronunciation, as learners transfer their L1 sound pattern in the second language. Just as each language has different words, letters and scripts, so does each have different sounds. There are some sounds which are found in one language which cannot be replicated in another. The problem arises when we, knowingly or unknowingly, try to put the Mother Tongue Influence (MTI) in L2. It makes us self-conscious and kills our confidence. When we begin to learn, we initially use sounds from our mother tongue and that changes the beauty of L2. This creates an inferiority complex among the learners as they find themselves uncomfortable in speaking English. I have a target group of students coming from semi-urban or countryside background who have no exposure of L2. They want to read, write and speak English but are not familiar with its nuances. Literature is the basic word in which normally 60% students don't produce the sound of /r/. Instead of /R/ they produce sound of /L/. Sometimes it looks very daunting task to teach literature to students who can't even pronounce it. Although, English is an evolving language, new words are formed from time to time, and we accept them with their local pronunciation. But if we look in a broader context, we all are continuous learners of this evolving language. But we can't afford mistakes in English, specially the spoken form, as it is the language of higher learning, trade and career building. So, as a teacher we have to keep calm and be patient while our target group is under the grip of MTI.

Learning Second Language

Language acquisition does not take place all at once but in stages. The learner constructs a system of his own to learn L2. At each stage, he/she modifies according to new rules and as well as learning from the errors made by him/her. Many errors

produced in the beginning are not found in the advancement of learning as they understand the difference of sounds given by different alphabets and combination letters. The process of second language or L2 is quite different. Learning language skills like listening, speaking, reading and writing is possible at institute level only because it is not readily accessible within homes like the mother tongue. It cannot be learnt as a natural process like the mother tongue. There is no proper way of imitation. Lack of exposure and correction of mistakes at the right moment is also a big obstacle. By far the most profound effect of a mother tongue is visible on the pronunciation of a foreign language like English. A major part can be attributed to the pronunciation of similar constructions in the mother tongue as in English. Now, since our natural instincts are to speak in our mother language, hence, the pronunciation of a foreign language also comes out the same way. The very first approach of learning correct pronunciation is by limiting the unwanted influence of mother tongue. This effort requires a lot of courage and deep willingness. Listening to English talks shows, news and reading aloud chapters is the best exercise. Actually learners have the misconception that L2 is difficult to learn because L2 has to be learnt artificially as opposed to the mother tongue. L2 is a unique language with different grammar and phonology. Vocabulary is hard to grab and lack of motivation from teachers is also an important factor.

It seems that changes in our social, political and economic life have nothing or little to do with L2 teaching, whilst, actually they do. Second language especially English is mandatory to learn especially the spoken form of English. It is the greatest means of communication. I personally noticed students know answers in class but are hesitant of speaking them out as their spoken English is not fluent and full of local effect.

Relationship of mother tongue and L2

Mother tongue is definitely the most natural form of language that we learn. From the monosyllables as a child to the toughest of words as an adolescent, the mother language is never taught to us, it just comes naturally from the surroundings we live in, people we stay with, and the happenings around us. However, when we interact in a foreign language say English, it is basically acquired knowledge, which helps us to learn the vocabulary and the correct usage. Fluency in speaking a foreign language like English can be achieved through practice, however, when we speak a foreign language in a formal address, we can easily articulate the words, but an informal talk can result in the loss of words, especially connectives of the foreign language, which are replaced by the mother tongue connectives.

Suggestions

When we begin speaking in the second language (i.e. English), we initially use sounds from our mother tongue but greater use of L2 while listening, reading and speaking, corrects our mistakes. In this regard, practice truly makes it perfect. Gradually the mother tongue sound and accent is replaced with the original sound of English. I have applied it on a group of 5 students personally who happen to come from rural background with Hindi medium schooling and no exposure to English speaking. But they had a zest for L2. When they joined in the first year of their undergraduate studies, they enrolled for spoken English classes, and by the end of their third year, they started speaking, reading and writing fluent and correct L2 without any mother

tongue effect. They have been taught with a humanistic approach which goes as follows:

They were given text to read aloud in the classroom any way they liked. Only their pronunciation was checked.

The syllabus is not treated as a burden or a mode of clearing the examination, rather taken as an opportunity towards learning the language.

Their psychological pressure is eased out by giving them congenial atmosphere even if their pronunciation is not up to the correct level.

Students are suggested to use vocabulary books for pronunciation.

They are even shown videos, chat-shows and other programs on YouTube and other such services.

They have been given the opportunity to record their speech and listen to it afterwards. This formula works well because when they heard their own speech, they found out their own mistakes and errors in pronunciation and corrected it themselves with help from different resources provided.

These steps ensured that now they speak fluently without hesitation.

Humanistic approach to the problem

If we want our Humanistic approach to work, we must be skilful in helping the students to face their difficulties. Any special programme or training is not required; rather patience and empathy will work. Genuine interest in their performance is a must. The teacher's co-operation will boost up their confidence level whereas their dominance will only increase their inferiority complex. Discussions, group talks, reading aloud their text and other related activity in the class room will increase their confidence level and continuous practice of the language will erase the mistakes and effect of local language from English. Teacher's empathy and unconditional acceptance always encourages and supports the learners. Sometimes correcting them continuously also puts them down within themselves, which must be avoided.

Humanistic approach has only one disadvantage i.e. not to give a judgement over a mistake but to overlook it. Let him/her find and correct mistakes themselves. However, this can make them over confident and lead to overlooking their mistakes.

This approach is an invitation to make English more learners oriented. It can be used as a technique. Although, sounds and accents always have mother tongue influence and they can't be ignored completely. We have noticed that certain Indian peculiarities of pronunciation have actually become a part of L2 but they are recognised as Indian English. But, sometimes this effect brings about amusement in the situation, as pronunciation becomes an obstacle, when the meaning of a certain word or expression is altered because of incorrect pronunciation as 'pin' mistaken with 'pen' or 'ship' mistaken for 'chip'.

Learning a language is a habit to be encouraged, activity to be developed and a skill to be practices. Practice always makes one perfect and helps the learner familiarize himself/herself with L2. It is not bad to feel proud of your mother tongue, as we have

the example of France doing well even without the use of an L2, but language must be adopted in its pure and correct way without any locale effect. Mother tongue effect may be reduced by some practices such as:

Language should be taught in language labs.

Assessment programmes may be introduced.

Learners should be familiarised with spellings sounds and pronunciations through speech competitions, spelling and vocabulary competitions, debates and other creative games.

Showing learners Television seasons and news in English and spoken English CDs.

Learners should be trained and encouraged to use mother tongue for learning L2, not by using sounds and pronunciation, rather for fluency.

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Discursive Representations of Older People in Taiwanese Print News

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Abstract

This study is particularly concerned about the linguistic and discursive construction of concepts such as older people, older age, and ageing in Taiwanese print news reports. News reports, providing abundance of information about occurring incidents, arguably also function as a means to shape the readers' perceptions of the world. The process of generating news reports regarding one particular social group, from the perspective of critical discourse analysis, cannot be as ideologically neutral as journalists tend to claim. The selection of the themes included in newspapers about older people, the attribution imposed on them, forms of addresses, the positioning of them to be agents or recipients of associated verbal process is ideological. News reports with reference to older people in the first season of 2013 were collected respectively from three newspapers widely-spread in Taiwan and approached by critical discourse analysis. Van Leeuwen's tool for CDA, inspired by Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics (Halliday 1978), was employed mainly in my study because it is useful to explore discursive representations of social actors in media texts (van Leeuwen 2008). Special attention was given to some linguistic devices used in the news representations of older people, such as role allocation, and the referential strategies realized as genericization, specification, individualization and assimilation. The relative distributions of the above linguistic devices were presented in the findings, followed by discussions in relation to stereotyping older people and reproduction of ageism in the conclusion. Consistent with the 2014 AHAC conference theme, this study reveals the ideologies and attitudes towards older age and ageing as legitimated and naturalized in Taiwanese newspapers to enhance the awareness of linguistic resources that could indirectly render struggles or conflicts older people might experience in the process of seeking age-related information in news.

Keywords: discursive representations, older people, newspapers, ageism, CDA

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Introduction

A dramatic increase in the ageing population around the world has become a well-accepted fact. However, the growth in ageing population does not automatically endow older people with greater social power. One possible account is that the dominant cultural climate, at least in the West, is to foster the denial of ageing (Bultena and Powers 1978), endorse ageless images as elements of successful ageing (Ekerdt 198; Laslett 1989; Andrews 1999) and consequently, render unwatchability of older age (Woodward 1991). The above-mentioned conceptualisation of ageing and older age is also commonly employed to legitimate marketised consumer behaviours in the sales of anti-ageing commodities (Coupland 2003 ; Coupland 2007) and naturalised the prescribed Golden Ager type of lifestyles, such as in the sales of silver holiday packages (see Ylänne-McEwen 2000).

One consequence of such a cultural climate is likely to foster ageism and discrimination based on one's age (or specifically older age) without being aware of the problematic nature underlying the notion. Ironically, ageing is an experience no one can escape from. Denying ageing does not make our ageing process more smooth or successful, on the other hand, more anxious. Learning how to age is a socially constrained experience. To ultimately combat ageism, we need to constantly monitor various forms of cultural sources which could contribute to the shaping of what ageing and older age mean to us.

There might be numerous socio-cultural sources from which we learn what ageing means to us. The public media, definitely, is one of the many. This paper will, therefore, examine newspaper discourses in Taiwan, with a focus on how older people are represented through language, and therefore, infer what meanings of ageing and older people are discursively constructed. Some questions were particularly of interest:

1. Can ageism be realised discursively or linguistically in Taiwanese newspaper stories representing older people? If so, what are the linguistic or discursive devices that could realise ageism?
2. What are the ideologies, values and attitudes towards older people activated in the process of producing and interpreting Taiwanese news discourses representing older people?

To ask the above questions, it is because the influence of media messages on us has been born in mind. According to the cultivation theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli 1986), media consumption could shape our perception of the world around us and the great it is, the closer our perception is close to the one created in the media. This theory gives rise to the effect of misrepresented media content, such as how it might mislead the users.

Therefore, one concern of this paper is to examine whether language in Taiwanese news discourse play a part in constructing older people image or meaning of ageing in certain ways and more important of all, whether certain ageist ideologies are activated or normalised. Therefore, the main research purpose is to reduce ageism in news discourses and to expose any possible stereotypical but perhaps misleading discursive representation of older people in

Taiwanese newspapers.

Literature review

In existing literature, research on media representations of older people is mainly conducted by communication researchers and the examined data were primarily limited to those in advertisements (i.e. Swayne and Greco 1987; Roy and Harwood 1997; Lee, Kim and Han 2006; Lee, Carpenter and Meyers 2007) and TV programs (Rodwell, Davis, Dennison, Goldsmoth and Whitehead 1992). This topic has been probed in the discipline of media communication, using content analysis (Berelson 1952; Holsti 1969), a method of text analysis (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetter 2000) and quantitative in nature. In terms of data, this paper targets print news discourses which have been hardly explored.

Representations of older people in advertising genres could be more likely positive in fashion especially in advertisements targeting the grey market. In older age-salient advertising, older characters appeared to be overrepresented (Carrigan and Szmigin 1999; Williams, Ylänne, Wadleigh and Chen 2010); they were more likely depicted in major roles (Roberts and Zhou 1997). In the context of grey marketing, positive appeals to the target consumers (older people), as realised in positive representations, could be expected. However, whether this applies to print news discourses has been left scarcely explored.

As argued by Edgar (1980), news stories are not just reported but also (socially) constructed. The discursive construction of a given concept, such as ageing, is the consequence of news writers' or journalists' socialisation of specific rules as guidance for the writing of successful news stories (not accurate stories) and the decisions on what events get to be reported and written down. The selection of news materials in relation to older people and the evaluation of the news-worthiness from news editors' point of view might diverse greatly from the underlying rationales adopted by advertising agents.

There are not many studies in existing literature on representations of older people in print news but only two (Gibb and Holroyd, 1996; Fealy, McNamara, Treacy, and Lyons 2012). One is a study based on Hong Kong newspapers, conducted by Gibb and Holroyd (1996), using constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1987; Chenitz and Swanson 1986) to foster the emergence of news categories about the elderly. The news categories, as they discovered, included health care services for older people, dilemma accommodation for older people, crime against the elderly, elders committed crime, financial challenges older people encounter, the pathos of ageing with emphasis on loneliness and inattention, accidents, information on investment to secure life at later life, economic and social issues concerning older people, voluntary services for the aged, good news on ageing, ordinary older people's reminiscent life review, ordinary older people being extraordinary, well-known elderly celebrities/elites, and unknown but talented older people. Through the identification of the above-mentioned themes, they concluded that vulnerability in old age seemed to dominantly characterise images of older people. Even though positive stories could be observed in Hong Kong newspapers, they often carried a sense of the

exceptional rather than ordinary life.

With a different approach, that is critical discourse analysis, Fealy et al. (2012) examined discursive formation of ageing and age identities in Irish print news discourses on the event about reducing welfare provision for older people in Ireland. By analysing the use of words and phrases to name and reference older people, they identified five different types of subject positions that construct older people variously as 'victims', 'frail, infirm, and vulnerable', 'radicalised citizens', 'deserving old' and 'undeserving old'. As put by Fealy et al. (2012), older people's identity constructed as others (Biggs 2006; Hugman 1999, as cited in Fealy et al. 2012, p96) could be discerned in the lack of characterising diversity in the news representations and in the assumed homogeneity ascribed to older people regarded as a collective group (named collectively as 'older folk', 'senior citizens', 'the pensioners', 'the over 70s', 'the retired', and 'grannies and granddads'). The assumed dependency realised derogatory stereotyping of older age, widespread both in west (Hummert, Garstka, Shaner, and Strahm 1994) as well as in collectivist cultures such in eastern Asian societies (Cuddy, Norton and Fiske 2005). There has been no research in an attempt to verify the generalisability of this finding on the basis of news discourses on ageing and older age as derived from eastern collectivist societies. This research lacuna is therefore fulfilled by this paper.

Apart from Fealy et al.'s selection of news discourses, this paper did not intend to set limits to news events or theme types in the process of data selection (see more details in the section of Methodology). Furthermore, it is believed to be worthwhile to explore the varieties in the use of linguistic and discursive devices for the construction of older age or representations of older people under different thematic contexts. One question which was not asked in the above two studies is how older age is made salient in news discourses and how it serves to strengthen the newsworthiness of the news stories. This question will be of particular interest in this paper. Consistent with Fealy et al.'s (2012) research, critical discourse analysis is considered appropriate as an approach to study discursive representations of older people in Taiwanese news stories.

Methodology

Critical discourse analysis and news discourses of ageing

This paper aims to examine news representations of older people by drawing a special interest on the ideological construction of older people, older age identity, and the concept of ageing as discursively and linguistically cued in Taiwanese newspapers.

News discourses are, in this paper, regarded as a means through which social construction of older age and ageing is activated. The examined news texts about older people are consequences of a recontextualizing process (Bernstein 1990, as cited in van Leeuwen 2008:3) in which the writers, under certain social and cultural constraints, transform the world knowledge they have about older people into news stories. Therefore, language serves to shape the society but it is shaped by it (Machin and Mayr, 2012:4). This argument naturally leads to a concern over the ideological communication embedded in the examined news texts. Ideologies,

as put by Fairclough and Wodak (1997:275), could reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of dominance and explorations through representing and constructing society in certain ways. Ideologies as activated or implied in news texts, arguably, could naturalise, normalise or legitimate any misrepresentations of older people or perhaps ageism as well if readers do not have critical awareness of how news stories could work ideologically. That is, news texts could manipulate the readers, control their mind, and draw certain consensus in the interests of those in power (van Dijk 1998). The above views on roles of language are commonly shared by advocators to critical discourse analysis (CDA), such as Fairclough (Fairclough 2001), Wodak (Wodak 1989), van Dijk (1998), and van Leeuwen (2008). Given the commitment to enclosing any possible ideological reproduction about older people and ageing, the news data under study in this paper will be approached from the perspective of CDA.

CDA is rather a research perspective than a method which prescribes a standard set of procedures. There is actually not a specific way of doing CDA (see the varieties, for instance, in Fairclough 1995; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001 and 2002; van Dijk, 1991 and 1993; van Leeuwen 2008; Wodak 1989). However, all practices of CDA presume dialectic relations between discursive events and the wider socio-cultural contexts in which they are produced (Fairclough 2001; Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

As mentioned in the introduction section, this paper is aimed to identify discursive or linguistic mechanism through which ageing and older age are constructed (RQ1). Through the examination of news discourses involving older people, news representations of older people became the main target under study. In news stories involving older people, it is naturally expected that older age, to a certain extent, can be made salient to the reported news stories. It is also worthwhile to observe the contextual, ideological and linguistic resources made available to produce older age marked news stories (RQ2). CDA is interested in the relations between language (news texts, the lexico-grammatical features), the local context (the news stories) and the wider socio-cultural structures in which the examined news discourses are generated. It is, therefore, necessary to ask and infer what ideologies, values and attitudes towards older people were activated in the process of producing and interpreting Taiwanese news discourses representing older people (RQ3).

To develop answers to the above research questions, the CDA toolkit with analytic dimensions (as listed below) introduced by van Leeuwen (2008:23-54) to investigate discursive representations of social actors in (news) texts was adopted. The dimensions taken into account in this paper include:

1. Inclusion and exclusions of older characters:

In order to identify older people in news stories, explicit references to older people are necessary (inclusion of older characters). However, it is also possible to identify the reference to older people elsewhere in the same news stories, though rather implicit (exclusion of older characters). They are inferable agents or recipients of verb processes and nominated verb processes (i.e. 引進樂齡“學習”課程, in which there is a). For example, in the following paragraph, the subject of the first sentence is Kong-Quan Lin, whose name is not repeated in the same paragraph for the subsequent

sentences in which he is allocated as the agent of the included verbs (協助打理 *helps*、說故事 *tells stories*、戴上 *wears*、逗得哈哈大笑 *makes laugh out loud*). However, more references (implicit) to Kong-Quan Lin emerged in readers' mind. The examined instances in this paper hence also include implicit references to older people.

林孔泉六年前立法委員林德福.....協助打理...其他老人的生活....說故事給小朋友聽... 每回都戴上...西瓜帽...逗得孩子哈哈大笑 (中國時報 2013 年三月十九日)

Kong-Quan Lin met legislator Der-Fu Lin six years ago *helps* to take care ofother older people's lives.....*tells* kids *stories* *wears* watermelon hat every time *makes* kids laugh out loud. (China Times, 19/March/2013)

Implicit references to older people can also be found in nominated verb processes. 樂齡學習(happy age learning) is the name of a course. This name includes a nominated verb process (學習, to learn) and there is an implied agent to the verb 學習, which is 長輩 (senior citizens) as mentioned subsequently and explicitly.

麻豆老人會近來在引進樂齡學習課程，吸引許多長輩加入 (聯合報 2013 年一月二十九日)

Ma-Dou Elder Society introduced "happy age learning" course, attracting many senior citizens to join (29/January/2013)

2. Role allocation

The investigation of role allocation focuses on the roles older people are given to play in certain actions and this is a crucial topic to study in CDA. There are two types of role allocations: activation and passivation. Halliday's (1985) notions of functional grammar is highly influential and evident in the ways van Leeuwen offered to determine whether a social actor is represented as activated or passivated in relation to actions. Activation can be identified when a social actor is represented as an actor in a material process (i.e. cooking), a behaviour in a behavioural process (psychological and physiological behaviour, such as breathing and smiling), a sayer in a mental process (cognition, perception and affection), a sayer in a verbal process (i.e. reporting or saying), and assigner in a relational process (i.e. "Tom" made John the barman last night). Passivation refers to the cases in which social actors are represented as undergoing some activities or being the receiving ends of the activities they are involved with.

The role allocation (as active agents or as passive recipients) in relation to various verbal processes could shed on some light on presumed stereotypes of older people in news writers' perceptions, which arguably play a role in the decisions on their production of news stories involving older people.

3. Referential strategies

Referential strategies in newspapers could be important means through which

social actors are represented ideologically (see Clark 1992; Zeynep 2007; Fealy, et al. 2012). Referential choices made by news writers also inform us the classification of older people in the examined Taiwanese news discourses. A number of possible choices are of particular interest in this paper.

It is useful to observe whether older people were described as individuals (social actors being individualised) or as a part of a larger group (social actors being collectivised). If older people are individualised, they could be given names (nomination), sometimes with titles (titulation, in van Leeuwen's term), through which readers could feel closer to the associated news characters. The references tend to be specific. On the other hand, that is, in the case of collectivisation, readers are encouraged to see the represented older people as a homogenised group. Stereotyping is usually effectively activated through homogenising a social group and the references tend to be generic (genericisation, in van Leeuwen's term) and indicative of categorisation (i.e. 老人家 older people as a category by age: 阿公阿嬷, grannies and grandpas, as a category by generation).

Older people could also be depicted in terms of what they do and in this case, referential choices would be made by functionalising them. For example, they could be referred to as president, carpenter, volunteer and police officer, rather than simply older people or the grey-haired.

Relational identification could be possible in the ways older people in news stories are mentioned. For example, they could be someone's teachers, patients or grandparents. Kinship terms could be identified in the case of relational identification. The identification of kinship terms could be interesting as the social connections which news writers deemed older people tend to have are revealed implicitly.

Sampling and data

Three newspapers were targeted in the process of data collection, that is, United Daily News (January/2013), Liberty Times (February/2013) and China Times (March/2013). As long as news stories from the three newspapers during the sampling collection period (randomly chosen one day in each of the months ranged from January to March 2013) contained implicit and explicit references to older people, they were taken into account. The sampling scheme rendered a total of 21 news stories and 230 references to older people (also 230 associated verb processes) were identified (see details in Table 1)

Table 1 numbers of news stories including references to older people

Newspaper	United Daily News (29/January/2013)	Liberty Times (11/February/2013)	China Times (19/March/2013)	total
News stories	10	3	8	21
References to older people	119	16	95	230
Average	11.9	5.3	11.9	11

Research Findings

1. Discursive realisation of positive and negative ageing

Taiwanese print news discourses seemed to employ various discursive devices to represent positive and negative ageing images while reporting news stories involving older people.

As to the discursive realisation of positive ageing, news writers of such a news theme were found to employ linguistic devices, such as nomination (full names provided) and titulation (with job titles).

Example 1: titles of news stories about successful older people

Example 1-1 Liberty Times

五代席開 16 桌 出嫁女兒也請

(Five Generations enjoying meals at 16 round tables: Married daughters being invited)

Example 1-2 China Times

84 歲志工林孔泉 愛心讓他不會老

(84 year-old volunteer worker Kong-Quan Lin: A good loving heart makes him ageless)

Example 1-3 China Times

魚池鄉長陳錦倫祖父昨天公祭

(Yu-Chi Township Chief, Jin-Lun Chen's grandfather's funeral held yesterday)

The main storylines in the above three news reports were to describe why the associated older people were well-respected and socially-sanctioned. The selection of words in the three news titles is believed to be ideologically salient for the purpose of drawing the readers to infer that older people desiring to be models of successful ageing need to fulfil certain qualities. These qualities include longevity (“五代”, five generations; “84 歲” 84 years old), agelessness (“不會老”, not ageing), having offspring with a high social status (“魚池鄉長陳錦倫祖父”, Yu-Chi Township mayor Chin-Lun Chen's grandfather), and active in social activities (“志工” being a volunteer).

Older people were not frequently depicted as elites or successful individuals in Taiwanese news stories as only 4 out of the 21 examined news stories fall into this category (see Table 2 for the frequency distribution of the themes in Taiwanese print news stories involving older people). However, in the news stories portraying older people as models or well-respected individuals, nomination can often be observed in the referential choices (see examples 2).

Examples 2-1 and 2-2 were extracts from a news story reporting on a specific group of older people affiliated with an elder society, holding an election to choose the director and managing supervisors. There were references to two older individuals who played the roles as candidates and they were titulated (理事長 director and 常務理事 managing supervisor) with full names (titulated as well as nominated). In examples 2-3 ~ 2-5, nomination could be found in the references

to 林孔泉 Kong-Quan Lin (in example 2-3)、房煉昭 Lien-Zhao Fang (in example 2-4)、陳天宋 Tien Song Chen and 陳曾阿心 A Xin Chen Zeng (in example 2-5)

Table 2 themes of news stories involving older people

	United Daily News	Liberty Times	China Times	total
Older people in need	7 news stories 66 references		1 news story 11 references	8 news stories 76 references
Older people involved in social activities	1 news story 32 references		1 news 8 references	2 news stories 40 references
Public policy concerning older people	2 news stories 21 references			2 news stories 21 references
Older people as victims		1 news story 3 references	2 news stories 25 references	3 news stories 28 references
Older people as models		1 news story 10 references	3 news stories 47 references	4 news stories 57 references
Other		1 news story 3 references	1 news story 4 references	2 news story 7 references
total	10 news 119 references	3 news 16 references	8 news 95 references	21 news 230 references

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ation in the representation of successful and well-respected older people

United Daily News (January/2013)

2-1 現任理事長王禮和可望蟬聯 Director, Li Ho Wang, expected to win the election

2-2 常務監事石村城呼聲最高 Managing supervisor, Cun-Cheng Shi, the most likely winner

China Times (March/2013)

2-3 84 歲志工林孔泉 愛心讓他不會老 84 year-old volunteer worker Kong-Quan Lin: A good loving heart makes him ageless

2-4 房俞佑得到祖父木工手藝的真傳... 已逝的祖父房煉昭是木工師 Yu-Yo Fang inherited his grandfather's good skills at woodwork... his dead grandfather, Lien-Zhao Fang, was a carpenter

2.5 魚池鄉長陳錦倫的祖父陳天宋五日仙逝, 享年百歲... 陳天宋的老伴陳曾阿心, 一年多前以九十七歲高齡離開人世, 兩老福壽同歸, 傳為美

談 Yu-Chi Township chief, Jin-Lun Chen's grandfather, Tien-Song Chen died heavenly on the fifth at the age of one hundred.....Tien-Song Chen's old partner, A-Xin Chen Zeng, died passed away more than one year ago, at an advanced age of 97. Two older individuals shared both blessing and longevity and were well-respected

2. Negative ageing, more newsworthy in Taiwanese print news discourses?

As shown in Table 2, thematically, Taiwanese print news writers regarded negative ageing as more newsworthy topics when it comes to the inclusion of older people in print news discourses. There were 13 news stories (more than half of the examined news stories) describing older people in need of help (usually charity service), older people as victims (of accidents or senior dementia) and public policies with social welfare for childless and also dependent senior citizens.

In these stories, older people were activated in relation to material verb processes such as 多重用藥 (take multiple kinds of medicine), 摔傷 (to fall), 吃藥 (take medicine), 跌倒 (to fall), 患病 (to get sick), 失智 (literally, to lose intelligence), 死亡 (to die), 走失 (to get lost), 未返家 (not to return home), 忍受 (to endure), 拄著拐杖 (to use walking sticks), and 頂著寒風烈陽 (to suffer from cold wind and hot sun).

The above analysis of activation showed that older people were located in active roles for actions suggestive of the decline of their physical strength (to use walking sticks) and health (to get sick, to have senior dementia). Therefore, they were portrayed to be responsible (hence as subjects and agents of the sentences) for the consequences, which are negative in fashion, such as to fall, to get lost, unable to return home, to put themselves in the risk of overdose and even eventually to cause themselves death.

Furthermore, when older people were represented in news discourses of the above three themes, they were also found passivated in relation to material verb processes, such as 捐贈 (to donate), 手術 (to have surgery on), 提供便捷 (to offer convenient service), 讓....有椅子坐 (to letsit on chairs), 提供保障 (to offer security), 養 (to raise), 照顧 (to take care of), 贊助 (to sponsor), 送湯 (to offer hot soup), 擔心 (to worry), 送炒麵 (to offer free fried noodles), 免費招待 (to treat), 請客 (to treat), 幫忙 (to help), 不忍心 (to show empathy to), 把關健康 (to monitor health), 協助打理 (help deal with) and 體貼 (to attend to).

Similar to the characterisations which could be inferred from the activation of older people in Taiwanese print news discourses, older people appeared to be stereotypically categorised, in line with negative ageism, into socially disadvantaged social group. The vulnerability or dependency is realised in the portrayals of older people in the receiving end of charity services, medical services, and public services. Interestingly, the referential choices made in the above-mentioned passivation processes were either collectivised or generised (see example 3 for more details). The ideological effect, arguably, could trigger homogenisation of older people into a group which shares the negative attributions and members of this community do not have individual characterisation. Homogenisation, however, is a form of negative ageism and through the selection of associated verb processes in Taiwanese print

news discourses, such a conceptualisation of older people is gradually naturalised.

Example 3: references to passivated older people in Taiwanese print news

United Daily News (January/2013)

3-1 捐贈...物資給...獨居老人 donate ...materials ... to older people living alone

3-2 寒風大雨烈陽 早該體貼銀髮族 cold wind heavy rain hot sun; Silver citizens should have been attended to

3-3 由政府負責老人最低生活保障 the government should be in charge of providing the lowest life security to older people

3-4 贊助今年街友和獨居老人的...吃飽... sponsor free meals to the homeless and lonely older people this year

3-5 送熱雞湯給老人 deliver hot chicken soup to older people

3-6 多送老人一份炒麵 deliver one extra set of fried noodles to older people

China Times (March/2013)

3-7 協助打理...其他老人 help deal with other older people's lives

3-8 成大醫院..為銀髮族健康把關 The Cheng-Kung University Hospital Monitors silver citizen's health.

Discussions and conclusion

Newspapers could be a powerful tool to form consensus of opinions and attitudes and help set public agendas. This is why this paper focuses on news discourses to uncover the ideological shaping of ageing and older age in Taiwan. As uncovered in this paper, positive ageing in Taiwanese print news discourses realised socially successful older people as having longevity, agelessness, offspring with a high social status, active social life. The representational choices made in relation to successful and positive ageing include nomination and titulation. There are instances in which older age indicators were employed to reinforce the extraordinariness of the represented ordinary older characters.

Negative ageing was more dominant than positive ageing in Taiwanese news discourses representing older people. Negative ageing apparently is considered as more newsworthy and it realised negative age-based stereotypes, such as vulnerability and severely impaired. Linguistic devices through which negative ageing was constructed include activation of older people as agents of verb processes suggestive of painful experiences (e.g. taking much medicine, enduring, suffering, getting lost, falling, and getting sick) and passivation of older people as recipients of all kinds of public services as if dependency were the defining nature of this age group. Older people were depicted losing their individual identities in news stories of negative ageing as they were referred in line with referential strategies, such as collectivisation and genericisation. They were accordingly homogenised as a group characterised by negative attributes.

The above discussions give rise to the concerns over perpetuation of ageism in Taiwanese news discourses. Even though there exists a certain extent of diversity in the selection of themes in news reports about older people, the underlying ideological stance towards ageing and older age appears to be consistent across various categories of news stories. Given that middle-aged and older people in Taiwan are the main newspaper users (Xiao 2006), Taiwanese news writers should be more aware that currently dominant social construction of ageing and older age in Taiwanese newspapers would have consequence on shaping older readers' attitudes into othering ageing and older age or eventually showing self-disenfranchising behaviours at later life. The long-term ideologically effects could be worrying and does not help build an older-age friend society in Taiwan.

One of my research limitations is the lack of taking into account visual semiotic resources with a focus on the integration with words for meaning construction of ageing and older age. One widespread newspaper, Apple Daily (蘋果日報), was not sampled for the analysis in this paper but its multimodal characterisation could be an interesting site to critically study visual semiotic construction of ageing (van Leeuwen 2005; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001). Collecting more samples in a longer sampling period is necessary so as to enable the comparisons amongst different newspapers.

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Design & Aesthetics of the Sinhalese Jewellery of Sri Lanka

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Abstract

According to Oxford English dictionary, jewellery has been identified as objects that are used for body decoration such as bangles and necklaces. Since ancient times, body ornamentation seems to have fulfilled a higher purpose of Sri Lankan tradition and culture. The traditions of jewellery have evolved with the accumulated knowledge and understanding brought after, in a family tradition from generation to generation of practice. The Art of creating jewellery can be considered, most important in the study of jewellery, particularly because, it is an object of beauty, used for self adornment. The art of jewellery, in the tradition seem to interestingly combine with the principles of design that showcases the skill of material handling, relationships made with human form, from the view point of the aesthetics.

The relationships jewellery has made with the human body form, and the aesthetical expressions have made visible connections with the cultural patterns. The inspiration that has been derived for such creations from various sources and the unique originality that has marked in the Sri Lankan jewellery will be identified, based on the principles of art and design. The research question is how the design and aesthetics have taken place in the design process of creating Sinhalese jewellery in the tradition. It is hoped to discuss the orders depicted through the aesthetics, from the information gathered from the evidences. Particularly the artistic traditions of Sri Lankan jewellery will be rationalized to identify order and chronological development depicted through a vast array of jewellery, found from the past history.

Key words - jewellery, design, aesthetics, tradition, Sinhalese

Introduction

Many other factors that formulate into a piece of jewellery, seem to be generated through the most considered factor of aesthetics, presented with its form and detail. It is hoped to discuss the orders depicted through the aesthetics, from the information gathered from the evidences. The art styles will be studied under selected time periods from early Anuradhapura history, Mediaeval to Southern Colonial traditions. The relationships jewellery has made with the human body form, and the aesthetical patterns that have created along the traditions had made, visible connections with the cultural patterns that will be brought into topical discussions. The structured typology that can be identified from simple earrings to elaborate head gear will be presented along a detailed description of their art and design components. The inspiration that has been derived for such creations from various sources and the unique originality that has marked in the Sri Lankan jewellery will be identified, based on the principles of art and design.

1.0 Design & Aesthetics of Early period jewellery

1.1 Human form relationship in Early period Jewellery

The relationships of jewellery, made with the human form, making it a center of focal point and fore ground for wearing jewellery can be considered as one of the most relevant sections of the study. Various sequences in which the human form have been adorned, according to different concepts can be understood in different time periods of history. The art and aesthetics of adorning the human body with different concepts belonging to different time periods from early history, is presented here, indicating how these concepts have evolved and absorbed into the Sinhalese tradition along the course of time.

Male and Female Adornment Concepts

The ancient Sinhalese sculpture, indicate to us, a series of interesting concepts of body adornment of both, male and female forms. The perfect shape of the male form adorned with, jewellery that runs along the surfaces of the male form dignify the body shape to a greater extent.

Characteristics of male ornament inline with male body contour

headgear

floral neck ornament

inter connected neck chains

fixed armlet

udarabhanda

bangles

hip ornament

tassels at thigh level



body string-upanovita

ornamental flounces

examples from early period sculpture. Source –Jethavana museum

The various different Malaya, (neck ornament) girdles (hip ornament), armllets and bangles indicate the in depth thought processes that goes into the design of such ornament. Certain ornaments seem to be very prominent than the rest, placed in a higher supremacy. Such are the head ornament details which are distinctively different. Neck ornament and many other take place according to the beauty of the form. (As indicated in the figures). Certain neck ornament becomes very prominent than the others, indicating distinctive form and shape. With reference to the evidence gathered from the Mahavamsa, the historical chronicle, certain ornaments like the 'Ekavali' (the valuable string of pearls) is placed on the male chest that hangs from the neck, above all the other. The placement of the 'Udarabhanda' clearly defines the neck ornament and the hip ornament at the upper and lower levels of the human form.

Concepts of female body adoration with jewellery, in early tradition

Sinhalese female figures are made with subtle curves and elegant female forms, as shown in the Nagini and Yakshi sculpture. The earliest records indicate to us, the wearing of the elaborate hip ornament identified as 'Mekhala' in literature that had been a popular practice from the early traditions, of the Sinhalese ornament, as indicated in the ancient sculpture.



Nagini figure from stucco figurine of North Indian origin found from Anuradhapura



Gajalaksmi at Vahalkadapillar. Archaeology museum, Ampara. Source Schroeder 1990

Aesthetics of jewellery worn to decorate the chest and shoulders from Sigiriya

Breast Ornament detail

Gracefulness and beauty highlighted with jewellery on the female breast in various different ways can be a feature identified in jewellery. The gem studded pendants and golden strings of jewellery that encircle the soft curves of the female chest, is



particularly highlighted in the damsel paintings of Sigirya, marking a classical advancement of art in the Sinhalese tradition.

Sculpture from Sigiriya. Source- Serendib Sept – Dec 1988

1.2 Ear ornament design

Elongated ear ornament with weight

It is noted that in the early traditions, the ear ornaments were in heavy forms and shapes that were worn along the stretched ear lobe. Several of these shapes were believed to have made with amulets. Evidence is obtained from early temple paintings, sculpture and archaeological excavated objects.

Illustrations from 'Thivanka' image house, Pollonnaruwa,



Coiled Forms

Coil form fitted perfectly into the enlarged ear lobe had been a marked tradition in Sinhalese design. Single, double, triple stripes of form are coiled and had been made earrings. Also found are the natural coils of conch shell, ivory spirals, calc spirals in different forms.

Coil forms from Pollonnaruwa sculpture and temple paintings
Source : Schroeder 1990



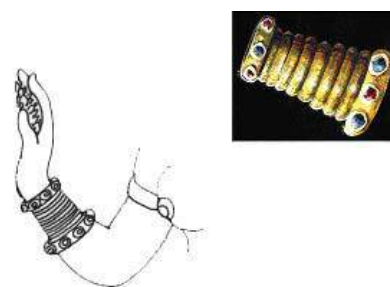
1.3 Bangle Jewellery design

1.3.1 Connected bangles

Some are found as a series of singular bangles connected into one form, made out of metal, and studded with gems or decorated with foliage design. Given below are some of these bangles found from Anuradhapura.



Illustration from
Sigiriya paintings



Supreme classical example for bangle Jewellery found from Abayagiriya, Anuradhapura Source Sanskritikapuranaya, 1996 April June

1.4 Necklace design in Chronology

Emphasis of neck on human anatomy

Necklace design generally was marked in defined positions on the neck and upper chest of the human form. Particularly 05th C A.D, Sigiriya paintings indicates necklace with amulets tied at the upper neck area of the Female figure. In the Male Royal figures, a series of neck ornament can be identified, some of which are prominent, as strings of pearls.

Throatlet

Malaya

Chain

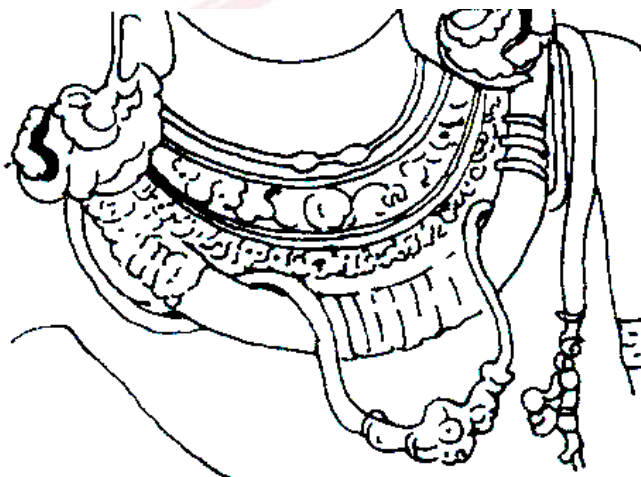
Princely ornament sculpture. From-Tiriyaya 7th, 8th C. Anuradhapura



Principles adopted for neck ornament design

Particularly in the male adornment concepts the lowest chain has been identified as a thick band, that connects and passed through creating a broad entwined collar like effect that has found to be unique in the Sinhalese neck ornament concepts, particularly in the male jewellery.

Neck ornament details from Pollonnaruwa



2.0 Design and aesthetics of the Kandyan jewellery

2.1 Kandyan Malayas/ neck ornament

Kandyan neck ornaments are found in a greater typology. There are simple 'pethimalayas' that are made out of wire and sheet to more complex three dimensional forms made out of intricate wire work, filigree, and embossed and embedded sheet work. Therefore the typology varies with their compositions, functions, materials they are made from and most importantly the design elements incorporated in them.

2.1.1 Variations of Gedi Malaya (neck ornament)

‘Gedi Malaya’ contains beads denoting the form of the fruit. ‘Gedi Malaya’ varies with the bead elements attached to them. These vary with the repetitions, forms, types of materials used in the neck ornament.



Gedi Malaya with metal beads made of similar forms without spacer beads

Gedi Malaya made with metal beads and coral

A range of Kandyan pendants (padakkam) with different motives are connected to chains, and pear strings that form into a special neck ornament identified as paddakkam Malaya. This is worn at special occasions. Padakkam Malaya are of different sizes, generally hanging low on the body. Paddakkam Malaya, is a part of both male and female Kandyan costume. The pearl strings are identified as ‘kudupota’.

Also they are named as ‘Kurulu Bandi Malaya, Bherunda Malaya, Botupetta, Otunupadakkama, Hamsapadakkam Malaya etc.



Botupetta & Panakka Malaya

Source – Private collection



2.2 Kandyan rings

Kandyan ring generally has its significant circles of rings studded with coloured gems, encircling a prominent center stone of much value. The stones are generally with red, pink hues using Sri Lankan sapphire stones in them. Typology can be found as given names, such as Navaratnamudda, Arimbumudda, Nelumudda, Perasmudda, Rose mudda Pamudu-toe rings, Bandesimudda etc.



Kandyan ring depicting a lotus



Nelumudda

Source National museum Colombo



2.3 Kandyan earrings

It is observed that Kandyan practices co existed side by side with the South Indian Malabar and Jaffna Tamil traditions. The piercing of the ear, in the Kandyan tradition, was different to the Indian traditions.

Kandyan ring with gems



2.4 Kandyan Bangles (Walalu)

Generally Kandyan bangles of several varieties adorn the Kandyan ladies hands. There are most prominent ones among them, such as the 'sari' walalu, which are the combined forms of bangles with intricate filigree work on them. The varieties of 'sari' walalu is shown here, in the diagrams. The Kandyan bangle has a significant character that bears prominent form with its heavy line of curve and elaborates decorations.

3.0 Typology of Southern jewellery/Low country jewellery

3.1 Southern Tradition of Neck ornament design

Sinhalese tradition of neck ornament in Southern jewellery ranges from simple floral neck ornament to much elaborate style with several layers of colour stones in them. Inspired from the European trends of light, floral designs, the Sinhalese jewellery seem to carry such influences, absorbing them into the traditional works of jewellery. In the process, leaves and flowers are incorporated with local pearls in an indigenous process.

Open work necklace with white zircons, in low country neck ornament



Jewellery of the local traditions adapting European light concepts, in neck

Part of 'Matara diamond' necklace

Source – Galle Fort historical museum



Golden era of Southern necklace design can be seen as time during Belle Époque period in England, in which ribbons, scroll work became a feature in jewellery of the Southern Sri Lanka. They were particularly stylized with the Sri Lankan pearls. Also the arts and crafts movement between 1875 to 1919 set the trends for new concepts in jewellery.

3.2 Southern tradition of earring design

Earring of the Southern jewellery is signified by the European style hair arrangements that were adapted by the Sinhalese ladies of the low country. Much elaborate hanging earring with floral and leaf motives, with European creeper designs were a feature in the earring design. Also the middle class and lower classes belonging to the social groups possess, simple earrings and studs made with open work with lesser detail. Incorporation of colour stones, and pearls in the earring were a feature in earring design. Single pearl designs, and cluster pearl designs were a feature in the Southern Sri Lankan jewellery.



Floral and leafy creepers in Cascading pearls in Earring design.

Source – Galle Fort historical museum

3.3 Pendants

Particularly the emphasis on the day and evening wear brought in a practice of wearing pendants extensively. Particularly in the 18th C, jewellery are found with more fluid concepts, rather than heavy work found in the early time periods.



Conclusion

- Jewellery, as an object of adornment seem to have fulfilled three facts, as given below. It becomes a synthesis of reason, (philosophy), art & design and material technology. As observed there is a definite synthesis behind every creation that makes the Sinhalese jewellery design a unique part of its culture.
- In almost every situation the coming together of nature & culture is observed, as natural themes and cultural motives, in each of these two, most prevalent

patterns are identified and recorded, which gives rise to concepts, principles and methods of creation.

- Most prevalent patterns of nature are found as flowers, leaves, seeds and fruits of nature as the inspiration.
- In the cultural themes they are the beliefs and rituals that give character to the Sinhalese jewellery.



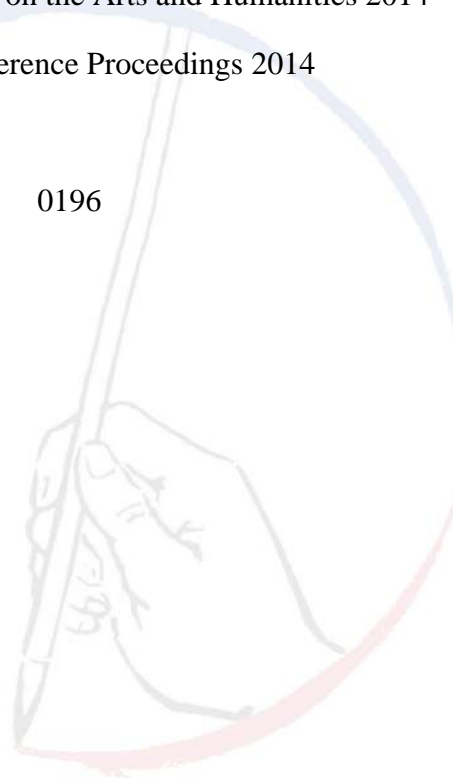
The Role of Cultural Identity in Designing Contemporary Artwork

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Introduction:

Identity plays an important role in the excellence of peoples as it connected with a cultural, religious and social activity which influenced different aspects of life and emphasized the identity of each country however each region because it carries the vital character inspired from its inherited culture and which carried many varieties of ideas and programs which affected the lives of individuals and formed a trait characterizing nations to the extent that when you see the effect, it leads you to its source and its indication, In addition, the importance of identity takes much thinking of artists in the current era due to the challenges they face and the impact the design of the artistic works (Artifact) from which emerged the importance of studying identity as the theme as it included a renewed vision of in the field of arts in general and artistic works in particular that are considered as a mirror which reflects what people have, and trying to mix the cultures with artistic expressions, which maintain the past in a the modern language to enable generations to participate in the work to save heritage and prevent its extinction

Thus, the Problem of the research can be summarized in seeking to highlight the cultural Identity in arts by designing the contemporary artifacts

The importance of the research:

- Highlights the importance of emphasizing the cultural identity as a cultural source of the artist.
- Intent to study some of the Saudis artists' work who influenced by the local culture which effect appeared on their arts.
- Find solutions to benefit from decoration units, which in turn enriches the artifacts design.

Objective of the research:

- Cultural identity is a source of vision to the worker and amateur in the field of arts and a source of inspiration to which the artist refers .
- Study decorative relationships and units and their impact on the design of artifacts.

Research Methodology:

Research follows the descriptive analytical method of the artists' style to express their sense of belonging and identity and its role in the areas of their arts to use it in artifacts design to achieve the important findings and recommendations .

The Theoretical Framework:

At the late twentieth century, the peoples of the world were invaded by an outbreak of searching local identity and emphasizing it in the culture, literature and arts, and among these nations is the Arab nation. With the presence of cultural interferences like wars and colonization, at the present time the modern means and methods such as

the Internet, which has made the community one village and in turn led to mixing of culture in the same country and dilute the identity of peoples.

(facing these challenges, and in the framework of the national orientation, Arab intellectuals found themselves facing another challenge is: Find the national identity of the contemporary Arab culture of the which must be to the local environment, and promote the heritage, artistic and authentic constituents of our nation, and carry at the same time colors of its era and it's inventions) *Dr. Mahmoud Shahin(1)*.

Direction towards environment and popular tradition represented in several aspects architectural, technical applications, tales and legends, customs and traditions, and combination of this heritage data, and of Modern Fine data, to achieve the Contemporary Arab artistic effect had unique privacy, this direction became attractive to more Arab Artists, to confirm the existence of distinct art, through the achievement of the important equation of heritage and contemporaneity.

To confirm the identity in the Fine Art effect, the artist found himself in front of two main options: either to achieve this identity across subjects and contents and the special Arab humanitarian features, i.e. through popular structure which comprise the Arab human and his architecture, his concerns, issues, aspirations and his special avatars, or through specific Arab and Islamic heritage data, manifested in more than one turn perhaps the most prominent and important are distinctive plastic and expressive capabilities, for the Arab character (letter), in addition to Popular and Islamic decorative units .

What is the cultural identity:

Defined by Jean-Claude Kaufmann: (identity is a self- need for modernism or historically linked to it. Man integrated in a traditional society did not pose problems of identity as we do today. Although he is practically living his individuality) *c. K. Kaufman(2)*.

In the Psychpedia 1993 (3), we find that identity represents the footprint for humans, characterizes him from others, its effectiveness renewed and comes out whenever effacement events removed from it, it is the code through which an individual can identify himself in the group to which he belongs, and through which recognized by others as an affiliate of such group.

As "defined by the French thinker (Alex Mikfila) as: an integrated system of physical, psychological, moral and social data involves a pattern of cognitive integration processes, and is characterized by its unity embodied in the inner spirit that involves the feature of sense and feeling of identity " *Somaya Suleiman(4)*, and to determine the reference Arab cultural identity, a reference frame for the identity must be determined depends on the following:

- 1- **"Religion:** As known, the idea of religion associated with humans since its existence, also is considered as one of the basics which express the identity of the community.
- 2- **Custom:** The custom considered the reference frame of any community, because it determines its privacy and identity and sets it apart from other

communities, also varies from one community to the other according to its nature and its values.

- 3- **Language:** The language of any nation to is considered the title of it's character and identity, and a tool for expression and translation of thoughts, ideas and feelings, a way of understanding, learning and development and transfer experiences, cultures and civilizations.
- 4- **Geography:** determines the natural boundaries of any nation, including it's ethnicities, nationalities and peoples who are brought together by mutual circumstances, fate and goals.

Some defined it as, "the process that characterize the individual from the other, i.e determines personality, the features that distinguish individuals from each other are the name, nationality and family and occupational status" *Afif Bahnasi(5)*.

(Heritage constitutes a fundamental role in the process of building a human with cognitive identity, so any cultural planning process depends on the heritage, which is the outcome of creativity and cultural activity for communities) *Afif Bahnasi(6)* gradually the artist began in combining between modern technology and local content, either taken from the private life around him, or inspired from the heritage with different perception on it, some of the artists hit in the ancient history of his neighborhood, trying to inspire and to emphasize the first roots of the nation, and others, found in the closest history his goal, imaging the shining stations in it , and the other third, headed to closest life --- the popular life with it is rich authentic and live heritage, imaging it's human and his environment and different aspects of his life, now the many Arab artistic plastic trials appeared and announcement of affiliation started clearly and evidently to the local environment and popular tradition, in different forms and data, across more than one way, including units and popular and Islamic elements that formed one of the options in front of the contemporary Arab artist, to confirm local identity in his modern art , especially after he found in them an expressive artistic capabilities could be used in the field of arts , as they are been a welcoming area for the creations of their predecessors Arab and Muslim artists, calligraphers, chasers and Aloracan through their different eras.

The role of design artifacts the enhancement of identity:

The design of the artistic works is a very important part of the creative process, especially if it has a clear and specific goal and if we want to illustrate the role of the artist towards the cultural identity, we find that he expressed it either:

- Special identity reflects his society, which tells it is interior culture.
- General identity... reflects the society and surroundings influences.

These points identifying artists who expressed the identity with privacy of their origins while, the public identity is that the viewer can guide the culture of such country or that category.

When the designer, before executing his artifacts starts collecting his ideas and distributing his of data, which reflect his thought and the subject of the artwork then, trying to distribute them in proportion to the type of material, colors and thus transmit those details in a modern template.

With the openness of the world and spread of it is conceptuality and intermixing of it is attitude which reveal exchange a lot of experiences as a result of the spread of the different means of communication, that the individual was able to make mutually beneficial relationships with people without cultural and social links.

The artistic enrichment is an essential base in building the national character, this character, consisting of a set of successive cultural monuments throughout history, and are continuing this commitment through *Mohammed Hassan*(7).

The cultural role of the Saudi artist

Art is a part of human history, culture and heritage (it has been proven that the study of the art of the people lead to an idea of the level of civilization and the extent of expertise and experience it achieved various different aspects), the culture of every individual constituted in the society in which they live , in which his special characteristics appear and other general in which the artist relate to his surrounding as an individual in the society with his own liberality and achievement, which by away or another affects his community culture stemming from his influence by such culture. Success of each artist is measured by the extent of his effectiveness in achieving national affiliation by defining Saudi identity to perform his duty in enhancing the identity and culture of the society and published it in the locally and globally.

Given that the heritage is a part of the artist's life, he has not ignored or marginalized heritage, however he tried to deal with it in innovative ways reserving the past and enriches the present with beauty and originality.

Hence, the environmental and cultural factor enjoyed by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was confirmed; however, the culture of the Saudi artist has been affected by Arab cultures, which differ in their maxims from other cultures.

Examples from the Arabic and Saudi folklore material elements:



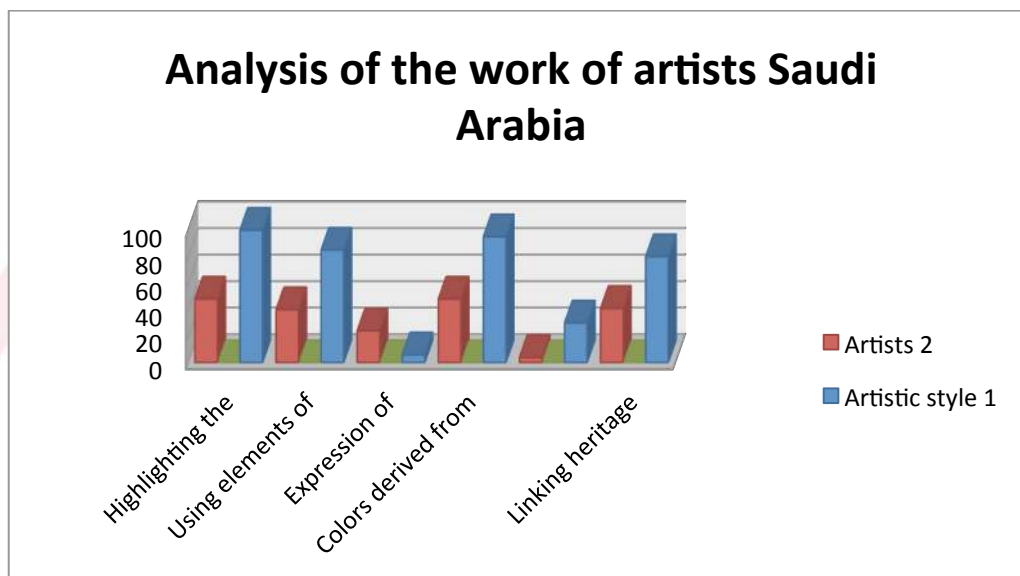
Photos illustrating some of the popular units on doors, ladders and old houses
(photographed by the researcher)

We note affluence in multiple motifs and patterns characterized by methods of repetition, diversity and rhythm in the distribution of colors as they appear accurately in spite of the diversity of environments in which those pictures referred.

Examples of artists belong to the folklore:

Highlight a number of Saudi contemporary artists who their works marked by highlighting the traditional and Arab identity which embodying the Arab and the

international thought in an attempt to reconcile all the heritage roots and the contemporary sources in order to keep important values that characterize each of them, so twenty of contemporary Saudi Fine Artists have been studied and who adhered to the embodiment of the identity spirit in their paintings, either by focusing on the decorative or portraying everyday life, which includes motifs and colors that repeat to prove spirit of originality.



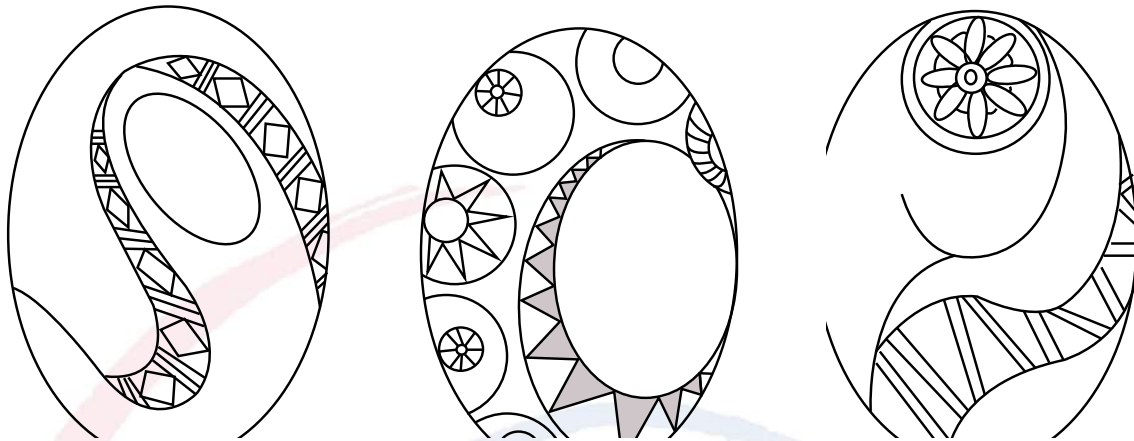
The study sample and analysis according to their interest in the artistic techniques used

Common characteristics in the style of Fine Artists:

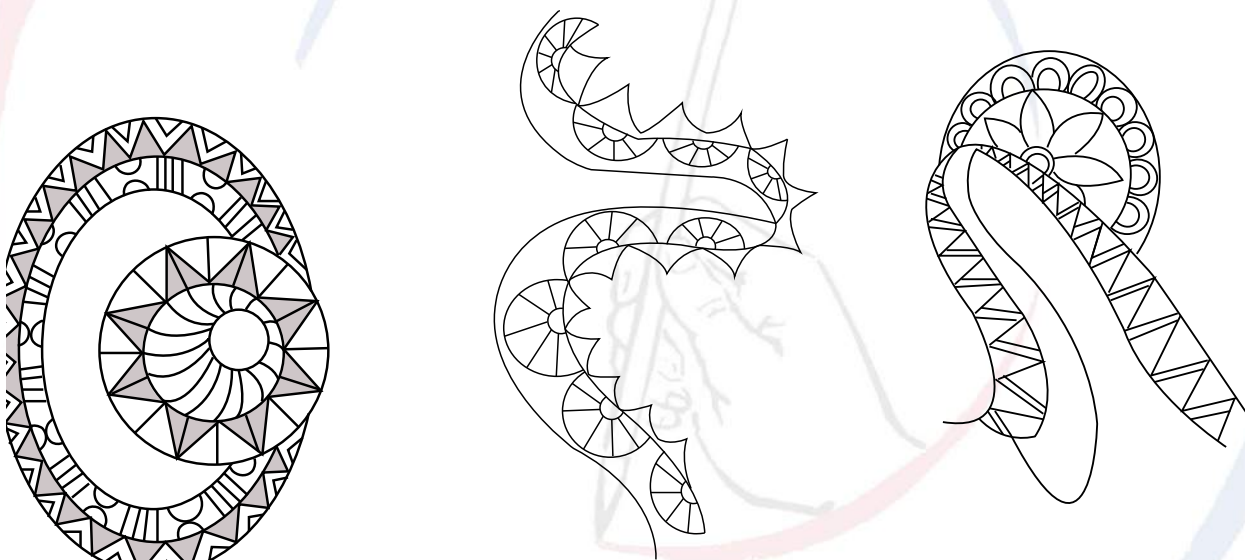
It was found that, through a study of the paintings of these, which included forty-eight Saudis fine artists, emphasis on the identity and it showed interest of the artists in highlighting the local identity and the codification of vocabulary of colored life according to the capabilities of the artist and included several artistic units and motifs derived from the real Indian forms, choosing realistic colors in which highlights only the use of primary and secondary colors.

Researcher designs:

The study examined the elements used in the expression of identity and tried to invent designs to end up with innovative designs serve the field of artistic works.



Researcher designs inspired from the Saudi identity using the illustrator program CS6 (1)



Researcher designs inspired from the Saudi identity using the illustrator program CS6 (2)

Findings:

- The works of Fine artists considered as a source carries the character of the Saudi cultural identity that transcends to maintain the authenticity in a contemporary character.
- The cultural Heritage of the Arab identity in general and the Saudi in particular considered a rich source enables the artist to draw his creative ideas from it.
- The works of the contemporary artist are characterized by the emphasis on the Saudi identity, through the sample of the research as they use many methods in utilizing Heritage.

1- Engineering unit

- 2- Show the essence of the idea.
- 3- Artistic Philosophy

Recommendations:

- 1- Elements of the Arab cultural and artistic heritage considered the identifier of the design identity, in other words, in the event of absence from the design it cannot be distinguished as an Arabic identity.
- 2- The most striking features of the Arab cultural and artistic heritage adaptation, is their modification indirectly and far away from reality, and this is consistent with the principles of the deconstructive school.
- 3- Linking the educational curricula to maintain the identity and uphold the heritage as an authentic source of vision from which students draw, authentic roots.
- 4- The emphasis of the Arab cultural identity by interior design lies in the keenness to include elements of the cultural and artistic heritage by designs in accordance with the rules and principles of the design style used

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The Korean Wave in Thai Society: The Popularity of Korean Television Dramas and Its Effects on the Lives of Thai Women

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Abstract

The Korean Wave phenomenon suggests a Korean way of life in Thai society and offers a new perspective on everything Korean. This study focuses on one of the most significant trendsetters of the Korean Wave in Thai society. It aims to offer an empirically grounded, detailed understanding of the Korean television dramas' popularity and particularly focuses on the depths to the way cultural experience of the Korean television dramas impinges upon, and becomes integrated into the lives of women in contemporary Thailand. The findings of this study reveal that Thai female fans feel impressive with storyline, actor and beautiful Imaginary of the Korean television dramas. The desire for something "new and different", substitute for the "old and same" elements in Thai television dramas is argued as the major reason for Korean television dramas' popularity. Korean television drama also plays an active role in reflecting, shaping and transforming lives of Thai women. Thai female fans make sense of their lives through the popularity of Korean television dramas and practice their everyday life experience as a consequence of its popularity.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past few years, an increasing amount of Korean popular cultural content – including television dramas, movies, pop songs and their associated celebrities – has gained immense popularity in Thailand and other East and Southeast Asian countries. News media and trade magazines have recognised the rise of Korean popular culture in Asia by dubbing it the “Korean Wave” (*Hallyu* or *Hanryu* in Korean).

The Korean Wave came into existence sometime around the mid-1990s and 2000s in Thailand. Apart from films and music, one of the most significant trendsetters of the Korean Wave in Thai society is the Korean television dramas. The dramas have been broadcasted on local television stations and re-broadcasted several times after its initial broadcast which reached many more Thai television viewers.

Since the rapid technological advancement and the pre-modern distribution systems characteristic of Thai cultural circulation, Korean dramas have been illegally copied in line with the proliferation of personal computers. The reason behind the widespread expansion of Korean pop culture fans throughout Asia and Thailand in particular is also related to the fact that people can now experience the latest Korean culture instantaneously through the internet. It has been found that young Thai consumers spend hundred baht regularly or even thousands for VCD set of drama series. Some even become members of the K-pop fan clubs on the internet. They share information and download Korean drama files with no cost (Siriyuvasak, 2008). This has raised Korean television dramas gain even more popularity and has made Thai people to become addict to the series.

The Korean Wave phenomenon suggests a Korean way of life in Thai society and offers a new perspective on everything Korean. At present, Korean pop stars have become cultural icons in the country. Korean stars have had a big impact on consumer culture, including food, fashion, make-up trends and even plastic surgery. It is not uncommon to find Thai youth, especially women decorating their backpacks, notebooks and rooms with photographs of Korean stars. In the streets of Centre Point, Siam Square, it is common to find young members of the “Korea Tribe”, having Korean hairstyle, wearing Korean cosmetics brand with the trendy clothes and accessories of Korean fashion. Local bookstores display books and magazines featuring Korean movies, music, clothes and hairstyles. Korean actors and actresses now make regular appearances in the Thai mass media. Broadcasting stations and television production companies in Thailand are beginning to screen their drama stories in Korea locations and some even hire Korean actors/actresses to star in Thai television drama.

A number of news items featuring the popularity of the Korean Wave and Korean television dramas have appeared in the media; there have been headlines and articles in newspapers, and forums on internet websites focusing on this issue (*Positioning Magazine*, 2006; Sayantrakul, 2006). However, the phenomenon of Korean Wave in Thailand is rarely given scholarly attention and the full meaning and impact of this phenomenon has not been fully theorised nor has an extensive portrait of the field been painted. Specifically, in what ways does the existence of the Korean Wave engage the very texture of Thais’ lives?

This research, therefore, begin by calling for a greater need to address the Korean Wave as everyday experience – lived and mediated – and to empirically ground it in the specificity of experience affected by the popularity of Korean television dramas. What are the reasons for Korean television drama popularity? What happens to the sense of Thai female fan’s lives when the Korean television drama confronts their everyday experience? And How deeply do they feel

this? This study seeks to explore these questions by bringing an everyday experience perspective to the discourse of the Korean television dramas. It particularly focuses on the depths to which media culture – television primarily – has implications for the way Thai women make sense of their lives and experiences through the cultural experience of television dramas.

THE KOREAN WAVE AND KOREAN TELEVISION DRAMAS' POPULARITY IN THAILAND

The Korean Wave came into existence sometime around the mid-1990s and 2000s in Thailand. Apart from films and music, one of the most significant trendsetters of the Korean Wave in Thai society is the Korean television dramas. Korean television dramas first entered Thailand by the Thai biggest cable television company, UBC (True Visions, at present). The company has provided its members “the Asian Series” channel which broadcast imported series from Hong Kong, Japan and South Korea. Comparing with the cost of Chinese Hong Kong and Japanese dramas, Korean television dramas were the better choices (Metaveevinij, 2007). Korean television dramas, consequently, have taken up airtime on Asian Series channel in Thai cable television. At that time, there were no free to air television stations broadcasted Korean television dramas and thus the dramas gained small-scale popularity only within the specific group of cable television fan club.

Subsequently, Korean television dramas gained more popularity by the support of its cable television fan club as well as the benefits of the internet. The group of fan club has positively posted their comments and reviews about the Korean television dramas they have watched onto the internet forums. Many similar internet forums have been posted and more Korean television drama fan club participated in. This kind of distribution attracted more attention among Thai audiences, especially who were not a member of the cable television company. They afterward posted their comments on the internet forum, suggesting free to air television stations broadcasted Korean television dramas.

Thai television stations, consequently, have begun broadcasting Korean television dramas. They have contacted the Korean broadcasting companies and bought the famous series. Channel 5 was the first Thai television station that has broadcasted the first Korean drama *All about Eve* in 2000. However, the series did not gain popularity. In 2001, the film *My Sassy Girl* successfully alerted the Korean film industry through the Asian region, including Thailand. Then other Korean drama series help intensify the trend and lead to the beginning of Korean Wave in Thailand (Tadanmuaychai, 2006). Since then, Korean television dramas have rapidly taken up airtime on various free to air and cable television channels in Thailand and have been broadcasted during the evening prime-time slot, which used to be the place for locally produced dramas or imported Hong Kong series.

The popularity of Korean television dramas can be once again strengthened by how easily they are acquired. Since the rapid technological advancement and the pre-modern distribution systems characteristic of Thai cultural circulation, Korean dramas have been illegally copied in line with the proliferation of personal computers. The reason behind the widespread expansion of Korean pop culture fans throughout Asia and Thailand in particular is also related to the fact that people can now experience the latest Korean culture instantaneously through the internet. It has been found that young Thai consumers spend hundred baht regularly or even thousands for VCD set of drama series. Some even become members of the K-pop fan clubs on the internet. They share information and download Korean drama files with no cost (Siriyuvasak, 2008). This has raised

Korean television dramas gain even more popularity and has made Thai people to become addict to the series.

This phenomenon indicates the issue of media and cultural globalisation. It triggers a wave of transnational media consumption by Thai audiences. The flow of Korean Wave and the movement into a transnational cultural space underlines a critical shift in national television programming in Thailand, impacting on a mainstream Thai media industry and media market structure. Furthermore, the Korean Wave phenomenon suggests a Korean way of life in Thai society and offers a new perspective on everything Korean. At present, Korean pop stars have become cultural icons in the country. Korean stars have had a big impact on consumer culture, including food, fashion, make-up trends and even plastic surgery. It is not uncommon to find Thai youth, especially women decorating their backpacks, notebooks and rooms with photographs of Korean stars. In the streets of Centre Point, Siam Square, it is common to find young members of the “Korea Tribe”, having Korean hairstyle, wearing Korean cosmetics brand with the trendy clothes and accessories of Korean fashion. Local bookstores display books and magazines featuring Korean movies, music, clothes and hairstyles.

Given their infatuation with Korean culture, the Thai fans are eager to learn the Korean language and travel to Korea. For example, many Inlingua Schools of Language in Thailand have offered the Korean language courses beside their Chinese or Japanese language courses. Furthermore, many travel agencies in the country sell television drama-themed group tours to Korea with titles like “Best of Korean drama trailer deluxe tour” or “Drama Tour” to the locations or background stages that were in the scene. In Thailand, the Korea Tourism Organisation (KTO) is functioned as a centre to support and promote the Korean cultural industry. The KTO not only provides all of the information for travelling to Korea, but also K-pop dancing classes and Korean cooking classes with no cost. It also gives free to access for the Korean movies and music videos at the centre (see www.kto.or.th).

METHODOLOGY

There were two phases of data collection in this study: Focus group interviews and Written qualitative online survey. In the first phase, a series of four focus groups was carried out with 24 female natives of Thailand who have watched and fallen in love with Korean television dramas and connected themselves to the online Korean forums. To qualify as focus group participants, the Thai women had to be 18 years old and above, and they had to be watching Korean television dramas for more than a year. All focus group interviewees are regular viewers of Korean television dramas. Most of them have watched the dramas for over 7 years and more than 40 series they have watched so far at the time my focus group interviews were conducted. In phase II, the written qualitative online survey questionnaire was employed to collect the data. There were 66 women participated in this study, of these 62 participants fully completed the online survey. As a lesson from focus group interviews, Thai female under 18 years of age are also the main group of Korean television drama fans. In this online survey, I then expanded the scope of my participants to 15 years old, yet maintained my participant qualifications that they had to join the fan clubs, websites and forums of Korean dramas in Thailand. As a result, age was coded into three levels (15-25, 26-35, and above 35). The majority age of participants were between 15 and 25 (72%), with more in between 26 and 35 (21%) than above 35 years old (7%).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This section consisted of 2 main parts. The first part focuses on reasons for popularity. It reviews “what are the reasons for Korean television drama popularity?” In this part, I will first demonstrate the most specific components (*Love It@ Its SAB*) of the Korean television dramas that my participants are attracted to. I subsequently further discuss the argument on the true reason for Korean television drama popularity (*Desiring for the “New and Different” Experience*). The second part takes into account on the effects of Korean television drama popularity on Thai women lives. It explores “what happens to the sense of Thai female fan’s lives when the Korean television drama confronts their everyday experience? And how deeply do they feel this?” This part, I will analyse the specific ways in which the popularity and cultural experience of the Korean television dramas impinges upon and how the meaning gained from this is integrated into the lives of women (*Brand New Life*) in contemporary Thailand.

What are the Reasons for Korean Television Drama Popularity?

Love It @ Its SAB

SAB: Storyline, Actor and Beautiful Imagery

Most of the participants in this study feel impressive with mixed components of the Korean television dramas. I have to mix these components together, as no participants feel impressive specifically on one component. I then pick the first letter of each element and come up with the new word “SAB”.

As shown in Table 1, Storyline, a well written script that utilises a story with great appeal has consistently emerged as one of the strongest indicator of Korean television drama popularity among Thai female fans, following by the charm of the main actor and actress with their excellent casting. A beautiful imagery on screen is also mentioned, yet with less account than the previous two main elements.

Table 1

Categories for the Korean Television Drama and the Number Endorsing Them

Categories	Number of Participants Endorsing
Storyline	40
Actor	31
Beautiful imagery on screen	8

Note: There were many times when an endorsing number could easily be placed in more than one category, and the categories themselves overlapped.

Many participants in this study appreciate the touching storylines, high quality and well written of drama’s script as well as the portrayal of pure love relationships of the Korean television dramas. Interestingly, there was the statement that reflects the impression for the ways of expressing love in the Korean television drama in comparison to Thai’s. This would be the “sentimental”, “melodramatic”, and excessive coverage of romance is often devalued as “feminised popular culture” (Felski, 2000 cited by Lin & Tong, 2007 p. 126). Women are believed to be more attracted to the idealised notion of love as portrayed in popular texts, such as soap operas. Korean television dramas broadcasted as mini-series in the prime time slot and possess many important features of the soap operas, such as focusing on love and romance, women’s matters and a sense of emotional realism for audiences.

Although some studies have mentioned nostalgic emotions in Korean drama scenes as an elements of the Korean drama popularity (Iwabuchi, 2008; Matsuda & Higashi, 2006), my study suggests that Thai female fans in fact favour the Korean culture depicted in the story.

The actor as the popularity component is also commonly echoed by my participants. As all participants are female fans, they mostly express their feeling toward the male leading actors and all of these perceive the actors as “handsome”. In most Korean television dramas, both leading and supportive male characters have attractive appearance, and they are modest, very faithful to love and willing to sacrifice for their love partners. That is to say “Male star power” is a key factor in the success of Korean Wave (Lee, 2010 p. 7.1). It is not only the actor’s physical appearance, but my participants said the character’s innocence and love reflected in the drama that as well has enthralled Thai women.

The last component of the Korean television dramas that my participants are attracted to is scenery. Korean TV miniseries take advantage of local buildings to create attraction to a place. The huge success of the Korean Wave has so far had a great impact on Korean tourism (Han & Lee, 2008). In this study, the appeal of watching Korean television dramas lies much in the opportunity to get a sense of how people live differently in other parts of the world, a sense that can give my participants a travel destination point to experience for their own lives.

Korean television dramas have captured the attention of many drama fans in creating artificial scenery or filming at a variety of beautiful scenic locations. This makes these locations subsequently become tourist spots. Korean history and culture are also successfully promoted while viewers watch these television dramas.

Desiring for the “New and Different” Experience

The effect of television dramas on people’s daily life is exceptionally significant (Ohio State University, 2010). Korean drama fans determine and interpret the popularity of Korean television dramas through their real-life experiences of the local television dramas. According to the findings of this study, when my participants expressed their feeling and experiences concerning my research study, they commonly engaged their comments by comparing to Thai television dramas. I would like to give some fundamental characteristics about Thai television dramas before discussing about my study results.

Thai television dramas, (or “*Lakorn TV*” in Thai), broadcast every night during primetime on the weekday. They customarily air two hours long in each episode and two-three episodes per week. Most of primetime dramas are rebroadcasted during afternoon after they were published a few years ago.

Thai dramas based on melodramatic theme with a simply dimension in order to expand target audiences and get commercial sponsorship. Thai television series fundamentally have love storyline as a basis and mix with other genres like comedy. Thai television dramas based on novels and are often remade repeatedly with new actors and changing some scenes. The broadcasters typically use the popular stars to attract audiences the most.

Thai television drama is a typical story and somewhat differentiates from Korean series style as its viewers can simply predict its story on how the story would come to an end. Most of the dramas use the same storyline. Each story also commonly has an immoral female character that comes from power and rich family. She often screams or yells at others and can do some certain violence.

It can be said that getting bored with typical type of Thai traditional dramas is a significant reason why my participants draw attention to Korean television drama since it first broadcasted in Thai television channels. The data collected from both focus group interviews and online survey apparently confirmed my argument. The participants implicitly reveal their own feelings and opinions for Korean television dramas' popularity with in comparison with Thai television dramas. I summarise their comparisons on the drama elements between Korean and Thai television dramas in Table 2.

Table 2

Comparisons of Participants' Expression on the Drama Elements between Korean and Thai Television Dramas

Drama Elements	Korean Television Dramas	Thai Television Dramas
Storyline	New and different story	Repetitive and uncreative story
Drama Scene	Non-violent scene	Violent scene
Character	Wear natural makeup	Wear heavy makeup
Aims of drama production	Teach and enlightenment	High TV rating

According to the results of this study, Thai television drama is fiercely criticised for its repetitive and uncreative of stories within the limited sphere of genre and for its failure to meet the women's desire to explore a wider world outside domesticity. Female Korean television fans in this study tend to view the existing Thai television dramas as "*dull, common, all the same*" or "*boring, same story, same actors*" or "*uninspiring*".

I also took a closer look of what elements of Thai television dramas make these Thai women unsatisfied. I found that many of my participants criticise on the violence in Thai television dramas compare the violent scenes of Thais television dramas to Korean's. A number of participants comment about Thai actresses and their make-ups. All said that the Thai actresses always wear heavy make-ups even when they are in the pyjamas and are sleeping in the drama scenes.

This, however, does not mean that Thai women have never valued Thai television dramas. They nevertheless used to like to watch Thai television dramas whenever staying in the home and have a relaxing time with family. But after the Korean Wave come to steam in Thai society, a strong selection for Korean television drama presents itself. In this sense, Korean television drama fans should not be considered as passive television audiences. Rather, they have become significant agents in a mass media society, in particular mass media entertainment, and acted as active audiences who manage their media choice. They select the choice that gives them an enjoyment the most. Thai women in this study distance themselves from the local ones, and to become the key active audiences of the Korean television dramas. They are attracted and engaged to Korean-made dramas on television and started to be a fan. Watching Korean television dramas have the benefit of helping individuals expand their horizons, creating them openness to new information.

What happens to the sense of Thai female fan's lives when the Korean television drama confronts their everyday experience?

Korean Television Dramas and My Brand New Life

This section discusses the specific ways in which the popularity and cultural experience of the Korean television dramas impinges upon and how the meaning gained from this is integrated into the lives of women (I called *Brand New Life*) in contemporary Thailand.

The Korean television drama fans are familiar with transnational and hybrid cultural products through Korean television dramas. They consider the Korean trend as part of their lives and have been transformed into fans of Korean products and services. After Korean television dramas began gaining popularity, Korean clothes, fashion, cosmetics and styles also became popular.

In this study, the important cultural experiences of the Korean television dramas that impinges upon the lives of Thai female fans are Korean language skills, fashion and lifestyles and a new space of life that enhancing their personal and social bonds.

Korean Language Skills

In the Korean popular music study of Siriyuvasak and Hyunjoon (2007), Thai teenagers studied Korean language by taking a course or self-learning from books or websites so that “all the news and gossip” related to their Korean music idols is at their first hand (p. 123). In the present study, as a strong need to overcome a language barrier and a means of fully receiving a story, a quest for new language skill among Korean television drama fans is set off.

Even though Korean language is not the compulsory requirement in the educational course, it has become a crucial skill for the Korean television drama fans. There is no single way of translating and dubbing a television drama text from one culture to another, in this case Korean to Thai. Different functions and cultures will imply different approaches and will produce different target texts and dialogue; the integration of these into a particular other system is perceived by the Korean television drama fans in this study as a barrier to deeply get through the real sense of the (Korean) dramas. According to Green et al., (1991) 's Transportation Theory, this is an enjoyment through transformation. Korean television dramas help foster enjoyment through language learning—a transformation of the individual's knowledge base that can create resources for the future.

In this study, Thai Korean drama fans enjoy their experience when watching the television dramas and it has given them new knowledge or enriched their lives in some way.

Fashion and Lifestyles

In this study, Korean television dramas embody Koreanise consumerist culture and thus promote a consumption of Korean fashions and cosmetics for the female fans.

The preference for natural make-ups in Korean television dramas affects the ways Thai female fans dress and make-up themselves. Fashion and lifestyle are seen as areas in which works through mass culture and linked through the figure of the female stars in the television dramas, who act as an idealised mirror or shop window for the audiences.

A New Space of Life

Most Korean fan forums on the internet have more than a hundred sub-groups that provide space for discussion of different topics and interest. Various online websites and forums established specifically for the Korean lovers. In the forums, Korean fans share their personal gratification and feelings, exchange their information about the drama.

In the “star group” sub-forums of the “television drama” section in popcornfor2, fans can find Korean television dramas, available for downloading. Details of the downloadable drama, such as the television station, producer, casting, story summary, are listed along with the screenshots in each television drama page in the group. All the television dramas available there, including complete series of old television dramas and the most recent dramas that are still running in their places of origin, are subtitled with Thai done by volunteers in Thailand.

This distinctive feature of Korean drama fandom thus is everyday socialising. Karen (2009) describes the exchange in the fan social space as the “gift” which made up of three elements: to give, to receive, and to reciprocate for free of charge. The exchange results in fan creation of social relationships that are constructed voluntarily on the basis of a shared interest in a Korean television drama.

Not only on the internet, I, furthermore find that nearly all participants have the experiences of talking and sharing about the Korean television dramas in their real lives, especially with friends, boyfriend and family members, including father, mother, husband and sisters.

In sum, my study shows that the female fans of Korean television dramas are an “active audience”, who engage themselves to a new social space. They seek information and culture outside of the established (offline) media networks through the limitless potential of the internet. It can be said that not only do Korean television dramas have influenced Thai female fans with new cultural capitals, but also can lead them to a enhance their personal and social bonds. I thus argue fan activities like creating, collecting, exchanging and sharing about the drama has brought them a new space of life. They transform themselves into active cultural participation on their own.

CONCLUSION

This research paper has shown how Thai female fans make sense of their lives through the popularity of Korean television dramas, and has discussed about the practice of everyday life as a consequence of its popularity. The argument of this paper is that the Korean Wave, Korean television dramas, in particular plays an active role in reflecting, shaping and transforming lives of Thai women. The women’s mediated experience of the Korean television dramas give rise to new dynamics in which elements of television drama production are compared, contrasted and evaluated a Korean’s far more impressive. This Korean Wave phenomenon not only reflects the success of Korean Wave in Thai society, but also reflects the problematisation of Thai drama industry on television and the increasing awareness of its structural rigidities and strictures, and of limited possibilities for transformation as a consequence.

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In Control by Being Controlled: An Online Information Seeking Experience for Self-Directed Learning

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Abstract

The World Wide Web (WWW) is a dynamic expanding, unstructured information space. The size of the web and the richness of the information in this space brings with it enormous challenges to users seeking information on the internet. Although there has been substantial progress in the design of search engines in recent years, they are still inadequate to satisfy the user information needs all by themselves. This research uses some concepts from Foucault and Bourdieu to assist in investigating the logic of internet search engines and the conflicts Master degree students experience after they decide to click a website that the internet search engine has shown on its search results pages. The results in this study suggest the availability of information and the type of information retrieved by the engine creates significant struggles. Students experienced a sense of frustration and hopelessness when using the internet and entering an unmonitored space that consisted of so many under construction signs or dead links. The students are also involved in a symbolic struggle in their search for scholarly information on the internet. They are confronted with the results of symbolic power – advertisements and paid rankings – and record negative reactions and experiences. Further, not only overwhelmed by information overload, the students are also faced with information that is both duplicated and irrelevant. This circumstance thus is related to the issues of power and capital in terms of expertise and experience.

INTRODUCTION

The internet is a worldwide phenomenon that has revolutionised people's lives and has reshaped student information and research behaviour in the twenty-first century. One significant facet of change is the internet's role as an information resource in learning at all levels of traditional education (see for examples: Ellis & Folley, 2010; Wheeler, 2007). Communities in the twenty-first century are made up of global information societies and the internet is an integral part of this. One outcome is that it is helping to extend traditional learning resources (Hwong, 2003). Since the internet is the largest information infrastructure in human history, various forms of searching activities serve as the primary vehicles for locating required information from within this enormous resource.

The World Wide Web (WWW) is a dynamic expanding, unstructured information space. The size of the web and the richness of the information in this space brings with it enormous challenges to users seeking information on the internet. At present, search engines "constitute a powerful source of access and accessibility within the web" (Introna & Nissenbaum, 2000 p. 170) and they have also become "the symbol for the gateway" to information on the internet (Shillingsburg, 2006 p. 2). Recent studies show that search engines play an increasingly important role in people's surfing of the web. When a user wants to look up information on the internet, the user often goes to his or her favourite search engine, enters some search queries, looks on the search results pages, and clicks on the preferred web pages from amongst these search results. Given the quantity of information available on the internet, the widespread use of search engines is not surprising (Cho & Roy, 2004).

It is clear that information seeking cultures are rapidly changing and students now perform much of their search time online for information and will increasingly rely on the internet when seeking for information in the future. Online information seeking is a learning process with unique searching characteristics specific to particular learning levels (Jansen, Booth, & Smith, 2009; Marchionini, 2006). A number of studies have been undertaken exploring student online searching. Students are reported to regularly use electronic information technology (Barrett, 2005) and rely heavily on popular search engines, such as Google Search to find what they desire.

Although there has been substantial progress in the design of search engines in recent years, they are still inadequate to satisfy the user information needs all by themselves. This research study, therefore, investigates this new mode of information seeking on the internet with a group of Masters Degree students. It aims to explore the students experience after they decide to click a website that the internet search engine has shown on its search results pages.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this study, I have framed my argument by using the conceptualisation from Foucault and Bourdieu to assist in investigating the logic of search engines and the nature of information on the internet. One of the central terms is the issue of power – thinking about the manner in which power limits and shapes the way students approach searching for research purposes. The details of each concept are presented here.

Foucault's Concept of Power / Knowledge

Foucault's concept of power refers to a phenomenon that has both positive and negative effects. Power may create, enhance or destroy, and deny. In other words, power creates new forms of

behaviour, new modes of understanding, and new systems of meaning. Power encourages and restrains simultaneously (Foucault, 1978).

Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. And 'Power' insofar as it is permanent, repetitious, inert, and self-reproducing, is simply the overall effect that emerges from all these mobilities, the concatenation that rests on each of them and seeks in turn to arrest their movement (Foucault, 1978 p. 93).

Foucault also identifies the aspects or units of power as being "the networks, the mechanism, [and] all those techniques by which [a] decision could not but be taken in the way it was". It shapes the relationship between different parts so that 'free' decision is predictable (Foucault, 1980).

In *Power/Knowledge*, Foucault describes knowledge as being a conjunction of power relations and information seeking. For Foucault, power and knowledge depend upon one another. There is no power without knowledge and no knowledge without power. He states that "it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (Foucault, 1980 p. 52). For Foucault,

power shapes what, when, where, and how events become articulated. New knowledge is formed and sprung forth from these events, or unique relations of power occurring in particular contexts at specific periods in time. Within this framework, some discursive voices are given authority and others are silenced (p. 52).

He then characterises power/knowledge as an abstract force, which determines what will be known, rather than assuming that individual thinkers develop ideas and knowledge. Sara Mills (2003) argues:

the process of production of knowledge takes place through excluding other, equally valid forms of classification and knowledge which were perhaps more relevant to the context. In this sense, Foucault argues rather than knowledge being a pure search after truth, in fact, power operates in the processing of information, which results in something being labelled as a fact. For something to be considered to be a fact, it must be subjected to a thorough process of approval by those in positions of authority (p. 72).

I, as Mills (2003) argues, then should be "very suspicious of any information which is produced", even it can be added into the "sum of human knowledge" (p. 72).

Therefore, I suggest in this information age with the development of the internet, one can use the sense of power Foucault describes to think about and analyse the way in which a search engine works and its relation to users. My analysis will focus on Google, exploring the working of power in the production of students' knowledge.

Bourdieu's Concept of Cultural Capital

Bourdieu (1986) conceptualises cultural capital as "a form of power where knowledge and actions" that can be converted "under certain conditions into economic capital" (p.243). Bourdieu defines cultural capital as "instruments of appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as

worthy of being sought and possessed” (Martinez-Cosio, 2004 p. 6). His concept of cultural capital covers a wide variety of resources and his point is to suggest that culture (in the broadest sense of the term) can become a “power resource” (Swartz, 1997 p. 75). One of the key ways in which cultural capital can be institutionalised is in the form of educational qualifications. Bourdieu later suggested that what he called cultural capital should in fact be called *informational capital* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and is alternatively an “informal academic standard” (Martinez-Cosio, 2004 p. 156).

Bourdieu (1986) argues cultural capital can exist in three different forms: “embodied” (long lasting dispositions of the mind and body), “objectified” (forms of tangible cultural goods such as books, works of art or scientific instruments), and “institutionalised” (conferred properties such as educational credentials). These types of capital can be acquired “unconsciously”, and are “directly” tied to an individual. Because cultural capital is “more disguised than economic capital, it might be misinterpreted as legitimate competence rather than as a way in which to maintain current social power structures” (p. 243).

The power exercised through cultural capital is not a “power of influence over [a] specific decision”, or “over the setting of the political agenda” (Martinez-Cosio, 2004 p. 159). It is rather “a power to shape other people’s lives through exclusion” through a form of power relations (Reungsak, 2012 p. 18). This concept is useful for this study in framing an argument on the symbolic power regarding structures of control that inherently limit and shape the way students approach information seeking for research purposes.

In this study, students seek access to websites on the internet that include information and knowledge relevant to their field of study. The individual capacities of the students means some students get better results in their searches (better quality information) and so perhaps get better results for their assignments. It is here that the cultural capital they hold intersects with the process of internet research and confers more cultural capital on them. The accrual of cultural capital not only depends on the information students choose from the websites, but also on their use of information and their ability to put it to use.

METHODOLOGY

I examined the self-directed learning experience of Thai postgraduate students over a 12-week period situating their study journey in the context of their information seeking on the internet. Employing this study, I did the face-to-face focus group interviews as well as further developed a Virtual Environment for Internet Searching (VEIS), an online usage capturing technique to collect data by mixing quantitative and qualitative approaches. It was a technique of combining a modified Hypertext Transfer Protocol (HTTP) proxy with screen capturing, automated online monitor with a live-support system as well as live chatting and self-reporting modules to supplement the traditional web-logging data.

This research drew twenty-one participants from a cohort of Masters Degree students enrolled in the Interior Design Management Program at Bangkok University, Thailand. The students ranged in age from 24 to 38 years old, with an average age of 30 years old. Twenty worked as a full-time employee; six of those were running their own businesses. There was a degree of homogeneity in the sense that they shared similarly high grades in their previous degrees. They had done relatively well in their bachelor degrees, with a 3.56 grade point average (GPA) for the group. All the students used the internet on a daily basis. They claimed that they were experienced internet users who had access to the internet either from their offices or from homes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

On the internet, various key players exercise their power and they do this in a complicated environment. These complex sets of power relations mean that students experience new types of problems when they do their scholarly research. Three main issues have been identified as the conflicts students experience after they decide to click a website that Google has shown on its search results pages. The details of each issue are presented here.

Inaccessible Web Documents

When a Google search is conducted, it results in pages of results being produced. The students make decisions about which of these results to look at by clicking on one or more of the items and exploring the links that appear to be promising. Many of the websites they click on are inaccessible. They are either under construction or the link is dead. One reason for this is that internet search engines do not have the capacity to discriminate between materials. So, much of what they collect may be outdated, inaccurate, or incomplete. Although smart crawlers are currently being utilised, the process of crawling the web is very time consuming. Regardless of how good a crawler is, none of them is good enough to crawl all of over eight billion pages on the internet, index them and do it quickly every day (Herring, 2007). Using Foucault's concept of power, the internet can be understood as a site where the idea of diffused power might make sense. There is no single source or holder of power.

As a result of the dead or inaccessible links, a number of students in this study experienced a sense of frustration and hopelessness when they had made an effort to search for information and then they were not able to access the websites they thought would be useful. One reason for this frustration is that the students believe the site they cannot get to must have the answer they need. Students then develop techniques to help them get to this information they so desire. Here according to Bourdieu (1986) computer competencies are a useful form of "capital" when students are using the highly quirky internet.

Mixed Websites: Advertising and Student's Information Seeking

A website on the internet can be the work of an individual, a business or another organisation, and can be dedicated to a particular topic or various mixed purposes. Google does its indexing in a way that means a hyperlink can link to any individual, business or other kind of mixed website. Hence, the distinctions between the various types of websites, as perceived by Google, may sometimes be blurred. Google does not prioritise making this distinction in the software it has designed. In fact, in this study almost 40 percent of the visited web pages contained advertising materials (See Figure 1). This is an issue for students undertaking scholarly research. In this study, when students searched for scholarly information, but are confronted with commercial information on business websites, they perceive these kinds of websites as surreptitious advertising websites. These websites are reported by the students as problems. The students even feel surprised about the considerable number of these kinds of websites they find in their searching.

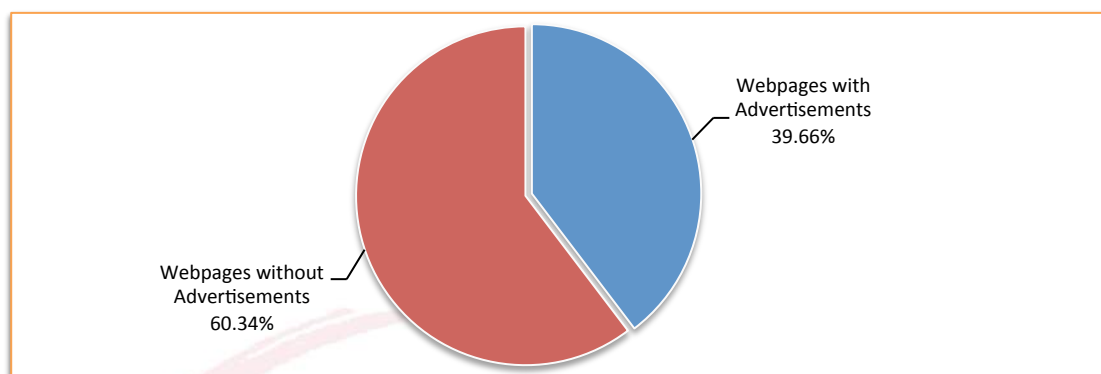


Figure 1: Websites visited that contain advertisements and that are advertising-free (%).

In order to avoid the advertising websites resulting from Google searches, some students perform their searches by employing a web directory. A web directory is a directory on the World Wide Web. It specialises in linking to other websites and ordering those links into categories and sub-categories. However, some of the students report having negative experiences from using web directories and comment on it as being a surreptitious advertising guide.

The students are involved in a symbolic struggle in their search for scholarly information on the internet. The internet is a site that is shaped by what Bourdieu calls symbolic power. Businesses and commercial companies have access to economic power that can be developed to interfere with the logic of search engines and the nature of information sorting on the internet. The students are confronted with the results of this power – advertisements and paid rankings – and record negative reactions and experiences. They point out that commercialism on the internet is a problem when they are searching for scholarly information.

“Results 1-10 of about 512,000,000”: Student Decisions About What to Read

The use of computers and communication technologies has had an enormous impact on the way that information is “produced”, “organised”, “stored”, “searched”, and “transmitted”, and has certainly made more information accessible to more people (Walker, Janes, & Tenopir, 1999 p. 1). There can be no doubt that the increased accessibility of information from online sources, contributes greatly to the volume of information that can be accessed when exploring any particular topic. There is an abundance of information available, yet it is often difficult to obtain useful and relevant information among the vast volumes of information that – at the very least – need to be scanned through to find the nuggets. This abundance of data leads us to what is known as “information overload” (Adar, Teevan, & Dumais, 2008). The problem of information overload is widely recognised today (Mahar, Harker, & Wilkes, 1990). Living in a global information society, students are overwhelmed with information whether or not they actively seek it. My students find themselves bombarded with information that is duplicated and unwanted.

The internet provides unlimited access to a wide array of information resources. With more than eight billion pages currently available on the internet and more posted everyday (Calishain, 2007; Herring, 2007), systematically retrieving relevant information can be difficult. A typical information retrieval process involves an interaction between actors within a network; in this study, this means a graduate student and the Google search engine. The process begins when a student with an information need forms a query and issues it to Google. Responses by my student

subjects to this online searching process suggest the availability of information and the type of information retrieved by Google creates significant problems. First, students are overwhelmed by information overload, yet they are also faced with information that is both duplicated and irrelevant. Further, for students, finding the desired information from Google is seen as an experience based on good fortune not skill. They see it as depending upon how “lucky” they are, rather than how many “searching skills” they hold. I argue, again, this problem is related to the issues of capital in terms of expertise and experience. The students lack the cultural capital to actually use a database well (for example choosing effective keywords) and they are searching in a system that has a very different search mechanism, compared with library databases, where keywords, titles, authors, subjects and other descriptors are used. As a result, they often cannot locate the information they expected.

CONCLUSION

The argument in this research study has been about how power and capital intertwine and have an impact on how the students interact with the information on the internet. The students present themselves (via the computer/internet) to the gaze of the large corporation (Google) who observes them and in response to their search queries create knowledge (the search results) that have an effect on the way these students come to understand the world (in this case the field of business and design). Yet this process is not neutral as the students enter into the world of Google they are shaped by its logic, they have to bend to or use its rules.

There are various key players in the broad network that makes up the internet in terms of the education community, including web producers, internet search engines, business companies, students, academic institutions, individual academics and academic publishers. However, no-one “holds” absolute power, rather everyone is enmeshed in a network of power and at different times and circumstances have different abilities to act. Even though the students are agents in this network, they often have limited capacities to act. The algorithms of the search engines are set. The input of data and the maintenance of data is not regulated. These are all things the students cannot control. However, they do have the capacity at times to control and get around problems that arise as a result of being controlled.

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***Who do you think you are?
Nurturing Preservice Teacher Identity in a World of Increasing Globalisation and
Emergent risks***

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Abstract

The process of becoming a teacher integrates and distils past and social experiences, and episodes in life that result in a cumulative history. This history can shape the identity of student, teacher and preservice teacher to ultimately become part of the broader context of education.

Increasingly, we see students entering the teaching profession from diverse backgrounds that include a cross-section of vocational, cultural and international contexts and circumstances. This is largely representative of today's mobilized communities that have been shaped and defined by a globalized marketplace.

In this article I discuss issues of identity of preservice teachers in light of trending globalization, and the increasing imperative for teachers to be reflexive practitioners. Using Ulrich Beck's theory of reflexive modernization provides a framework that can link these preservice teacher identities with globalization, modernization and emergent *risk societies*. In identifying risk societies as a deterioration of previously valued social norms, Beck suggests that individuals and risk societies are enmeshed together. Ironically, these evolving societies must still provide for the needs of its individuals, who, in turn exercise increasing choice in their future.

Maintaining identity in these uncertain environments can collide with overall wellbeing. For the preservice teacher an erosion of identity can exaggerate feelings of disempowerment and discomfort. Overcoming this is largely dependent on the preservice teacher's efficacy, reflexive practices, and a capacity to continue.

Keywords: teacher education, globalisation, risk, identity, practicum

Introduction

This study has a dual purpose: (1) to identify challenges inherent in preservice teacher placements and (2) to examine the extent to which identity may be compromised for preservice teachers amidst a diversity of backgrounds, contexts and educational settings.

Framed within the literature review the paper is organized as follows: First, some of the challenges that preservice and practicing teachers face in developing and maintaining their identity are explored. Second, a theoretical framework provides a foundation to examine challenges in initial teacher education as often perceived by students. Next, results of this study are presented. The last part of the paper offers some discussion and conclusions based on the research findings, and offers a set of considerations for future research for preservice teachers.

Literature Review

What Identity?

Self-identity, more than merely an inherited trait, is an ongoing reflective, constructive process, an effort that we continuously work and reflect upon. (Giddens, 1991). Giddens writes that “A person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor - important though this is - in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going” and suggests that individual's identities are the product of continuous integration with events happening in the external world. Identity, he suggests, is the product of continual immersion in a world that is continually changing. In today's neoliberal and globalised world the individual is now also offered increasing freedom to choose what they want to do and who they want to be. However, while there is increasing freedom to make choices this often comes at a price. In many cases we must know of the traps to look out for and be ready to negotiate how our choices might best suit our needs and circumstances. These negotiations, says Giddens, can be costly, both physically and psychologically.

Identity of teacher/pre-service teacher

In today's world where rapid change is ever-present, identity cannot be static; identity is shifting, ambiguous, and the result of culturally available meanings and the way in which these are practiced in everyday situations (Kondo, 1990). For teachers this is typically affected by their own culture, their experiences in and outside of schools and their overarching beliefs and values about education.

Teachers' professional identities are rich, complex and dynamic. (Wenger 1998, Sachs 2001). As Wenger suggests this richness and complexity should be nurtured in supportive communities where there is respect, mutuality and communication. These elements are key to the development of any individual. Professional teacher identity, however, may not come automatically to all teachers. It will typically be the result of negotiated, lived and practiced engagement in an education community. These emerging identities may be challenged, and will often be the subject of discussion in the broader community. Ultimately the identity will reflect the contribution of teachers' work and their experience in the eyes of themselves and others. Wenger's (1998) five dimensions of identity illustrate the interconnectedness and

interdependence of teacher identity with the educational community and suggests that this can be well formed via *negotiated experiences, community membership, targeted learning trajectories, a network of multi membership; and finding the relationships between local and global* socio-political linkages that intertwine in educational practices. Wenger describes these fundamental elements of identity as products of the constructive learner. These products inform the continuous meaning of the experiences and discourses that help to shape our lives. Ultimately we start to see identity and practice begin to mirror each other.

A teacher's professional identity may be perceived as an outcome of pedagogical skills with something that emerges or morphs into place after some classroom experience. Often seen as stereotypical, this identity may, however, demonstrate multiple professional identities. Teachers may belong to a generic category of teacher but levels of granularity will emerge giving further definition to their identity. For example, a primary teacher may also identify with subject specializations as well as year level. A secondary teacher will have methods expertise and each will bring experiential expertise and discourses that further shape their identity. In these situations the professional identity also serves bureaucratic, management and recruitment purposes that provide an additional layers of meaning to the generic labelling of the teacher.

Teacher identity is continually shifting, and over recent decades has been largely responsive to public sector conditions. The 'designer employees' (Catherine Casey, 1995) of the 1980s and the entrepreneurial professional of the 1990s (Menter *et al.*, 1997) responded to crises in accountability, industrial action and workplace culture. The emergence of neoliberal practices, or putting education into the market place, promoted education as a commodity, providing the public a range of products to select from. In this context, teachers and schools were expected to respond competitively (Menter *et al.* 1997) with bureaucracies encouraging compliance and policy-governed 'designer teachers'. These teachers were expected to perform at high levels of efficiency and effectiveness. Entrepreneurial teacher identity that followed saw individualism emerge; yet reservations were held about the value this would bring to education. As Andy Hargreaves (1994) observes 'individualism is primarily a shortcoming, not a strength, not a possibility; something to be removed rather than something to be respected'.

A subsequent revision of teacher professionalism across the public sector has brought significant consequences for teachers' work and their professional identity with the emergence of controlled and regulated features, in teaching contexts in NZ, UK, USA and Australia over the last decade (Codd, 2005). The rise of teacher professional standards in these countries could be viewed as being more concerned with standardization of practice rather than quality, although a search for quality is that which is publically voiced. For some, the introduction of teacher standards and the national curriculum function as systems of control and bring standardised language and monocultural values of learning to the educational arena. Ironically, the globalised nature of learning and education today demands flexibility and an affordance to acknowledge the identity and diversity of its constituents. (Marginson, 1997, Sachs, 2001). In a measured and performative culture of teaching and learning, the individual and the strength of an entrepreneurial identity do not readily fit. Professional identity then becomes, as Sachs (2001) describes, a set of attributes that

are imposed upon the teaching profession either by outsiders or members of the teaching fraternity itself. As Sachs (2001) suggests, teacher professionalism or identity, is being re-identified. It now appears to be a consequence of teacher deskilling while concurrently intensifying their work. Demands on teachers are increasing; resourcing is decreasing; yet pressures of accountability and expectations of maintaining high standards prevail.

In essence, the moral consciousness of the teaching individual is in question. Embracing education reforms and performative approaches, inclusive of teacher standards, is concerning if this is to be at the expense of the individual. Education reform can be instrumental in reforming teachers, but in doing so there should be some caution around potentially changing what it means to be a teacher with these changes having the capacity to alter one's social identity (Bernstein, 2000).

Theoretical perspective

Risk society –Individualisation/ reflexive modernisation

As highlighted by Beck (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002), the biography of the individual is inextricably connected to risk societies. They propose that the disintegration of previously valued social forms, including social status, gender and family, directs pressure and expectations from the newly emerging societies onto that individual. A decline in social order, inclusive of nationalism, class, ethnicity and the traditional family, highlights a need for the development of individual identities (Beck, 2002, Herriot & Scott-Jackson 2002). The development of such identities, uniqueness, behavioural style or assembled biographies is crucial as these biographies can maximize new certainties. While teacher identity can be rich and complex and charged with enthusiasm (Sachs, 2001), it can be counterbalanced between confidence and conflict. For example, the biography and background that a preservice teacher brings to teaching can be influenced by relationships with the class and the mentoring teacher. As the relationship with the mentoring teacher may involve 'power over', rather than 'power with' the preservice teacher, or power-distance or deference as practiced in some cultural groups (Hofstede, 1986), the development of a sound relationship is imperative.

It is Western capitalist cultures that typically form today's risk societies. (Giddens, 2002). Within these societies are the individuals who move in and across such worlds. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) describe the nature of these individuals and introduce a concept of "individualization" that illustrates fifteen interconnected notions to counterbalance the unchecked world of the risk society. These notions centre largely on a need to develop one's own biography to succeed in these environments. In some cases, the discarding of loyalties, provide a mechanism for liberation and empowerment (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, Herriot & Scott-Jackson, 2002) and open a window of opportunity for the individual to develop new values. These may represent a major shift from the previous values of dependability and integrity promoted by organisations. These authors suggest that individuals can better adapt to change than can social institutions. Herriot and Scott-Jackson (2002, p. 252) propose that a 'disloyalty' to others and to organizations is becoming more highly valued, additionally noting that previous values of dependability and integrity are less valued now than personal values of ambition and social attractiveness.

They suggest that organisations must undergo change in order to offer increased interdependence, liberation and empowerment for individuals.

The ever-changing contexts of uncertainty combined with educational restructurings result in a complexity for teachers' professional identity. It follows that teacher identity must be negotiated and re-established on a constant basis. (Codd, 2005, Melucci, 1996). Typically, however, the privilege of voice and the autonomy of behaviour are often sanctioned by their employing authorities.

Emulation – transference

The work of Deborah Britzman (Britzman, 2003) has explored the struggle for student voice and the challenges of establishing an identity. She suggests that teaching must be situated within one's biography, present circumstances, deep commitments, affective investments, social context, and conflicting discourses about what it means to learn to become a teacher. With this understanding, teaching can be reconceptualised as a struggle for voice and discursive practices amidst past and present voices, lived experiences and available practices. The tensions among what has preceded, what is confronted and what one desires, shape the contradictory realities of learning to teach. (Britzman, 2003)

Identifying the challenges facing a student signals a need for mentors and teacher educators to work collaboratively and productively with the more difficult and uncomfortable aspects of pre-service teachers' learning. (Bloomfield, 2010).

A focus on the formation of identity of the pre-service teacher and attention to the needs and issues being faced can be addressed. A typical but unconscious expectation of the teacher is transference. The act of transference may be instrumental in the way in which the student reacts, performs or interacts in the classroom. It is generally shaped by an expectation of the teacher for preservice teachers demonstrate teaching practices as an emulation of themselves, or even a replay of their own teacher training requirements (Britzman, 1986, Groundwater-Smith, 2011). Acknowledgement of transference presents an opportunity to review a traditional outlook where of role models ensure the success of students. Such practices do not do the work of pedagogy, and do not typically provide for the development of the 'identity' of the individual. To address these issues may require a heightened awareness of personal identity and could be addressed for students through institutional studies (Knowles & Sudzina, 1992). Provisioning for this may have its own set of challenges with a common limitation of teacher education institutions to focus on rules and procedures related to recruitment, course content, granting of credit. These can create additional impediments and challenges that can act as dysfunctional constraints for harnessing succession within the profession.

For the most part student teachers only focus on the their own performance as teachers. Given the power triad of university lecturer/supervisor, supervising teacher/mentor and student teacher, this outcome is mostly predictable. If reflective, collaborative practice is to reach its potential, the mentor/student teacher relationship needs, at least, to function at a collegial level.

The degree to which pre-service teachers assume the identity of a teacher is in part, determined by their efficacy and their capacity to continue, when faced with uncertainty (Leithwood & Beatty, 2008). The role of the mentor teacher is a significant factor for pre-service teachers, particularly in the situated dimension. Personal variables of the pre-service teacher and the mentoring teacher include all personal aspects of self and are culturally based and often with cultural constraints. Dimensions such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance have a tendency to tend to amplify each other, yet together they can result in a move away from individualism towards collectivism (Hofstede, 1986, Vitaliy et al, 2012).

Challenges with increasing system accountability in education, paralleled with increasingly diverse groups of students, landscape the teaching conditions for teachers—from a monoculture to a multidimensional culture in all classrooms. Hence aspects of situated complexity add additional demands to pre-service teacher's efficacy. Adopting an identity in these environments has an impact on the wellbeing of pre-service teachers and mentoring teachers that addresses Beck's concept of risk (Beck, 1992).

Identity and assessment in practice for preservice teachers

The practicum represents a the time in which a preservice teacher is introduced to the requisite teacher standards, as well as a time in which they must begin to demonstrate a level of proficiency (Lawler, 2008). These learners can bring expertise across a range of areas that reflect past experiences and, in many cases, serve to reinforce the innermost identity of the individual. Such identities can be unexpected and wide-ranging.

The role of the mentor, assessor, coach and guide is pivotal in shaping teacher identity. Making judgments in professional experience occurs in diverse contexts that are temporary, variable and difficult to replicate because personalities, classrooms and contexts are unique. For mentor and preservice teachers, the social and qualitative nature of education brings with it a degree of inexactness or difficult-to-measure outcomes that are subject to wide ranging interpretation. Personalities, local school cultures and the subjective nature of assessment (Britzman, 1986, Martinez, 1998) can play a crucial part in providing an accurate evaluation of preservice teacher development. It is within these types of context that the aforementioned regulatory standards hold value. Overcoming the subjective nature of assessment and evaluation of teaching practices can provide parity, transparency and clearly defined overarching goals for preservice teachers. Aligning one's own philosophy and practices to these standards is where identity may become compromised.

The competing realms of truth and philosophical beliefs force teacher education students into a choice. This has the effect (Britzman 1991) of sometimes forcing students to become someone they are not. Trying to take a position which may clash ideologically with one's professional role can cause a situation of great discomfort or what Giddens (1991) calls existential anxiety. In a somewhat contrasting perspective Bakhtin, however, (1986) has suggested that persons are caught in a perpetual incompleteness of identity (perhaps because the self is saturated) and that this represents the becoming of a person.

Successfully locating preservice and practicing teachers in educational settings today calls for a revision of the identity of the teacher, the attributes and skills that they bring and an acknowledgement of the increasing demands in their work. (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002, Sachs, 2001). To disregard this may result in any possible autonomy within teaching profession commencing a downward spiral towards a globalised, accountable and competitively driven perspective.

In particular, preservice teachers are increasingly influenced by the emergence of risk as they embrace diverse, globalised and mobile societies.

Research Methodology

This research project stems from a qualitative PhD study and employs constructivist approaches.

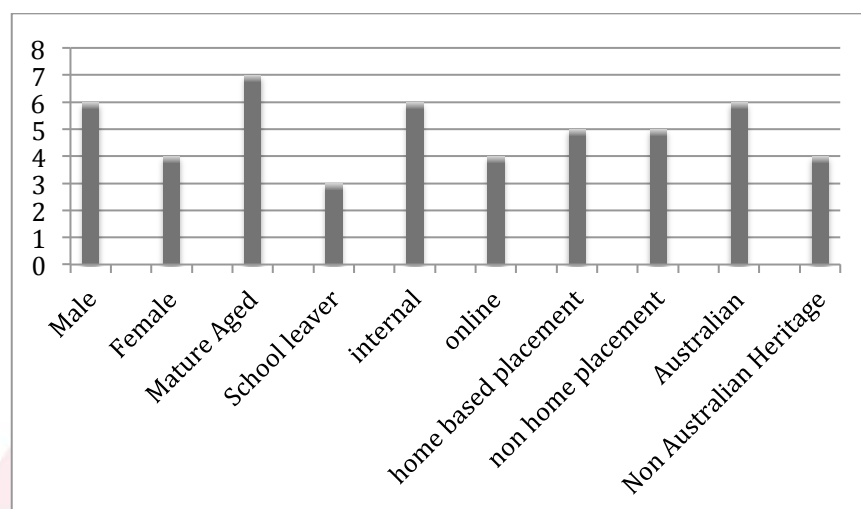
Ten preservice teachers studying at various Australian universities were interviewed, and one academic Chief Investigator (CI) participated as interviewer in this study. Endorsing universities were approached to assist with publicizing information that would generate student interest in the project. All participants were teacher education graduates who had completed professional experience and course work and were willing to offer their reflections and comment on their experience. The data sources collected in the research consisted of open-ended interviews, using a phenomenological approach, based on the lived experience of the individual. These interviews, or more specifically the participants' narratives, were transcribed and returned to the participant for verification. Qualitative analysis software (NVIVO) was used to assist in the breakdown, coding and preliminary analysis of the interview data.

Once a sufficient number of common themes or tendencies of discourse were identified these were grouped in terms of demographics, cultural dimensions and common perspectives. Statements were also grouped or coded to provide insights into the range of feedback, reflective comment and outlooks.

Findings

The students interviewed came from various locations around Australia and brought with them a variety of perspectives, cultural backgrounds and life experiences. An initial review of the interviews or narratives elicited the following information, (*Figure 1*) although this information was not explicitly requested.

Interestingly, in a culturally and traditionally feminine profession, the larger number of respondents was male. A second area of interest lies in the age demographic. While ages and age ranges were not identified, the data revealed that mature aged students outnumbered what has been traditionally a pathway for school leavers. In today's uncertain times the teaching profession appears to offer a degree of job security, financial security or familiarity in revisiting a 'known' area. Perhaps for some, the notion of revisiting an educational space, a space where they have experienced success as learners themselves, there is a tantalizing expectation that things may remain the same?

Preliminary Findings - demographics*Figure 1*

Of these two cohorts the females shared comments and feedback that reinforced the power discourse in the classroom setting.

‘She just wanted me to please her’ and *‘I was badgered by a teacher and there was not need for it’* were comments that seemed to elevate the power of the teacher and do little to provide opportunity for collaboration and the reciprocity of learning.

Attempts to make sense of the classroom needs and the vagaries and desires of the teacher again reinforced a ‘power over’ relationship. The mature age students felt confronted and disempowered with comments such as:

“I did not understand what she was after” and *“None of my previous knowledge and experience seemed to count”*.

Interestingly, only one of the students expressed positive comment and indicated that his time in the school was successful. This male student had commenced his initial teacher education course directly after high school and had no other life experiences to bring to the classroom. He indicated that he was happy to follow the lead of his teacher and shadow to her practice. His presence with of little consequence of threat and his identity was ready to mould.

Those preservice teachers who ventured far from their comfort zone, either being of non-Australian heritage or travelling to an unknown or familiar locations for their professional experience were bringing to life some aspects of Becks individualization. The students are seeking to develop their own biographies, to take the risk and to make active choices with regard to their future. Challenges and hurdles that they faced and have overcome, ultimately serve to reinforce and strengthen their identity.

Nine out of the team respondents indicated that they were requested to complete additional time to satisfy the requirements of their professional experience. In each case the reflections of these students were heartfelt, and indicated a drive to succeed. Comments such as *“... was so disorganized but expected me to do everything the way that she did”* and *“... was never really sure what I was expected to do”* have clearly

created some anxiety at the time, but were not considered insurmountable. Again this is a clear connection to Beck's suggestion that individuals are open to change and can adjust to change more readily than institutions, or even those who may be institutionalized.

A more common response made a link with being valued.

'... there just wasn't time to spend one-on-one with my mentor teacher'

If finding time to work with a preservice teacher is too difficult, then a reasonably strong message around valuing the input of that individual, their strengths and their aspirations is passed on. One widespread image is clearly one with the teacher is the transmission of knowledge and all skills with a teacher is all knowing and the transmission is into empty vessels. In many respects this demonstrates persistence in traditional stereotypes remains the popular cultural image, and perhaps extends to sharing knowledge with the preservice teacher.

Discussion

Communities of practice provide the context and conditions for teachers to develop an identity. They facilitate values of respect, reciprocity and collaboration. Communities of practice and an identity are interdependent as each nourishes and supports the other. If the purpose is to revitalize teachers' sense of themselves professionally and personally, then this must be nurtured for those who are entering the profession. Importantly this can be achieved individually and collectively, from within and from outside the profession. Communities of practice provide opportunities for this to occur that are strategic and well as practical.

The search for renewed teacher identity, inclusive of all who are working in this field may be viewed as an attempt to change the public perception of the role and purpose of teachers and teaching. Academies, institutions and workplaces may wrestle with notions of professional identities in these times of rapid change and political agendas. It is the teachers and pre-service teachers, however, those at the heart, in the classrooms, at the coal-face, who must address not only these issues of uncertainty, but must also have a clear and articulated sense of what it means to be a teacher in contemporary society.

Conclusion

In essence teachers demonstrate a concern for the welfare of others and 'the common good', the dignity and rights of individuals and minorities and prepare learners for successful interaction in social settings and institutions.

Redefining teacher professional identity requires a dual approach; an effort to shed the shackles and reminders of the past, making way for transformative attitudes; and simultaneously overcoming unwarranted domination of individuals or groups over others. If preservice teachers and teachers can construct and maintain their own reflexive self-narratives, with robust connections to their social, political and professional agendas, strong identities can be forged, embedded and reinforced for lifelong learning.

These self-narratives provide a link for a collective professional identity and can be openly shared, debated and contested by others. Critical self-narratives about

professional identity at the individual and collective level have clear emancipatory objectives. Given that there is no 'one size fits all' pedagogy in the daily lives and practices of teachers, the necessity for reflective teaching becomes paramount. By collecting data about one's own practice, it becomes possible to seek improvements in teaching and pedagogy. The idea of reflection as epistemology can nestle within the broader parameters of pedagogical content knowledge for all teaching.

Reflection has come to mean many things to many people and the term has been appropriated and used in many different ways. The importance of reflection is not however, how much we reflect but the kinds of questions that we ask ourselves.

It would be of great benefit, for example if schools and the teachers within have a broad mission to transmit the best of culture and to eliminate those practices that are unjust and oppressive. In this way the identities of learners in the school and the broader education community can all be fostered and respected.

In particular, preservice teachers are increasingly influenced by the emergence of risk as they embrace diverse, globalised and mobile societies. Students from a range of backgrounds, experiences and beliefs, are entering a profession that theoretically supports professional integration and migration, yet are simultaneously required to comply with the practices of an often culturally homogenous mainstream workplace (Collins & Reid, 2012). We see this regularly evidenced when prior qualifications, classroom experiences and overarching intentions are questioned.

New times and new conditions require alternative forms of teacher professionalism and teacher identities to develop. As Furlong *et al.* (2000) suggest: We need to ask fundamental questions about who has a legitimate right to be involved in defining teaching professionalism. Do state control, teacher accountability overrule the right to the development of own professional identity? How can these impediments be overcome to provide enabling practices for preservice teachers or those who are electing to join this profession?

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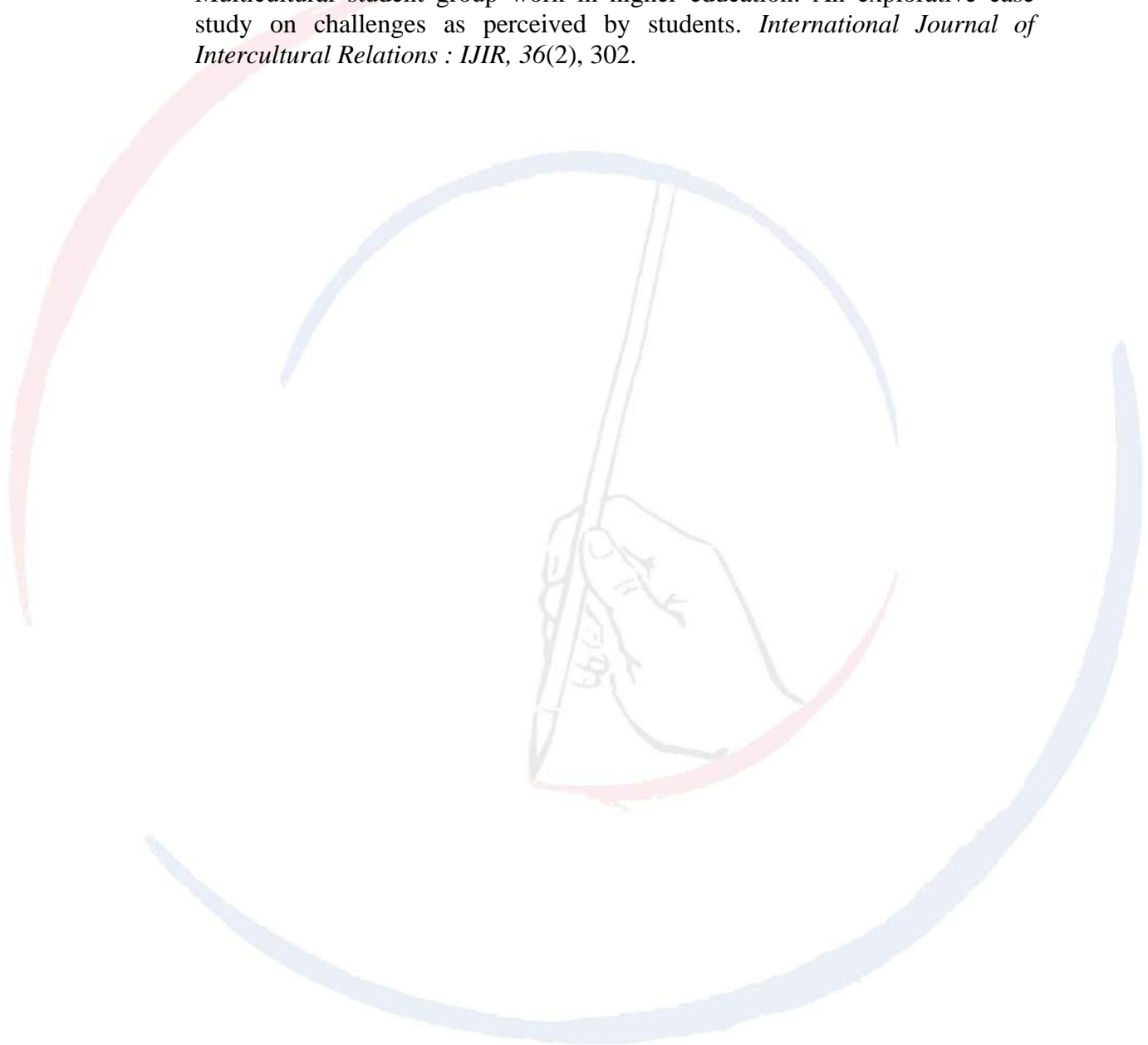
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A Study of Local Food Security in the Southern Part of Thailand

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Abstract

The purposes of this research are to study food security and risk factors that impact food security as well as to recommend guidelines to strengthen food security in the Southern Part of Thailand. The participants who provided information include the villagers, the representatives of the community, and the representatives of related government agencies. The tools used for collecting the data are the structured interview and group conversation. The result reveals that food security condition in the South has been changed according to the globalization. However, this change does not cause any crisis food shortage. Food in the south are from 4 majors resources include 1) planting 2) purchasing 3) gathering from natural resources and 4) sharing. The risk factors that impact food security in the south consist of 1) the changes of agricultural systems in producing food crops and economic crops 2) the changes of natural conditions of soil, water and forest, and the lack of knowledge transfer on natural resource management for sustainable utilization 3) the consumption habit that depends more on purchasing food from outside the community and the negligence of self-produced food in the area. The guidelines to strengthen food security in the South are divided into 3 categories 1) the management of natural food resources and the promotion of food production potentiality from agricultural system to be safe, sufficient, and diverse. 3) the management of food purchasing habits to be effective consumption, and 4) the management of food through local culture.

Introduction

Food security has currently become more serious problems globally according to the changing situation of natural environment caused by nature and human being. In addition, the energy crisis that impacts the production costs in the investment and agricultural sectors which are the trade and food resources of the world. The impact of global warming has severely influenced the production system, the seasonal change, the violence of natural disaster, and the self-development of insect pest. Thailand which had been the fertile land and was named as Kitchen of the World has now been affected by the decrease of natural resources, and the degeneration of environment which lessen the capability in self-reliance both in the way of living (the agriculture, the main way of living) and the pursuit of food in natural resources. This caused the local communities in risk condition of food security, particularly, the south part which has a fertility of food resources because of its location and climate conditions which are appropriate for the existence of plants and various creatures. Therefore, a variety of food is available throughout the year. However, nowadays, various circumstances have occurred such as insufficiency of electrical energy, insufficiency of rice for consumption. Only Nakhon Si Thammarat and Pattalung Provinces can have rice for consumption within its province. The planting of oil palm and rubber tree which are the main plants of this part have been rising from 68.8% to 72.5% or estimated at 500,000 rai, almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the south area whereas the areas for planting rice, mangosteen, tangerine and other products have been decreasing. In addition, the Southern people can produce food at 6.9%, so they have to buy the remaining products from other parts. (DechratSukkumnerd, 2013) These are signs that indicate the risk of food security in the South.

Due to the above circumstances, it is important to study food security in the South that the existence of food at the local community is the main base resources. How the South people can make use of these resources by utilizing for their way of lives? Are there any risks of food security? The need to know any related situations to be able to make use of this information to analyze the way in strengthening the potential of food security of the community in order to prevent and solve the problems that will probably occur in the future and the South people can sustainably depend on themselves.

Purpose of the Research

To study food security in the context of the existence of food resources, food access, and the benefit of food and food resources, risk factors related and impacted food security of the South as well as to recommend the way in strengthening food security of the South.

Study Method

1. Procedure

The method of this research is integrated the use of qualitative and quantitative procedures. The collecting information is to make in-depth understanding and to explain food security of the South, the access and utilization of food resources, factors that affect the risk of food security of the South, by the participating observation, the structured interview, and group conversation. In terms of the study on basic aspects including food security in household and in the community, collecting quantitative data by structured interview have been

used in order to gain information relating to the model for strengthening food security in local community of the South

2. Participants

2.1 The population and group sampling for data collection through the in-depth interview of each household and community

The selection is made from group sampling of 14 provinces of the South, and the result which is made by geographical aspects reach only 7 provinces or only 50% which consist of 4 provinces at the eastern coast, and 3 at the western coast. Group sampling of the districts from all 7 provinces, 2 from each province by specific sampling, and sampling Sub-Districts from 14 Districts, 2 for each district by specific sampling can be collected at 28 Sub-Districts with 2 people from each community. The total amount is 56 people. The target groups are from those who have their homeland at that areas and they must have experiences in food management of the families. The tool for data collection is the structured interview.

2.2 The Population and group sampling of the study through group conversation

The criteria used for considering people to participate in group conversation includes the community leaders, representatives of agriculturist, board of the community, knowledgeable people/philosopher and interested people. This activity which consists of 5-6 people for each group was convened 7 times totally.

3. Data Collection

The information of this study are both the primary and secondary sources, details of which are as follows:-

3.1 Secondary Information derived from printing media for understanding the study area which consists of the followings:-

- Data on physical geography of the South
- Data on food security

3.2 Primary information derived from field data collection as follows:-

- Data on social and economic aspects
- Data on food existency, food resource access, food utilization, and food management model
- Data on problems and obstacles on food management
- Data on how to strengthen food security of the South

As for the field data collection, researcher has made use of structured interview for both

Quantitative and qualitative parts which can be described as figure 1.

Study Topics	Data Collection Process	Sampling Level

-social and economic aspects -food resources -food provision model	Quantitative aspect questionnaire	Household Level
-self-reliance on food -problems/obstacles on food -solutions	Qualitative aspect Sub-group seminar	Community Level

4. Instruments

To interview the sampling people, a researcher has set up topics of the interview (structured interview) which cover the following issues:-

1. Basic information for individual
2. Data on economic aspect consisting of income, expenditure
3. Management on agricultural production system, and situation on food security at the household level

As for the group conversation, it is managed for a group of people including villagers, philosopher of the community, community's leaders. Topics to be discussed are concerned with factors affecting the risk of food security, and guidelines in strengthening food security of the south.

5. Reliability and Validity

The technique used to validate the data is as followed:-

1. Data triangulation which is used to check each individual from different resources such as philosopher, community's leaders, and housewives.
2. Methodological triangulation is used to check data consistency on the same issue. The Methodology to be used includes participating observation, structured interview, and group conversation

6. Data Analysis

The methodology of the study consists of quantitative and qualitative aspects. The quantitative data will be used to evaluate the statistics of percentage and frequency in order to achieve information relating to sufficient food, food access, food resource utilization, all of which are the main component of food security. Then, the result of the above method including the information derived from observation will be set up as topics to be discussed at the conversation group which is the study process of qualitative aspect. The outcome of a qualitative data will be evaluated and finalized for a summary of the study.

The Result of the Study

1. The concept on food security of the South is that the people must have enough food as they need. They must have various food resources from their own products, from purchasing, collecting, and sharing. They must have enough income for buying food that they cannot produce by themselves. They must have ability in food management appropriately. They must have eating culture in comply with a local way of life.

2. Food security of the South: According to the study, globalization had made changes in the people's way of life, production process and consumption of the community. However, these changes do not affect much as food resources from both natural source and from production are still fertile despite that the food from outside the community are needed more than ever.

2.1 The existence of food: Food production base of the South mainly includes rice, fruits, and rubber. Rice planted at this area are mostly at the wetland. As for the fruits, they prefer to have mixed plantation, and they expand the area of economic products such as rubber tree, and oil palm widely. As a result, food resource management should be promoted in parallel with the production of economic plants which need chemical usage, area expansion, and higher production costs which are the risk that affect major economic plants production.

2.2 The Access of food resource ; Food resources of the South derived from 4 main sources 1) purchasing 2) producing 3) natural resources and 4) sharing, all of which are profoundly related, i.e- the production system of the community can respond the economic system (marketing) in its community and the neighboring area. Whereas, the production system of the community mostly rely on natural system which provide seasonal food for the community. However, the fact that the South people derived food by purchasing more than other resources is the main risk of food security as they have to depend on food from outside the community and they would neglect the significance of food produced by the community.

2.3 The Utilization of food : The South people had managed food and food resources by their knowledge, intellectual and skills by making use of their daily lives such as farming and gardening for their own products. They also have raw materials resources for producing 4 essential factors of living, especially, for food and medicine. However, the changing of resource conditions caused by inappropriate management and utilization as well as more needs from resource access would lead to food security risk whether on land, water and forest resources which caused the decrease of agricultural area as well as the forest. Moreover, those that exist were in bad condition, and the wetland was invaded for agricultural utilization.

3. Guidelines for strengthening food security of Southern Thailand

3.1 Natural food resource management

- 1) Managing efficient natural food resources both at the community and local levels
- 2) Establishing knowledgeable process for the local people to aware the significance of natural food resources
- 3) Studying in-depth local species of plant and animal existing in the natural resources
- 4) Promoting the local people to take part in the preservation of watershed, mangrove, and community forest

3.2 Establishment of potentiality on food production from agricultural system

- 1) Developing the efficiency of food production by promoting the agriculturist to use local materials for self-production and gathering themselves for the production empowerment and for negotiation in the market so that they can set up the agricultural area appropriate for the resource condition and the people's way of life.
- 2) Decreasing the use of chemical substances in agricultural sector as well as promoting the production and the utilization of organic fertilizer more widely
- 3) Making a balance between the household and the community which focuses on a variety of products and commercial agriculture which focuses on production to serve for the market need, and making a balance between food plant production and power plant which seem to require more area for plantation in the future
- 4) Strengthening the potentiality and knowledge in seed selection or managing for good seed production
- 5) Supporting the household, the community and the local area to be the self-reliable units of food production through the principle of sufficiency economy, promoting the agriculture that can serve for biodiversity in terms of the quantity of food category as well as plant and animal species, preserving and developing the species that are the local identity with herbal and nutritional value.

3.3 Food management on efficient purchasing

1. Strengthening knowledge to the South people to aware, understand, and be able to inspect food resources.
2. Promote the South people to make household account to analyze an income and expenditure on purchasing food and to plan for self-reliance of the family

3.4 Food management through local cultural way

- 1) Studying and collecting philosophy and knowledge of food security, local food and food preservation for consumption
- 2) Establishing educational center in the local area and introduce the above-mentioned knowledge in various types such as the permanent exhibition, the seminar, the demonstration, including printing media so that the local people, particularly, the youth can learn, absorb and commit these knowledgeable activities with their way of lives.

Recommendation

1. Recommendation on policy

- (1) The plan should be set up to be a guideline for strengthening the potentiality of food security at the community, provincial, and regional levels. The plan must be in comply with the context of different cultural ecology, and the participation of all concerned parties at the area
- (2) To implement the policy for each level, we should consider to support the community in managing food from natural resources which are the strength of the South context. Concerned agencies should take part in supporting the community to make use of natural resources in their areas.

(3) At the provincial level, it is recommended that the government sector should have clear policy to promote and restore local plant genetics because they are the essential base factor that can lead to the fertility and sustainability of food base from both self-reliance production and from natural resources.

2. Recommendation for related public agencies or organizations

(1) Government agencies should recognize the importance of food security and establish the knowledgeable process on the said issue for the community and make use of concerned studies and researches in implementing the policy.

(2) The organizations and the agencies at the community level such as schools, hospitals for medical health in Sub-districts, should be the main driving forces for making knowledgeable awareness to the children, the youth, and the people in the community, on the changing values of consumption and their impacts

(3) Promotion on preservation : according to the study, the local people had made mostly use of natural resources as the food security guarantee. The local people had knowledge on many aspects of food security management. We should, therefore, promote the preservation knowledge in various types such as inserting in the local course, setting knowledgeable unit, praising the philosophers of each local community, and distribute the knowledge and skills on food management and food resources widely.

(4) Related authorities should continually cooperate in developing the quality of life of the South people in many aspects as they are energetic to gain knowledge and advanced technologies, nevertheless, we should help them aware of the local philosophy and integrate these different knowledge appropriately.

3. Recommendations for the future research

(1) The South is the area consisting of coastal areas, wetland, and foothill areas. Therefore, the research should be made to analyze factors affecting food security situation in the context of each area.

(2) The in-depth study on the knowledge of local food are as follows:-

(2.1) According to the study, it discovered that the local philosophy is an important factor for food security existence, we, therefore, should study and make research systematically on food management of the South people and connect the eating culture with the way of life. In addition, the people in the community should be co-researchers in the research procedure.

(2.2) According to the study that found out the benefit of food resources on health, it is, therefore, recommended that in-depth study should be made for having clearer technical information.

(2.3) The direction of the research should lead to the utilization of food and nutrition for good health, the potentiality of people and the society with regard to the culture, environment, and the context of each community. Moreover, we should study to make preparation of food security both in general condition, and crisis.

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W.S. Rendra's Point of View on Gender Inequality in his Poem entitled "Kenapa Kau Taruh" (Why Do You Place)

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ABSTRACT

Poem is not only a tool for entertaining, but also a vehicle to translate what is in one person's head into another person's head, much like other forms of communication. This study is an exploration of how a poem can describe gender inequality between men and women in its textual surface of discourse or descriptive stage, interpretative stage, and its explanative stage in terms of critical discourse analysis. It observes whether the Poem entitled "Kenapa Kau Taruh" (Why Do You Place) by W.S Rendra as the object of the study, has certain metaphorical discourse, appraisal attitude, ideological commonsense, and furthermore it aims to know the power relation between the participants involved in this poem. I initially analyze this poem based on *Jr. Martin's* theory of analyzing the discourse, and then to move deeper into the power that exists in the both situation and cultural contexts which created the discourse with the help of *Norman Fairclough's* theory. Finally, poem entitled "Kenapa Kau Taruh" (Why Do You Place) was constructed to be an inspiring poem which carried women's struggle philosophical thought against violence to women as a result of gender inequality between men and women.

Key words: *poem, gender inequality, appraisal attitude, power relation*

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Introduction

This study is an exploration of how a poem can describe gender inequality between men and women. Poem is not only a tool for entertaining, but also a vehicle to translate what is in one person's head into another person's head, much like other forms of communication. The difference from other forms of communication is probably that most poems try to convey one feeling, or one moment, or one situation really, really well, rather than conveying all the complexities of a novel, for instance. Poem can transfer particular ideological messages as philosophical thought; inequality phenomena, critics to the government, critics on a certain social phenomenon, etc. Some poets concern about gender inequality.

Social issues are not a new phenomenon in Indonesian poetry. Willibrordus Surendra Broto Rendra is one of the famous poets from Indonesia who often called as "Merak birds". He can open reader's mind to a deeper understanding of tradition, culture, politics, social science and economics through his critical, alternative approach. In one of his poems entitled 'Kenapa Kau Taruh' (Why Do You Place, 1990), he highlights inequality between men and women and the stereotyping of women as sex objects. Other poet that wrote about gender inequality is Adrienne Rich, a famous poet from US in her writing about advocating for women's reproductive freedom and control of their own bodies.

Gender inequality has always been a big issue around the world as well as in the United States and Indonesia. Women have always been either discriminated against or underrepresented in the workplace, in education level, and even in political arena. Although there have been some amelioration to this issue recently, there are still a lot to do to overcome it in the United States and Indonesia as well as in the world. Many polls and surveys on gender inequality administered around the country had helped to sort out the truth behind this issue in society and provide enough evidence that such thing still exist.

Some analyses on poem have been done by several experts as Denis Martinez Criado (2011), with the focus on integral Structure of Consciousness. The other study is by Ayse Akyel about the effectiveness of applying stylistic analysis of poetry to the design of language activities for use in EFL classes. Discourse studies on poem related to ideology is done by Saddik M. Gohar. He explores the integration of ancient Islamic heritage in Emirati literature, particularly the history of the rise and fall of the Muslim Empire in Andalusia, in an attempt to confront regional challenges and international transformations in the current era.

Another study was done by Andre van der Bijl (2011) entitled poetry as an element of the apartheid military discourse. He focused on apartheid as inequality of black and white people in South Africa. His study uses Fairclough's linguistic discourse analysis. Previous studies have indicated that the study on poem is only based on the surface textual. Furthermore, the researchers have been done, in the domain of poetry, do not deeply observe the power relation between the participants or explain the power behind the poem discourse or how each type of discourse interconnects each other to born the new complex discourse.

This study tries to explore the discourse on gender inequality from W.S. Rendra's Poem entitled "Kenapa Kau Taruh" (Why Do You Place) on: 1) What is the metaphorical discourse appeared in the text? 2) How is the appraisal attitude of the writer towards gender inequality? 3) How is the power relation in the discourse 4) What is the ideological commonsense carried out? It will be argued that this poem is in spite of its simplicity, it brings a lot of phenomena we have to take into account.

The objectives of the study are as stated in the following statements. This research focuses on the study of the discourse analysis of the poem entitled "Kenapa Kau Taruh" (Why Do You Place) by W.S Rendra. It observes the metaphorical discourse and the appraisal attitude of the writer towards gender inequality. This paper will also discuss further the power relation and finally it inquires the ideological commonsense brought.

Given the identified gap in this topic studies, this study has the potential to provide better theoretical and practical understanding of the discourse in poem entitled "Kenapa Kau Taruh" (Why Do You Place) by W.S Rendra. It may support the theory of critical discourse analysis that first, particular discourse has very complicated interconnection of many discourse types that Norman Fairclough called it as dialectics (Fairclough & Wodak: 1997). In a very simple word, there is no single discourse created by single discourse type. Second, it support the theory of critical discourse analysis that to analyze discourse must conduct two approaches, they are macro and micro discourse (Dijk : 1998). Practically, this study brings us the understanding of the actual content of the text, through the metaphorical linguistic expression that is unfolded by relating the text and the world. Philosophically, this research gives us knowledge of what is 'Gender Inequality' which is a big issue around the world nowadays.

Poem entitled "Kenapa Kau Taruh" (Why Do You Place) by W.S Rendra

Willibrordus Surendra Broto Rendra is one of the famous poets from Indonesia who often called as "Merak birds". His style and behaviour earned him the affectionate title of 'Burung Merak', the Peacock, that proud and colourful bird displaying his charms with pea-hens trailing after him. He can open reader's mind to a deeper understanding of tradition, culture, politics, social science and economics through his critical, alternative approach. He concerned about the role of women, the poor and commercial sex workers in particular. He discussed their problems in such poems as 'Nyanyian Angsa' (Swan Song, 1971), 'Bersatulah Pelacur-pelacur Kota Jakarta' (Unite Prostitutes of Jakarta, 1971).

In one of his poems entitled 'Kenapa Kau Taruh' (Why Do You Place, 1990), he highlights inequality between men and women and the stereotyping of women as sex objects. Women's unequal legal rights increase their vulnerability to violence. In many countries in the region, no specific laws or provisions exist to penalize domestic violence, even though domestic violence is a widespread problem. Many countries criminalize adult, consensual sex outside of marriage. In Morocco, women are much more likely to be charged with having violated punishing code prohibitions on sexual relations outside of marriage than men.

The excerpt poem entitled “Kenapa Kau Taruh” (Why Do You Place) by W.S Rendra carries gender inequality between men and women as a big issue happening in Indonesia and moreover in the worldwide thought to the followers as we can see at figure 1.

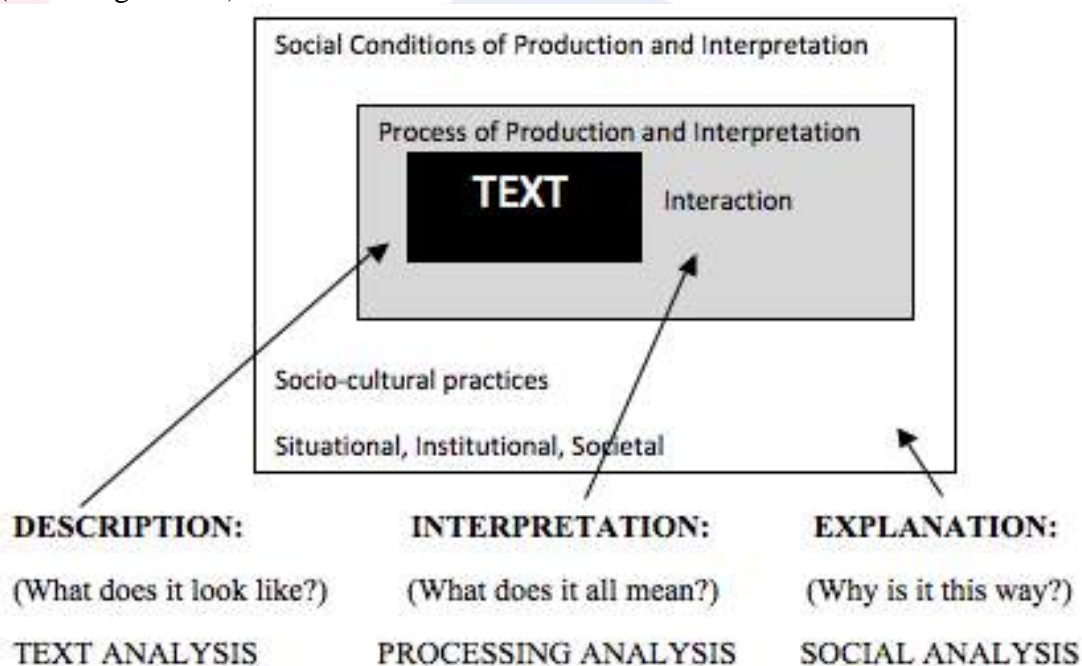
POEM: “KENAPA KAU TARUH”	FREE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH
<p>Kenapa kau taruh mawar-mawar berduri di atas susumu? Suatu pemandangan yang luar biasa. Tapi kenapa? "Aku taruh mawar-mawar berduri sebagai protes kepada wartawan." Sejak aku meninggalkan Rangkasbitung dan lalu menjadi Nona Jakrta, para wartawan potret suka mengincar dadaku.</p> <p>..... Ini terlalu! Ada banyak masalah wanita kecuali dadanya. Para buruh wanita masih kurang terjamin haknya. Metode keluarga berencana terlalu mengorbankan wanita. Wanita nakal disebut tuna susila. Lelaki nakal disebut Sang Arjuna.</p> <p>..... Terhadap wanita lelaki selalu salah sangka. Wanita cantik disangka sekadar pemandangan.</p> <p>None Jakarta disangka kue ulang-tahun yang bisa diiris dan dibagi-bagi.</p> <p>Kewanitaan dan kecantikanku selalu menjadi beban. Sekarang aku akan mengubahnya sehingga menjadi alat perjuangan. Tidak sekedar mawar-mawar berduri. Aku pun memelihara dengan teliti kuku-kuku yang sedang panjangnya. Bukan sekadar hiasan kecantikan tetapi senjata yang bisa mencakar.</p>	<p>Why do you put thorned roses on your breasts? Such an amazing scenery But, why? "I put those thorned roses as a protest to the journalists". Since I left Rangkasbitung And becoming Miss Jakarta The journalists took pictures Focusing on my breasts</p> <p>..... It's too much! There are so many woman's issues except her breasts. The rights of women as workers are still not fully guaranteed. Family planning methods victimise women. Bad girls are termed as sex commercial workers. Bad boys are called Arjuna, Prince of Love.</p> <p>..... Men always get women wrong. They see pretty women just as scenery.</p> <p>Miss Jakarta is mistaken for a birthday cake to be sliced up and shared around. My femininity and my beauty have always been a burden to me. Now I'm going to change them into tools of struggling. Not only those thorned roses. I'm carefully growing my fingernails too. They're quite long now and not just decorative beauty but weapons that can claw.</p>

Figure 1.

Methods

I describe the research strategy that I have used to study the discourse in Poem entitled “Kenapa Kau Taruh” (Why Do You Place) by W.S Rendra using three stages of discourse analyses : descriptively, interpretatively and explanatively.

This study is based on both discourse surfaces of the text as well as the deeper stages in terms of critical discourse analysis. It observes the description of the metaphors carried out the text, the writer’s attitude, the interpretation of the writer’s attitude towards the text using appraisal device and also the explanation of ideological commonsense that effect the social relation between the participants. In order to make it clear, we provide the theoretical framework of this study as we see on figure 2 (Fairclough: 1992).



It firstly observes the metaphorical linguistic expressions of the poem. Metaphor is interesting for the linguists because it is viewed as a process of transference between two conditions or experiences based on the association of each other. Secondly, this paper will also discuss further about the writer’s attitude towards the poem, especially about gender inequality. Next, it will also discusses about the power relation behind the discourse, and finally it inquires the ideological commonsense brought.

Discussing deeply further about this poem, for the initial analysis I applied J.R. Martin’s theoretical approaches, especially appraisals attitude system in the level of words, phrase, clause and sentence of discourse analysis to describe and interpret the content and contexts of the poem. While for the later one, I adopt Fairclough’s theoretical approach of critical discourse analysis to explain the social power relation and the ideological common sense behind the discourse.

I believe the combination of these methods of analysis is the most proper system to analyze such a philosophical lyric. Martin (2003:1) stated that discourse analysis is an invitation to grammarians to reconsider meaning in the clause from the perspective

meanings on the text, and suggests social theorist to reconsider social activity as meanings we negotiate through text:

“For us this also means that we treat discourse as more than incidental manifestation of social activity: we want to focus on the social as it is constructed through text, on the constitutive role of meanings in social life.”

Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis on the Poem Ideational Metaphor

We found that all the ideational meaning as the participants, the processes, and the circumstances are drawn in un-common reference of the real world. This kind of discourse enable the composer delivered multi-layered meanings to avoid narrow interpretation. This kind of discourse has also composed an artistic poem to admire. The key meaning making resource for this kind of discourse is known as ideational metaphor (Martin, 2004).

Metaphor in general involves transference of meaning in which a lexical item that normally means one thing comes to mean another. There are some examples of ideational metaphors in Poem entitled “Kenapa Kau Taruh” (Why Do You Place) as every lexical item chosen in constructing this poem. The word “pemandangan - scenery” that means the general appearance of the natural environment, especially when it is beautiful. This is of course not the lexical meaning that the composer wanted to draw. This word means women are beautiful with their femininity and beauty as the metaphor for scenery. The words “ kue ulang tahun - birthday day cake” that mean decorated cake served at a birthday party. This is of course not the lexical meaning that the composer wanted to draw. In fact, miss Jakarta is not the same as birthday cake. Miss Jakarta is a human, and birthday cake is a thing. We can see the difference. We can say that birthday cake means someone who won the crown for Miss Jakarta as the most beautiful women there treated bad and unfair. From this poem, it can be inferred that most men think that Miss Jakarta’s sex appeal can be shown and shared to journalists especially to public.

Appraisal: Negotiating attitudes

Martin and Rose (2003) stated that ‘Appraisal is concerned with the evaluation: the kinds of attitude that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feeling involved and the ways in which valued are sourced and readers aligned. Appraisal is a system of interpersonal meaning. We use appraisal for negotiating our social relationship, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people. There are three terms evaluated by attitude: things, people’s characters and their feeling. The following passage is a part of W.S Rendra’s poem. There are some attitudes given in it. In the following figure, there are some examples attitudes: affect, judgment, appreciation.

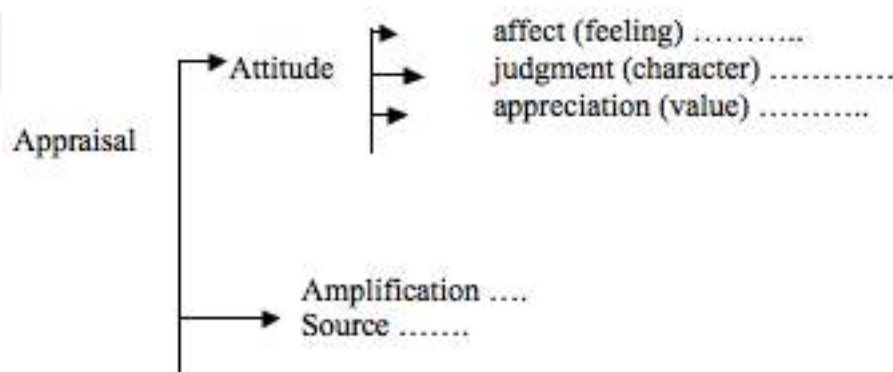
POEM: “KENAPA KAU TARUH”	FREE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH
Ini terlalu!	It's too much! (affect)

Wanita cantik disangka sekadar pemandangan. Suatu pemandangan yang luar biasa.	They see pretty women just as scenery (judgement) Such an amazing scenery (appreciation)
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Figure 3.

When people read these sentences, they may find nothing about it instead of it is just ordinary sentences. However, when we analyze using discourse studies especially appraisal system, the sentences have deep meanings and values. It can be seen from some words having attitude (e.g. too much), judgment (e.g. just as scenery) and appreciation (e.g. amazing).

Appraisal attitude, according to Rose (2003:25) basic system for appraisal can be stated as follow:



Expressing Feeling (Affect)

We can express our feeling either in good or bad feeling (positive or negative). We can also infer whether someone express his feeling directly or indirectly from their behavior, our feeling directly or indirectly. In his poem, W.S Rendra describes his own emotion or feeling as follow in figure 4:

POEM: "KENAPA KAU TARUH"	FREE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH
Suatu pemandangan yang luar biasa. Ini terlalu! Metode keluarga berencana terlalu mengorbankan wanita. Terhadap wanita lelaki selalu salah sangka. Kewanitaan dan kecantikanku selalu menjadi beban.	Such an amazing scenery It's too much! Family planning methods victimise women. Men always get women wrong . My femininity and my beauty have always been a burden to me.

Figure 4.

It's not happy poem, as we can see. Most of the feelings are negative ones, things we'd rather not feel: "too much, vicmtimize, wrong, been a burden".

Positive vibration found in that poem is only one, which is "amazing. The contrast between good and bad vibes is a basic one as far as emotions and attitudes in general

are concerned. W.S Rendra expresses his deep empathy for women, especially the oppressed one. And at the same time he shows that those oppressed women can fight for their rights with their own weapons (their femininity and beauty).

Judging People's Character

It is similar between affect, that judging people's character can be positive or negative and they may be judged explicitly or implicitly (Martin and Rose, 2003). In judging people's characters can be divided into personal (e.g. admiring, criticizing) and moral judgment (e.g. praise, condemnation).

In his poem, W.S Rendra gave his judgment to journalists, especially men. In his judgment, he describes the famous stereotyping of women in Jakarta. It is about gender inequality. Men always think women as lower gender, as sex object, and not valuable. They also think bad boys are Arjuna, prince of love. In fact, Arjuna should have pure heart and kindness as it can be found in the following poem excerpt:

POEM: "KENAPA KAU TARUH"	FREE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH
Wanita nakal disebut tuna susila. Lelaki nakal disebut Sang Arjuna. Wanita cantik disangka sekadar pemandangan. None Jakarta disangka kue ulang-tahun yang bisa diiris dan dibagi-bagi.	Bad girls are termed as sex commercial workers . Bad boys are called Arjuna, Prince of Love . They see pretty women just as scenery . Miss Jakarta is mistaken for a birthday cake to be sliced up and shared around.

Figure 5

Appreciation

In the previous discussion, we have discussed about how people feel about people and the way they behave. What about things? According to Martin and Rose (2003:32), appreciation of things includes our attitudes about TV shows, films, books, CDs; about paintings, sculptures, homes, public buildings, parks; about plays, recitals, parades or spectacles and performances of any kind; feelings about nature for that matter: panoramas and glens, sunrises and sunsets, constellations, shooting stars and satellites on a starry night. It is the same with affect and judgment; things can be appreciated positively or negatively.

Rendra's poem is more about the beauty of the women and their struggle. He appreciates them all. It can be seen that his statements about the condition of gender inequality between men and women. Women as the oppressed ones fight for their rights using their own femininity, beauty, even their finger nails as weapons.

POEM: "KENAPA KAU TARUH"	FREE TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH

<p>Kenapa kau taruh mawar-mawar berduri di atas susumu? Suatu pemandangan yang luar biasa. Kewanitaan dan kecantikanku selalu menjadi beban. Sekarang aku akan mengubahnya sehingga menjadi alat perjuangan. Tidak sekedar mawar-mawar berduri. Aku pun memelihara dengan teliti kuku-kuku yang sedang panjangnya. Bukan sekedar hiasan kecantikan tetapi senjata yang bisa mencakar.</p>	<p>Why do you put thorned roses on your breasts? Such an amazing scenery My femininity and my beauty have always been a burden to me. Now I'm going to change them into tools of struggling. Not only those thorned roses. I'm carefully growing my fingernails too. They're (finger nails) quite long now and not just decorative beauty but weapons that can claw.</p>
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Figure 6.

Ideology and Power Relation behind Discourse

From the moment we are born, boys are often socialized to deny their feelings and to prove their worth by dominating or competing with others. Control or power over others (especially over women and girls) and violence may be seen as signs of masculinity. In many cultures, male experiences and perspectives are seen as the norm. Masculine behavior, however that is defined, is taken as the standard. The exercise of power, especially in public, is seen as masculine. Such a power imbalance can result in women and girls having little or no say in decisions that affect their lives. Their voices are silenced and their experiences marginalized. Because gender is constructed by society, harmful stereotypic notions of male and female roles can be challenged. Injustice that may be a result of an unequal power relationship can be changed.

Increased violence against women and girls is an early warning sign of escalating conflict. Survivors of gender violence during war, such as the women and girls systematically raped during the conflicts in Rwanda and the Balkans, know that reconciliation is impossible without gender justice. The silence around sexual violence against men and boys during war must also be broken. Peace movements cannot ignore the increased militarization of women, the skills and leadership women and girls bring to peace building, nor how gender expectations encourage men to fight.

Violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men.

The Ideologies are organized sets of fundamental and often normative ideas and attitudes about some aspect of social reality shared by members of a group, society or culture. They are used to frame, legitimate, or validate opinions and actions in the domain to which they are applicable. Thus, indirectly, they control how people plan and understand their social practices, including their use of language. Ideologies persist over time. They are unconscious and rarely questioned, and when they are, their common sense nature is offered as adequate explanation of their existence

(Winden) quoting in (Bloomaert and Verschueren, 1998; Fairclough, 1989; Hodge and Kress, 1993; Van Dijk, 1999).

Ideologies of speakers or writers may be uncovered by close reading, understanding or systematic analysis, if language users explicitly or unwittingly express their ideologies through language and communication. In this analysis, W.S Rendra has an ideology that through his poem he wanted describe that there is gender inequality. Women as the oppressed one do struggle for their rights. Rendra’s poem is more about the beauty of the women and their struggle. In his poem, W.S Rendra gave his judgment to journalists, especially men. In his judgment, he describes the famous stereotyping of women in Jakarta. It is about gender inequality. Men always think women as lower gender, as sex object, and not valuable. Women as the oppressed ones fight for their rights using their own nails, their own weapons.

In his ideology, he persuades the readers, especially women to be strong enough to face the life. Women need to have ‘weapon’ for their own sake. It can be finger nails, beauty (physically), education, mental, etc. He also wants to show that gender inequality is not a right thing. It makes women suffered.

He elaborated the real problems by his appraisal attitude (affect, judgment and appreciation). Most off his appraisal attitude are negative.

Table 1. Affect

Positive: amazing	
Negative: too much, vicmtimize, wrong, been a burden	
Direct	Emotional state Physical expression
Implicit	Extraordinary behaviour Metaphor: scenery, birthday cake

Table 2 Judgment

		Direct	Implied
Personal	Admire	Arjuna, Prince of Love.	There is an irony that boys who do bad things are called Arjuna, Prince of Love. Arjuna should have purity and kindness, not doing bad things.
	Criticize	- Sex commercial workers. -Just scenery. -Birthday cake	Men always think women as lower gender, as sex object, and not valuable.
Moral	Praise		
	Condemn		

Table 3 Appreciation

Positive	Such an amazing scenery (breasts) They're (finger nails) quite long now and not just decorative beauty but weapons that can claw.
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Negative	
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Conclusion

Poem is one of many media for expressing one's appraisal attitude toward others and things. From the findings and discussion above, we found that poem often brings ideological point of view from the creator manifested in the metaphors and his attitude in his appraisals. Previous study done by Andre van der Bijl (2011) focused on apartheid as inequality of black and white people in South Africa. This study on a poem entitled "*Kenapa Kau Taruh*" (*Why Do You Place*) studied further the discourse of its ideational metaphors, the power relation, and also ideological commonsense behind the discourse. We found that '*Poem entitled "Kenapa Kau Taruh" (Why Do You Place)*' was constructed to be an inspiring poem which carried women's struggle philosophical thought against violence to women as a result of gender inequality between men and women.

This study of as the starting point of the poem study that conducted with three dimensional of critical discourse analyses, of course may has quite a lot of limitations due to the lack of the sources, and my knowledge gender inequality and women's struggle as well as the knowledge of how to conduct Critical Discourse Analysis. There are many gaps that have to be fulfilled, as the dominant and the dominated position between the participants and their ideology.

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Documentation through Participation and Self-reflection: An experimental approach to conflicts of site in architectural education

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Abstract

I argue that certain practices of teaching and learning encourages students of architecture to question their role and methods in approaching and engaging with site. Site in architecture is seen as a static notion to be documented and built upon. For some, site is understood as material or natural properties of a place and is usually accepted as a pre-existing, relatively stable and subsidiary set of information on a place provided in order to make decisions governing new design interventions into this place. However, this paper builds its argument upon the understanding of site as social, emotional, and imaginative connections between physical environment and people. Documenting and designing at a site should bring out these connections. The paper will introduce participatory and self-reflexive documentations of a site, those produced in an elective course by an international group of architecture students. The documentations include mapping and filming. The works are going to be examined in terms of how they challenge our knowledge about a site, namely Fener and Balat, which are traditional neighbourhoods in Istanbul under pressure of development by international capital. The participatory and self-reflexive methods of documentation reveal the strategies behind how knowledge of site is formed according to our prejudiced point of view and simultaneously acknowledge other possible views.

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Introduction

The term topography is key to understand the ways in which documenting a site is conceived traditionally as an objective and distanced practice. Below, I will start with the historical development of topography and how it has created a concept of site as a set of static and intrinsic properties at a place. Next, I will point to how the techniques of observing and documenting site were developed historically to refer to a distanced and singular view of site. This view may be challenged through participatory and self-reflexive methods of documentation, as demonstrated here in relation to the particular works carried on in an elective course in the Istanbul Technical University Faculty of Architecture. The elective course aimed to introduce students the conflicts at a site in a traditional neighbourhood in Istanbul and urged them to work in collaboration with the inhabitants of this place in order to question their prejudices and preconditioned methods of documenting a site for design.

Documenting a Site: Topography

Known to be coined in the second century by the Alexandrian astronomer, astrologist, and geographer Ptolemy, the practice of topography refers to describing a particular place and its features in detail. (Oxford English Dictionary Online) Literary critic J. Hillis Miller (1995, p. 3) points out that initially topography was used as the description of a place in textual form. Miller also states that in time topography came to be used to refer to graphic representations of particular features of place such as geological forms in landscape. Miller (1995, p.3) continues, today the conventions of topography are so powerful that we see place and its representations as one and the same. For example, we tend to think of places inseparable from their names and boundaries in maps, due to our acquaintance with cartographical representations of places.

This one to one relationship between a place and its representation has been connected with, as architectural theorist Catherine Ingraham (1998, p. 64) argues, humanist principles, in which ‘the world is a landscape separate from human beings but available to them through linear means of representation’.

Representative systems are dependent on principles of connection and adequation that assume the world can be translated, word for word, form for form, into a representation. The trope of translation, traditionally, is the map. The humanist world is mapped rather than constructed. (Ingraham, 1998, p. 64)

Ingraham points out that the world is created as if it is an already-existing reality that only requires to be translated rather than constructed. This way of thinking, which produces an understanding of topography as place *and* representation at the same time was marked by scientific methods of observation and measurement in surveying and representing topography, and influenced the way in which topography was theorized according to the dominant worldview.

As geographer Denis Cosgrove (1985, p. 51) notes, the artists and scholars of the time were engaged in a new way of seeing the world, and these maps reflected this worldview. It was important for these fifteenth-century artists and scholars to achieve a realist representation of the external world in relation to the individual, the

mapmaker in this case. According to Cosgrove (1995, p. 48), the role of the mapmaker at this time was to establish 'the arrangement or composition'; the content of the map determined 'the "point of view" to be taken by the observer', and controlled 'through framing the scope of the reality revealed'. Reflecting the control of the mapmaker, the viewpoint of early topographical maps was high above the city, distant and commanding. The distance created by the mapmaker was regarded as the guarantor of achieving close-to-real-life images of cities, because the separation of the observer and the observed was understood, according to representational techniques of that period, to reveal the inherent properties of space. As Cosgrove points out, since the principles of linear perspective, which also informed topography, were founded in geometry and science they were regarded as the discovery of inherent properties of the space itself. By using the linear perspective methods, which includes separation of the observer from what is observed, renaissance mapmakers believed they achieved to represent the reality outside the observer. (Cosgrove, 1985, pp. 48-49)

In the introduction to *Uncommon Ground: Architecture, Technology, and Topography*, architectural theorist David Leatherbarrow (2000) also draws our attention to the topographical methods that operate in ordering and fixing certain knowledges of place in this period. Examining Renaissance architect Leon Battista Alberti's description of making a map of Rome between 1443 and 1445, Leatherbarrow names the topographical methods that fix place as defining a centre and limits, levelling, and positioning different features of place in relation to each other.

According to Leatherbarrow, Alberti used an instrument he called 'Horizon' to measure the city. This instrument operated both as a link and separation between the observing eye and the observed object. It offered a device for personally observing the city and also provided a means of acquiring objectivity by eliminating human errors. Nevertheless, surveying with Horizon required abstractions and representations, which are interesting to note here in order to understand the arbitrariness of those conventions of surveying and cartography, which seem natural today. First, the circular form of Horizon suggested a centre for the city and radial distances, which defined the position of every point in the city. As Leatherbarrow (2000, p. 5) points out, Horizon was used in order to 'accurately circumscribe terrain' and 'replace imprecise knowledge of an edge with exact definition'. Second, the level change in the city was overlooked, as Leatherbarrow (2000, p. 10) points out, the 'flat plate' of the instrument was used to control the 'plane of vision', so producing the city as a 'flat plan'. Leatherbarrow (2000, p. 10) connects this to Alberti's theory of the city, which provides a level platform for citizens to acquire equal positions while meeting one another.

In the humanist society of the sixteenth and seventeenth century in Europe, topographical methods, which depended on prioritizing the visual over the textual, were also equally important in other fields and transformed themselves to achieve authority. For example, as sociologist Judith Adler (1989, p. 13) points out, from the sixteenth century, for historians the topographical method became a way of breaking from traditional historical discourse to establish an authority based on first-hand observation.

For the topographers, as Adler (1989, p. 13) argues, topography ‘combined minutely comprehensive descriptions of both domestic and foreign regions, based upon eye-witness accounts, to create a “polyhistory” which would include all branches of knowledge within its scope’. These amateur historians transformed various knowledges into geographical matter by travelling and ordering their observations according to specific places and times. For example, information on physical properties of place, observations on customs and political institutions were associated with certain places.

The topographical method provided the historian with a means of reliability, because the observations and measurements of a place were recorded on the spot in maps, journals and drawings. As a result, it was believed that these observations were less likely to be affected by misrepresentations of memory. (Adler, 1989, p. 19) Besides, the exact times and places of topographical representations were also recorded, which made these easily retraceable for authenticity. Thereby, the topographical method became the most respectable way of representing a place and was employed by many historians starting with the sixteenth century. For example, as historian Gerald Strauss (1958, p. 88) argues, the proliferation of topographical works of historians and their distinct topographical methods referred to a ‘topographical-historical genre’ in the sixteenth-century Germany. These topographical-historical works, which combined descriptive geography with narrative history, relied mostly on ‘observation and experience’ and prioritized travelling and studying maps to reading previous writings on that place. (Strauss, 1958, p. 93)

According to Adler (1989, p. 18), topographers adopted ways of avoiding personal or autobiographical references while they were describing the places they visited. In their writing, the focus of attention was those things that might be seen by anyone in the place of the author, rather than her/his private interests. Measurement was another way of detaching oneself from the places described and for claiming more precision than plain verbal descriptions; topographers recorded temperature, height, and distance to depict places. The information sought was standardized by questionnaires, and tables were filled in during travels. In this period, another frequently used method for topographers to increase the reliability of their observations involved, as historian Michael Bravo (1999, p. 164) has pointed out, quoting previous historians and travellers and correcting their descriptions of places.

In the late-nineteenth century, topography gained new dimensions as well as a new understanding of objectivity with advances made in the discipline of archaeology. Topography previously understood as the visible properties of place, was challenged by the existence of uncovered material also present in that place. Archaeologists developed a series of methods to present place as a combination of both its visible and invisible properties. According to Glyn Edmund Daniel’s *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology*, excavations such as Guiseppe Fiorelli’s Pompeii (1863-75), Heinrich Schliemann’s Troy (1870-90) and Otto Benndorf’s Ephesus (1895-1907) defined new methods for meticulously collecting *all* the evidence that could be obtained from an excavation instead of merely a few objects. Systematic and empirical examinations of found material, the gathering of information which could help interpret the findings, and the mapping of spatial and temporal distribution of these findings all helped to allow the reconstruction of the past from often indistinguishable fragments. (Daniel, 1975)

Daniel (1975, pp. 288-289) argues that for these studies, topography referred to a multilayered information network to be constructed by the excavation practices rather than merely a given land piece. He discusses how the topographical methods of archaeologists were rigorous and depended on the spatial and temporal integration of seemingly unrelated information found on a site and also gathered from experts from other disciplines. It came to be accepted that there was more unseen than seen information possible to gather from the fragments found and the landscape viewed.

Topography, seen as the visible features of a place, was challenged by the newly developing archaeology. Archaeological practices resulted in a growing awareness of the past information that lay waiting to be explored in the layers underneath its surface. The process of excavation and interpretation pointed to the unseen information in a place. Unlike historians observing from a distance, archaeologists defined themselves as actively involving in what was viewed, producing new knowledges about a place. (Daniel, 1975, p. 140)

As seen above, 'topography' has over time come to refer to an objective knowledge of place as part of a humanist world-view. Whether representing qualitative or quantitative, seen or recovered properties of place, I argue that topographical practices have been traditionally regarded as creating objective knowledge. Historians and geographers recorded information with the idea that anybody would record the same things in the same conditions and the archaeologists identified objective rules of archaeology to legitimize their practice of collecting and connecting seemingly unrelated information about a place. This common claim for objectivity across history, geography, and archaeology refers to our understanding of site as pre-given set of properties, those which we challenge during the elective course titled *Topographical Practices*.

Conflicts of Site

Fener and Balat are adjacent neighbourhoods along the Golden Horn at the northwest edge of the historical peninsula of Istanbul. Geopolitically, these quarters have always been quite important. They are within the old city walls next to the historical centre, which included the city port, trading, and administrative facilities of the Byzantine Empire, Ottoman Empire and the early Republican Turkey consecutively. The historical peninsula is by now a touristic site. Being in the close vicinity of this touristic site, Fener and Balat are now under pressure of capitalist policies and international developers, but they still resist large-scale radical changes in the urban space and socio-cultural composition.

The urban fabric and socio-cultural life in these neighbourhoods have transformed throughout the last two centuries due to large fires, industrialisation on the coasts, and migration of the non-Muslim population from the area to be replaced by low-income immigrant population from Eastern Turkey. Today, a limited amount of the inhabitants are low-income minorities, and there are a number of Jewish and Greek artisans and traders living in other parts of Istanbul and continuing working in Fener and Balat. The majority of the houses are rented by a low-income population, working in temporary works. For this reason, the area has a dynamic demographical character. The majority of the inhabitants are tenants, the houses are left to dilapidation with no or little renovation, and spatial extensions and transformations are made to the old buildings, due to excess numbers of inhabitants. As such, it becomes easier for the

large-scale gentrification projects to be proposed and implemented, by claiming to introduce healthier and safer environments.

A European Union-funded project was implemented between 1995-2005 in order to renew the ageing buildings, while aiming to preserve the demographic and spatial character of the area. The project's intention was to provide loan and know-how for the inhabitants, in order to restore healthy and safe living conditions. (Rehabilitation of Fener and Balat districts Programme Website) The project consisted of full restorations and facade renovations, as well as waste management, building a social centre, community participation, and maintenance of the diversity of the population. The project gained some considerable success. But only 119 buildings out of 898 those in need, were rehabilitated until 2005, when the project was terminated. (Ercan, 2010) The change of the administration in the local municipality and the distrust among the residents towards the project's implementation caused the project to come into halt. (Bezmez, 2008)

Today the area is under serious threat of large development plans, which will transform the historical and socio-cultural characteristics of the area radically and cause an irreversible gentrification process. Certain building islands are considered to be first expropriated and then privatised and largely demolished, in order to build luxury residences, hotels, and shopping malls. (Website for the Association of Protection of Rights of Owners and Tenants and Solidarity in Fener Balat Ayyansaray) The emerging laws for regeneration of the areas in danger of natural disaster consecutively in 2005 and 2012, support the transformation process by lending strong authority to the state to demolish and rebuild the housing areas in the centre of Istanbul, relocating the inhabitants to the periphery of the city.

The regeneration project aims to demolish the whole building islands and preserve some of the facades in order to build large scale blocks. This disregards the specific characteristics of the traditional architecture, which is produced through the relationships between different architectural elements, multiple buildings, and the experiences related with their spatiality. Here the problems arise with the creation of a selective image of traditional architecture. The everyday activities and the diverse relationships between people and site are ignored. Instead, a unified middle and high-income life style is proposed together with the spatial organisations, such as basement car parks, shared but unusable courtyards, and loss of contact between the ground floors and the street.

Although the development plan for the area was accepted in the local municipality in 2009, it was cancelled by court sentence in 2012 as a result of the continuous resistance of the residents and the local NGO (FEBAYDER). The court decision marks that the project harms the socio-cultural character and the historical urban texture in the area, furthermore it is against public benefit, and clashes with the modern urbanisation principles. However, the residents have still a long way to go in terms of their struggle for urban rights.

Challenging the Preconditioned Views of Site

As an architect and educator, I believe it is my responsibility to withdraw the students' attention to the conflicts of this site. In my elective course, I take students to different places in Istanbul to search for conflicts, to observe and document them, but more

importantly to develop an embodied experience of the site, rather than merely directing a distant gaze. At each site, I take the students to a (mis)guided tour and talk about the history of urban transformation shortly, and then mention some of the socio-spatial conflicts. The main aim is to talk and walk spontaneously in order to develop a story of the place in relation to specific sites, buildings, objects on our way. Moreover, these stories bring to mind individual memories and ignite new ones as we interact with sites. Each time we visit the same site, I try to make spontaneous choices of route, let our chats and findings lead our way. Rather than giving too much information, I try to ask questions for further exploration. After the short talk and walk, I ask the students to complete a certain task. In Fener and Balat area, the task was to observe the conflicts and document them. But the challenge was to rethink their position as an outsider and an observer and how this position changes what they could see and know in this place.

The students mapped their observations and then tried to find ways of documenting their interactions through mapping and filming. For example, the project about a question-asking game developed when the students realized that they, as interview makers, were dominating the knowledge produced about the site (figure 1). They became both the interviewed and the interviewer together with the local people. They learned about what people think about their neighbours, and found themselves talking about their own houses and neighbourhoods making connections between the two different places in Istanbul.

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They put these into a map and a film. Although the film showed this mutual production of knowledge of place, the map prepared by the students only showed the answers to their own questions (figure 2). It seems that the map is regarded by the students as a more specialised tool, one that reflects the distance of the observer from the observed place. Whereas the conversation lets them share the same ground with the locals, and they could display in the film, both themselves and the locals.



Figure 1. The photographs showing the students while they are playing the question-asking game with the local children. The project by: Gizem Ermiş, Gencay Derbentogulları, Yağmur Kaya, Victor Ruiz Vinue, Hatim Lemseffer, Caroline Theux Lowen.

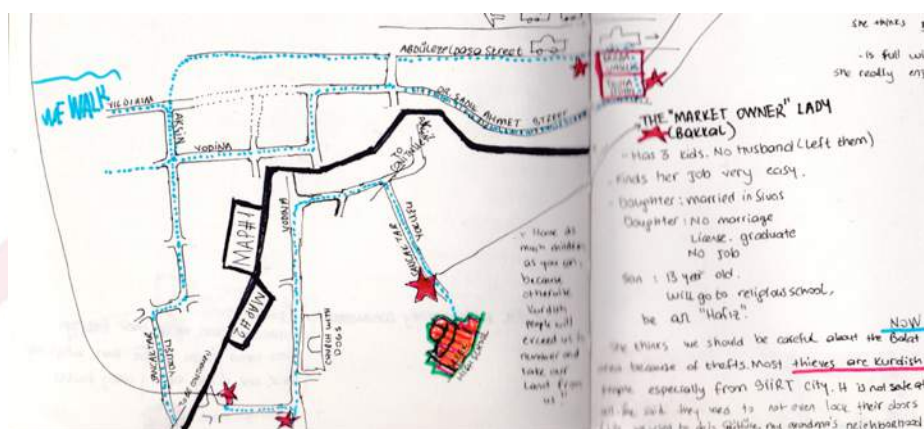


Figure 2. The map drawn in parallel to the question asking game. Map by: Gizem Ermiş.

The project about documenting the stories of the locals was a combination of trials (figure 3). The students first tried to make the locals take over the pen and draw their life timelines. This aimed to draw their attentions and take control of their stories. But, the locals were not comfortable with holding the pen to draw. Instead, the students discovered that they were keen on writing about their opinions. They claimed that everyone did know how to write but not how to draw. So if we wanted to find a way to make the process a participatory documentation, we had to let them do whatever they are comfortable with. The project developed to include the writings of locals on their thoughts on the neighbourhood (figure 4). This may have some truth in it. Yet, the sentences actually failed to document the experiential character of the everyday activities of the locals (figure 5). But they represent only the prejudices that limited them in appreciating the spatial qualities of the place. For example, the pastry seller said that his life is unfortunately limited with this neighbourhood. But, when he told about his everyday activities, he gave details of how he walks the streets and chats with the tradesmen who sit in front of their shops, and how he enjoys these. In gathering all these different processes, the students succeeded in producing multiple knowledges of the place according to how you document.



Figure 3. The photographs of inhabitants telling their stories. Project by: Ece Cömert, Hazal Seval, İlkim Er, Benedikt Wieser, Arda Bakıryol, Su Kapkın.

Burası benim hayatımın mealesi her aklı
 bu yaşta sonra varlığımız çocuklarımızın
 varlığına armağandır. Çünkü onların
 geleceği söz konusudur.
 Tarihi güzeliği ifade ediyor
 Karma karışık
 köyüm dağcı iş için geldik
 Ben yerimide yaşamayı çok seviyorum.
 Benim en sevdiğim evim ve eski komşularım
 Rüm ~~ve~~ yaşıdıkları onlara Asla unutamıyorum

Figure 4. A snapshot from the video documenting the writings of locals on their thoughts on the neighbourhood. Project by: Ece Cömert, Hazal Seval, İlkim Er, Benedikt Wieser, Arda Bakıryol, Su Kapkın.

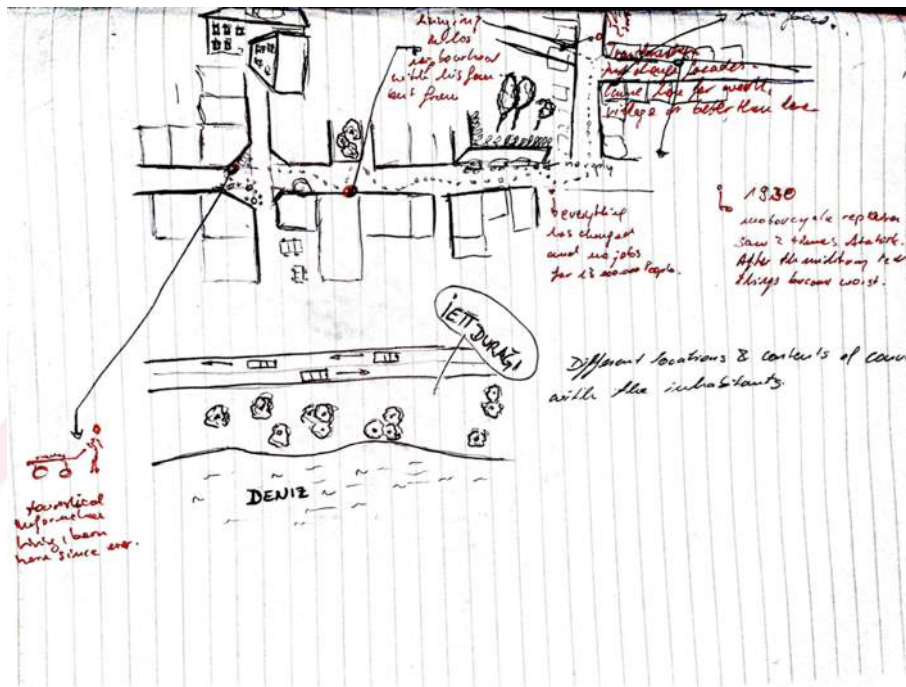
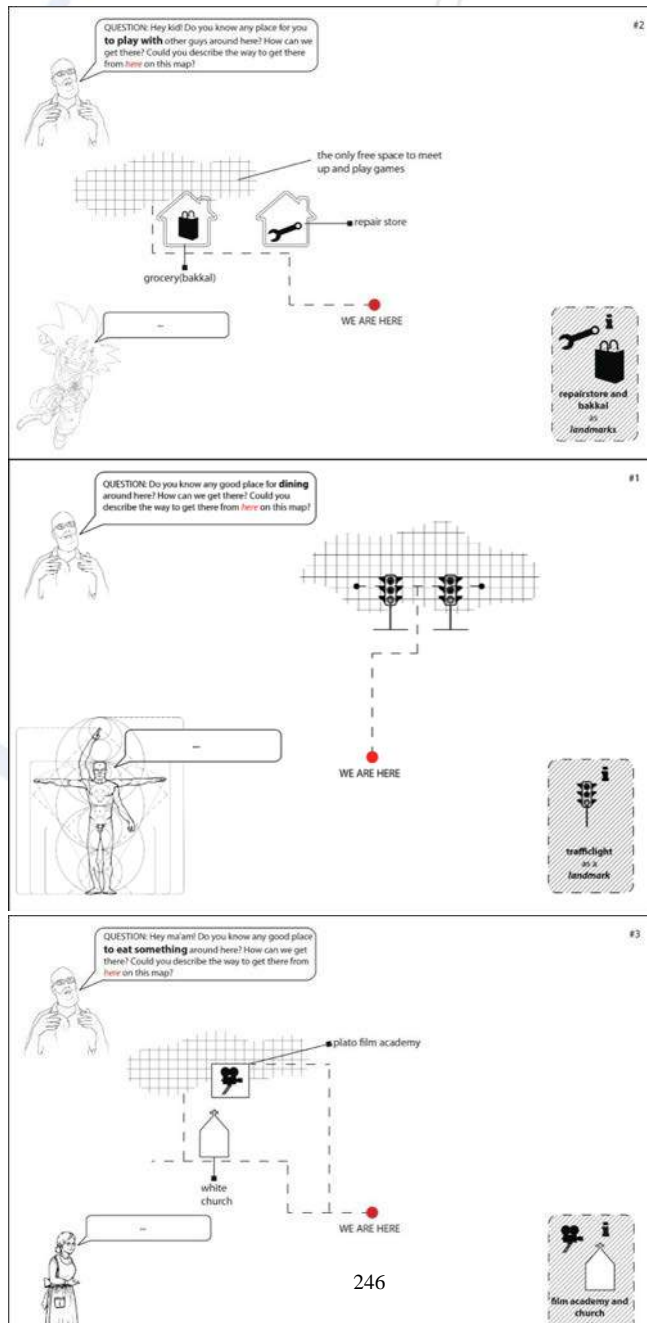


Figure 5. A everyday locals. Cömert, Er, Benedikt Bakıryol, Su

Another find out the by asking places 8). people's reference changed. found out people help could participate les prejudice drawing a



mapping of the experiences of Project by: Ece Hazal Seval, İlkim Wieser, Arda Kapkın.

project aimed to people's priorities the way to certain (figures 6, 7 and According to interests the points have The students that by letting them, people actually more easily, with in the task of map.

Figure 6, 7, 8. Snapshots from the video of the project on “asking the way to...”
Project by: Aybike Batuk, Oğuzhan Saygı, Selen Ergör, Tuğba Ordu, Yılmaz Taha Sezgin.

The last project that I will mention here is about handing over the camera to people (figures 9, 10 and 11). The students made the local tradesmen and craftsmen show us what they saw in their immediate environment and told what they knew of these places. Interestingly enough, they knew quite a lot about the different historical significances, and they were willing to show these to others (the visitors). The students found out that giving out the camera put the inhabitants in charge of what they say, so they could pronounce less predictable information. But, we also realized that they felt more responsible of what they are telling, they revealed less.



Figure 9. A photograph showing the students handing over the camera to locals to listen and watch their personal take on the neighbourhood. Project by: Eva Neefs, Esra Kağitci, Lena Knappers, Myra Natakunda.



Figure 10, 11. Two snapshots from the video on handing over the camera to the locals. Project by: Eva Neefs, Esra Kağitci, Lena Knappers, Myra Natakunda.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the task of documenting became an experiment for all of us. At first the students were mere observers, shying away from communicating with the locals. But, the social and spatial structure of the neighbourhood did eventually involve them in the everyday chats. As the streets are occupied with everyday activities, with children playing on the street, women sitting in front of their houses, and the tradesmen using the street to enlarge their shops, an outsider gets surrounded by these everyday activities. Moreover, the observer becomes the one that is observed, questioned, and controlled by the inhabitants' gazes. The students naturally got involved in chats with the locals. But at first they had the tendency to document the chats without letting the others know.

Our first meeting after the initial confrontation with the locals and the site included discussions on the ethical dimensions of documenting without the consent of the documented subject and the importance of producing multiple knowledges of a place by a participatory and self-reflexive method. In allowing people know your intentions, you let unpredictable and spontaneous knowledges to get produced.

The students understood that they themselves are one of the constituents of the production of the work. And further, as their working methods are exposed in the work, their subjective critiques are also reflected. As art critic Hal Foster defines, this method aims 'to frame the framer as he or she frames the other'.¹ This self-reflexivity allows viewers to empathize with and engage in the processes of production. In contrast to works that pre-visualize and pre-position the engagement of the others by absorbing them in the work, and so making them forget their role, self-reflexivity and the revealed process of making of the work give others the opportunity to reflect upon

¹ Foster, 'Artist as the Ethnographer', p. 203.

the manipulation of meanings during the production process. The others, therefore, can consider their own constructive role in the work.

After the first experiments, each group developed their own participatory method. And they experienced different roles in production of the work. As public artist and theorist Suzanne Lacy reminds us, during the production of a 'public' work the roles are hardly fixed.² Writing about public artwork, Lacy defines the social role of the artist, as based on four different levels of interaction with the viewers, from private to public including the artist as experienter, as reporter, as analyst and as activist.³

As Lacy points out, in the first two, personal skills, and in the latter two, interactive skills are in operation. Lacy adds that the new levels of interaction between artist and society in the 1990s offer the audience new roles such as collaborator and performer in addition to the traditional roles of experienter and visitor. In spite of the clear definitions of each level, Lacy stresses that neither the artist's nor the audience's roles are fixed. Instead they may adopt different roles at different times, and move between such roles.⁴ During our project, we observed the benefit of changing roles in the production of multiple and various knowledges of the place.

This experiment of participation and self-reflexion shows us that there are more than one way to approach site as an open and dynamic notion rather than a set of fixed and pre-given information. The knowledge of site changes with the interactions with people and places.

² Suzanne Lacy, 'Cultural Pilgrimages and Metaphoric Journeys', Suzanne Lacy (ed.), *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995), pp. 19-47, p. 19.

³ Suzanne Lacy, 'Debated Territory: Toward a Critical Language for Public Art', Suzanne Lacy (ed.), *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1995), pp. 171-85, pp. 174-7.

⁴ Lacy, 'Debated Territory', p. 173 and 180.

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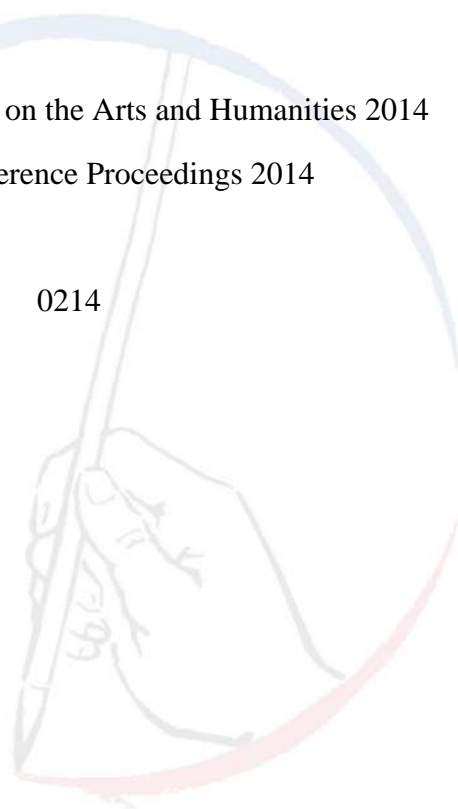
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*Aesthetical Value in Egyptian Folklore Drawings between
Cultural Values & Contemporary Culture*

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Introduction:

Folklore heritage constitutes an important aspect of human culture, and a key element in the structure of cultural construction. It carries the aspirations of generations, and condenses the history of a nation.

Arab popular photography is an inherent innate art subject to traditions passed down through generations. It is a collection of lines and colors and shapes, rich with symbols and connotations, which sum up the history of a nation with its traditions and customs. In fact, folk art gives Arab life a distinct character aesthetically and culturally; simultaneously, it confirms the essential link to the Arab person through unity of expression, thought, and sentiment.

Generally speaking, popular photography is part of a group of the arts included under the name of folklore art, and they all have the same goal and concept, but they differ in a multiplicity of methods and means of expression. Folk arts involve spiritual expressions such as popular literature, music and dance, and they include physical expressions such as painting, engraving, sculpture and other traditional folklore industries.

History of popular photography

It is related to the history of an Arab person since the time he existed on earth. Actually, it is difficult to determine the period of time due to popular painter's neglect of history. Most works are not dated and the paintings that remained are so few as they were not kept in tombs or in temples such as religious art, neither were they kept in museums.

The roots of folklore photography in Egypt date back to the first centuries of Georgian Date (Christian Calendar) with the onset of people's revolt against Roman policies. This art continued to preserve its Coptic traditions until the Mamluk era as manifestations of Islamic and Arab character began to be bestowed on it.

In the field of printed drawings on paper, they were mostly illustrative drawings of some manuscripts and they were closer to the folk art than to anything else.

Since the early centuries of the Islamic era, the movement of authoring and translation was active in various parts of Arab countries, and dependence on drawings to decorate and to clarify the contents of those manuscripts was activated as well.

In fact, these drawings were characterized with their geometric character which was closer to the Islamic mosaic, and weaving motifs and Coptic pottery and Pharaonic motifs on pottery during the pre-dynastic period. This is in addition to Arabic handwritings distorted, repeated and tangled.

However, with the early beginnings of this century, there have been a series of printed drawings bearing religious and popular themes, such as a painting that was part of an old bar game (Pandora's box) dating back to about 1917, which depicts a battle

between the Knights of Arabs. Moreover, there is a range of drawings printed in some popular books such as the book entitled “A Thousand and One Nights”, which are still printed so far in the tales of “A Thousand Nights And A Night”. It is similar to the popular character, which we knew in Egypt during the sixteenth century and the nineteenth century. There are photographed models of them in a manuscript at the Museum of Islamic Art.

There are also ornate religious writings, which are printed in different colors, and are surrounded by a frame frilly with geometric overlapping shapes. They are dated back to the Mamluk era in the early nineteenth century. It is noteworthy that with the end of the First World War until today popular or folklore drawings pursue in their genres the old approach. Some are naive and inherent. Others are more modern performed by a group who studied art, according to the European School.

Folklore Artist

The folklore, i.e. Popular, painter, one of the members of the community, living amid the group, is influenced by them, and holds their culture, and exercise their habits and beliefs. Subsequently, he reflects in his art works all social and popular culture concepts, which are turned into the culture of the community, to which the artist belongs. He innovates in expressing its symbols formulated and employed to achieve aesthetic values. He automatically complies, in his artistic production, to the inherited laws, rules and standards set by the community and compatible with his Spontaneity in expressing group sentiment. Therefore, his work appeals to the general public who seeks and believes in it as it represents their sentiment and ideals. His works are characterized by simplicity and originality and candor, and limited aptitude far from artistic culture in the sense that writing is not governed by the visual logic. In order to create a work of art that has a purpose and a distinct personality and unity of form built by the artist using varied lines in determining the spaces and colors. Furthermore, he employed repetition, recurrence and symmetry. The folklore artist was able as well to express his ability to affect and be affected through utilizing and benefitting from genres of art and design, and with visions corresponding with the time. The folklore artist turns with his art to the abstract symbolism. Definitely, he does not do so in full awareness as the formative artist.

Folklore symbols

Symbolism is considered among the most important elements of folklore drawing. It exists in the meaning, content and subject of the painting, it is technically the formative language employed by the artist to express his feelings and emotions about everything that touches ideas and beliefs, and is used as a means of expression by suggestibility of the intended meaning. It is the artistic unit chosen by the artist to acquire a special character, provided that the symbol is not loaded with the cultural and intellectual values of society. Symbols have their own importance and scientific significance as a symbol is deemed as the sincere indication, which reveals the history of folk art and its meanings.

(1) the Most important symbolic forms:

- The “Palm Trees” in folklore photography is an old symbol that indicates production and abundance, drawn by the artist from a simple trunk and some leaves. In fact, it is considered as a summation of ancient meanings and popular beliefs. For example, some of these symbols are:

- The “Lion”, the symbol of power: the lion occupies a distinctive position in the popular sentiment consciousness, and it is a symbol of strength and bravery. The lion has been associated with Mamluks and became a symbol to them in both ancient and modern eras.

- The “Serpent/Snake”, the evil symbol: a symbol of the devil, evil, enmity and hatred. It is in the form of a soft dotted wavy line; sometimes it has a head with two horns and sharp tusks come out of it.

- The “Sword”, symbol of heroism: A sword is never drawn except in the hands of heroes and knights. It is a symbol of chivalry and heroism. The folklore Painter excelled in drawing swords and was creative in their forms, colors and decoration. Sometimes he would draw it in the hands of a hero and sometimes in the hands of a lion.

- “A Hand Palm & An Eye” symbol against envy : the artist drew Palm images entitled " Khamsa w' Khamisa " attributed to the number of the hand's five fingers as they have a magical connotation in the popular conception. We notice in the popular images the palm picture accompanied by the eye as both together represent a tool against envy.

- The “Fish” as symbol of reproduction: It means renewal and good and it always appears next to the palm trees, hand palm, Crescent, flowers and some decorations and Arabic inscriptions. It is a symbol known in the Egyptian tattoo.

(2) Color Symbols

The colors used by the folklore artist were loaded as well with connotations as white is a symbol of peace and serenity.

- black is a symbol of sadness and evil and doom - and green is a symbol of good and faith , people consider it optimistically as the color of plant - and red a symbol of love and danger.

(3) Engineering Symbols

Drawing a box shape means balance and divinity. Drawing a circle is related to forms such as the sun and the moon. This is in addition to the drawings of contiguous and overlapping and adjacent circles, octagons, polygons and parallel and zigzag lines symbolizing flowing water.

Writing on folklore drawing:

It is an essential element of formative popular art as we rarely find a painting in the Arab world on which writing is not present in all types and their meanings. The reason is that when the painter records his symbols, he acts as if he is talking through them, whereas when he writes he acts as if he paints, i.e., he does not separate in form between symbols and writing. Rather, he combines them as he is keen on conveying the clarity of his work.

Writing in the folklore painting is of three types:

Literal font, exquisite font, and pictographic fonts (Les calligraphies pictographiques)

Literal handwriting:

- It is a simplified and daily simple practical font. The artist used it for three goals:

1. To occupy the painting spaces and link shapes together.
2. differentiation from others, so that names of paintings owners are written next to the drawings, and their words, as if the painter acts here as a narrator
3. A descriptive functional role, where the artist confirms the names, titles and sayings of the painting's elements. Sometimes he confirms this by signing his works in details so that he states his name, surname, date and place of birth and residence address.

Exquisite handwriting

It is subject to rules and principles, it appeared in drawings printed on paper, and set under glass. As for the fonts, used in drawing the folklore drawing, the most important are: kufi, transcriptional, Persian, thulth, Raqa'i, tughra, mirror.

Pictographic font (Les calligraphies pictographiques):

It is writing in the form of drawings and pictures of flora and fauna, and this method in writing and drawing is very widespread in the folklore drawings for the statues, beauty and rhythm.

Constructing folklore drawings

Folklore drawings are made from a collection of forms and units linked together in a way that leads to cohesion in a comprehensive unity. This would provide an aesthetic vitality of the building and composition.

When folk artist takes it upon himself to direct the process of creation and creativity, he is entirely dependent on the confirmation of these relationships and their harmonization among the elements of the subject, so that they are all organized in a single artistic pattern, dominated by spontaneous method which is not subject to the rules.

The most important elements which the painter undertakes their highlight, and achieving them as a major goal of upgrading his creative work, is that overall construction that goes into the process of its composition, the method of distributing the units and elements, and providing equilibrium factor, and occupancy of the spaces, giving the movement, and the preservation of the most important themes of the subject and the event.

Folklore drawings are sometimes involved in their characteristics with the Neanderthal Arts, and at other times they are involved with children's drawings. Among these characteristics are:

1. Non-compliance to the perspective rules

The folklore artist neglected in his paintings the perspective rules; and thus, they are void of depth and dimensions. This can be called a close surfacing perspective of Islamic photography.

2. Non-compliance to the anatomy rules

The folklore artist neglected anatomy; therefore, blocks were absent in his works, decorative surfacing character controlled the elements of the painting. There has become a single horizontal light and color value. This neglect is due to the desire of the artist to record the event before reality.

3. Rigidity of movement and expression

The movement element in the folklore painting is rigid, despite the diversity of topics and their vitality. In addition, the body movements are showy and do not fit with the event, and the faces lack emotions of sadness, joy and the expression factor.

4. Absence of the natural landscape

The realistic landscape is absent from most of the paintings; instead it is replaced by flowers and plants distributed by the artist between the composition elements of the painting. The reasons behind the disappearance or absence of this natural scenery may be strongly related to the power of composition and giving a principal role to the key elements in the painting and neglect of all that is Secondary.

5. Key scenes in front Site

6. Out of context

7. Halo around heads of imams and saints

8. Dislike of blankness and alienation from details

9. General rhythm in art forms

Rhythmic value increased in the painting, such as:

- **Repetition**
- **Symmetry**
- **Counterpoint**

10. Distortion of ratios and metrics

11. Balance in composition

The spontaneous aesthetic value of the artist which is based on equilibrium and harmony between the formative units of the painting is clearly dependent on the pivotal foundations distributed as follows:

- pivotal circular composition
- Analogous composition
- Equilibrium mass composition

12. Surfacing in application of colors

13. Application of soft lines

There are three lines of folklore painting: soft curved, sharp straight, and chipped. However, soft lines are the most widely used. They are close to el Wasti drawings in Maqamat El Hariri.

14. Caricature features

Exaggeration in drawing moustache, and magnifying and minimizing of elements sizes, adherence to realistic proportions and measurements, lend the folklore drawings humor close to be like that of the art of caricature.

15. Spontaneous infantile expression

Topics of folklore photography are divided into four main sections as follows:

- a) Drawings of folk tales' topics such as Antara, Zubair Salim, and Bani Helal... etc.
- b) Drawings of religious themes
- c) Legendary drawings Topics
- d) Drawings of historical subjects, using drawings with some writings that show the names of persons or complete the rest of the story.

Folklore Art : Prospects for the future

The relationship between the concept of cross-cultural communication in folk art and Egyptian Child book drawings

It is possible to benefit from the elements of the folklore painting, and the role it plays of adding visual and informative to the text to develop the reader's interest (the child) in order to transfer cultural heritage among generations in the same country or among different peoples.

The concept of visual communication in the drawings of children's folklore books is that the drawings of folklore literature books are images or significant visual representations which explain and decorate pages of printed text, and convey a lot of information. Thus, they constitute a form of contact with visual effect that depends on its transfer of information and ideas on the element of viewing readable forms. This is the same definition of the concept of visual communication.

Visual Communication

This brings us to what the drawings of children's books include, the meanings and connotations of the aesthetic of folklore art they contain, and the ideas of folklore literature of all its kinds such as tales, novels, short stories and folklore biographies, verses, epic poems, legends they transmit from... etc. This achieves the principle of cultural communication through spontaneity, continuity, and vividness in passing down to generations which confirms the quality of cultural communication of this kind of art and the nature of the optical elements and characteristics represented in the language of line, shape, color and texture. All of these elements make sense intuitively and unique characteristics that create aesthetic and expressive values of the folklore children's stories drawings. They do not operate alone; rather, they interact together to build the work as a whole. The composition through harmony, unity, balance, rhythm, repetition and concentration on the interest focus are all deemed as the foundations and principles for the success of the composition. These visual principles of composition are the basis that holds all elements in the design or drawing.

This confirms the effectiveness of cultural communication quality through the concept of visual communication of children's books drawings, because this kind of the drawings expresses the nature of life in society. That is, they are the proceeds of inherited experiences legacy and the philosophy of daily life, and the continual human interaction with whatever conditions and political, social, economic, and cultural events. Folklore in general is truly considered the essence of human culture.

The method used by the artist to clarify the text by painting tells us a lot about the style and the way the artist views things as well as the formative art by which the folklore painting was characterized. All this has encouraged a lot of contemporary Arab artists on the stand to benefit from this heritage, and get inspiration from its aesthetic and artistic characteristics, benefiting from the past and dealing with the present, provided that they do not blur the former nor lose the later. However, these steps are still incomplete. Why? There are numerous reasons including, being distanced from the heritage core and giving interest to superficial matters such as copying of methods which are foreign to the Arab reality, and the inability of the artist to take advantage of the characteristics of Folk Art, and studying it in-depth, and that the artist has become concerned with folklore features rather than style and aesthetics that characterized the folklore art from other arts. Contemporaneity in its general sense is the experience of current circumstances, and aspirations for the future, they mean progress towards modernization and innovation.

The attempts of Arab artists to benefit by folklore heritage and arts were confined in the following experiments:

- There are artists who tried to benefit from the folkloric traditions, and some decorative and symbolic elements and themes of folkloric games.
- A group has tried to benefit of folklore art and its themes, it drew its works once realistically, and again according to the way of western schools.
- Another group of artists, tried to identify the secrets of folklore photography art so they adapted the tattoo drawings, and folklore biographies, a variety of topics for their formative works. Many artists successfully tried to practice this art to reflect the trends and doctrines in the formative movement in Egypt for its illustrative potentials and to interpret it and tried to round it down to the mind of the reader (the child) as it appears in the works of Egyptian artists. Among them are Hussein Fawzi , and Hussein Picar , and Helmy El Tony and others.

Artist Hussein Fawzi (1905 - 1999). He is a leading figure of the art of children's drawings in Egypt and the Arab world. His drawings included: pictures that give us many wonderful informative details about life in that period. They serve as a documentary guidebook which reflects the importance of folklore life in Egypt and sensory interaction. Actually, it is an aesthetic record of the works executed by the artist to show that art is not only a mirror of time. Rather, it is an artistic monument that determines for us the nature and culture of the people. As a matter of fact, folk art can continue and adapt to with the events and requirements of the age. Moreover, this art can be promoted and get benefited from the artistic, intellectual and human characteristics and its expressive and emotional capacity, as well as its components and its symbols.

Artist Hussein Picar (1913 - 2002): He was taught by Artist Hussein Fawzi and he dealt with popular literature and mythology as a source for his stories. He used to deal with drawing with the logic that involves two aspects form and content, which offer a general atmosphere of the story by simplification through elements from his own expression, and the presence of some of the effects of the Folk Art represented in the drawings which show the minute details and feel effects, and the obvious influence of the ancient heritage and folkloric biographies as evident in the formulation of shapes in an attractive artistic style and identifying through the drawings the meaning of the text.

Artist Helmy El Tony (1934): the artist achieves in his drawings belonging to a distinct heritage character by its aesthetic basics through originality, innovation and benefiting from the past and not referring to it, and preparing for the future. Art is for the artist is a formative addition to the story. It reflects the general character, passion and the time frame, and it provides us with symbolism, and the distinctive features of folklore art, which operate according to the principles and elements of design and interactions of color to convey what the artist wishes the recipient to see and feel. He reveals how the color reacts with the foundations and principles of design such as, rhythm, balance, ratio, harmony, simplicity and summation, decorative tendency, surfacing, and vision mixed with imagination and innovation of interest areas for the viewer to focus on, and the artist imparts a special appearance on the drawings to clarify the interactive relationship of colors. When these drawings are seen, each page

shows independent as an integrated work of art in which the relations showing the aesthetic and formative matrix of the book appear as a whole harmonize.

Design of the folklore book for Egyptian Children:

Design is the architecture of the book contents, in the sense that a good design has a role in making the content of the book understood and easy. When the artist (designer) puts a conception of the pages of the children folklore book, he is aware of his job, as there are pages that serve as part of the front material such as the title page of the book, or the opposite page.

The artist has to arrange construction of the opposite pages so that they are interesting, and not to forget that each page of the book is part of an artistic and aesthetic system which gives the book its visual identity. The artist (designer) must observe the visual relationship in the organization of printed material, in other words, he should take into account identifying the importance of the diverse elements in a single page where the informative relations can be perceived from the outset, then communication or transfer of ideas; thus, they seem more vital, in the sense that there are priorities to the reader. The first priority is the main title as a means of attracting the attention of the reader (the child). The second priority lies in the drawings as a way to develop interest. The third priority is the text body which conveys a specific message to the reader. When you visualize the pages of the book, after the designer calculates the page space and counterbalance it with the writing mass and solve the problems of setting shapes, and font sizes, he begins to inset the drawings and approach them from the logic of masses, and geometric shapes to facilitate the process of their movement in the design, and concluding to their most appropriate sizes, the effect of their forms with the surrounding space, and their relationship to the typographic elements of the page as a whole.

Furthermore, color should be chosen based on three factors: intuition and knowledge of color characteristics and experimentation. In addition, it should also fit with the visual effect and the message it conveys. Color raises unexpected emotional responses.

Moreover, the artist (designer) should give interest two important terms: Readability and Legibility. The former implies distinguishing the design between forms of letters in the style of a single letter as readability describes the possibility of reading the text in a convenient and easy manner which is not linked to content or language, but rather the size and shape of the printed text (the distance between lines, words and letters). As for the latter, it means the ability to read and is used to describe the ease with which we read and understand the written language. Therefore, it is interested in the language itself, rather than its appearance and they are both important for the reader, the child.

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Engaging: Creative Placemaking in Macau and Hong Kong

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Abstract

Nowadays, contemporary art practices have been expanding into fields outside their own borders. According to Claire Bishop (2012), this expanded field of post-studio practices currently goes under a variety of names: socially engaged art, community-based art, experimental communities, dialogic art, littoral art, interventionist art, participatory art, collaborative art, contextual art and (most recently) social practice. By engaging, artists nurture the sense of belonging and search for an identity of the place they inhabit. In Hong Kong and Macao, as well as in the Pearl River Delta and China in general, the speed of urban transformation is forcing artists to reconsider their participation in the city in order to develop a creative place making process that is according to the new identity of the place. By doing so, they are also included in what has been defined as “creative industries” that tries to build a new image of the urban fabric.

Linked with this sort of collective attitude, there is also an attempt to find a sense of local identity that has been disappearing in the face of these major developments. Engaging with the city and the communities may constitute, therefore, a challenge for the young generation, especially in hybrid places such as Hong Kong and Macao, where artists find themselves in an effort to understand the core values of their fragmented identity. In this paper we will analyze some projects that artists are doing in both SAR's, in order to create a sense of place in this state of transition.

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Introduction

Portraying a landscape: Hong Kong and Macao's emergence of creative industries and creative clusters

*Spatial images are the dreams of society.*¹

Sigfried Kracauer

What defines a creative place nowadays? What are the necessary ingredients to transform a city into a creative incubator? Who takes responsibility and is accountable to define it as such? Is it all relating to the public policies or, on the other hand, must be the so-called creative community setting the rules of the game?

The concept of creative place making implies the existence of creative niches or clusters where artists and the “creative class” (Florida, 2002) find a way of expressing themselves and develop businesses within the city. The clustering theory results from an economical strategy designed for competitiveness that implies a geographical concentration of interconnected businesses, suppliers and associated institutions in a particular field (Porter, 1990: p.153).

In Hong Kong and Macao this is a relatively new scenario and one that still lacks definition. Nevertheless, both cities are assisting an unprecedented development in the area that follows the recent developments in China, from a concept of “Made in China” to “Created in China” (Keane, 2007).

In Hong Kong there has been made a huge investment on analysing the situation and providing reports that can indicate what are the areas belong to creative industries, mapping and identifying the most significant, and verifying the potential of and for the city. As stated in 2004 by the first Hong Kong's Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa (Fung Kwok in Thomson, 2006: p.5)

“As Asia's world city, we will create an environment which fosters innovative thinking, mutual respect and team spirit, and we hope citizens can cultivate their artistic interests and personal tastes for their spiritual enhancement and cultural enrichment. We expect our society to be one which encourages self initiative, entrepreneurship and aspirations, while valuing creativity and diversity”.

Back in 2005, the HKSAR government made a series of explicit commitments to promote the development of the culture and creative industries that, in recent years, have assisted an effervescent growth. Despite the difficulty in defining which model

¹ Kracauer, Sigfried cited in Simpson, Tim (2008), “Macao, capital of the 21st century?”, in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, volume 26, pages 1053-1079, p. 1059.

to adopt (that implies looking closely at the local features), there is a close relationship with the previous administration.

This development is also linked with the recent foreign investments of the international market on Hong Kong especially after the first edition of Hong Kong Art Basel in 2013 (Chai Wan Mei Art & Design; South Island Cultural District), giving the city the necessary boost to develop competitiveness. However, the most significant and impactful projects are still emerging (West Kowloon Cultural District and PMQ).

In Macao, the creative industries are still in a very preliminary state² despite the fact that there is a consciousness and a pressing urgency from the government regarding economical diversification. According to Hui (2013), the cultural and creative economy has been suggested by several sectors as a probable solution to diversify the economic structure of the city as well as re-align the social and cultural values of citizens in order to obtain a healthy and sustainable development of society.

As demonstrated in Desmond Hui (2013) analysis of creative industries in Macao, the overpowered gaming industry (that brings enormous revenues to the territory since the gaming license in 2002) has not only benefitted other economic sectors but also repressed them, leaving an ambivalent situation regarding this matter. Since the gaming industry in Macao offers well paid jobs to the young population, not necessarily requiring a higher education, this could have devastating effects on the future of Macao as a diversified society, posing a risk on one of the factors necessary to develop a creative city, which is Talent (Florida, 2002) closely linked with education.

In Macao, the dependency of the cultural activities from the gaming industry goes even further simply by the fact that many of these activities are possible due the revenues that this industry provides. Therefore as Silva (2011) has stated, the viability of most of the cultural initiatives cannot be unattached from the success of the casinos exploitation.

Another important area to mention is the cultural tourism. There is an attempt to promote Macao artists through the selling of artworks derivatives with Macao Creations (<http://www.macaucollections.com>) that recently seen the relocation of its space where it has been situated for three years at the Saint Paul's Ruins, a very important historical landmark of Macao as UNESCO World Heritage Site.

² According to José L. Sales Marques, in an interview conducted for this research, Macao is in the very pre-historical age of the creative industries that is the commercialization of the artwork and its derivatives.

Regarding possible emerging projects for creative industries in the territory much has been discussed around the Hengqin island project, a place in the Zhuhai province allocated to Macao, destined to attract business investments and companies. In both Hong Kong and Macao and due to the urban redevelopment that the creation of this new creative clusters sometimes imply, there is an important element to reflect upon in this scenario that is one of disappearance.

Against disappearance – the artistic engagement with locality

*All other cultures have left traces. Our crime would be perfect, for it would leave no trace, and would be irreversible.*³

Jean Baudrillard

The massive transformations occurring in the urban renewal process are changing the shape of the cities and destroying old neighbourhoods, forcing local communities to move elsewhere. Besides redefining the urban tissue, this also creates a deep social problem. As Simpson (2008) states about Macao *the spaces of the city have been constantly reclaimed, reproduced, engineered and commodified.*

The same is happening in Hong Kong, where everything revolves around property. This somehow forceful gentrification process has been provoking many reactions from artists that range from portraying a certain nostalgia of disappearance (linked with memory and identity) to those who are actively reflecting and performing actions to raise awareness on the matter (linked with the notion of *artivism* in which artists engage with a political attitude).

Although we can see different positions that Hong Kong and Macao have on the matter of disappearance, both share the concern for the overall urban redevelopment and the social issues it arouses.

In Hong Kong's case, the magnitude and mode of development taking place, despite the governmental promises that the urban renewal would be people-centred (Tang in Wong and Hui, 2012, p.3), has put in motion several reactions linked with the notion of heritage and identity conservation that are highly political. The episodes of the demolition of the Star Ferry/ Queens Pier (2006/7), Lee Tung Street (2007) and the village of Tsoi Yuen Chuen (2010) attracted young people and artists to protest against this development via performances or other actions (some of them very intense such as hunger strikes and demonstrations such as *Asking for Mercy* against the demolition of Choi Yuen Village in 2010). There was also an urge to create projects such as the *Community Museum Project* (2009), centred around one of the most poor districts in Hong Kong – Sham Shui Po- and that focused on sharing the

³ Baudrillard, Jean (1996), *The Perfect Crime*, London, New York: Verso, p. 38

stories from the people in the community, as well as exploring the potential of traditional craftsmanship.

The struggle for the collective memory preservation also led to the attention of the grassroots and the ways of life of poorest communities. According to Ho (2012) this is also the movement for civil rights and recognition of a culture that belongs to the people in opposition to an elitist culture. It's the same dichotomy explored by Wing Shing Tang (Wong and Hui, 201) when he refers to the "Shatin value" in contrast with the mainstream discourse of "Central value"⁴. As both authors state, these movements are not only linked with conservation but go beyond that, in the resistance to unlimited development that erases diversity and the right of choice.

For Tang (Wong and Hui, 2012, pp.10,11) it all goes back to the right to property and not so much on the right of living. For the author, even very intention of the government in developing culture as purely a rhetorical discourse. As he explains about WKCD (West Kowloon Cultural District):

"In terms of the development of West Kowloon; the government has to do something to say they are doing something for the good of the public. The WKCD project was banned, almost 10 years ago because it was a property development project and not a cultural project. (...) All this talk saying that they're trying to develop the site for culture, it's all rhetoric. Everything in Hong Kong it's all about property, property, property."

The recent developments on Kowloon side have been controversial in many ways, forcing the artists to consider their city in a more profound way. The recent Hong Kong Shenzhen architectural biennale (2013/14) was a perfect example of this conflicting situation between two opposed forces, leading to further actions, debates and critical reflections around this issue (*After Occupy: Art, Gentrification & Civil War* organized by DOXA in 25-26th January 2014 in Asia Art Archive) as well as public demonstrations against gentrified spaces such as Mut Wah Street Market, a Kwun Tong hawker's market set for demolition in March 2014.

According to some of the critical voices, this biennale is a celebration image of a integration with Mainland China that is been questioned in many ways by Hong Kong and that also signalizes the way that the art world, the creative class and the use of architecture might be serving a bigger purpose.

One of the areas where the event took place was Kwun Tong, in Kowloon East, has been most affected by the process of gentrification, designed to become another CBD (Central Business District) of Hong Kong. Amongst the local residents threaten by

⁴ As Tang refers in Wong and Hui (2012, p. 3, footnote 5): "Shatin is a new town in the New Territories of Hong Kong, Central is a financial district in the Hong Kong Island. "Central Value" refers to an elite culture, which is nevertheless based on economic values. The "Central Value" has been credited as the core value of Hong Kong, which also attributes to its economic success."

eviction we can also find an artistic community that now see their studios under menace. Originally being a spontaneous place for the gathering of artists due to the cheap rents and the advantage of big spaces of industrial features, this place is transforming into a gentrified space where artists are commissioned by the public authorities in projects such as *Energizing Kowloon East Office* (EKEO) established in 2012 to intervene in the area as a way of creative place making. This strategy is retrieving the place its organic features⁵ and artificializing the environment.

In Macao, the dichotomy between organic and artificial exists in another way. Being simultaneously a Casino city and a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the fake and the real seem to coexist in the same space leading to some strange episodes. In the same year where Macao was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2005, investors built a huge expensive theme park called *Fisherman's Wharf* featuring themed reproductions of a Roman Coliseum, Tang Dynasty Chinese architecture, buildings from Amsterdam, Lisbon, Cape Town and Miami (Simpson 2008). The logic of the fake is also related to the fantasy world of Casinos, where history becomes a retro-fashion (Baudrillard, 1981 (1994) as we see in the reproduction of Venice by the Venetian casino and other examples.

In the small scale of Macao, there is also a big concern on the heritage preservation issue and, although the gentrification issue is not so mentioned as in Hong Kong, we can detect some projects that deal with similar problems. Regarding the eviction of the local villages, Ox Warehouse, a local grassroots association, developed back in 2007 a project named *Northern District Art Project 2007 – Capture Memories of Ilha Verde*. This was composed by several artistic interactions⁶ with the local inhabitants in a slum place in the northern part of Macao. The reason behind this project was linked with the government plan to build large-scale social housing estates to ease Macao's acute housing shortage. According to Frank Lei (2012), coordinator of the project and responsible for Ox Warehouse's programs, it aimed to help the audience observe and reflect on community living standards through interactive public art works, in order to enhance community coherence, public consciousness and cultural identity.

One important component in this type of projects is using site-specific and performance as a *modus operandi*. In both cases of Hong Kong and Macao, these are linked to the public space, expressing the "right to the city" (Harvey 2008). As David Harvey (2008,p.23) mentions:

"The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."

⁵ We here understand organic as opposed to artificiality meaning something that is a result from a already existent living organism instead of something constructed on the outside and implemented after.

⁶ The "Capturing Memories of Ilha Verde" Multimedia Art Exhibition, "A walk through Ilha verde History", "Explore Ilha Verde before it disappears creative exhibition", Site-specific Dance theatre "Kafka Listening to the Wind", Mini Noise Concert, Play Back Theatre, a performance from Zero Distance Cooperative, a "Students Outdoor Sketching Activity" and an "Artists Onsite Creative Activity."

There is also a very pragmatic reason, in our point of view, linked with the fact that the places for studios and exhibitions are small, rare and expensive so the artists need to occupy the street as a resource. The idea behind performance and site-specific also enhances the role of the artist as an active social force, demystifying the creative process, breaking the distance between artist and audience, producer and spectator and engaging in the life of the city. It is a move into the real, to the ordinary people and their everyday experience. In this artistic form, consensus building is brought by this relational aesthetics (Borriaud, 2002), as the idea of site-specific is not only the place in itself but the abstract idea of a communal sense that surrounds the problem of a common identity.

The move into the real here mentioned has a more deeper meaning since, through the processes of urban renewal what we are assisting is the creation of *non-places*⁷ (Augé, 1995) that attest a contemporary reality where the sense of local and history disappears. In this situation even identity sees itself under threat of disappearing since it has a deep connection to history and memory. What may drive these artists to intervene and portrait this disappearing reality is in a way, the fascination of the lost object (Baudrillard, 1981(1994)) that characterizes the hyper reality of present times. Following this logic, artists explore the revelation of the ruin, something that we can apply to both Hong Kong and Macao under the category of the city as “colonial ruin” (T. Simpson recalling Benjamin’s categories, 2008). As Simpson (2008, p.1065) states, quoting Buck-Morss (1991), this can also signify the emergence of another order since,

“The ruin “is the form in which the wish images of the past century appear, as rubble, in the present. But it refers also to the loosened building blocks (both semantic and material) out of which a new order can be constructed”.

The real engagement with the community, however, brings back the sense of reality that is necessary. If there is an inevitable and invincible invasion of the capitalist forces (which Hong Kong and Macao may be the very proof of this situation) the social and political concerns from the artists may be of a sum importance, to raise awareness of the disenchantments of the industrial dream world of commodities and enhance the potential of social transformation. In this sense they also reveal the deep underlying contradictions of the Chinese society standing, nowadays, on a verge of possible civil unrest.

⁷ In Macao’s case the notion of a non- place is linked, in one hand with the idea of fantasy and utopian casino dreamland where as W.H.Auden quoted by Simpson (2008) “nothing serious could ever happen”, and on an other, its characterization as an enclave: “ The enclavic condition of Macao makes it a location from which one might imagine a different China, an other space, a *no-place*”. (Simpson, 2008 p. 1054)

What is the artist's role in all this production of the space, being the later, as Simpson (2008) mentions (quoting Lefebvre) the ability to continually reterritorialize space in novel market niches in which capitalism has sustained himself in the wake of so many crises? Is there enrolment of creative industries in this sense the very integration in the colonization of capitalism? Is there any space for a different approach in the future to come?

Conclusions

*The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city.*⁸

David Harvey

Hong Kong and Macao are facing emerging scenarios in the cultural and artistic areas connected to deep changes in the city. This forces us to question what is the proper approach and model to adapt regarding creative and cultural industries and the balance with alternative spaces for art that do not belong to the art market or the mainstream system.

Despite their international image of a financial centre and a casino city, respectively, we can assist a rising interest on creativity as a way of diversifying economy. This idea of diversity is very important within the framework of the idea of creative city and creative economy (Florida, 2004).

However, diversifying economy does not necessarily mean diversity since, the recent developments on culture seem to be following a tendency of homogenization rather than fomenting alternative and diverse ways of existence. According to Tang (Wong and Hui 2008,p.6) this is the main cause for several reactions from the Hong Kong population when faced with the issue of disappearance:

“Right now, what is prevailing in the society is the emphasis, in the case of Hong Kong on diversity.(...) What they have been arguing is diversity. What they are doing is not challenging the regime. They are asking for diversity”.

Diversifying economy does not also necessarily imply quality improvement. As we tried to portray in the emergence of creative clusters in both cities, we are assisting a huge number of developments in the creative and cultural areas that need to reflect if their input is on quantity rather than quality. According to same author (Wong and Hui, 2008: p.6):

⁸ Harvey, David (2008), “The Right to the City”, in *New Left Review*, Sep.Oct 2008, pp.23.

"(...) numbers have been growing, but not the extent that we would see qualitative change in a society".

One of the reasons for this growth in market-orient art structures is the characterization of the culture in these areas, deeply linked with a materialistic attitude where culture becomes a subsidiary of the market and the "poor relative"⁹ of society. This tendency is a global and within the logic of the *Culture-World*¹⁰(Lipovetsky and Serroy, 2008) where culture as be come market and the market becomes culture.

To make a "place" it is necessary that engagement and belonging exist as actions. Transforming a city into a creative one must imply not only the existence of creative industries (that are sometimes implemented in created artificial environments) but that the agents on the field make sense of the space. It needs to be people-centred, bottom-up. The peril of a current situation, where development does not take people on account, is transforming a city into one that has no memory. In Hong Kong and Macao's case this is even more evident due to the fact that their own identities are characterized, in history, as being transient, rootless and amnesiac. According to Simpson (2008: p.1066):

"If the modern metropolis constitutes the site of "amnesia", this is especially true in Macao".

The importance of identity in this context plays a major role. As stated in Thomson (2006:p.2):

" If Hong Kong is to become a truly creative community, we need to understand who we are, where we came from, and where we are going. We need to preserve our heritage and take pride in our community as one of China's most astounding success stories."

The same can be applied to Macao. As Simpson demonstrates (2008) understanding contemporary Macao requires attending to how the legacies of Portuguese colonialism and Chinese communism and market socialism merge in the spaces of the city today. Preserving this hybrid and multifaceted identity is an important element to maintain its originality (Simpson, 2008:p. 1054):

" The oldest city of Western colonialism in Asia, on the edge of the longest surviving ancient culture in the world, Macao stands at a unique spatial and temporal crossroads- of communism and capitalism, colonialism and postcolonialism, globalization and provincialism, planning and privatization, old and new, reality and myth, dream and awakening".

The space for alternative solutions seems also to be diminishing, day-by-day, due to the increasing integration of the artists within the system. However, due to the increased cost of living in these cities, artists find themselves in a complex situation if

⁹ Expression directly translated from the common use of the portuguese sentence applied to culture : "Cultura o parente pobre".

¹⁰ Unable to find the english version of the book we translate *culture-monde* as Culture-World.

they strive for alternative response to this situation. If they do not engage in the logic of the art market, they must become dependent on government subsidy posing several other questions regarding their space for alternative solutions on the system. The recent cases of the loss of tenancy for Art for All Society in Macao due to rent increase (2014) and Woofers Ten in Hong Kong due to the loss of the government subsidy (2013) testify this problem.

This rising scenario is creating uncertainties and anxieties regarding the future. This psychological state also makes these artists engage with social concerns as a way of solidarity regarding the common people's situation.

There are no clear model and no certainty in the efficiency and results on the development of the creative and cultural industries in both cities and there are several questions that still need answers:

Who and what define creativity? What is necessary to assure that a place is creative? Are the creative industries the proper solution to this problem or, on another hand are they the danger for a necessary diversified creative environment by providing a consumption led model? Is local heritage and historical buildings only existing to serve as a backdrop for events that are held internationally and to attract the cultural tourism to the region? Should the investment be on locality or in an international approach? Is creativity used as a disguised form of propaganda? How much alternative can alternative spaces be? And how to separate cultural investment from creative industries or, otherwise, create a mix model such as "creative cultural industries"?¹¹

In order for a real creative city to emerge, there should not exist any ambivalence between one side and another and, instead, a comprehensive and integrative model of coexistence, a balance between the creative industries and other alternatives. The emerging projects of West Kowloon Cultural District in Hong Kong and Hengqin Island in Macao (if this project takes the shape of a creative industries complex) must also allow other models to exist in order to maintain a healthy ecology of the art system, allowing heritage conservation and preserving the sense of locality.

Nevertheless, as Appadurai (1996) mentions locality is fragile social achievement and the recent urban developments in Chinese cities seem to testify this fragility even further by transforming the neighbourhoods into spaces where locality needs to be produced again and again. If creativity plays a part in this mechanism what should be its role?

¹¹ This concept is retrieved from the *Baseline Study on Hong Kong's Creative Industries* (2003,p.214) and inspired in Taiwan's model : "In its policy report – Challenge 2008: The Six-year National Development Plan 2002 – 2007" released in August 2002, the Executive Yuan coined the term "cultural creative industries" to cover three broad categories: cultural arts industry, design industry and peripheral industries. These in fact share a similar scope of industries with other countries."

Artists see themselves in a difficult position between the need of succeeding in a pressing market and the utopian aspiration of transforming people life's by art. However, their task is worthwhile. It is never enough to remember that belonging to a place implies true commitment from the agents on the field, an act of love and a sense of continuous nurturing.



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The Exploration of Design Cognitive Thinking and Corporate Marketing Mix in Dynamic Logos

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Abstract

Logos represent an enterprise's history and convey product information to differentiate it from competitors. Therefore, concepts of corporate marketing and logos have a close relationship. Since technological advancement and multimedia elements accelerate dynamic and interactive development, logos are then entitled to a brand-new feature by cultivating dynamic logos. It is necessary that design dynamic logos should strictly consider the consumer segmentation and cultural differences. Performance of visual images should overcome language barrier, story structures, and visual basic fundamentals; therefore, designers need to carefully plan color usage includes appearances of color, visual, and text to maximize customer acceptance. Hence, it is an essential issue to understand the combination of dynamic and enterprise concept. This study was conducted using the experimental method and cited Nes' (2012) "living brand" as a reference concept and Balmer's (2006) raised corporate marketing mix (6Cs) to explain views, suggestions, and marketing challenges. The purpose of this study is to explore the performance of the corporate marketing mix of dynamic and still logos. In addition, we discuss the performance of different types of dynamic logos on the corporate marketing mix. This study received 150 valid questionnaires and the results reveal that all dynamic logos have better feedbacks on its corporate marketing mix, which included communication and conceptualization. We infer that consumers have a good feeling and preference of dynamic logos only on its visual aspect and could not easily feel its other aspect.

Keywords: Dynamic Logos; Corporate Marketing Mix; Corporate Identity

Introduction

As time and technological progress, multimedia elements are added into logo designs, which include dynamic and interactive forms. These logos are endowed with new trademark features (Liu, 2009). Nowadays, designers face a variety of forms and design elements; they make corporate logos or visual symbols have variability by using a non-static style. Designers should consider audience segmentation and cultural differences when designing. e.g. performance on visual imagery beyond the barriers of language, story structures, visual basic fundamentals, relation in shape of space on yin and yang, presentation of colors, visual, text, audience acceptance of messages, and so on. Therefore, we need to do further research and analysis on the design aesthetic issues of dynamic logos (Hsu, 2012).

Logo is the basic conveyer of a brand and is the most important visual element on system specifications. The basic elements of logos are: mark, standard text, and three standard colors. Companies, enterprises, suppliers and products that have commercial activities or run a business should have an exclusive logo, representing the spirit of enterprise, culture, brand, reputation and scale (Lin, 1985). Corporate logo is the core of CIS (Corporate Identity System) as well as same business identification. Facing drastic lifestyle changes, rapid development of industrial and commercial activities, and changes in fashion trends, logos are challenged to be reviewed and improved. It might retain the old ethos of corporate logo or part of the image and add new elements in order to strike a balance of old and new corporate trademarks (Lin, 1985). However, the basic elements of how correctly to determine the business impact of the logo is the key to success in conveying corporate visual identity (Zhang, & Wei, 2005). Accordingly, enterprise philosophy and logos have a very close relationship.

In this study, we use Activate Brand concept introduced by Nes (2012) to identify the type of dynamic logos and corporate marketing mix (6Cs), and Balmer's (2006) proposition, which explains marketing ideas and solve related problems. The so-called corporate marketing mix primarily as a business marketing idea, and corporate marketing mix in the various elements are deep into the organizational structure. How the staffs behave within the organization, their thinking, and behavior are also included. In summary, the purposes of this study were as follows:

1. To explore the dynamic logos and their performance compared to static logos in the corporate marketing mix;
2. To explore different types of dynamic logos and their performance in the corporate marketing mix.

After discussing the questions above, we can further understand the types of dynamic logo performances and their relations to the corporate marketing mix. Moreover, it can give business owners more explicit communication and suggestions for their logo design so that viewers could clearly catch the company message.

Related work

One- Corporate marketing operations

The concepts of corporate market are a logical phase development. Balmer (1998) issued the 11Ps for corporate marketing mix as a definition of situations and developments in the marketing operation. There are eleven elements in the corporate

marketing mix, which will be described in the following in the Table 1. After issuing the 11Ps in the corporate marketing mix, Balmer (2006) brought up 6Cs as a solution of many marketing operation problems. He also used the corporate marketing mix to explain the close relationship between marketing operation and logically academic fields. There are six elements in the corporate marketing operation, which will be described in the following in the Table 1:

Table 1

Corporate marketing mix (11Ps) (6Cs)

11Ps	6Cs	Definition
Philosophy and Ethos		How the organization is constituted. What the organization stands for, the way it undertakes its work and activities.
Product		What the organization makes and does.
Price		The emotion and capital assets of the Organization. The valuation its brands (Corporate, services and product). What it charges for its products and services. The share price. Staff salaries.
	Character	
Place		Distribution and organizational relationships in terms of the selling and distribution of products and services. (Franchising, outsourcing, licensing).
Performance		Quality of products and services. Standards vis a vis issues of governance, ethics and social responsibility.
Positioning		The organization's position relative to its competitors (size, geographical coverage, product and service range).
Personality	Culture	The critical role of personnel vis a vis corporate marketing activities. The shared (as well as differentiated) meanings accorded to the organization by personnel including strength of identification with the organization).
Promotion	Communications	Co-ordinated corporate communications (corporate advertising, corporate PR, visual identification etc.)
People)	Constituencies	In addition to customers: the organization's internal and external constituencies and communities (the latter boundary spans constituencies).
Perception	Conceptualizations	The reputations held of the organization by groups, communities and by individuals.
Promise	Covenant	The expectations associated with the corporate brand (stakeholder perspective) and the promise underpinning the corporate brand (organizational perspective).

Source: Balmer, J. M. T. (2006). *Comprehending corporate marketing and the corporate marketing mix*. Retrieved November 6, 2012, from http://www.brad.ac.uk/acad/management/external/pdf/workingpapers/2006/Booklet_06-08.pdf

Two- Types of dynamic logos

Nes (2012) issued a classifying method of dynamic logos and started with a concept entitled, “How to create a living brand.” There are six types, which will define in the following Table 2:

Table 2

Dynamic identity - How to create a living brand

Types	Definition
CONTAINER	The most obvious choice to create a dynamic identity is to approach the logo as a box that can constantly change its content. Playing with just one variable, such as color or imagery, can already create great variety while remaining recognizable.
WALLPAPER	Another common example of dynamic identities is placing variables behind a constant logo. The total shape may vary, but the impression is still a single identity.
DNA	Dynamic identities can also be created but supplying a toolbox containing several core ingredients. Various recipes can be created using these ingredients, resulting in a different outcome each time.
FORMULA	Instead of letting the ingredients being the core of the identity, one could also let the system be the constant. Whether it is a grid or a set of rules, it forms a language, a formula that brings everything together.
CUSTOMISE D	Nike, Jones Soda and many others can confirm: customization is hot! It lets the client interact and be part of the brand. Of makes the client the owner of the brand. Customization is the first step towards letting the identity reflects a certain sense of community, creating an emotional bond.
GENERATIVE	Opening up at least one of the elements of the identity gives the brand a living character. Letting the identity be influenced by external data – weather, news, number of visitors and so on – puts it in real time. The identity can reflect the world it is living in, and adapt in response to its input.

Source: Nes, I. V. (2012). *Dynamic Identities: How to create a living brand*. Netherlands: BIS.

Three-Relation of dynamic logos and corporate marketing mix

Through the advancement of technology, logos are added multi-media elements such as formula and interaction. These will be entitled to a brand-new feature by cultivating dynamic logos (Liu, 2009). In recent years, logos are designed in a unique and customized manner. They are integrated from the community or social media and applied in corporate identity system. Both static and dynamic logos are included and its vigor and vitality in presentation are rare to see in normal logos (Hsu, 2012). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore whether dynamic logos are better than static logos for representing corporations. We propose the following

hypothesis :

H1 : Dynamic logos could perform better than static logos in the corporate marketing mix.

Nes (2012) started with the viewpoint of “living brand” and classified dynamic logos. Hsu (2012) used “interactive design aesthetics” and “time-viewpoint” to do the classification. After making comparing the two different views and thinking, we decided to cite Nes’ “living brand” as our research framework and Balmer’s corporate marketing mix for proposing the following hypotheses:

In the FORMULA dynamic logo, positioning the organization, size, products, and services can be clearly seen on dynamic logos. For instance, Unilever’s logo is composed of several sub-companies’ logo. It has an overall concept of integration and this kind of presentation is similar with “Character” which is in the corporate marketing mix. Therefore, we propose hypothesis H2 :

H2 : FORMULA dynamic logos have a strong influence in the Character aspect of the corporate marketing mix.

In the dynamic GENERATIVE logo, corporations use the concept for dividing employees into different professional departments for identification. The concept is also proposed to give employees a shared group. For example, MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology Media Lab) gives each employee a dedicated personal logo or graphics similar to their division or department. This kind of presentation is similar with “Culture” which is in the corporate marketing mix. Therefore, we propose hypothesis H3 :

H3 : GENERATIVE dynamic logos have a strong influence in the Culture aspect of the corporate marketing mix.

CONTAINER and DNA dynamic logos focus on the vision of organizations and it could be easily seen in dynamic logos. These two logos have significant differences in visual performance such as the presentation of Melbourne city logo. Its CONTAINER carried out using a fixed shape and changed diversely. In contrast, EDP (Portugal Power Group) logo in DNA has a variety of presentation. It reflects the demands of the enterprise. Both of presentations are related to Communications, which is the corporate marketing mix. Therefore, we propose hypotheses H4 and H5 :

H4 : The diversity of static presentations in CONTAINER dynamic logos has a strong influence in the Communication aspect of the corporate marketing mix.

H5 : The diversity of dynamic presentations in DNA dynamic logos has a strong influence in the Communication aspect of the corporate marketing mix.

In CUSTOMIZED dynamic logo, internal and external cognition for the corporation can be clearly found. Through Customization, corporations make consumers have brand awareness and it can build a good relationship with the logo. For example, the index of Google may display some special or memorial elements such as a birthday of a great man; these are called Google Doodles. Designers add more and more dynamic

images and interactions to make users like Google (Google, 2013). These kinds of presentations are related to Constituencies, which is in the corporate marketing mix. Therefore, we propose hypothesis H6 :

H6 : CUSTOMIZED dynamic logo has a strong influence in the Constituencies aspect of the corporate marketing mix.

Reputations from individuals or groups could be easily found in WALLPAPER dynamic logos such as the composition of AOL logo, it became an independent company from being affiliated with Time Warner. It restarted designing and planning its own brand logo and so as its reputation. These kinds of presentation are related to Conceptualizations, which is in the corporate marketing mix. Therefore, we propose hypothesis H7 :

H7 : WALLPAPER dynamic logos have a strong influence in the Conceptualizations aspect of the corporate marketing mix.

Balmer (2006) proposed the definition “Covenant” in the corporate marketing mix as a corporate branding basis. In fact, it is the establishment of different groups or individuals have unlikely expectations and brand loyalty for a corporation. We can discuss loyalty under two aspects: behavioral loyalty and attitudinal loyalty. Behavioral loyalty means that consumers repurchase the same brand/products to show their preferences. In addition, the loyalty is on behalf of the consumers’ acceptance of a brand (Chaudhuri, & Holbrook, 2001). The study of Oliver (1999) showed that attitudinal loyalty is a part of the consumer psychological aspect. Behavioral loyalty refers to the real purchase behavior of consumers. Thus, he divided consumer brand loyalty into four phases: (1) cognitive loyalty, (2) (affective loyalty), (3) active loyalty), and (4) action loyalty. The first three phases belong to the attitudinal loyalty. They turn into actions to produce behavioral loyalty and strengthen repurchase behavior as a habit. This study infers that participants may have some concepts on the brand but they are not familiar with the brand, which is why we conduct this study. They may have never heard or purchased the brand we used in the study, so participants don’t have brand loyalty or expectations. Therefore, we don’t propose hypotheses about Covenant in this study.

Research Method

This study used the quasi-experimental method, which aims to explore dynamic logo patterns and produce different corporate marketing mix. By doing so, viewers recognize the concept that companies want to convey and evaluate unlike corporate marketing mix of patterns. For the viewers, whichever corporate philosophy could represent and enhance the process of creating dynamic logos in the future and eventually achieve the corporate goal.

This study’s research tool is based on Nes’ (2012) proposition on “living brand” as a point of view and understanding of the different dynamic logo backgrounds and design techniques. Balmer (2006) proposed the definition of corporate marketing operation as hypotheses wherein we consider the principle of dynamic performance on selecting video clips. We hope participants could view more dynamic presentations and techniques through the selected video clips. The participants chosen were all EMBA students since participants should have a certain brand understanding to

determine whether the videos could convey corporate philosophy accurately or not. Two professors at Yuan Ze University confirmed the face validity of the questionnaire scale. A total of 14 days of data collection was consumed from June 8, 2013 to June 22, where 150 valid questionnaires were retrieved. The questionnaires were divided into six types and each effective sample has 25 copies, which were analyzed in this study.

Analysis and Discussion

Descriptive analysis covers gender and age. The respondents are composed of 78 males (52%) and 72 females (48%). Most of the respondents or 71 people are under the 30~39 (74%) age range. Second is the 20~29 age range, which has 52 people (35%). The third is the 40~49 age range, which has 21 people (14%). In the 150 valid questionnaires, we conducted the descriptive statistics, differences, demographic variables and related regression analysis. Reliability analysis Cronbach's α is over 80, which shows high reliability and stability of questionnaire. The other analysis results don't have significant differences so we analyzed the averages of answers in questionnaires.

Table 3 shows differences of averages in the dynamic logos; participants think that the performance of dynamic logo is better than static logo. This statement formed the hypothesis H1. The average of GENERATIVE dynamic logo pattern has the most score. It could be inferred the visual presentation is not the only one that has effects, but the introduction of the corporation as well. Moreover, these have a description for the formation and application of dynamic logos so GENERATIVE outstands most on the dynamic patterns.

Table 3 : Differences of average in the dynamic logos

Patterns of dynamic logo	DNA	GENERATIVE	CUSTOMISED	CONTAINER	FORMULA	WALLPAPER
Goal of testing	EDP	MIT	Google	<i>city of</i> MELBOURNE	Unilever	AOL
Average	3.86	3.92	3.75	3.83	3.47	3.75
Comparison	GENERATIVE > DNA > CONTAINER > CUSTOMISED、 WALLPAPER > FORMULA					

Table 4 shows the difference of averages in the corporate marketing mix and patterns of dynamic logos. The average of the dynamic logo pattern CONTAINER got the highest score. Many of the participants think that it can embody the corporate marketing mix well. We took the CITY OF MELBOURNE identity as an example in this study. While participants can see the logo that is from Melbourne, with the logo M-word presentation and expression, both visual experience and brand image obtained a higher acceptance. Hence, CONTAINER becomes the best presenter for dynamic logos in the corporate marketing mix.

In the average of cross-comparison, Character patterns in the dynamic logo, CUSTOMISED and DNA got the highest average. This means that participants feel these two patterns of dynamic logo can embody the meaning most. In CUSTOMISED pattern, Google is used as an example. Doodle is its dynamic logo and participants are impressed by its diversity, abundance, and interaction. In DNA patterns, we used EDP as an example. EDP positioned itself by taking descriptions and records of life. Both of the patterns make the participants have impressions, so they obtained a higher acceptance.

Culture got the highest average in the CUSTOMISED dynamic logo pattern. Participants feel that this dynamic logo pattern can embody its meaning well. We use Google as an example in this study. In the video clip, only the diversity of the dynamic logo was presented. It doesn't convey any introduction or message about the corporation or brand. Participants may hear of some messages of Google or it may let participants have a plus for corporate culture of Google. Therefore, CUSTOMISED got a high acceptance in this section.

Communications got the highest average in the GENERATIVE dynamic logo pattern. This shows that participants feel this pattern can embody its meaning a lot. We used MIT as an example in this study. Selections cover the unique visual feeling with promoting, representing a corporate, knowing corporate management etc. Applying logos are covered in the video clip, such as: business card and bag designs. These all promote skill and inspiration. There are different ways of presenting logos utilized by various corporations. Participants can feel their corporate management concept easily so the GENERATIVE dynamic logos got more acceptances.

Conceptualizations got the highest average in CONTAINER and GENERATIVE dynamic logo patterns. We selected the *city of MELBOURNE* and MIT of GENERATIVE pattern as examples. Each one describes the corporate logos. In the video clip of *city of MELBOURNE*, it contains a science and technology feeling of dynamic presentation which participants prioritized, so it gets a higher likes. In the MIT video clip, the diversity of presentation and popularity made participants feel pleasant and happy. Therefore, MIT has close votes with *city of MELBOURNE*.

Constituencies got the highest average in CONTAINER dynamic logo pattern. Participants think it can embody the meaning well. We use the *city of MELBOURNE* in CONTAINER as an example. There is a specific description of industry positioning and presence of the word, *city of MELBOURNE*, which adds a feeling of science and technology. Hence, Constituencies got the most votes because participants can feel its unique brand style.

Covenant got the highest average in GENERATIVE dynamic logo pattern. This indicates that participants could feel that this pattern embodies its meaning the most. We chose MIT in the GENERATIVE pattern as an example. Though brand applications such as: business cards, bags, clothing, cultures and etc in the video clip, it could strengthen the basic concept of the corporation. Participants could have a higher acceptance. Therefore, Covenant got a higher score.

Table 4

Differences of average in corporate marketing mix (6Cs) and dynamic logo patterns

Corporate marketing mix (6Cs)		A	B	C	D	F	G	Sum of every pattern
Dynamic logo patterns	Goal of testing							

DNA	EDP	3.64	3.37	3.62	3.68	3.52	3.27	21.10
GENERATIVE	MIT	3.56	3.40	3.80	3.76	3.55	3.34	21.41
CUSTOMISE D	Google	3.64	3.59	3.64	3.75	3.51	3.21	21.34
CONTAINER	City of Melbourne	3.62	3.47	3.78	3.76	3.61	3.31	21.55
FORMULA	Unilever	3.31	3.24	3.69	3.29	3.35	3.08	19.96
WALLPAPER	AOL	3.36	3.22	3.39	3.35	3.25	3.01	19.58
Average of corporate marketing mix		3.52	3.38	3.65	3.59	3.46	3.20	20.82
Comparison		CONTAINER > GENERATIVE > CUSTOMISED > DNA > FORMULA > WALLPAPER						

A= Character; B= Culture; C= Communications; D= Conceptualizations;
F=Constituencies; G= Covenant.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this study is to explore different dynamic logo patterns that produce different corporate marketing mix. We intended to let consumers recognize concepts and ideas of the corporation. From literature review and analysis discussion, dynamic logos got more acceptance than static logos on the concept of corporate marketing. Though there were differences, there were no significant impact observed, therefore, the hypotheses were not supported. From the view of dynamic logo patterns, the highest averages are in Communications and Conceptualizations. We infer that most logos have unique visual presentation for participants. It could represent, achieve publicity and corporate management and the remaining features could not highlight on logos. That is a suggestion for corporate when designing logos.

In the research methodology, there is a problem on the classification in this study so it can't have significant differences. For future study, researchers could still proceed towards the classification of patterns, so there may have a higher difference for more accurate perditions on corporate marketing mix. This study suggests that may change the control group and the experimental group for measuring.

By doing so, it could increase explanatory power of explanation and also achieve more precise measurements or prediction on the comparison for dynamic and static logos. On measuring corporate marketing mix, because logo might make relevant goods or services to consumers recognize its identity in order to distinguish from the others (Lu, 2013). This also means that logos involve cognitive and positioning within the enterprise as well as relevant information which enterprises want to give consumers.

Therefore, for more accurate measurements or predictions, researchers should divide internal and external corporation into two parts when classifying. After dividing, they could do discussion and analysis individually. Regarding to this way, it can make the logo contain more business representation. In addition, it could be more exact in conveying external information and have the value of contribution and reference for the research and corporation.

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*Alienation as a Phenomenological Instrument for Reconnection of Man with
Physical Environment in Japanese Private Residential Architecture*

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Abstract

The paper provides insight into a particular aspect of the author's findings on the current state of evolution of architectural phenomenology as manifested in Japanese private residential architecture. Being both the study of the way architecture reflects human life in its dynamic, ongoing, culturally, and emotionally dependent complexity, and the point of departure for architectural design that speaks to the senses as much as to the mind, phenomenology usually affirms empathy to human condition. This is even more valid for the work of contemporary Japanese architects who have displayed unmatched ability to incorporate the specifics of their clients' lives into residential architecture. Nevertheless, there are points in recent Japanese architectural history when instilling alienation between man and architectural environment is perceived by architects as the ultimate method to bring the individual back to awareness and appreciation of the surrounding world.

The paper offers an overview of the aforementioned phenomena in the work of three architects from different generations where deliberate alienation is notably used as a tool to reconnect the intellect and the senses of sight, touch and hearing with physical environment of architecture and nature. In search of comprehensive illustration of the point, the paper offers examples from both the critical writings and the design work of the architects Kazuo Shinohara, Toyo Ito, and Hiroshi Nakao, all faced with the complexities of a rapidly changing social scene, all determined to seek out the philosophical continuity of space perception

1. Introduction

Efforts in private residential architecture are very often threatened by either utilitarianism or preoccupation with image. Now it has been over 30 years since Christian Norberg-Schultz's seminal books *Between Heaven and Earth* (Norberg-Schulz, 1971), *Intentions in Architecture* (Norberg-Schulz, 1967) and *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (Norberg-Schulz, 1979) revealed an effort to address architecture as the reflection of man's inner life. It is an undeniable fact, a significant change has taken place in the daily life of people and in dwelling since and this creates an immediate necessity to update phenomenology in architecture – both in range and in time-relevance. The bubble era of economic prosperity that provided the backdrop for post-modernism by now has ended for the better part of the developed world, and the effects of the information technology leap on contemporary man's existence are no less overwhelming than those of the industrialization era. Another reason to re-address phenomenology lies in architecture researchers' observation (Shirazi, 2008) that even at the time of its appearance the *Genius Loci* has the following shortcomings: firstly, it offers a definition of the culturally and spiritually defined experience of architecture only from the outside – through urban-scale and landscape examples, secondly, in both urban level and building level, the body of the perceiver of the space is still and motionless and offers no account of temporal experience, one that however exists within phenomenology in philosophy from the start. In Japan the attempt to address and redefine human experience in architecture according to the new condition of man in contemporaneity has been made consistently – through the systematic continuous efforts of more than one generation of architects. Unique to Japan is also the fact the phenomenological inquiry into people and the world or, more precisely – into their relationship, here takes place not only in theory but also in the architectural practice.

The private dwelling as the starting point, and most potent illustration, of the relationship between the conscious perceptive self and architecture has not only been the mirror of societal developments in Japan but also a consciously sought after arena for architects to emphatically explore new theories on dwelling without losing sight of the dweller. It is the ultimate goal of this paper to examine a segment of Japanese architects' work that uses alienation as a deliberately chosen didactic tool that in time evolves into an affirmative way of engaging with society and the city as its product and reflection. The paper distinguishes between this form of intentional nihilism towards the built environment, but with positive perspective in mind, and the systematic alienation of the inner space of the house from that of the Japanese city ensuing from the continuous frustration of Japanese architects with the chaotic development of Japanese urban environment (Picture 1).



Picture 1: The rejection of the external world manifested in the facades of contemporary Japanese houses

When significant changes occur in people's daily life, private residential architecture is either too slow or too quick to register the ensuing changes in the act of inhabiting that should in turn affect its language. Thus architecture acts either on the premises of outdated historical architectural norm failing to recognize the new position of man *in time* or on the premises of avant-garde yet unproved utilitarian and social norms failing to recognize the universal connection of man *to place*. Both of these stances disrupt the phenomenological experience of architecture, as they do not comply with phenomenology's acknowledgement of subjectivity and interconnectedness of things which gives substance to man's inner world through architecture and gives meaning to architecture through man's response to it.

Along this train of thought, and in tune with the Conference's desire to examine not only alienation and conflict but also resolution, a precise definition of the objects of study of this paper comes down to:

- the declared desire, in the selected architects' critical writing, to alienate themselves from their respective zeitgeist, concerning the making of architecture for the contemporary dweller in search to restore the phenomenological balance;
- the clearly articulated ambition, in examples of the selected architects' architectural design to confront the dweller's preconceived notions of built environment, even at the risk of temporarily alienating them from the resulting architectural milieu. The resulting designs instead expose the inhabitant to carefully, if subjectively, contrived by the architect new architectural morphemes intended to re-introduce missing aspects of the time-and-place relevant dwelling experience. The studied examples encompass cases where architects deviate from architectural norm and precedent in one or more of the basic spheres of phenomenological experience of place in architecture as defined by Norberg-Schulz – *earth*, *sky*, and *optical array*, respectively: floor, ceiling, and walls (as seen in Van Nes, 2012), or introduce distortion in different aspects of the dwellers' experience of time in architecture – like memory and awareness of the present.

2. Selected authors, time frame and historical background

While no work of architectural design or critique exists as an isolated phenomenon, the selected authors and the works presented in the paper have been singled out primarily according to the criteria described above and because of their crucial importance to the contemporary architectural discourse. The periods of active work of the selected architects – and authors of the texts discussed in the paper – overlap and the genealogy of their ideas is for some of them attributed by architecture history to the same evolutionary lineage of ideas, which is the case with Toyo Ito's ubiquitous inclusion in the Shinohara School (Daniell, 2008, p. 20). Nevertheless, both the unique circumstances that generate the counter-reaction of the three architects and their individual ways of addressing these circumstances render them important milestones in the context of this study.

In an attempted evolutionary timeline, the periods addressed in the context of this study are as follows:

- early 1960s to mid-1970s for Kazuo Shinohara's work, covering the first three of his self-proclaimed four stylistic periods, that started off as a powerful antithesis to the way architects of the Metabolist movement chose to engage with the industrialized city and society, and evolved as an equally meaningful opposition to the later shifts in prevailing architectural thought. The historical background is that of rapid economic growth, industrialization, and city-renovation in Japan in the aftermath of World War II;
- early to late 1970s for Toyo Ito, starting off around the time when he establishes his own architectural practice, informatively named URBOT, or URBAN ROBOT, in illustration of his negative reaction to, and desire to disrupt, the happy materialist society increasingly enchanted and ruled by technology. The economic backdrop of this stage in Toyo Ito's career is that of the 1970s energy crisis that caused some of the optimistic momentum from the 1960s when Japan emerged as the second largest economic power in the world to be lost;
- early to late 1990s for Hiroshi Nakao, coinciding with the time when he establishes his own practice and marked by the striking, if sometimes dark, poetic consciousness of his work, challenging the ideas of architecture as shelter for the body or as historical by-product of technological progress, with concepts and designs that render the physical body irrelevant, and rely on timeless understanding of mechanics and little glorification of building materials to prove the point that architecture is created first and foremost to serve the consciousness and the soul (Yamazaki, 1995). The historical background of this early period of his work is that of the worst years of the post-bubble recession in Japan. Another notable characteristic of the period is the simultaneous dawning of the information era that, while placing a new emphasis on technology, differs from the industrialization era in the fact it also leaves the door wide open for the birth of new kind of mentality, in architecture included, that values consciousness above everything else.

A careful examination of the above chronology of critical reaction in Japanese residential architecture would expose a temporal gap where the 1980s could potentially be tackled, yet it is the author's belief, far from unexpectedly the 1980s contain no immediate necessity for alienation and conflict to be used as a tool to move

forward residential architecture due to a great number of reasons. The bubble period of economic prosperity allowed for the realization of an unprecedented quantity of innovative architecture, as noted by Thomas Daniell, residential architecture included. Furthermore, the postmodern paradigm shift to plurality and relativity certainly allowed for freedom of research and expression in architecture that for a while took away the necessity for stark opposition as there was no longer prevailing authority of objective truth to be opposed.

3. Alienation as a phenomenological instrument

3.1. Kazuo Shinohara

A figure of immense importance to Japanese architecture theory, practice, and teaching (in Tokyo Institute of Technology), and one of the most influential architects of the postwar generation in Japan, Kazuo Shinohara (1925-2006) has until recently remained virtually unknown to the architectural community of the Western World due to his strict control over how and where his work was published. A rigorous theorist and writer, Shinohara thought architecture through the making of architecture and thus each of the houses he designed from the mid-1950s to the 1980s, articulately motivated in his writing, is an important piece of scientific heritage that reframed conventions of the field at the time and still raises questions today.

As stated earlier on in the text, the urge to negate or oppose one or more putatively fundamental aspects of the architecture of the time permeates Kazuo Shinohara's work. In the early 1960s, fuelled by the excitement and contradiction of Japan's rapid modernization, his contemporaries from the Metabolist movement engage in utopian dreams of the orderly future city as a mega-structure that would reconcile technology with nature and society, and of the future house as prefabricated easily disposable and easily renewable skin. In overt opposition, Shinohara, then in the first phase of his work and exploration, draws attention to the value of the chaotic urban environment of Tokyo as it is, and proclaiming that the house is "art", seeks the meaning of new residential architecture in interpretation of Japanese traditional architecture. In response to the Metabolists' rhetoric of process, continuous change, and pragmatic efficiency, he asserts architecture of permanence and timelessness (Shinohara, 1967). In his 1967 essay *Theory of Residential Architecture* he states:

"I would like the houses I design to stand forever on this earth... I intend to devote myself to attempting to inscribe eternity within spaces."(Shinohara, 1967)

In further act of alienation from popular approach in architecture, his supposedly traditionalist first period boldly abandons the general agreement on the intangibility of the poetics of vernacular buildings and embarks on a quest to extract the syntax of the traditional Japanese house logically. By the end of the 60s his relentless analysis of architecture, as generated by himself and his contemporaries, leads him to take a new stance of opposition – one that confronts the "hot space" of the houses of his first period, imbued with historical meaning, with the neutral cold space of his second period, whose main design framework becomes the cube. Where cubic architecture can be seen as an analogy to the machine, in his writing of the time Shinohara makes sure no parallels are drawn between his work and the prevailing fascination with the machine omnipotent under the rule of modernism, tracing the lineage of his cube in the abstraction of his houses from the first period (Shinohara, 1971).

The beginning of the 70s marks a new milestone in Shinohara's work - the adoption of the "zero-degree machine" as the main concept of his third period of thinking and making private residential architecture. While this new shift in interest comes across as a logical evolutionary step in the development of his own polemic about the house, it is also an opportunity for Shinohara to reaffirm his position of alienation as he triumphantly discusses in his writing the irony of his concept of the machine coming into being just when the general current of Japanese architecture is retreating from an optimistic belief in technology and turning towards the art of meaningful space (Taki, 1983).

Last but not least in the line of his acts of alienation from the mainstream trends of his time, throughout the explored period – an affluent stage in Japanese economy that opened doors for a lot of Japanese architects to large scale public projects – he consistently dedicated himself only to the study and making of private houses as the ultimate problem of architecture and it was not before 1982, after working on houses for nearly 30 years, that he announced he was ready to embark on designing public buildings. His consistent alienation from the reigning architectural concepts and moods in Japan not only provided the valuable opposition necessary for critical thought to evolve but also creates an important condition for Shinohara himself to autonomously develop his own unique perspective on the house as a reflection of inner life.

As a direct manifestation of Shinohara's critical thought, his houses follow closely the ideology of his stylistic periods and, by introducing distortion in the basic fields of perception of place by the dweller, offer an interesting outlook on how alienation and conflict can be used to internalize experience of the outside world or bring about new realizations about built environment. While a thorough analysis of his works, like the one by Koji Taki in *Oppositions: The Intrinsic Structure of Kazuo Shinohara's Work* (1983), points out this challenging approach to residential architecture is evident in each and every one of Shinohara's house designs, a notable example of this intentionally and carefully created tension between the dweller and the dwelling is the Tanikawa residence (Picture 2). The rough earth inclined floor of the house, literally a continuation of the natural slope of the building site, is certainly a striking departure from the comfort zone of home dwellers and the lack of recognizability in one of the most important spheres of phenomenological experience – the floor/earth – risks creating alienation between man and architectural space. At the same time, however, it internalizes and frames the defining qualities of the surrounding natural environment and thus creates a premise for a profound emotional connection with both the natural environment and the architectural frame as environment. Another alien figure in the optical array of vertical elements defining the space of the house, the tree-like wooden columns positioned in the center of the room are stripped of any traditional meaning and memory of use and instead serve to further reinforce the genius loci within the architectural space. Another important field in which the Tanikawa residence creates purposeful distortion is the ceiling/sky. The 45° slopes of the roof meet at a right angle at the ridge, which given the way it interacts with the columns, places an accent on geometry and once again negates traditional preconceived meaning of architecture and its elements as an invitation to re-address and reconsider that meaning. As pointed out by Koji Taki, for Shinohara meaning is not a property of architecture itself but meaning emerges from people's reading of

architecture (Taki, 1983), and all alienating acts in his house designs are a device to create the leaps of consciousness that would incite people to look for this meaning.



Picture 2: Tanikawa Residence (1974)

3.2. Toyo Ito

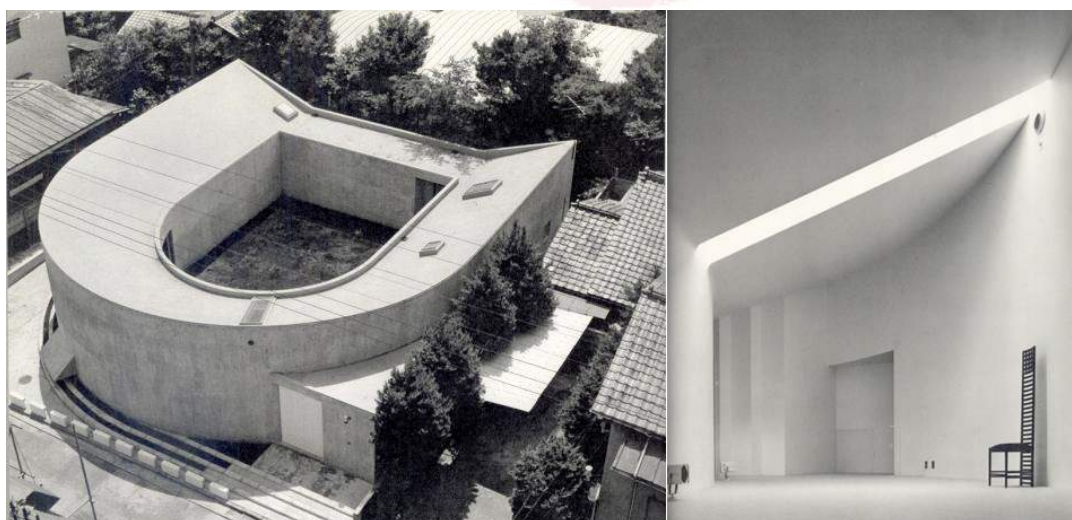
A graduate of Tokyo University, Toyo Ito starts his career as an employee of one of the prominent architects of the Metabolist movement – Kiyonori Kikutake. Ironically, and very much in keeping with the hereby addressed topic of alienation, after an initial infatuation with the ideas of the Metabolists, he moves on to become one of the most prominent figures in the so called Shinohara School of architectural thought even without any direct connection to Shinohara in the course of his career. His prolific critical writing on architecture is an important document of the developments in his thinking about architecture.

The year 1971 when Toyo Ito founds his own office, revealingly named URBOT, or URBAN ROBOT, marks a peak in his disillusionment with industrialization and community-centric city development. Written in the same year, his essay *The Logic of Uselessness* tells the story of this most notably alienated period marked by a “desire to criticize the dominance of technological civilization”, even if this is an impetus brought about by a set of contradictory ideals – vernacularism and technological utopianism (Ito, 1971). As a bearer of Toyo Ito’s ideas on architecture and dwelling, URBOT, on the one hand, becomes the protagonist of the essay’s narrative and thus allows the author to alienate himself from his own ideas while tracing down their evolution in search of objectivity. Being both the creator and the creation, within the essay, URBOT is also a house that undergoes a three step evolution, yet one at all times governed by “the logic of uselessness” and by the author’s belief that “only overt dysfunctionality can have an impact on a society that has become so rationalized” (Ito, 1971).

All three evolutionary manifestations of URBOT openly display the author’s intent to present dwellers with the reality of an architectural environment that would create uneasiness, confusion and even annoyance – to the point when the inhabitants are motivated enough to restructure the deliberately useless spaces into something functional. From the useless sky-lit tall spaces and contradictory use of aluminium cladding in a vernacular manner of URBOT-001 (the aluminium house in Kanagawa built 1971), through the bleak row of sleeping capsules for family members and tall distorted auxiliary spaces of URBOT-002, all the way to the independent living capsule URBOT-003 expected to infiltrate all and any remaining vacant areas of

Tokyo, the architect's aggressive alienation from the contented members of society, recently empowered by industry and turning their back on tradition, origin, and spirit of the place is also a hopeful cry for change and retrieval of public memory. By letting the technology-induced alienation of the external world, turning Tokyo into a desert of prefabricated buildings and "endless dreary plazas", take over the interior spaces of the private house, Toyo Ito seeks to provoke a reaction in the dwellers that would re-establish their connectedness to the environment.

By 1976, when Toyo Ito designs the White U House (Picture 3) for his widowed sister and her family, his drive to alienate himself from the reigning beliefs of his generation of architects and the drive to instigate conflict and alienation in contemporary man's home, takes on a much less violent form. The physical alienation from the outside world in the White U House is this time a collected analytical tool for "seeking the meaning of inhabitation", for enquiring "into what people desire and what causes them grief" (Ito, 1976). The house with all its departures from programmatic precedent in all fields of phenomenological experience becomes an incubator for "architecture as a field that can touch on emotions". The bent linear space of the house squeezed on both ends into dark corridors and defined by impenetrable white walls creates a unique optical array of experience for the dweller who glides along the continuous space constantly conjecturing what follows next along the curve of movement. The specific geometry of the living space needs no walls to separate playing, dining and meditating. As Toyo Ito points out, a curved space above all induces movement, and movement and the constant urge to guess the spaces to follow based on the ones one passes through are both conditions of Tokyo city of great importance to the architect. Those conditions are therefore isolated and framed into the enclosed space of the house as a way to acknowledge their importance. All these characteristics create an abstract, almost two-dimensional space like a screen upon which only the inhabitants' shadows and lives were projected. While alienation for the sake of privacy sounds like a logical explanation to the design of this private house, the above visual aspects of the space are in fact another way to internalize the experience of the city, as Toyo Ito explains the value of light experience in a constantly illuminated Tokyo is that of seeing white on white. In the confinement of the White U House he offers both an experience of the city and of certain qualities that have been lost in it – like bright light.



Picture 3: The White U House (1976)

3.3. Hiroshi Nakao

The youngest of the three architects, whose positively productive conflicting approach to dwelling is examined in this paper, graduated from Kyoto Institute of Technology, and later Tsukuba University, and started his design practice in 1989. The alienating aspect in Hiroshi Nakao's work is less reactionary than that of his predecessors but nevertheless one that sets him apart from his contemporaries. The nihilistic dark value often attributed to his work comes from his preoccupation with the poetics of space and the fact that he is not afraid to touch on the subjects of death and corporeality along the way. His architecture bears the qualities of the dark matter of black holes in the sense that it absorbs and calmly negates all bright and loud concepts in contemporary architecture that do not relate to human nature and consciousness, and it negates any purely visual or formal aspects of architectural design (S. Okada, 1994). One of the first powerful manifestations of his ideas comes in 1994 with *Black Maria*, a mobile spatial installation. The structure references concepts found in late-medieval Western European tombs in which both the dead and living are represented, and its inherent ability to constantly shape-shift through both physical and visual interaction with the visitor is deliberately intended to create a sense of lack of stability and of longing for the landscape it frames and severs. It is an artistic work of architecture and as such contains the essence of Nakao's conceptual approach to architecture that simultaneously challenges and entices.

“Architecture must now immediately abandon its mythical function of protecting the interior from the exterior and seek rather, through its original function as edge, to protect the exterior from the interior. Instead of hastily repairing the unexpected hole found in the heart of the interior, it must give the hole firm edges so that it will not be filled. Since providing edges or contour is a means of producing a dimension of depth, architecture, by adhering to this trait of character, can make an abrupt dent in, or open a hollow in, our uniformly interiorized, glue-like environment. Architecture will make spaces like puddles in the dips of a paved road, not only altering our monotonous walking rhythm, but also moving us to get our feet wet, cheerfully, in a child-like way.” (Nakao, 1998)

Hiroshi Nakao's willingness to stir a reaction in dwellers and reaffirm their connection with the surrounding world is clearly articulated in the design of the *Dark Box* and *Bird Cage Weekend House* (Picture 4). While in the optical array field of experience the house generates a certain sensory deprivation and alienation from the outside, both the ceiling/sky and the floor/ground offer experiences intended to intensify the dweller's longing for and appreciation of the external environment.



Picture 4: Dark Box and Bird Cage (1993)

The weekend house challenges its inhabitants with a series of spaces that are at the same comfortably in tune with commonplace utilitarian expectations and yet never fail to offer an experience that is alien to the interior of a house. The layout includes a large living room, a small bedroom big enough only to accommodate the beds; a study/studio; two enclosed gardens; bathroom; and external garage. The juxtaposition of different ceiling heights and skylights in the large living space creates an optical array more akin to that of an old town street than to the interior of a vernacular house, yet the choice of material and detail effectively connects with the dweller's memory and experience to create a new type of residential environment that is nevertheless emotionally attached to the user. While the main space is ahistorical in configuration, the demonstrated understanding of material, detail, and the powerful dichotomy of light and darkness offers much of the aesthetic pleasure of the traditional Japanese house as notably conveyed in Junichiro Tanizaki's *In Praise of Shadows* (1933, English ed. 1977). All surfaces are painted black, thus effectively reducing the importance of, and reliance on, visual experience of the space in its entirety, much in keeping with Hiroshi Nakao's overall urge to create architecture for the mind. The house instead offers an array of singular flashes of memorable experiences for the senses of sight, touch, and hearing. Sunlight is limited to certain areas of the house but its presence within those areas is radical. Wood is painted black but, along the line of Tanizaki's observations, it is precisely darkness and heavy shadows that bring out the beauty of finely grained wood. Wood is furthermore omnipresent in every element of the space and inevitably in contact with the inhabitant. A pool of pebbles placed at the base of the ladder – only access to the second level reading room – inevitably produces recognizable sounds when people are going up and down. While none of the walls contain any noteworthy window openings, given the sizable punctures of the ceiling opening into the sky, it would be much more accurate to describe the house as an open space. With *black* and *hole* being concepts of primary importance in Hiroshi Nakao's work (Okada, 1994), the house is effectively a black or *dark box*, but its numerous holes and the considerable stretch of their dimensions turn it into much more of a *bird cage* – a tool to make the outside world all the more desirable.

4. Conclusion

The paper presents a mechanism for dealing with the problem of the extent to which the architecture of any given time is capable of responding to the updated condition of the dweller. Architecture – through the architect – alienates itself from reigning architectural norm, thus denying the dwellers access to the architectural language of

this norm, with the risk to alienate them due to lack of immediate recognizability of the new language. To restore the phenomenological balance, the alternative architectural language offered by the architect, based on subjective analysis, is instead saturated with objects and situations that ought to speak to the inhabitants' inner sense of time – as present in memory and experience, or inner sense of the spirit of place – as present in the current, available to them, state of their settlements' environment. The method as described is in fact a natural part of the process of getting to know a subject in search of its inherent meaning – in this case dwelling and connectedness with environment. In *Ideen I* (1913), father of phenomenology German philosopher Edmund Husserl claims the act of consciously addressing a subject is also an act of temporary alienation from it – in search of objectivity, but essentially one that brings us back to a new level of understanding and unity with the subject of exploration. Furthermore, alienation, opposition, and contrast as implemented in the design of buildings belong to phenomenology's very own methods for generating architecture that reflects the spirit of the place – people inhabit by protecting themselves from and opposing the circumstances of the external environment in their dwellings, just as often as they reproduce them (Van Nes, 2012).

As illustrated in the paper through the juxtaposition of selected examples, the same method applied to different circumstances is bound to yield different results. Since phenomenology seeks architecture which reacts to its unique circumstances, the subjectivity of the method offers further proof of its consistency in phenomenological terms. The presented method is self-adaptive to the participants – architects and dwellers alike – and this suggests its potential relevance to any location or defining point on time.

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Illustrations:

Picture 1:

- Azuma House (1976) by Tadao Ando. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons
- YY House (2007) by Akira Hikone and Kyohei Shigehisa, photography: Hiroyuki Hira. Retrieved from <http://www.a-h-architects.com/>
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Picture 2:

- Tanikawa Residence (1974), exterior, photography: Samuele Squassabia. Retrieved from www.WADis.it
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Picture 3:

- The White U House (1976), exterior. Retrieved from <http://afasiaarq.blogspot.com/>
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Picture 4:

- Dark Box and Bird Cage, exterior, Japan Architect 9, Spring 1993
- Dark Box and Bird Cage, interior Japan Architect 9, Spring 1993

AN ETHICAL APPROACH TO ISLAMIC URBANISM

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Abstract:

Islamic urbanism has been the subject of considerable study by western scholars since the nineteenth century and by western trained Muslim scholars for several decades. The extant literature covers history, form, technology, socio-cultural settings and climate. Among these works, there is scant material dealing explicitly with the relationship between urbanism and Islamic beliefs. Mostly, the research has two main approaches. The first has concentrated on the reflection of Islamic law and jurisprudence on Islamic urban spaces and public places and the second approach focuses on metaphysical, symbolic and mystical registers of the traditional Islamic city. While these two have impacted on the forms of urban spaces and public places, the main challenge lies in the variety of different and opposing viewpoints held on the subject among Islamic scholars.

The inevitable growth and development of Islamic cities with large populations and different beliefs and religious points of view have altered the meaning and even the possibility of deep connections between Islamic belief and the city – connections that were more evident in pre-modern Islamic settlements where symbolic, ethical and jurisprudential dimensions appeared to coexist. The growth and development of contemporary Islamic cities calls for urgent reconsideration of these connections. Beginning with a critical evaluation of the limits of symbolic, jurisprudential and mystical frameworks, this paper will introduce a novel ethical approach that has been neglected in the scholarship but which can be validated and supported through the evidence from the Quran and Hadith. This approach can improve the connectedness of different Islamic sects and viewpoints as well as maintaining the identity of Islamic urbanism.

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Introduction:

There is a marked dichotomy between scholarly and pedagogical discourse on urban and Islamic architecture and its actual practice in the production of contemporary Islamic cities. On the one hand, qualities of the traditional forms and tectonics of Islamic cities are lauded in schools of architecture and urban planning. On the other, the contemporary Islamic city shows little evidence of these celebrated qualities being integrated into their design. In pedagogical settings, emphasis is placed on historical survey courses and formal or technological studies of traditional buildings. Yet the evidence of practice is that these studies are rarely incorporated in the actual design of contemporary buildings and urban settings. Why is this, the case? Some architectural institutions and academics have voiced their concerns about the gap between traditional and contemporary architectural and urban design. While some practices declare their admiration for traditional exemplars of Islamic architecture and urbanism, they also admit to financial, technical and stylistic constraints that do not allow such examples to be implemented today. The cost of materials and labour, the gradual disappearance of traditional construction crafts and skills, the incongruence in a modernising society of pre-modern architectural and urban forms are all cited as reasons for the failure to incorporate traditional exemplars in contemporary forms of the city.

While different reasons lie behind this disjunction between admiration for the traditional city and the failure incorporate its lessons into new urban environments, this paper argues that the main cause of the disjunction is that traditional Islamic cities are appreciated by scholars and designers for abstract reasons such as their spirit and character, while attempts to deploy their extracted lessons in new designs have only focused on the material fabric and appearance. Put simply, this means that one aspect has been appreciated, but another aspect has been used.

Why has this paradox emerged? Who draws these lessons from traditional Islamic urbanism? And why has this paradox continued? Answers to these questions can be found in the history of the theorization of the Islamic city, which commenced in the service of colonization. After Napoleon's short-lasting urban-based occupation of Egypt (1798–1801), the study of the orient by Europeans evolved into a systematic discipline. In the decades following the French invasion of Algeria in 1830, French scholars were commissioned to describe different aspects of the country in multivolume reports. Hence the classic concept of the Islamic city was initially very much French affair. This concept was then pursued by British, German, and later, American scholars focussing on different parts of the Middle East (AlSayyad & Türeli, 2009; Raymond, 1994). Despite some positive aspects of these studies, a majority of these scholars focused on physical aspects of Islamic cities and neglected the Islamic value system grounding them. This may have been the result of their shallow understanding and unfamiliarity with the unseen layers of Muslim culture and belief. Nevertheless the physical form of the Islamic city and its architecture was strong enough to follow. A majority of architectural schools and designers in Islamic countries accepted the orientalist's understandings of the Islamic city, however these did not embody deeper abstract qualities of the city. Abu-Lughod, in her critical article: 'The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance' states that:

My own book on Cairo fell into the trap set by the orientalists by accepting many of the earlier authorities about the nature of the Islamic city. The edifice they had built over the years seemed to me a strong and substantial one. Only gradually did it become clear how much a conspiracy of copying and glossing had yielded this optical illusion. But criticisms were already beginning to appear. (Abu-Lughod, 1987).

This paper will suggest that the only way to avoid the trap identified by Abu-Lughod is to develop a deeper understanding of Islamic city that incorporates its human, cultural and ideological aspects.

City as a process:

The theorization of the Islamic city can be divided into two historical stages. Initial theorization of the Islamic city focussed on the physical form of the city without considering the forces shaping it. For instance, in his 1928 article "L'islamisme Et La View Urbaine", William Marcais, a notable Orientalist who worked on the characteristics of Islamic city, defined several characteristic physical elements of the city. He offered the following as a quintessential definition of the Islamic city:

A city must have a congregational Friday mosque and it must have a chief bazaar (market) nearby. Associated with the jami' suq (mosque-market) complex was a third physical feature of Islamic cities, the public bath (hammam), of functional significance to prepare believers for the Friday prayer.

Similarly, in his book "Medieval Islam," Gustave von Grunebaum remarks that only in a city with its Friday mosque, its markets and possibly its public baths, can the duties of the religion be fully performed (Abu-Lughod, 1987). This definition of Islamic cities developed over time, adding additional elements such as citadel and palace. For example, Nazzar Alsayyad suggested that the stereotypical model of the Islamic city should include a mosque, a palace, a citadel, a market, and residential quarters with inward-oriented housing. (Alsayyad & Türeli, 2009)

Abu-Lughod describes some of the faults resulting from the first theorization. Her paper enumerates aspects forgotten in the orientalist definition of Islamic city:

Forgotten is the fact that only a handful of cities are actually described. Forgotten is the fact that only certain legal codes-on which the Islamic form of city is presumed to be based-have been studied, forgotten is the fact that Islamic cities have evolved over time. (Abu-Lughod, 1987)

In the wake of the first mode of theorization of the Islamic city, a second method of theorization emerged, focussing on the processes of city formation rather than the analysis of its physical organization and built form.

Forces in City Formation:

Different forces influence the process of city formation: intrinsic human needs such as enclosure and shelter; resources such as water and light; infrastructure such as transport and security; political and governmental factors; cultural and social practices; and intangible needs such as religion, ethics and spirituality. In 'History of Urban Form', James Morris (Morris, 2013) divides such factors into two main groups in terms of their sources and origins. The first consists of a set of factors derived from

the natural world, divided into three subcategories: climate, topography, and available construction materials. The second involves factors derived from human intervention in the process of urban formation, which he calls the Man-made determinant, the most important of these comprising three factors: economy, politics and religion. Besides the three main subdivisions, he also refers to such categories as defence, transport and urban mobility, legislation, infrastructure, aesthetic, social grouping and leisure.

Understanding the impacts of these forces of city formation enables more informed understandings and analyses of traditional cities, as well as more structured means of devising future opportunities for practice. It discourages simplistic and generalised statements which are less useful, transferable and implementable given the demands of contemporary practice. It discourages mere stylistic and formal imitation. Finally it makes possible critical evaluation of concrete architectural and urban form in relation to the various forces of formation and customary practices – for example, contending that in some cases urban form appears to be at odds with particular religious or ethical conditions (for instance, in some Islamic cities where luxurious royal palaces were sequestered from the city in contradiction of the belief that a ruler should live a simple life as a man of the people, not separate from them).

Such imitation, even of the Prophet as the Qur'an's primary role model, could be problematic. For instance tradition of prophet is to remain clothed in a way indistinguishable from the common people. If today someone desires to follow the Prophet, considering that clothing have changed, what should they do? If they imitated the Prophet's clothing of the time they would stigmatize and separate themselves. The example of clothing could be transferred to an architectural context. Would imitation of traditional architectural forms and styles in a contemporary setting produce equivalent stigmatisation and therefore contradict the ethical condition of undistinguishability?

This leads us to view the Prophet's explicit prescription of the width of a street or the height of a building within the context of its time and as literally inimitable. We would then need to ascertain the underlying rules that led to the prescription at that time and adapt such rules to the present context. Breaking down the ethical, spiritual, religious and social mores, customs and regulations helps lay the base for avoiding problematic anachronistic (and sentimentalising) imitation in favour of more considered and innovative practices.

Different types of Islamic teaching:

Among different forces in city formation the significant role of Islamic teaching is clear and well documented. The neglect of such factors can give rise to problematic analyses and misrepresentations of the Islamic city. Some scholars consider such Islamic teaching as immutable influences. Abdullah Eben Saleh, for example, contends that:

Mutable factors include *Urf* (Custom and tradition), political, climatic, geographic, geologic, technological and economic factors while immutable factors are restricted to the religious requirements of Islam as interpreted by Muslim scholars and jurists. (Abdullah Eben Saleh, 1998).

Morteza Motahhari divides the diverse categories of Islamic teaching into three sections (Motahhari, 1980)

- A. Creed – including belief, opinion and faith – consisting in the theological issues that must be understood and genuinely held, such as the issue of the Doctrine of Oneness of God and Prophecy.
- B. Ethics: consisting in the key qualities and characteristics of ‘human being’ – including psychological and spiritual traits such as justice, piety, courage, virtue, modesty, perseverance, loyalty, honesty and trustworthiness.
- C. Jurisprudence: consisting of practical and legal rules and processes that affect daily life – including prayer, fasting, Haj pilgrimage, sale, lease, marriage, divorce and inheritance.

The disciplines dealing with each section are, respectively the ‘Science of Kalam’ (Discourse), *Akhlaq* (Ethics) and *Fiqh* (jurisprudence). In this division, the association of Islamic teachings with the “human” is taken into consideration. Things relevant to human reason and thought are called “Creeds”, things relevant to human moods and temperament are called “Ethics” while things relevant to human actions and practices are called “jurisprudence”.(Motahhari, 1980)

While the more recent theorizations of the Islamic city focussing on the forces of city formation have included the role of Islamic teaching, they have tended to emphasise the jurisprudential and mystical aspects, rather than the ethical dimension of those teachings. Scholars such as Besim Selim Hakim (Hakim, 1986) have focused on the way Islamic law and jurisprudence is reflected in the form of Arabic Islamic cities and mystical attitude can be found among works of scholars such as Nader Ardalan, Iale Bakhtiar and Samer Akkach.(Akkach, 2005; Ardalan, Bakhtiar, & Haider, 1973)

It might however be argued, using Quranic sources, that the ethical should be given precedence. The Quran for example states: “O you who have believed, decreed upon you is fasting as it was decreed upon those before you that you may become righteous” (Quran, 2:183). And also: “establish prayer. Indeed, prayer prohibits immorality and wrongdoing” (Quran, 29:45). In these verses, prayer is meant to stop immorality and obscenity and fasting is meant to achieve piety, not the reverse.

An hierarchical sequence of ‘creeds, ethics, and jurisprudence’ thus indicates that ‘ethics’ and morality should be the basis of jurisprudence. Just as ‘ethics and jurisprudence’ must be based upon ‘creeds and beliefs’ and also upon theological principles, by the same token no unethical judgments should be seen in jurisprudence and no juridical judgment opposed to the theological foundations should be accepted. (Ghabel, 2009)

Different Islamic approaches to the Islamic city arriving from different teachings:

Theorizing the Islamic city from a Jurisprudential point of view, Hakim questions what he calls the “whole-hearted Arab acceptance of Western values” (Wood, 1987), and, to counter this, he has since 1962 been making a very detailed architectural study of his own city of Tunis in North Africa. Through this he has argued that Islamic law and jurisprudence were the basis of the form of the Arabic-Islamic city. While he has

considered the commentary and Fatawi of Islamic jurists of past centuries, it might be suggested that this jurisprudential approach, when applied to contemporary architectural and urban design issues, is unable to deal with fundamental changes in aspects of modern life caused by population increase, the invention of new materials, technologies, industries, communication methods, and the emergence of new urban functions and activities. While such jurisprudential rules do impact the shapes and forms of urban and public spaces, this represents only one aspect of Islam and may lead to legalism and superficial application, without necessarily endowing the city with a sense of Islamic spirituality.

Equally problematical may be the approach that focuses on meta-physical and mystical aspects of Islamic Architecture. This approach mostly discusses the architectural scale in relation to specific buildings such as mosques, rather than urban scale. Furthermore, and contrary to Islamic jurisprudence, this attitude is more abstract and therefore harder to apply to urban practice and the physical form of cities. While Islamic mysticism is a complex and demanding system that considers deep layers of Islamic thought, it is appreciated by the Islamic scholars and not commonly adhered to by the majority of Muslims. The challenge here centres on the question of how sophisticated mystical ideas, such as are found in Sufism, might be shared among lay people in general and artists and craftsmen in particular.(Akkach, 2005). Adding to the problem is the fact that mysticism is not universally accepted among Muslims. For instance some jurists such as Horre Ameli and some Quran interpreters such as Seyyed Mohammad Hossein Tabatabayee have argued against mystical Sufism positions.(Tabatabaei, 1995) This further impedes the generalization of these concepts across Islam.

Understanding the Islamic city from an ethical Islamic perspective may overcome some of the limitations of the mystical and jurisprudential approaches. Unlike mystical approaches, ethical positions among Islamic scholars have greater consensus. Also ethics offers a more tangible set of understandings among Muslims. In contrast with jurisprudence, ethical approaches have deep connections with Islamic spirituality. The prophet Mohammad mentions completing ethics being the reason for his prophecy; "I was sent to complete goodness of ethics"(Tabarsi, 1993). Likewise when the Quran wants to praise the qualities of the Prophet Muhammad, it mentions his morality; "And indeed, you are of a great moral character." (Quran, 68:4) Positions on honesty, modesty, forgiveness, avoiding hypocrisy, deceit and so forth are generally accepted by different Islamic groups. Furthermore Manuscripts of traditional architects and craftsman show evidence of the embodiment of these kinds of ethical values and concepts and therefore offer a promising shared ground for future architectural and urban design practice.

Conclusion:

Understanding Islamic cities cannot be based solely on the study of the architectural and urban product, or on aesthetic conditions of the Islamic city, as is common in some academic settings and scholarship. Such approaches generally maintain an unproductive dichotomy between theory and practice, as well as consigning the study of Islamic architecture solely to limited historical insights that cannot resource new directions in contemporary practice beyond imitation. Rather, studies should be based on the thorough examination and understanding of the very diverse forces shaping

cities throughout history, recognizing the importance and position of each of these forces by distinguishing them and their concrete affects.

Among the many forces shaping the Islamic city are those, often overlooked, based on Islamic teachings, including creed, ethics and jurisprudence. These factors have been tacit and so undeclared but nevertheless significant influences on the Islamic city. Recent studies of Islamic cities have mainly focused on jurisprudential and mystical approaches. Although these factors represent two significant pillars of Islamic education, the focus on their influence has been problematic. On the one hand, if Jurisprudential thinking is not rooted in ethics and creeds, it leads to legalism and superficial application. On the other hand, an emphasis on the mystical, because it is by nature exclusive, can give rise to disagreement among Islamic jurists. Ethics provides a domain of consideration in which there can be more common ground. Ethical concepts such as honesty, modesty, and courtesy are widely understood and shared, and can resource a more effective perspective on future practice.

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Culture, carpets and cleanliness: the role of the floor in the Iranian home

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Abstract:

One of the key parts of Iranian culture, sustained in the daily life of Iranians during the centuries, is sitting on the floor. The history, the transformation and the current custom of floor sitting have been rarely discussed in the existing literature. This paper aims to examine the continuation of this habit in contemporary Iran and is assessed by looking at visual evidence that reveals essential features of floor sitting in Iranian culture. This includes: a visual history of this custom using ancient painting and miniatures as a source; nineteen-century photographs that show the first interactions with imported furniture and modern lifestyle and contemporary photographs showing the continued importance of the floor in Iranian domestic space. In this way I will reveal a conjunction of modern life and traditional habits.

Introduction:

Sitting on the floor, as opposed to sitting on chairs, has changed during time but it is still sustained as a part of Iranian culture. The history, the transformation and the current custom of floor sitting have been rarely discussed in the existing literature. Sitting on the floor is culturally and temporally specific. In an Iranian domestic space, floor sitting is about comfort but in ancient Persia it was done to show the deepest respect to the King. Revolutionaries used it as a subversive act and promoted it as a sign of being humble and not depending on secular wealth. Since then politicians in Iran have tried to give themselves an unworldly and religious image by sitting on the floor in public debates.

Floor sitting has been well researched in studies of eastern Asia. There are ergonomic studies on floor sitting, drawing attention to its benefits, and the bounds between culture and floor sitting by exemplifying floor sitting in India. (Gurr, Starker and Moore 1998). Other researchers have made comparisons of floor sitting in different Asian countries like Japan, South Korea and China. The influence of floor sitting in space design and furniture arrangement, the encounter between western lifestyle and western furniture with traditional habit of floor sitting, and the current state of this custom in each of these countries, are the focus of these studies (Kim and Choi, 2004; Kikusawa, 1979).

Despite this interest in floor sitting, I have not found any comprehensive study specifically related to this habit in Iranian culture however Carmen Perez Gonzalez addresses the issue in her research on Iranian photography in 19th century (Perez Gonzalez, 2012).

This paper aims to examine the continuation of this habit in contemporary Iran and is assessed by looking at visual evidence that reveals essential features of floor sitting in Iranian culture. This includes:

- A study of visual history of floor sitting using ancient painting and miniatures, before 19th century.
- 19th photographs that show the first interactions with imported furniture and modern lifestyle. This period is a transformation point in the history of floor sitting in Iran.
- A study of contemporary photography to demonstrate the importance of the floor in current Iranian domestic space. As a result, I will reveal a conjunction of modern life and traditional habits.

Augustine Berque relates nature and culture and discusses how this relationship represents culture. Berque sees the paintings as being appropriate for understanding society and culture he specifies.

Since the global relation of society to nature and space (i.e. landscape) is in itself metaphorical, the only pertinent approach is a metaphorical one, coupled with reflections about metaphors. The clue must be searched in the way each society sees it and what it feels, says, paints, writes, desires, decides and does about it.” (Berque, 1986: 107)

My approach for analysis of the paintings and the photos is based on Hiedi De Mare research on 17th century paintings in Netherland. This will be discussed in details in the next chapter.

My research reveals three defining characteristics of the Iranian home: culture (hierarchy), the Carpet and Cleanliness. Together these characteristics give structure to my discussion of floor sitting in Iran.

Persian carpets are woven to Iranian society, culture, religion and economy for centuries. The history of Persian carpet goes back to 2500 years ago in Iran, when they were made to cover the floor of nomadic tents, which was brought to the cities later by nomadic people. (The Circle of Ancient Iranian Studies, 2011). The geographical connection of Persian carpets to the certain areas in Iran makes them special pieces in every Iranian household. Leonard Helfgott states four main reasons that make Persian carpets unique; first the Persian carpets represent a wide range of colour, size, pattern, shape and materials that are signifying their geographical and historical backgrounds. Second the variety of their design that “makes Persian carpet production a microcosm”. The third one is the social aspect of Persian rug; as he states, “nowhere in the world are oriental carpets more important than in Iran. Persian carpets are woven on migrations, in villages, towns and cities, and in fields, yards, private homes, and large factories throughout Iran. They are underfoot during daily ritual Muslim prayers.... They are first concern by Iranian newlyweds about to set up household and the inevitable gift of Iranian leaders to head of foreign states ”(Helfgott, 1996: 9). He mentions the forth reason, the authentic aspect of Persian carpets that are great inspiration in terms of colour and composition. (Helfgott, 1996: 10). In this paper, the role of Persian carpet in an Iranian home and how it defines certain habits is the main concern.

In Iranian household there is an extra care put into cleanliness. Apart from the cultural norms, like presenting the house with the tidiest and the cleanest appearance, the religious and cultural factors also encourage the household to pay more attention to the floor cleanliness. There are still many households in Iran that eat on the floor in daily basis or in special occasions, the cleanliness for eating on the floor is provided by sheets that are place on top of Persian carpets to keep the food away from any probable dirt, although the carpet has always kept clean. Furthermore, the major population of the Iranians are Muslims and their daily praying is practiced several times on the floor. This is a catalyst to lead the house users to put more attention to the home floor cleaning.

Hierarchy also is a part of Iranian culture that could be seen in different levels of society. The act of floor sitting represents different kinds of gender and age hierarchy. The strong connection between hierarchy and Iranian culture and the way that is represented by floor sitting will be discussed in this paper.

The study of the Iranian photos from the current Iranian home not only provides significant facts about the culture, lifestyle and habits but also brings about themes that are important in the study of floor sitting, like, hierarchy, Persian carpet, and cleanliness. Consequently, what could be observed from the studied photos is, that although people are more interactive with their modern lifestyle and furniture than

before but they still sit on the floor in their favour or in different occasions. They use floor sitting flexibly and it still sustained as a substantial part of Iranian culture.

Each period will be examined in terms of the following issues: the impact of Persian rug on floor sitting survival; household sensitivities to cleanliness that results in specific regulations to make floor sitting a pleasant experience and the hierarchies of gender and age revealed through this practice. I will conclude with a speculation on the future of the floor as a nexus of social life in Iran.

1. Reading photographs:

The approach that is used to study paintings and photographs in relation to floor sitting is grounded on the methods that Heidie de Mare applied in her research 'Domesticity in Dispute' (2006: 13-30). De Mare tried to identify the characteristics of a domestic space in seventeenth century in Netherland from the paintings of two artists, Jan Steen who is known to illustrate untidy and disorganised households in his work (figure 1) and Pieter de Hooch who shows the ordered tidy, 'ideal' household (figure 2). She tries to define characteristic of domestic spaces through the stories that are told by each drawing. De Mare defines the thresholds of home and the relationship between the inside and the outside in domestic spaces in seventeenth century through these drawings.

The household activities and the flexibility of boundaries in specific spaces can be seen in the drawings through a window, an open door, a perspective of other buildings and shadows. What is noticeable in these drawings is how the whole activity, lifestyle, and architectural aspects of a specific people in specific period of time can appear from the scenes created as a painting by the artists.

She states that her aim is more than illustrating the paintings according to the real world; her aim was "to consider the visual organisation of the information related to the theme of house". To achieve that she studied the paintings in five levels, the characters, the objects, the space and the household and the method of visualization.



Figure 1. Jan Steen, *The Merry Family*, 1668.oil on Canvas, 110*141cm. Courtesy of Rijikmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 2. Pietre de Hooch, *Man handing a letter to a woman in the front hall of the house*, 1670, oil on canvas. 68*59. Courtsev of the Rijikmuseum.

I will apply de Mare's approach to reading the paintings to my own research. I will study the photos in levels that are found most relevant to the case of floor sitting. The

photos and paintings will be examined in three levels: culture (hierarchy), carpet and cleanliness.

2. History of Floor sitting through Iranian visual art:

This section is an investigation through the history of Iranian visual art, seeking roots of floor sitting in Iranians' life. The paintings and miniatures before 19th century, the photographs of 19th century and the contemporary photographs have been studied to examine floor sitting in different periods.

2.1 Before 19th Century

I have selected two images from two different periods to inform my discussion of floor before 19th century; First an ancient drawing of Mani-Persian Prophet/artist and second the miniatures of Behzad is exemplified to identify the signs of floor sitting.

2.2 Mani

One of the oldest paintings with signs of floor sitting is a Manichean painting that belongs to 8th-9th century. Mani was a Persian prophet in mid 3rd century who was the founder of Manichean art. He used drawings to teach his religion to those who could not read and write. Figure 3 shows a spring festival that commemorated Mani's death and spiritual ascension. Along the two sides of the image, male elects (the Manichean sacerdotal class) are depicted arranged in rows. They wear traditional white priestly garments and tall headgear and are seated on their heels facing toward the centre of the image. (Encyclopaedia Iranica, 2008).



Figure 3. Leaf from a Manichaean Book, 8th -9th century, Khocho, Ink and polychrome on paper, 12.4 x 25.5 cm, Acquisition number: MIK III 4979. image courtesy of the [Museum für Indische Kunst](#) (copyright reserved) Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz

The body postures show a level of respect that seems to be encouraged by sitting on the floor.

2.2.1 Hierarchy:

In terms of hierarchy the sitting arrangement states the religious position of people in the ceremony. “The central area, on the left, is occupied by a high-ranking church official, seated cross-legged on a dais. His head is surrounded by a crescent-shaped halo. On the right, a diagonal row of elects hold books in their hands.” (Encyclopaedia Iranica, 2008). Expressing respect by sitting on the floor or defining hierarchy by sitting arrangements is still strongly recognizable in the current Iranian society in domestic, religious and political realm.

2.2.2 Carpet:

In terms of signs of floor sitting this picture depicts some elements that are essential for the floor sitting experience. Sitting on the floor always comes with a carpet. The floor plane is accentuated with the help of Persian carpet, which provides the backdrop for the action.

2.2.3 Cleanliness

All the figures are wearing white which signifies their cleanliness as well as the cleanliness of the space in which the scene is enacted. Manichaean religion is characterized by opposites, light and dark, body and spirit. The very act of sitting on the floor but representing the spirit tells of these dualisms.

2.3.Behzād

Looking at 15th century Persian miniatures shows that floor sitting was a routine in daily activities in both royal and ordinary households. Persian miniatures create scenes and tell us a story about an event. There are some remarkable elements about Persian miniatures that are necessary to point out for the study of floor sitting. Space, in Persian miniature like other eastern Asian miniatures is in an active interaction with the individuals. The subject is becoming a part of the surrounding instead of being surrounded. “Iranians also perceive space in a more active way, meaning here, that individuals become a part of the whole picture, the whole surrounding space.” (Pérez González, Carmen 2012:132).

Persian miniatures have been defined as ‘diffused art’ by French art historian Lucien Rudrauf. “Diffused art” has several centres of attentions with no clear compositions.

Compositions of this kind are often made of a great number of details, none of which is marked with a predominant accent. The eye is not guided to go from one object to

another. Such pictures can be freely cut up into sections capable of having an independent life. Diffuse compositions ignore, intentionally or not, the effect of lighting, which produces accents and contrasts incompatible with its nature.” (Rudrauf, 1949: 329).

Pérez González (2012: 152) states that the distinctiveness of Persian miniatures in comparison with other Asian miniatures comes from the use of isometric perspective along with the vertical perspective. “In the vertical perspective, the objects most distant from the viewer are placed at the top, whereas the objects closest to the viewer are placed at the bottom”. (Pérez González, Carmen 2012:140). This creates a unique space that cannot be seen in any other miniatures. The flattening of the space makes the miniature itself like the pictorial space of the carpet that is itself the focus of the image.

Bearing these characteristics in mind, I will now examine the work of Kamāl ud-Dīn Behzād a renowned 15th Centuries Iranian miniaturist. Behzād’s paintings have a spatial and architectural character although they are mostly drawn vertically and two-dimensional but he used isometric perspective randomly to create three-dimensional spaces in his drawings. Beside the structure and the method Behzād applied in his miniatures, there is a spatial theme in his painting that includes an expression of life style and routines of the people.

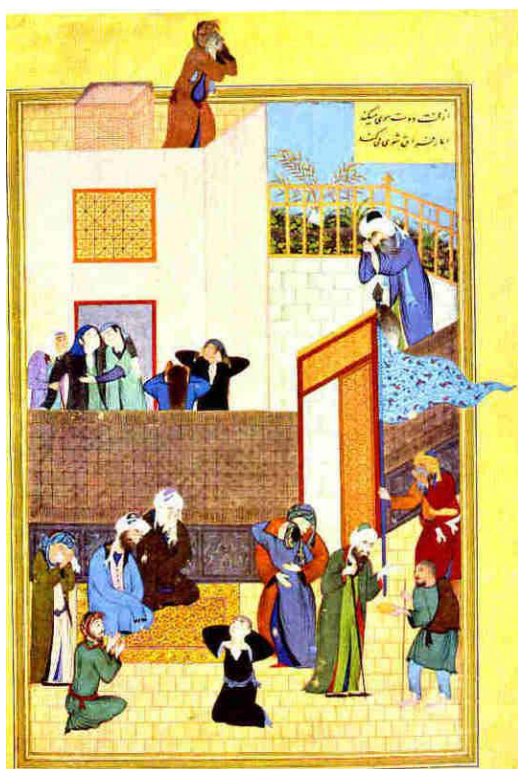


Figure 4. Khamsa of Nizami: Mourning for the Death of Laila's Husband. Herat, 1494. British Museum, London. This painting depicts a house where people both men and women mourn.



Figure 5. The court of Mughal Empire, 15th Century, Marqa Gulshan, Golistan Palace collection.

2.3.1 Carpet:

Persian carpets are portrayed in most of sitting areas indoors and outdoors. There are individuals standing in the upper part of the drawing to show them in farer distance and in a second precedence. Mostly the religious leaders or the king and his companions are seated on a Persian carpet while the women or ordinary people are either standing or sitting without a carpet.

2.3.2 Hierarchy:

Hierarchy is the most noticeable element. Social, religious and gender hierarchy is identifiable by the sitting arrangements and the location of characters in the vertical order. (See figure 5).

These paintings are the stories of people that are coped in a spatial structure that represents the specifications of space in the context of Iranian culture. In that sense, I see a similarity between these drawings and Japanese art that the self/subject is not different from the surroundings, it is a part of it.

2.4.Transformation: 19th Century Photography

The study of Persian miniatures and detecting the traditional roots of floor sitting lead me to analyze the photographs of 19th century in Iran. In this section, I will firstly discuss body gestures; pose and posture in relation to floor sitting in order to be able to analyze the interactions with furniture in the photographs. Secondly I will compare Persian miniatures with the 19th century photographs and specify the influence of miniatures on the way that the photographs are taken and presented. I will then look at floor sitting in the life of people in 19th century through the photographs and examine my key themes hierarchy, carpets and cleanliness. Finally I will discuss people's reaction and engagement with furniture such as chairs in the photographs, which, reveals many facts about their lifestyle and daily habits as well as a complex relationship with western culture.

The photographs are chosen from the study conducted by Carmen Perez Gonzalez (2012) on 19th century Iranian photography. Her analysis is made from a photographer point of view, studying Iranian photographers and their approach in the development of Iranian photography in 19th century. I selected the photographs that I found highly potential to express crucial facts about floor sitting and I analyzed them from a cultural and social point of view in order to study the transformation process of floor sitting.

2.4.1 Posture/Pose:

The study of floor sitting involves an understanding about the differences between two definitions, posture and pose. Posture is happening in a wider context than a pose and is a body position that is representative of its cultural context. A pose is temporary and it is happening in reaction to the beholder. In relation with

photography, French theorist Roland Barthes describes it as “an instant, however brief, in which a real thing happened to be motionless in front of the eye. I project the present photograph’s immobility upon the past shot, and it is this arrest, which constitutes the pose.” (Barthes 1981: 78, cited by Gonzalez, 2012: 107)

The anthropologist Gordon W. Hewes relates posture to culture and argues how posture is a representation of culture and how it influences the formation of clothing, habits and life styles. He states “postures and related motor-habits are intimately linked to many aspects of daily life: they affect the design of our clothing, footgear, furniture, dwellings, offices, vehicles, tools and machines. Moreover, they speak an eloquent language in social intercourse.”. (Hewes 1957: 123). Posture and pose are therefore significant for this discussion of the cultural complexities of floor sitting.

2.4.2 Persian miniatures and 19th century photographs:

In my opinion floor sitting can be categorized as a posture because of the cultural and social meanings it carries. What is seen in Persian miniatures are postures because the events are pictured spontaneously while the 19th century Persian photographs of are usually centered on posing and capturing the ideal, there are some exceptions, for instance when a public place or event is photographed. The subjects of 19th century photographs were forced to remain static for the duration of the shot, to pose, but it is significant that they chose to adopt particularly Iranian postures. From a visual point of view, the photographs are highly influenced by the Persian miniatures. The strong presence of **Persian carpet**, creating the multicenter images and a strong connection between the individuals and the surrounding as Carmen Gonzalez (2012:144) calls it “the invasion of space by people” are the common aspects of Persian photography in 19th century and Persian miniatures. (See figures 6 and 7).

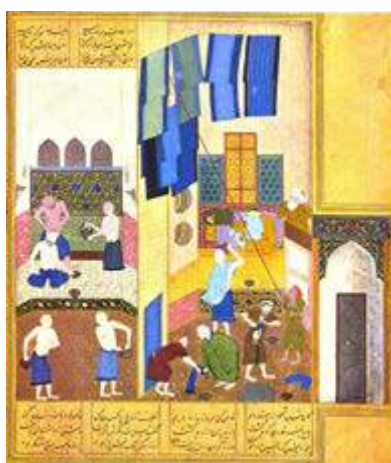


Figure 6. Behzād, Haṛun al-Rashid in a Bathhouse, from a Khamse by Neẓāmi, The British Library, 1494, London (fol. 27 v; Or. 6810).

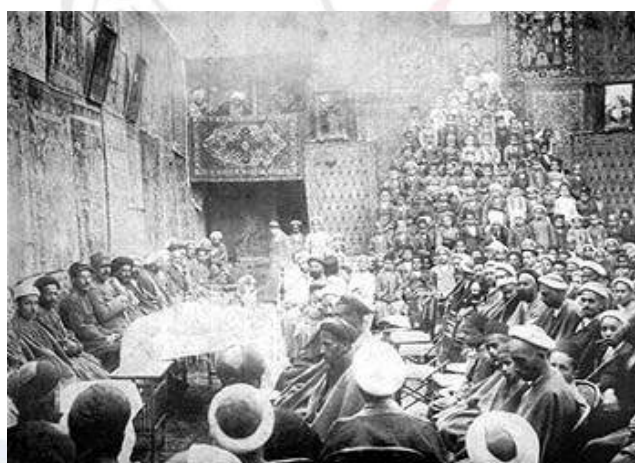


Figure 7. Unknown Iranian photographer, Moshiriyye school, c. 1880s, Yazd, albumen print, private collection. The sitting arrangement is the reminder of vertical perspective used in miniatures meanwhile other factors like the hanging Persian Carpets and being multi centered affirms the influence of Miniatures on the photography.

19th century photographs and the Persian miniatures have other similarities and they are the themes that can be emerged from both of them. **Hierarchy** is still an important factor that could be read by the sitting arrangements. The presence of Persian **carpet** in the majority of photographs is similar to the miniatures. Therefore these photos are significant examples to identify the floor sitting and its progress. (See Figures 6 and 7).

2.4.1 Carpet:

Figure 8 displays the bond between sitting and Persian rug. The Persian rug is placed in a way to be used by the men in each row, framing the men at the bottom. The carpet is a frame within a frame, much as it often is in Persian miniatures. The format of the photo has a long history in the Persian representation of space.

2.4.2 Hierarchy:

Again in figure 8, the vertical sitting arrangement is the symbolizing hierarchy, meanwhile a reminder of Persian miniatures in which people are organized in rough rows across the picture plane.



Figure 8. Unknown photographer, Governor of Kerman with friends and colleagues, date unknown, taken from Afshar 1992: 206.

2.4.3 Carpet and Cleanliness:

Floor sitting as a daily experience in domestic spaces is shown in figure 9. The carpet is covered by a sheet to be protected from any damage meanwhile the sheet keep the food clean. Therefore, cleanliness can be highlighted as another element in floor sitting habit that is tackled by the help of Persian carpet. The perceptible point in these two photographs is how the presence of Persian carpet provides a level of care. In the Figure 8 photograph significant attention to the sitting arrangement and placement of the carpet is highly noticeable. Similarly, figure 9 depicts a mutual care to the carpet and eating practice. It is also possible that the sheet has gender implications, being suggestive of the purity of the women who sit upon it. Western representations of Eastern women often portray them reclining like an odalisque, a fantasy of the other. These truly Iranian representations show women in a very different way.



Figure 9. Ernst Hoeltzer, women eating pilav and melon, c. 1880s, albumen print, Hotz photo collection hosted at the University Library in Leiden, Hotz Album 11: 60.

2.4.3 Floor sitting and new domestic furniture:

The possible transition of this habit by the introduction of western furniture is the main discussion in this section. The study of the photos taken with the furniture had two main features. Firstly the photographers attempted to portray an ideal image that was not necessarily a true reflection of Iranian lifestyle. This can be understood from the stiff body gestures of the subjects that show how uncomfortable they are. Secondly, the confusion in interaction with the western furniture and using chairs for other functions than sitting represents how the traditional habits were challenged.

(Figures 10 and 11)



Figure 10. Ali Khaṅn Vali Haṅkem, Mirzaṅ Ali Khaṅn Sartip, c. 1880-90, albumen print, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University.



Figure 11. Francis Fritz, Self-portrait in Turkish Summer Costume (sic), 1857, albumen print, Permanent loan from the Jerusalem Foundation, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, L76.27/01.

Pérez González (2012) describes the transition process, as “The fact that the sitter leaves the floor to climb on a chair seems to be an influence of the Western photo-studio’s mode. There are hybrid poses to be found due to the double exposure of the sitter and photographer to the traditional Persian culture and the (new) Western influence. Such hybrid poses are found widely among Iranian photographers. (Gonzalez, 2012: 129).

2.4.3.1 Hierarchy:

In later photos when western furniture was more accepted, the chair was dedicated to the higher members of the family or society; the other family members or the ordinary people are standing. (See figure 12 and 13). This reflects the traditional organization of western photographs in which the most important people are seated at the center front of the image.



Figure 12. Luigi Montabone, the crown-prince Mozzafar al-Din Mirzaṅ Qajar with his most important advisers, c. 1862, albumen print, 21.3 x 26.6 cm, Royal Collections, The Hague, The Netherlands, inv. Nr. FA 0603-17.



Figure 13. Mirzaṅ Mehdi Khaṅn Chehreh-Namaṅ, group portrait, c. 1910s, albumen print, 9 x 12 cm, Parisa Damandan Collection.

The 19th century photographs reveal a uniquely Persian attitude to spatial representation in which hierarchy, carpets and cleanliness feature strongly. In the next chapter I will discuss that how this habit have not disappeared from the daily life of Iranians by looking at the contemporary photographs of current Iranian living room.

2.5.Current Iranian home and the habit of floor sitting:

In this section I will discuss the adoption of Iranian domestic space with the new furniture by looking at the photographs taken by contemporary Iranian photographers who specialize in the depiction of domestic space. Changes in religious viewpoint have impacted in particular on the lives of women who can only uncover their hair in the privacy of home. The photographs address political and social concerns mainly describing women's issues in current Iranian society. In the first part I look at a collection of photos taken by young Iranian photographers of their own living room or their relative's living room that are presented in a book called *Iranian living room* (2013). These photos portray existing living spaces as they are. In the second part I will examine a series of photos by Ramyar Manouchehri Zadeh and Ali Najian that are artificially created as ideals of Iranian domestic life, similar to the portrayal of the Iranian culture in Persian Miniatures. They portray Iranian culture and lifestyles at different times across different groups of the society by capturing planned scenes rich with signs of social norms. I will scrutinize the photographs in relation with floor sitting and the domestic space. Finally I discuss the elements such as Persian carpet, hierarchy, and cleanliness.

2.5.1 Spontaneous photos of Iranian domestic space:

This collection shows the comfort that Iranians have when they interact with their home floor although they are sitting furniture available.



Figure 16. Iranian living room, Life as an elderly person, Hamed Ilkhani, 2013.



Figure 17. Iranian living room my single life, Majid Farahani, 2013.

2.5.1.1 Carpet:

Besides the personal engagement with floor, one of the other facts that cause the floor sitting to sustain is the family and social regulations. For example, most of the Iranian families still host a large number of people at their home, consequently the furniture is not capable of responding to that situation. As a result, for some periods sitting on the floor is the alternative solution. (Figure 19)



Figure 18. Iranian living room, an ordinary family, Mohammad Mehdi aria, 2013.



Figure 19. Iranian living room, an ordinary family, Mohammad Mehdi aria, 2013.

Extra care for floor **cleanliness** is visible in Figure 19. A sheet is used on top of Persian carpet to provide a clean eating experience meanwhile keeping the carpet away from damage and dirt. These photos also portray an important part of Iranian culture in relation with hospitality. Floor sitting functions as an alternative approach to host the guests according to the space potentials. Therefore sitting on the floor gives flexibility to domestic space in order to respond to the temporary needs as much as daily activities. (See figure 18 and 19). The Persian carpet is reinforced this flexibility, as it is shown in the photos most of the floor in the homes are fully covered by carpets that ever corner can be used as a sitting spot. In figure 20, the furniture is also relocated to be able to make a sleeping spot for the guest.



Figure 20. Iranian living room my single life, Majid Farahani, 2013.

2.5.1.2 Hierarchy:

In figure 21 and 22 hierarchy is observed the most. Figure 22, shows the women sitting on the floor talking on the phone while the man is sitting on a couch watching TV. Having backrests in the living room shows that sitting on the floor is a regular practice. Furthermore, the fully covered floor in the kitchen suggests that some cooking preparation might also be done seated on the floor.



Figure 21. Iranian living room, Life as an elderly person, Hamed Ilkhan, 2013.



Figure 22. Iranian Living room, Life as an elderly person, Hamed Ilkhan, 2013.

2.5.2 prearranged scenes from Iranian domestic space:

The second type of the contemporary photographs is the one that illustrate Iranian domestic spaces by creating scenarios and capturing prearranged scenes. Although the characters and the spaces are not real but they are portrayed significantly close to reality. In that sense, I found their work similar to Persian miniatures that are multi-centered pieces, with rich cultural clues that are representing a specific event or group of people.

The women engagement with home space, the comfort that they experience at home, while it may not be experienced outside the home is shown in figure 23. Meanwhile it is expressing some details of the daily habits such as sitting on the floor and using a blanket to make the floor sitting more comfortable. This collection called “we live in a paradoxical society”. Manouchehrzadeh and Najian state that the society lives in a “dual atmosphere” and describe the current circumstances in Iran as:

A legacy survived and transferred from one generation to next generation, which was represented objectively in two parts of Iranians’ life. The first part being our home is the privacy of family and considered as a safe space to live in which we as members are free to think, wear and behave the way we want. On the contrary, there’s a life outside our homes full of fundamental and basic differences in which we are attacked by deviations and pretensions that are required in order to survive in such an outer society. (Manouchehrzadeh, R, Najian A, 2010).



Figure 23, We live in a paradoxical society, 2010, Ali Najian, Ramyar Manouchehri zadeh



Figure 24, Domino Collection. 2013. Ali Najian Ramyar manouchehri zadeh. An Iranian kitchen during the war of 1980.

Iranian society is a multi-layer society full of religious and cultural contradictions. These contradictions appear in their photography too, as in some of the photos the subjects are covered in their own home space and some are not. (See figure 23 and 24)

Figure 24 with the same characteristics of Persian miniatures shows Iranian-ness in the space that is enriched by the food. The tapes attached to the windows to make them resistance during the attacks remind us that the story is happening during the war. All the women are in black and they are cooking rice pudding, traditionally eaten at funerals suggesting that a member of the family has recently died (probably in the war). Only the oldest woman is seated on a chair and the youngest is decorating the pudding on the floor, further evidence of hierarchy.

Whether depicting reality as lived or staged these photographs of Iranian domestic life reveal a continuation of the tradition of floor sitting characterised by issues of hierarchy, carpets and cleanliness.

Conclusion

The main aim of this paper is to draw attention to a part of Iranian culture that is not been studied comprehensively. Looking at the visual history of floor sitting is a reminder of the importance of this custom in Iranians daily life. I pointed elements like Persian carpet, cleanliness and the representation of hierarchy in experiencing floor sitting. Looking at Iranian home and capturing Iranian living spaces in relation with floor sitting help to identify floor-sitting position in current Iranian culture. Sitting on the floor has a long history in Iranian life, it has been challenged in some periods but, some facts like the household structure, culture, religion, and the society requirements, encourage the resistance of this habit in life of Iranians. Floor sitting has sustained in interaction with modern lifestyle and western furniture and Iranians

have managed to find a balance between their modern life and the traditional habit of floor sitting. My further research is focused on examining floor sitting in Iranian diasporic home to study the probable changes of this habit in another cultural, social, political and spatial context.



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***Locality and Public Participation:
A Case Study of “Learning Council” in Busan Biennale 2012***

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Abstract

Busan Biennale 2012 offered a new experience never seen in previous biennales ever held in Busan. The biennale can be defined by the activities of ‘Learning Council (LC)’ which involving people from Busan and wider Korea, small number of artists and the Artistic Director (AD) who closely collaborated in exhibition process. Driven by the fact of mushrooming biennales around the world, it was seen as necessary to establish an exhibition that highlights the regional characteristics and uniqueness of Busan. LC became a forum of communication and participation for artists and local people to reflect on the various local issues in depth. Under the theme of “Garden of Learning”, the AD intended to create an open process of learning contemporary art which offers a platform where artists and audience can communicate with each other and even collaborate with artists on creating artworks. LC, formed by voluntary participation of public, started the process months prior to the exhibition date on discussion, self-learning and working with several numbers of artists. LC also served as mediator between artists and public, discussed and prepared various proposals for the wider layers of community not familiar with contemporary art to educate and provide insights of the artworks in the exhibition. Analysis of this case study was formulated through devious research both theoretical and experiential, review of related literature and personal interviews.

Keywords: Busan Biennale, locality, public participation, arts

Introduction

Biennales of contemporary art have established itself as a major exhibition in the world of international art. Today there are over one hundred contemporary art Biennales (Biennial Foundation, n.d.-a) since the establishment of the first Biennale of Venice Biennale in 1895. Venice Biennale was perhaps the first international art event which attempted to represent the art world by bringing together art from various countries installed in national pavilions in the exhibition (Hui, 2013). Biennales become more and more international by involving international artists, curators, galleries, and often draw attention of mass media and tourists. Clearly biennales do not just merely serve as a platform for global and local artists to showcase their artistic freedom but unavoidably also carry the host city or country's desire in advertising their cities and countries. Along with the rapid emergence of biennale in various places in the world, from Europe, Africa and now Asia, they are facing the challenges of making themselves as unique as possible by offering their local characteristics while at the same time still being able to be internationally recognized.

Arjun Appadurai (1996) argues that in the purpose of differentiation of such events to their raising number of both national and international counterparts, setting up the locality of the event means to stress on the uniqueness and the specificity of the locale-city, region or "neighborhood".

Hou Hanru (2005) states that in order to be nationally and internationally important and significant events, Biennales attempt to put forward a certain particular and supposedly irreplaceable local characteristic, or locality. It is a challenge to produce the locality which is culturally related to the local custom in an innovative way and open to international exchanges (Hanru, 2005).

How Biennale addresses the issue of locality and creates interesting ideas for everyone who involves in the event? How Biennale goes beyond the similar standardized kind of exhibition and engages audience participation in the event?

Nina Simon (2010) states that in traditional kind of exhibition, the institution is the one who prepares and provides experiences for audience to consume. On the contrary, in participatory design, the institution acts as a platform that integrates different users and supports vast and versatile experiences (Simon, 2010). Participatory projects invite people not as passive consumers but actively engage as participants. It carries spontaneity and spectacular factors which means having a possibility to evolve and even change the original intention of the institution (Simon, 2010).

In a nutshell, Busan Biennale is one of the biennales which attempted to dig and relate to its history, locality and the people. It was seen in 2012 where Busan Biennale offered several new experiences offering collaboration and communication with local people and local context in the exhibition making. It was the first time for Busan Biennale to have a European foreign Artistic Director (AD) to organize the exhibition. It is easily defined by the establishment of "Learning Council (LC)" which is a form of public participation throughout the exhibition process starting from the preparation until the end.

The following case study of LC will elaborate issues in the locality and how does public participation incurred in Busan Biennale 2012. Furthermore, this study will explore the challenges and breakthroughs encountered by the LC throughout the preparation up to the end of the event. Analysis of this study was formulated through devious research both theoretical and experiential by involvement and observation in LC and Busan Biennale 2012, and review of related literature as well as personal interviews conducted in Busan.

The Garden of Learning: Social and Policy Agenda

The Busan Biennale is a contemporary art festival held every two years in Busan which rooted from Busan Youth Biennale since 1981 before being integrated with Busan Sea Festival and Busan Outdoor Sculpture under the name of Pusan International Contemporary Art Festival (PICAF) in 1998 which then was changed to Busan Biennale in 2001. (Busan Biennale Organizing Committee, n.d.)

As an event of contemporary art, biennales usually display uncollectible and unusual art pieces that seem so far in relation to our everyday life or come from different culture we do not know which make those arts are hard to understand (Lopez et al, 2008). The Busan Biennale Organizing Committee realizes the difficulty of contemporary art and designates Busan Biennale as an art event that is approachable to all society groups of people. As the late Executive Director of Busan Biennale Organizing Committee, Doo-Shik Lee (2011) stated that the Busan Biennale proposed the generalization of contemporary art which means against to “art being pre-determined by and accessible only to a particular class or a few elites”. It is intended as a platform for communication between locals and people from other country. The main concepts of the Busan Biennale are locality, internationality and communicability by reflecting on the local lives and culture in the Biennale (Biennial Foundation, n.d.-b).

Based on those significant concepts of Busan Biennale mentioned above, Busan Biennale Organizing Committee did not hesitate to select Roger M. Buergel, the former AD of Documenta XII in 2007, who proposed a new method of exhibition making under the concept of “Garden of Learning” (D. S. Lee, 2011). Buergel (2012) states that the Garden of Learning, which he says has no theme but follows a method which is improvisation, is derived from his lack of knowledge about Korea and its culture that caused him to come out with the idea of learning. It inspires him to learn from the local people and led him to form a learning group called “Learning Council” which consists of people from all ages, including a number of artists and selected staffs, so that he could learn through the group. LC then was the most important element in Busan Biennale 2012.

Meanwhile, it was discussed by Buergel in the Busan Biennale Symposium 2011 that despite having Garden of Learning for Busan Biennale 2012, in fact there is unclerness of what is the meaning of learning in art. He continued to argue that it depends on the decision by everyone involved in the exhibition regarding what are the lessons to be learnt and what are the envisioned goals in the exhibition (Buergel, 2011). Buergel (Park, 2012a) argues that Modernism brings customs and orders, nevertheless artists are always the owners of freedom. Appreciation to artists’ point of views is needed because art is not just about the value of commodities. This is what

he wants to apply in LC which is to open the grip of standard chain by offering chances for every participant to share their own experiences. Learning is not always getting something but learning can also mean waking up our current knowledge of what we have learnt before (Park, 2012a).

Consequent with the idea to develop the characteristics of the Busan Biennale in the middle of the pretty standardized aesthetic experiences of biennales in other cities which unfortunately similar to each other, Buergel (2011) suggests that biennale should construct an awareness of the local history which can bring diverse result for every host cities of biennale. Moreover he recognizes the fact that the composition of audience in most biennales, including Busan Biennale, was mostly local audiences rather than foreign audiences. This fact serves as a key element to be addressed properly in the Biennale which Buergel argues that it has an effort of learning but not as a teacher for the people is the one who decide what to learn. The Biennale serves partly as a blank space, as Buergel (2011) says,

“This blank space serves as an invitation to audiences to shed off their status as either consumers of an experience that has been institutionally predetermined or as participants in a game the rules of which they cannot change.”

Buergel’s idea was to create a learning group which is a participatory project as a space for learning for everyone involves in the Garden of Learning. He expected to invite a lot of people from any kind of background, preferably people from Busan or wider South Korea, with interest in Busan Biennale and willing to contribute their expertise to the exhibition (Buergel, 2012). It was expected to be a place not for one-way direction but multi-direction of exchanging ideas, learning and collaboration between the group members, artists, Busan Biennale staffs, and the AD. This kind of participatory design will bring different outcome compare to usual standard exhibition and carry the lively spirit from the group members.

However the invitations for participation in an art event are usually limited by the institutional rules of the institution itself (Buergel, 2011). The institutional rules may create a risk of having a participation project physically, but not having the spirit of participation which is the essence of participatory project. Moreover Buergel (2011) points out that inviting participants to involve in the exhibition process, it intricates the process and results in wrong interpretation and disputes. Another risk is that involving people in the exhibition inhibits efficiency because the large number of people with diverse interests might slow down the process. He argues that there should be a system that is flexible enough to accommodate such a complex group of people.

Buergel’s idea in making a learning group seems consistent with the vision of Busan that is aspiring to be a creative city, a notion popularized by Charles Landry. According to Busan Major, Nam-Sik Hur (2012), native citizens have an important role in creating a creative city. A city will be able to be a creative city if the individuals in the city are ready to entertain new ideas in any kind of situation and if they want to listen and learn from others (Hur, 2012). In that sense, the Garden of Learning in Busan Biennale helps people by providing opportunities of learning from each other, by exchanging ideas and opinion, problem solving and collaborating both

with Korean people and foreigners in a contemporary art exhibition. A deep and diverse conversation with others is part of the learning itself as well as the essence of creative city. Emphasizing on local audiences makes Busan Biennale 2012 reasonable and cognizant in addressing the needs and interests of the local audience in the host city.

Learning Council: Work in Process

The key point of the Garden of Learning regarding its exhibition is communication with people. Communication itself is a process and an exhibition. Early in 2012, few months before the opening of the Busan Biennale, Buergel sounded out an open call in the media and social media to invite local people to actively participate in the exhibition's creative process in the form of LC. Those who are interested in collaborating with the AD along with international and local artists in the Garden of Learning are encouraged to share their knowledge, experiences, interests and stories especially about Busan and Korea. They were asked to submit their letter of interest to the AD.

Moreover, this idea was totally new not only for the Busan Biennale organization committee but also for people in South Korea. Generally, people were curious and wondering what is Garden of Learning, what is LC, and what seems to be the approach of the participants in the exhibition process. Nevertheless, at the end of the submission date, the exhibition team received over 300 applications (Buergel, 2012). LC's first meeting was held in Busan Museum of Art, the auditorium was crowded with enthusiasts and those who were eagerly interested to learn more about LC. However, as the exhibition-making starts in progress, the number of participants becomes smaller, a proof that an exhibition-making requires more energy and commitment from the members. The number of these voluntary members then reduced to 80 core members, yet only about 50 people remained till the end (Buergel, 2012).

The group was expected to work closely with the AD, Busan Biennale staffs and artists through communication, collaboration and also acted as art mediator for wider audiences within a period of seven months including the exhibition preparation and about two months during the exhibition. The process itself was an intensive interaction either offline at LC meetings and online through the social media such as Facebook and Kakao Talk, which are popular social media in South Korea.

Therefore, LC is the backbone of the Garden of Learning in Busan Biennale 2012. In a panel discussion in 2012, Buergel argues that an exhibition can grow as an organism, thus exhibition is a process. Exhibition is growing within interactions between art and art, art and space, art and people, space and people, and among people. This organism grows not only physically but also spiritually with LC as the key in both. As exhibition needs to be alive and therefore breathe, it is essential that an exhibition epitomized the spirit which is the people's voice and life articulated by the creative ideas of people especially local people who understands life within the locality and city so that it can breathe within the city (H. M. Lee, email, January 30, 2014)

LC is purposely made for the advancement of art in a community focusing in the audiences and educational element in art while mostly other biennales focus on

making the exhibition physically or as a way to advertise the cities. As Biennales is held every two years, it seems common to do a one-time exhibition and leave it and then do another one in the next two years (Ramstad, 2012). Hyun-Min Lee, the LC Coordinator states that the AD realized it; he is reluctant to support an already-made exhibition and to leave it which is considered dead and insignificant. Not just making two strangers meet without mutual understanding but Buergel wanted to derive the purpose of interrelationship into a significant moment with enough time to know and learn from each other (H. M. Lee, email, January 30, 2014) which is a kind of solid museum-making and generated from within the culture (Ramstad, 2012). And that was made possible within the LC.

Furthermore, it is easier to look back at the development process of LC rather than assuming the past hence look with optimism to see what the group might have become in the future. Buergel's introduction on the methodology of LC sounded abstract since it is essentially about the process and was completely new for everyone involved in the Busan Biennale. Buergel was the only one who had an experience of organizing a group of local people and involving them in exhibition-making like what he did in Documenta 12, but it was also new experience for him to apply the concept in a totally different cultural environment (H. M. Lee, email, January 30, 2014).

Even in the midst of confusion concept of LC, the LC's general meeting has been carried on every month in order to introduce new artists who will collaborate with LC and share their previous interests to LC members. Each member may help by sharing their knowledge to the work of artists through discussion (Buergel, 2012) and site visits.

The number of general meeting attendance decreased because majority was impatiently bored. They wanted detailed discussion while collaborating with artists. Therefore the general meeting was transformed into several small group meetings with individual artists. As such it provides an ample time for artists to discuss in detail and intensive conversation with few members. Practically, some members acted as guide for the artists to visit significant places for the research purposes within Busan and other cities as well.

LC's spontaneous spirit and Buergel's encouragement for possible improvement in the group has made LC's evolutionary growth unpredictable. However according to Hyun-Min Lee, it is on the contrary with the inflexible nature of Korean administration, especially when the project is funded by the government. The bureaucracy demands everything to follow a system such as planning, reporting and confirmation before being executed. Therefore, budgeting for LC's activities and supporting artists who collaborate with LC in terms of administration was the biggest challenge. It was not because of the unsupportive administrative team but the administrative process was certainly something which could not be changed. In order to minimize the problem arising in supporting LC and artists who frequently change their plan, both exhibition team and administrative team had to work like one body and communicate every little thing about LC. LC's flexibility required the staffs to keep monitoring any step and decision taken by LC and the artists. (H. M. Lee, email, January 30, 2014).

To sum up, more than 50 official meetings between the AD, LC members and participating artists before exhibition opening has been recorded (H. M. Lee, email, January 30, 2014). The meetings discussed issues not only about the AD's direction, or introduction of artist and their ideas, but also how to be an art mediator in engaging the community throughout the exhibition.

It is obvious that LC is a place where the AD, artists, staffs, participants and even the Busan Biennale administrative staffs work together and support each other in order to produce new exhibitions and programs. LC members are not just audience but they are also involved in the exhibition-making. Artists shared their ideas discussed with LC, from which they come up with new insights of what to do in the Busan Biennale. Some artists even worked closely and collaboratively in creating artworks or programs in the exhibition.

Such complex participative projects require months of engagement with multiple party consolidation. This kind of project needs significant effort from every party, with ample time for communication and coordination. LC focuses more on the process itself. The learning and communication during the processes is more important rather than the final result. For the artists, discussing and collaborating with the local people makes their work connected to the life and culture of the locality and makes it significant to the audience. Some remarks from the participants shows that sharing their knowledge to each other and listen to artists' idea, stimulates self introspection and bring new insights about life, culture and also arts. Through the collaboration of artwork-making and education or mediation programs for wider audiences, the participants provide lesson on tolerance, mutual support and sharing with others.

Skeptical Thought of Learning Council

Even though the idea of LC was comprehensible however it was vague and doubted initially because there has been no such past project like that in Busan Biennale. Local people did not have any basis to ground their speculations about LC. Furthermore, given the hierarchical culture in Korea, most of Korean people are hesitant to speak up in the crowd of strangers. They feel uncomfortable to meet new people and they are not used to collaborate with others through discussion and debates (H. M. Lee, email, January 30, 2014). It added the doubt to the success of LC.

In a sense, local people faced a seemingly cross-cultural problem knowing that LC with its nature as spontaneous, organic, self-oriented and flexible organization is an unfamiliar social group causing them to perceive it with vague apprehensions. Even though people had listened to the AD's explanation of LC, they are still dominated by insecurity. Nevertheless reservations having the new approach challenge their curiosity. LC is not about the final output but more on the process. Also as it follows development method, even Buergerl also could not foresee what LC would be in the end (Park, 2012b).

One of the conflicting issues in the group is the manifestation of diverse behavioral patterns obviously inherent among generations. The unfamiliarity to LC's concept caused the middle-aged people being reluctance to some proposals because of conservative presumptions that the proposed ideas might only be suitable for western

countries but not for South Korea. Such contradiction did not exist among university or high school students who were eager to face any challenges.

In spite of the confusion and contradictions, people had been passionately and patiently moving forward committing themselves to be a strong group. They were actively sharing their thoughts and ideas in any occasions. Hence, the strong core member of LC was even very intimate just like a big family.

Collaboration with Artists

The fact that the exhibition focused on the people in Busan makes Busan Biennale 2012 is a very specific one. Some works exhibited may not be easily transferred to other place due to loss of context with the audiences. Some of those works exhibited in the Busan Biennale were the result of collaboration between artists, members of LC and local people.

For an example, the artist Imorgen Stidworthy shared her interest in the relationship between the body and speech that inspired the audience in the LC's general meeting to discuss about shamanism. She was guided by few members of LC to Gimhae, a city next to Busan, to attend a divination. She then produced an artwork called "Speaking in the Voices of Different Gods" to be exhibited in the Garden of Learning inspired by the talk with the members. (Buerger, 2012)

Another case of collaboration is an artwork named "We Call This Work" by Ben Cain who interested in expressing people's labor movement. He invited LC members to submit description of their daily movement at work. Four participants were selected and created the trace of their movement on the clay laid on the floor without the presence of the artist on the spot.

A Korean artist, Hyo-Sook Sung who is interested in art therapy created a project called "Three in the Morning". She collected worn out worker's heavy boots and decorated with the colorful paper flowers made together with those workers. She naturally sits with the workers and members of LC to talk about any kind of life stories.

Another artist, Mary Ellen Carroll, collaborating with LC members, created "No 18" project for the exhibition. She rented a unit of house and uses the space as a social space for communication. Following a schedule, a guest is invited to exchange a conversation at No. 18 which will be live streamed to Busan Modern Art Museum and to the rest of the world via internet. Several art education programs for children were prepared by LC members in this space.

Hyun-Min Lee shares that in meditating LC and artists, language is definitely the biggest difficulty in communication between both parties. Many of the artists collaborating with LC were foreign artists, and like all other artists, theirs concepts and ideas were very complex, theoretical and sometimes culturally base. Language barrier creates difficulty in deep conversation and discussion. It was easier for artists who had easy and simply structured plan for LC to follow. However, it was difficult for artists who wanted to develop a concept or ideas with LC to discuss fundamental issues verbally in the group. This kind of method requires not only good

communication skill but also in-depth knowledge to understand the artists' way of thinking. (H. M. Lee, email, January 30, 2014).

Another challenge in collaboration was the fact that people are armed with their own understanding and expectation in terms of art and collaboration. There are thousands of ways and methodology of collaboration depending on artists, culture, and form of arts or history. Therefore, in the beginning of LC, it was a mixture of expectation, disappointment, confusion, misunderstanding and conflict. It took time for LC to understand the AD's idea of collaboration and each artist's way of collaboration. The artists also definitely needed time to understand Korean culture and LC's expectation. After they have familiarized with each other, there was a process of reaching a compromise. Everything was a part of organic growth. Exhibition evolved from this cross-road of diversity. (H. M. Lee, email, January 30, 2014).

Art Mediator

Besides discussion and collaboration with artists, LC had other role as art mediator which had conceived education program between artists and their artworks and the audience. Months before the exhibition opening, the members engaged in a discussion on how to provide alternative art education for public in reaction to the conventional docent tours usually found in museums. The art mediation by LC tried to get rid of the conventional docent type which normally only explains the artwork to audiences without engaging any communication with the audience.

During the exhibition, the members voluntarily and alternately played the role of art mediator for people who visited the exhibition to explain and discuss with them about the exhibition. They also prepared art education contents and materials for various events and participants such as children, teenagers and elderly held in the space of No. 18. Being art mediators and serving the public, the LC members learnt to educate and provided insights of contemporary art to the community who are not familiar with the issue.

Conclusion

The concept of LC is the most driving part of "Garden of Learning" in Busan Biennale 2012. LC is an effort to apply the notions of participation and communications between multiple parties such as the AD, artists, public, and staffs. Public is not seen merely as passive consumers or audience but rather people were offered to actively engage from of the preparation stage of the exhibition to the end.

LC is designed as a platform for public to share their knowledge with each other, especially to the AD and international artists who have less knowledge about the local culture and history. By the discussion with the LC members, some artists who collaborated with the LC were able to connect their works to the context of the locality.

As it was the first time for Busan Biennale, the idea of LC was doubted to be successfully implemented precisely because of hierarchical culture and Korean people's behavior. This study found out that such a new methodology and organic form of organization will open up a possibility to unpredictable risk. However, the

members of LC grew out of various conflicts that served as contributing factors to the success of the exhibition per se and proved the negative doubts categorically wrong.

Biennale has a purpose to show the locality or anthropology in the host city. It is essential to engage with the local people for local people know better about the culture and life of the given milieu. LC is considerably a success in bringing up the locality of Busan as the characteristic of Busan Biennale and encouraged public participation significantly. It was a unique and progressive process in the exhibition regardless of the outcome considering that process is more substantial than the outcome. Participation and collaboration in art does not only mean that people's participation depends so much from the instruction of the artists or exhibition designer, but most importantly the value of sharing and communication in the learning process. Moreover, by having LC as art mediators, the members could share the exhibition with wider audience in the local perspective.

Therefore, I recommend that it would be ideal for LC to continue their activities both in order to support Busan Biennale or having separate activities accordingly. Even if LC evolves to be an independent and self-developing organization after the Busan Biennale is over, it is also expected to develop the local art arena. Henceforth, Busan Biennale was over and so did LC, there is no plan institutionally to keep LC running its activities. After Busan Biennale, only periodical online "LC" magazine produced by few members of LC remains. The upcoming biennale with the new AD may have another plan for the next exhibition.

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The Influence of Project Stakeholders on Designer's Creative Autonomy

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate the influence of project stakeholders on designer's creative autonomy. Looking across the project management and stakeholders literatures, most researches take the perspective from the managers' point of view to explore how they can manage the project in an efficient way. But there is a lack of the real understanding of the views from designers in an organization or project teams. Furthermore, the traditional research of business-oriented project is more focus on the output side (profit, quantity) in a project, and fails to identify the characteristic of projects in design industry. Design industry is a creative-oriented project, so it's hard to measure it in a quantitative way by traditional measuring approach.

With this gap, this research will take the perspective from designer's point of view to elaborate the creative issues in a design project in a qualitative way. The research current finding reveals that designer's creative autonomy will be highly affected by the extent whether the stakeholders respect the specialty and expertise of designers, because what the all designers care about is the quality of the outcome developed by their own creativity. In the other words, because designers have some problem of communication with stakeholders, they need more time to discuss with stakeholders in the initiation, planning and executive stage. Meanwhile, the result also shows the budget, which is also important to successfully develop a project, does not actually influence designer's creative autonomy as the project stakeholders expect.

Keywords: Creative autonomy, Project management, Project stakeholder, Design Industry

Introduction

Base on the “Creative Economy Report 2010”, which is compiled by UNCTAD (2011), the statistic of creative goods pointed out that design accounts for 60%. Obviously, design plays an important role in the development of Cultural and Creative Industry. For Taiwan, in order to transform into “creative economy”, Ministry of Economic Affairs (2009) developed a "Flagship Plan for Design Industry Development (設計產業發展旗艦計畫)" to use design to add cultural and creative value to industrial development, thus able to bring innovation to business management and raise the industries' competitiveness (Ministry of Culture , 2013).

Individual creativity becomes an important human resource in design industry in the recent years. Researchers (Chuang, 2003; Okpara, 2007) have conducted that creativity and innovation is positively related. Amabile (1996) also provides a famous model talking about the relationship between individual creativity and innovation of company. She says that Individual creativity is composed by task motivation, creativity and creativity skill; it will impact on innovation of company (Amabile, 1996). However, for those creative talents, only 24% of them are satisfied to the innovation of company or organization. Most of them thought that they can't be inspired by company; only 40% employees are felt that they are devoted in their job (CommonWealth, 2012).

The design industry suffers lacking of creative autonomy, especially in graphic design industry. The main reason is talent's profession doesn't be respect or trusted (H. Lin, 2010) leading to suppress their creative autonomy (Tao, 1999), then influence on talent's creativity. For Taiwan's general enterprises, they still consider designer as a skill-based rather than creativity-based talent. That's why these enterprises are lack of the concept of design value and paying or they have more confidence of foreign design company (Ho, 2012; Sung, 2012). Furthermore, profession doesn't be respect or trust so clients or project manager always interfere with design process or don't adopt designer's professional suggestions. For this phenomenon, creative autonomy most influence on young talents, because they still can't have a major authority or make a strategy decision, their work autonomy is relatively lower than senior designers.

The number of Design-related graduates gradually growth in recent years. These graduated talents are not a few, so it succeeds in nurturing design talents. Industrial Development Bureau Ministry of Economic Affairs (2011) have compiled statistic for the number of Design-related graduates, in 2011, the total number of these design-related graduates are 8,461. The highest occupation of this pie chart is visual communication design accounts for 50.2%. Furthermore, there're 80% of graduates will be in-house designers, only 20% of them will be freelancers or make a career change. Hence, as you can imagine that this quite big group of graphic young talents when they go into the design industry and they will face to lake of autonomy, then, their creativity will shrink. So, before we talking about everybody can bring their creativity into full play, I would like to know if we are really ready to embrace these creative talents.

1 Nature of Creativity

In a summary of research into creativity Michael Mumford (2003) suggested that: “Over the course of the last decade, however, we seem to have reached a general agreement that creativity involves the production of novel, useful product”. Creativity can also be defined as “the process of producing something that is both original and worthwhile” or “characteristic by originality and expressiveness and imaginative”. (Csikzentmihalyi, 1999, 2000; Lubart & Mouchiroud, 2003; Runco, 1997, 2000; Sternberg & Lubart, 1996) Base on the above different definitions of creativity, researchers research creativity in different approaches. The traditional approach of creativity research is more emphasize on individual center but the contemporary approach thought that environment is also a significant component for creativity development.

- **Traditional: Individual-center approach:** For several decades, researchers seemed to work for finding out a principle on person-center approach: What are creative people think and how they are different from most people in the world? Although this individual-center approach have found some outstanding finding about personality, work style, thinking process and so on (Liou, 2011). However, this approach didn't concern about how to help normal people to become more creative in their job, and overlook the environment component because they always focus on some talented people (W.-L. Lin, 2006).
- **Contemporary: Confluence approach:** In contrast to the traditional one, it's argued that the most important driver is creative talent(Fredric D. Frank, 2004) among all the factors that could influence on the effectiveness of organizations in the future. The contemporary approach emphasize on integration, interaction and sequence. Researchers have conducted that work environment will influence employee's creativity performance (Amabile, 1996; Y.-C. Li, 2007; Okpara, 2007; Robbins, 2006). The most famous perspective among contemporary theory are Csikszentmihalyi's system perspective and Amabile's context perspective.

Csikszentmihalyi focuses on the interaction between individual talent and field. He believes that creativity is not originated solely from one individual, but is the product of the interaction between and individual and the culture of the society he is bounded in with. For talents, his professional field is composed by a series or set of intangible rules and procedures. The professional knowledge plays the role as the gatekeeper, to evaluate whether a vision or product is qualified to be included into one field. When an individual utilizes the symbolic knowledge provided in his field to create a new concept, and the tangible product made by this concept is being accepted, 'creativity' is born. Furthermore, an individual must not only strive within his field, but also internalize the knowledge, limits, and ethos acquired from the professional field. Extending from this perspective, the 'creativity' is defined as 'any actions, visions, or products that has the potential in changing or improving the given environment or situation'

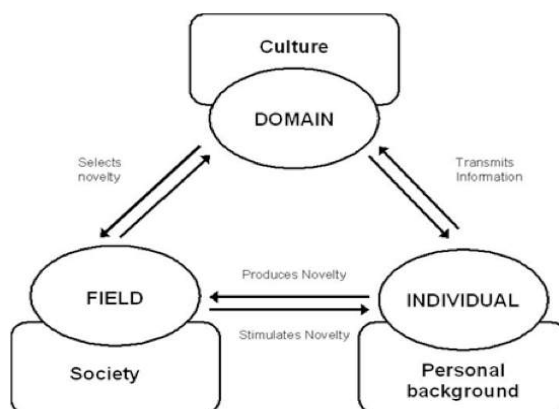


Figure2-1, Csikszentmihalyi’s systems model of creativity
Source: Csikszentmihalyi (1999)

Amabile explores how social environment influence individual creativity. It assumes that all humans with normal capacities are able to produce at least moderately creative work in some domain (Amabile, 1996). Amabile (1996) provided a model which includes three components of creativity and innovation and tried to figure out how they influence each other (Figure2-2). She mentioned that individual/team creativity includes task motivation, creativity skill and expertise; work environment includes organizational motivation, resources and management practices. Innovation of work environment will impact individual creativity and creativity will feed innovation.

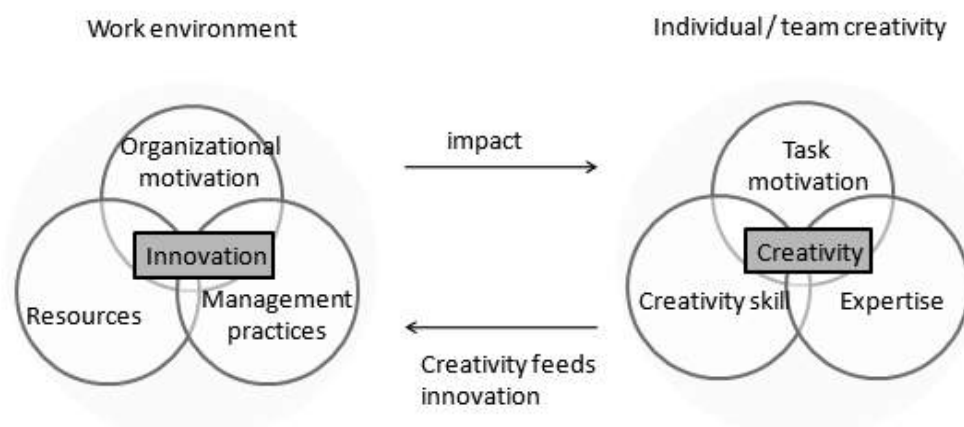


Figure 2-2, Impact of the Organizational Environment on Creativity
Source: Creativity and Innovation in Organizations (Amabile, 1996)

2 Significance of Creative Autonomy

Except the above perspective, for those young talents, autonomy is the most serious impact on them, especially in design industry. Because these creative young talents, who are under the system of decision-making and authorities, just enter the industry, they are unable to express their own opinion. Thus, this section I will organize some literatures related to creative autonomy.

In most of the literature, it means worker has substantial freedom and independence to schedule to work and decide the way to accomplish (Robbins, 2006). In another word, it’s a scope influence a worker has on his/her work method, schedule and content, and

involved in decision making (Helena Lopes, 2013). Generally speaking, if worker has higher work autonomy he/she has more responsibilities to the result of the work.

The growing need for innovation and cost compression has given rise to the assumption that enhancing workers' participation in decision-making would not only improve their well-being but foster their devotion to the organizations' goals. Many experts consider that satisfying the human need for autonomy. Many experts conduct that to satisfy the fundamental need for autonomy will determine the ultimately quality of motivation (Dong Liu, 2012; Helena Lopes, 2013; C.-Y. Li, 2013). Therefore, autonomy becomes an important condition to differentiate various type of motivation. Intrinsic motivation occurs when people pursue an activity because they are interested. In the contrast, extrinsic motivation depends on external rewards or punishments (Dong Liu, 2012). Besides, if employees have more work autonomy then they can feel more responsibilities (feedback) to their own work. As a result, it'll bring much more creativity in organization. Through the literature review, we can find that the higher work autonomy workers have, the more responsibility and task motivation they feel. As a result, it can bring more creative performances. However, for those creative talents, they can't bring their creative autonomy into full play because of the immature environment.

3 Issues with Graphic Designer

Base on the different perspectives from researchers, the definition of talent becomes different. Generally speaking, there're creativity-based and skill-based talents these two approaches but both of their aim are to drive up organization performance. For **skilled-based** talent, it's simply associated with high demand and skills. In some particular aspects, people can contribute to society by their outstanding skills or expertise. Besides, in addition to skill, Ulrich (2007) has conducted that competence, commitment and contribution is the most important elements for talent. Opposed to the first approach, **creativity-based** talent refers to someone's creativity or personality can drive up the accomplishment of company. In general terms, talent is often seen as 'the sun of a person's abilities his or her intrinsic gift, skills, knowledge, experience, intelligence, judgment, attitude, character and drive. It also includes his or her ability to learn and grow' (Ed Michaels, 2001). It reviews as a quality that any actual or potential employee can process, and which can be used to add value to individual, team and organization performance.

Although skill is important, Cultural Creative Industry, a creative-intensive industry, more emphasize on creative-based talent. However, in the most situations, changeable demand and lacking of autonomy is the main problem that designers face to.

- ♦ **Spontaneous Request within Fixed Agenda:** Most of the designers are spending lots of time on adjusting the visual style and some tiny items (font-size, color, content, etc.). Generally speaking, designers have a nature responsibility to their product so they are willing to devote themselves into the project. However, they can't do that in the most conditions. Because the pre-procedure has not been fully communicated, then, it directly goes into the design stage. It lead to designers need to spend a lot of time to check and modify clients demand in this stage.
- ♦ **Disrespected Right for Creative Autonomy:** The Designer has no final say of

his/her work, which the task is often fallen into the hand of a manager with no professional discipline in aesthetics or design (client, project manager, etc.). It looks very simple for everyone to make a comment on graphic design. Everyone can make their opinions on whether a label or color. So, it seems like everyone can interfere with graphic design.

Looking across the literatures related to project management and stakeholders, most researches take the perspective from the managers' point of view to explore how they can manage the project in an efficient way. But there is a lack of the real understanding of the views from designers in an organization or project teams. Furthermore, the traditional research of business-oriented project is more focus on the output side (profit, quantity) in a project, and fails to identify the characteristic of projects in design industry. Design industry is a creative-oriented project, so it's hard to measure it in a quantitative way by traditional measuring approach. With this gap, this research will take the perspective from designer's point of view to elaborate the creative issues in a design project in a qualitative way.

4 Research Design

This section will introduce the research target, research method, and research process. At this stage, this research design is under progress and designed based on the current circumstance of graphic designer's creative autonomy in Taiwan. Also, this research will take the perspective from the development of young talent's creative autonomy to investigate the impact by each stakeholder in a project.

5.1 Research Target

Creative autonomy most influence on young talents, because they still can't have a major authority or make a strategy decision, their work autonomy is relatively lower than senior designers. Furthermore, some researches point out that the key time for talent's future development is the third job after they go into industry. According to the statistic, when we have entered the industry for 3~5 years, or the third job (Chung, 2010), we might know what we want to pursue and we will consider it as a career rather than a normal work. Thus, this research will take young graphic designers as the research target and take their perspective to find out the stakeholders in design project and map out the network. Also, the designers will half are in-house designer and half are freelancer because that's the only two job functions for designers (Affairs, D. B. M. o. E., 2011). Then, this research will compare these two types of design project to see how these different projects run differently and similarly.

Role	Criteria
Designers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Graphic designer (in-house designer, design-house designer and freelancer) ◆ Have worked for 3~5 years or doing the third job. ◆ Individually works for a design project ◆ Willing to be interviewed
Stakeholders	Mapping the stakeholders network after interviewing with designers

5.2 Research Method

In-depth interview, case study and grounded theory will be the three main methods in

this research. This research is an exploration-oriented qualitative research. The objectives mainly focus on understanding how young designers perceive creative autonomy in design project; and discovering the interaction between designers' creative autonomy and stakeholders in an on-going and retrospective project.

In-depth interview is a method of oral communication that investor will collect data by directly communicating with objects depends on the outlines (N.-C. Yeh, 2006). The reason why I choose "in-depth interview" to acquire information has the following two reasons: 1) It still lack of the literatures related to designer's creative autonomy in design project. Taking in-depth interview as the main method to know how designer perceive creative autonomy. 2) In-depth interview can acquire the relationship between designer and stakeholders, then, collate the valuable information.

Case study is a descriptive, exploratory or explanatory analysis of a person, group or event (N.-C. Yeh, 2006). An explanatory case study is used to explore causation in order to find underlying principles. The reason I choose "case study" to be one of the main method has the following two reasons: 1) because design in a creative-oriented project, it's too unique to investigate in a quantitative way. Hence, this research will focus on a design project as my case to understand how project stakeholders influence on project development and designer's creative autonomy. 2) Providing a solution when running a design project in the future through researching into the case.

Grounded theory is provided by two sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, in 1960. The so-called "grounded" is means that researcher explores an unknown field through a systematic method to collect, analyze, interpret the data and form it into a theory (Chen, 2001). Although grounded theory will be affected by researcher's interpretation, for researchers, the purpose of study is to confer a systematic interpretation to their interest topic rather that finding an objective interpretation. Thus this research will use grounded theory to interpret and build a theory in order to elaborate the deeper information about the case.

5 Research Finding

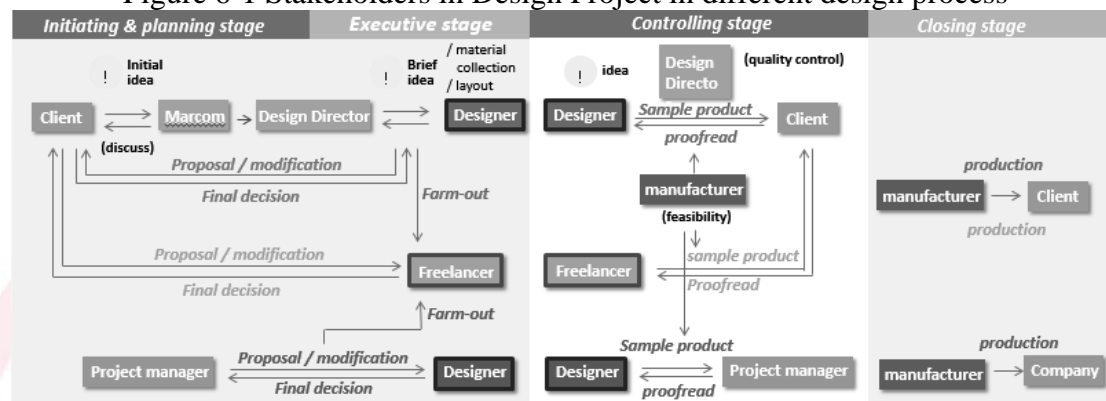
6.1 Stakeholders in Design Project

Generally speaking, the process of design project has four steps includes initiating, planning, executing & controlling and closing (Huang, 2005). However, in this research I found the design process will be "initiating and planning", "executive", "controlling" and "closing" these four stages. In initiating and planning stage, designers need to communicate with clients and collect some data to recognize their demand. Also, it's important to set a goal, budge and schedule in this stage. Second, assign a leader for a project and choose the project members. Third, managers need to control the quality, budge and schedule of design project and communicate with the external and internal stakeholders to maintain the project is running on the track. In the end, it's a stage to evaluate the design performance and archive the data.

Base on the above description, we can find out the stakeholders in these four processes. In the initiating and planning stage, the main stakeholders will be client for freelancer. But if he/she is an in-house designer, the stakeholder will be client, project manager, and marketing & communicating. In the executing stage, the stakeholders in this stage is the same as above. In controlling stage, besides the above stakeholders

which I've mentioned, there'll add one more stakeholder is co-operator such as factors' owner. Because in this stage, the design project will goes into production part, then the designer's may adjust their design project because of the production problems. In the last stage, closing stage, project manager and clients will evaluate the design performance and archive the data.

Figure 6-1 Stakeholders in Design Project in different design process



6.2 Factors Influence on Design Project Development

Factors which will influent to design project development include internal and external factor. The internal factor means the characteristic and definition of project. In other words, for a design project, the basic factors that every project needs to follow will influent to project development. About the external factor, it includes company's organizational motivation, resources and management practices and individual's task motivation, creativity skill and expertise (Amabile, 1996).

Project Management Institute (PMI, 2004) defined that project management is a temporary group activity designed to produce a unique product, service or result. PMI also pointed out that a project should include 'temporary' and 'unique' these two components (PMI, 2004). Temporary means it has a defined beginning and end in time; unique means it's a specific set for accomplishing a singular goal. So a project team often includes people who don't usually work together. There're lots of definitions from different researchers, this research arranges and summarizes the common ground as below: 1) **Unique**: an one-off and unique activity 2) **Specific duration**: have a life cycle and specific starting and ending time 3) **Specific target**: Set a specific and clear target 4) **Limitation of budge**: have an independent cost budget which depends on schedule and entire resources. 5) **Quality**: the result should reach the expectation.

6.3 The Influence of Project Stakeholders on Designer's Creative Autonomy

Looking across the literatures, the factor influence on creativity is divided into internal and external factor. Internal factor mainly covers personal cognition and personality; external factor includes society environment. The external factors include the above external component (duration, unique, budget, target, quality) and internal component (communication, attitude, motivation) which will influent to project development. In the dimension of internal factor, it includes mental ability, knowledge, thinking style, personality and motivation.

Mental ability: Sternberg (1985) conducted that mental ability includes meta-component, knowledge acquisition and performance components. Creativity

performance means using these three components in an innovative way to solve some familiar missions in order to change the environment or create a new production. Meta-component means setting a strategy by plan, monitor and evaluation; a Knowledge acquisition component refers to learning of knowledge and creativity; Performance component is related to external performance of creativity (Yang, 2001).

Knowledge: Knowledge is the basic element of creativity. Domain knowledge can help someone to do some innovative, thinking and critical activities; informal knowledge can promote the result of creativity and present or disseminate it in an appropriate way.

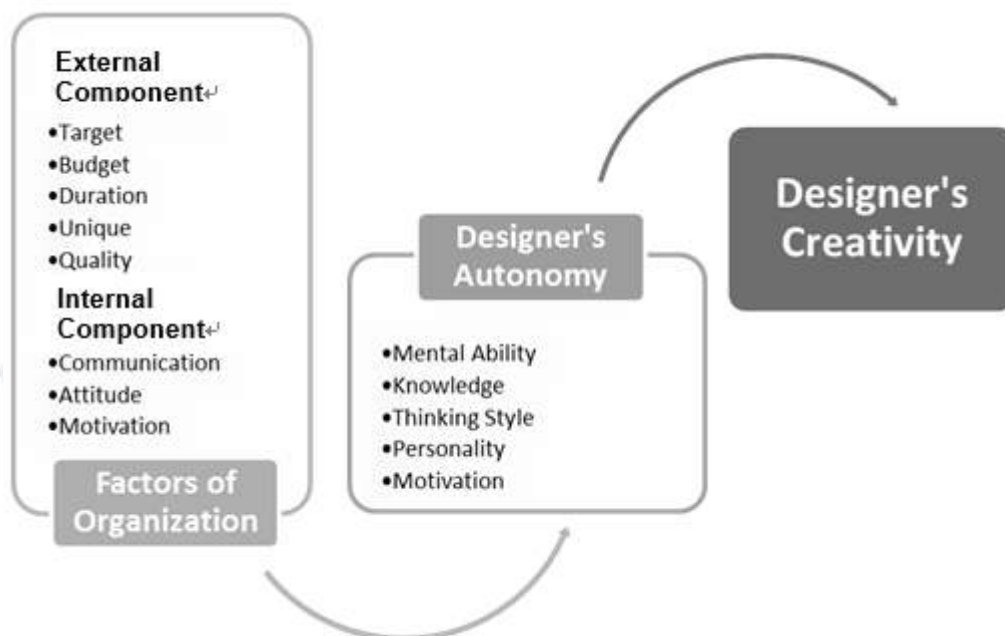
Thinking style (or intellectual style): It means that some certain methods that someone prefers to use. Sternberg and Lubart divided thinking style into executive, judicial and legislative styles (Turki, 2012). The advocator of executive style prefers to carry out a mission by following other's procedure or idea; the advocator of judicial style tends to evaluate other's procedure or ideas; the advocator of legislative style prefers an unstructured or low structured mission and likes to plan the content or method of the work by themselves. Hence, this style can apply their knowledge or abilities in creativity better.

Personality: People who have strong curiosity, emotions, sense of humor, braveness, independence, confidence, diligence are more creative.

Motivation: Motivation is the driving forces of creative performance. Internal motivation can make people to accept the challenge and finish it independently because of their curiosity and interests.

According to the above finding, we can know these different factors influent each other in the following flow chart.

Figure 6-2 Flow chart showing how to influence designer's creativity



Because this research is under progress, the part that I have done is how the external component of stakeholders influent to designer's autonomy in different design process. Based on these five external components, I have done the research about what's the main external factor for designers in different design stage as below.

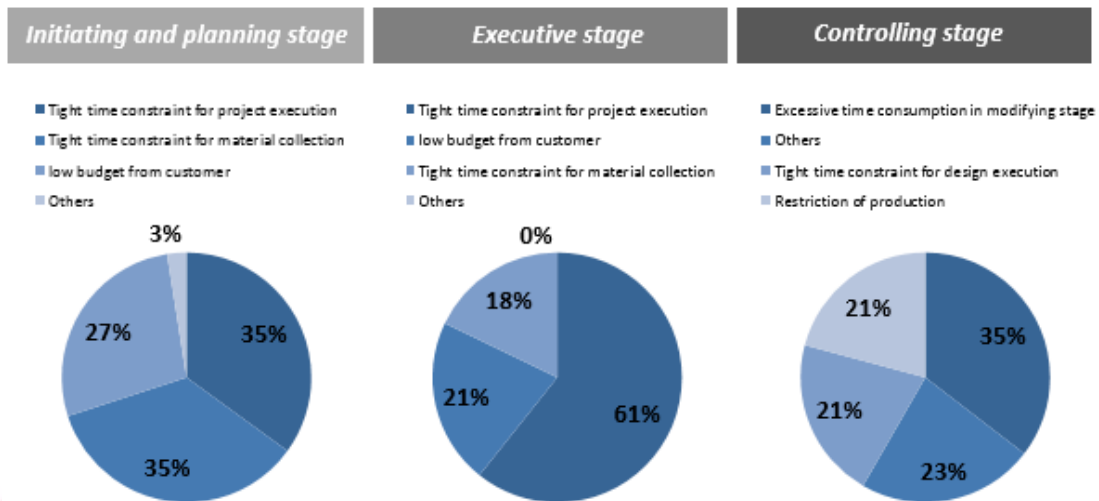


Chart 6-1 The External Factor Influences on Design-house Designer by Proportion

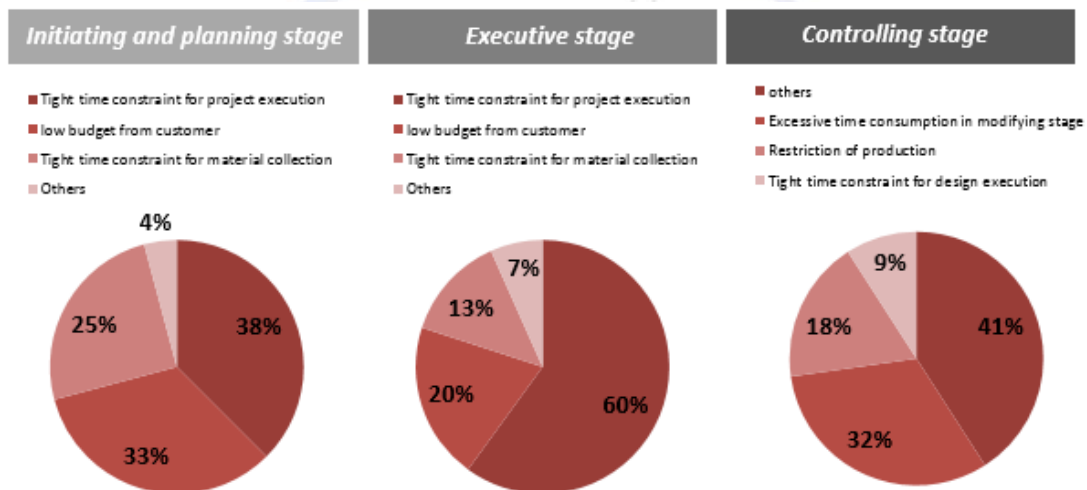


Chart 6-2 The External Factor Influences on In-house Designer by Proportion

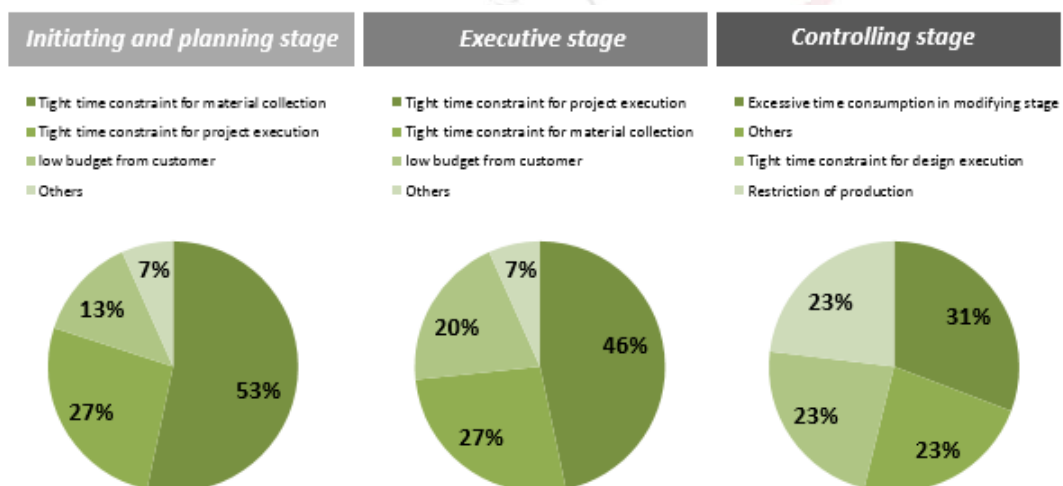


Chart 6-3 The External Factor Influences on Freelancer by Proportion

Through these research outcome, we can find that time frame of collecting data is the main factor influences on designers' creative autonomy in the initiation and planning stage. Also, time frame plays an important role in the executive stage because

designers spend lots of time on modifying. In the controlling stage, data reveals that quality is the main factor influences on designers' creative autonomy.

6 Conclusions

The research current finding reveals that designer's creative autonomy will be highly affected by the extent whether the stakeholders respect the specialty and expertise of designers, because what the all designers care about is the quality of the outcome developed by their own creativity. In the other words, because designers have some problem of communication with stakeholders, they need more time to discuss with stakeholders in the initiation, planning and executive stage. Meanwhile, the result also shows the budget, which is also important to successfully develop a project, does not actually influence designer's creative autonomy as the project stakeholders expect.



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***Soundscape investigation: Exploring the soundmap of West Central District,
Tainan City, Taiwan***

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Abstract

The concept of soundscapes as an alternative viewpoint on environmental sound has been gaining considerable attention during the past few decades. There has been no single agreed definition for soundscapes, but a working definition for the term is the totality of all sounds within a location emphasizing on the relationship between the individual's or society's perception, understanding, and interaction with the sonic environment. This study focuses on the West Central District in the historic city of Tainan, which is located in south of Taiwan. The main reason for investigating the soundscape of the city is that this area is the district in Taiwan where many historical assets, ritual ceremonies of traditional religion, and folk activities are most often observed compared with other places in the country. Research on the soundmap of this district has not yet been executed, thus an exploratory study on constructing a soundmap for this district will be conducted. Classification of the types of soundscape and determining how individuals and groups perceive these components of soundscape in order to preserve the sounds and to design a series of innovative sound experience pattern will be carried out in the future. This will be made possible by collecting sounds within the district and investigating on the relationship between 'soundscape triangle' and 'ecological triangle' to find out how local residents and visitors perceive various sounds. Interview with the residents and visitors in the city will be carried out to obtain substantial findings. It is assumed that the configured soundscape will be culturally identified for the residents and visitors of the invisible image of the historical district.

Keywords: Soundscape, Soundmap, Soundscape triangle, Ecological triangle

1. Introduction

Recently, ecology and environment issues are getting considerable attention not only from perceiving with the eyes but also from perceiving by ear. The philosophy underpinning Acoustic Ecology is simple yet profound: its author—R. Murray Schafer, a musician, composer and former Professor of Communication Studies at Simon Fraser University (SFU) in Burnaby, BC, Canada—suggests that trying to hear the acoustic environment as a musical composition and further, that everyone own responsibility for its composition (Schafer and Murray, 1977).

As Marler and Slabbekoorn (2004) mentioned in the acoustic research, “the sounds are essential factors to build the environment. Sounds that emanate from the landscape vary spatially and temporally.” In the nature environment, forests, grasslands and wetlands support a diverse array of sounds produced by mammals, birds, amphibians, and insects. In contrast, the urban landscape is filled with sounds generated by vehicles, sirens, machines and other human-produced sounds (Botteldooren, De Coensel and De Muer, 2006).

Simply stated, geophysical motion of the atmosphere and water create natural sounds, such as those of gushing rivers flowing over the terrain, or rain falling through a canopy (Swanson, Kratz, Caine and Woodmansee, 1988). The integration of all of these sounds across the landscape creates the “soundscape” (Pijanowski et al., 2011).

The concept of the soundscape has been particularly influential in contributing insights into the research related to many disciplines, including acoustics, aesthetics, anthropology, architecture, ecology, ethnology, communication, design, human geography, information, landscapes, media arts, medicine, musicology, noise-control engineering, philosophy, sociology and urban planning (Karlsson, 2000). The difference of these researches is the researcher applied the ecological, acoustic, perceptual and other specific criteria to investigate and examine the components of soundscape.

In the studies discussed above, it can be derived that there has been relatively little research in soundscape investigation until recently. However compared to concert halls, galleries and monuments, the soundscape could be considered as important intangible cultural assets reflect to the society. Therefore, the soundscape investigation based on a sociological perspective is a valuable issue to discuss about.

2. Soundscape from different perspective

2.1. Soundscape in embodiment

Sound is not the only factor to effect perception, it included every element of physical environment and individuals' bodily sensation.

The field of bodily sensation has undergone many years, but the notion of embodiment has largely been neglected in scholarly investigations until recently (Weiss & Haber, 1999). The general definition of embodiment is to take the body as a means of “perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the world” (Csordas, 1994).

In addition, human beings process all information through different senses included visual, hearing, touches, smell and taste. This research is focused on the sonic environment and the sense of hearing. Corness (2008) addresses, “incorporated in the self-awareness is the act of hearing, encompassing the physical, cultural and personal context of our self.”

From the description above, it could be summarized that the concept about the embodiment included bodily experience, emotional feelings (e.g., cultural meaning, social relation) and non-emotional feeling (e.g., sensuous ratio and relations).

When people go into an environment, it is usually composed of several kinds of sound, but sound is something most people take for granted and neglected easily. With evolution of sound research, the scholar developed academic terms such as sonic environment, acoustic ecology and soundscape. These concepts were applied to many research field included acoustics, architecture, ecology, sociology, design and others.

And Sarah R. Payne (2009) defined soundscape are the totality of all sounds within a location with an emphasis in the relationship between individuals’ or society’s perception of, understanding of, and interaction with the sonic environment. The meaning of the term “-scape” refers to an area, scene, space or view. Soundscape is sounds occurring over an area. This research attempts to explore the relationship soundscape and place, thus it is corresponded to the soundscape defied by Sarah R. Payne (2009).

2.2. Soundscape in Humanities

The field of soundscape and acoustic ecology, as envisioned by Schafer (1977) and Truax (1978), provided several important humanities-based perspectives and formalized the acoustic ecology to background sounds defined as Keynotes, Sound signals and Soundmarks. Furthermore, it could find the acoustic ecology research dedicated to classify the ambient sounds and describe the esthetic and value of each sounds. Compared with acoustic ecology research, soundscape research is more focused on investigating the spatial and temporal acoustic pattern and how individuals interact with the sounds.

2.3. Soundscape in Sociology

Research on the concept of soundscape has recently been conducted in Taiwan. Wang (1999) observed the relationship between soundscape and environmental sociology and explored socio-cultural insight of the soundscape between the two cities in a cross-cultural comparison. Three dimensions were applied in the environmental sociology research: ecological triangle, soundscape triangle and time arrow in a historical perspective. The components of the ecological triangle and soundscape triangle are shown in Table 1. Based on the ecological triangle and soundscape triangle perspective, Wang classified soundscape into three categories, which includes people-oriented soundmark, space-oriented soundmark and activity-oriented soundmark. The concept of these three categories considers people as social actors, space as social container, and activity as social output.

	People	Space	Activity
Soundmark			
Signal (foreground sound)			
Keynote			

Table 1 Ecological triangle and Soundscape triangle

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Scope

This research was done to construct soundmap. Thus it focused on the four cultral zones in West Central District in the city of Tainan where many historical assets, ritual ceremonies of traditional religion, and folk activities are most often observed compared with other places as shown in Figure 1. The sounds being heard in this district was chosen throughout the investigation, but noise and other negative sounds were excluded.

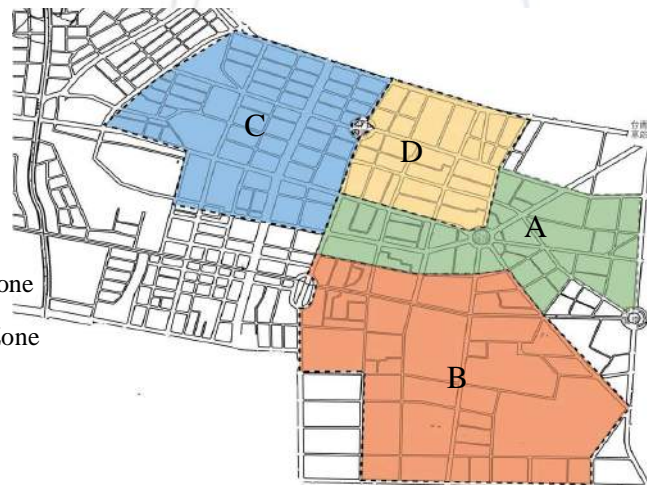


Fig. 1 The

- A. Mingshen Garden Cultural Zone
- B. Confucius Temple Cultural Zone
- C. Five Harbor Cultural Zone
- D. Chih-kan Cultural Zone

four

cultral zones in West Central District

3.2. Research Method

Wrightson's (2000) research showed the mediating relationship of individuals to the environment through sound (see Fig. 2). The structure was applied in this study, which tried to explore the relationship between environment and sounds and the connection between sounds and individuals' perception.

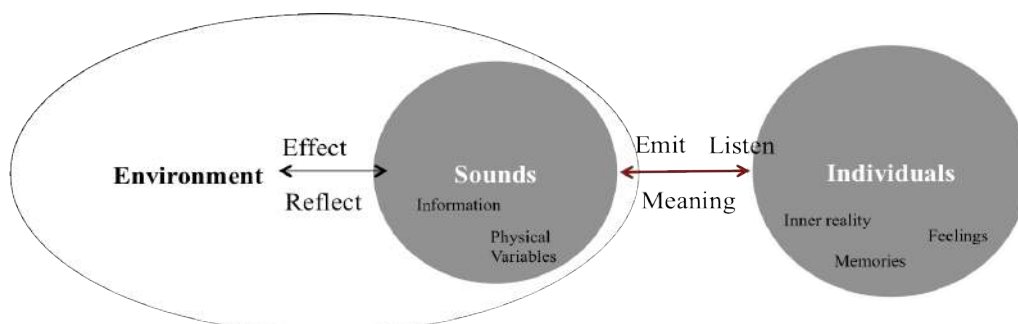


Fig. 2 Mediating relationship of individuals to environment through sound

The research method of this study is qualitative research, and a two-phase study is designed to construct the soundmap, to explore the soundscape identification and classification in West Central district in the city of Tainan. The target soundscape excluded noise and focused on sound from different folk activities and cultural themes that have strong characteristics and could be the soundmarks that represent West Central district. In the soundscape investigation and soundmap construction, a field study in the district was done to classify its cultural resources, record sounds, and to construct the soundmap.

Furthermore, reviewing the literature related to the history and culture background of West Central District in Tainan was done to reveal the profound meaning behind some particular sound.

4. Research Findings

A number of interesting findings emerged from the research process, but this research focuses on the soundscape, which is characteristic and unique among the research scope. Based on the soundscape investigation, this research generates three categories of soundscape and constructs the soundmap of West Central District.

4.1. Soundscape in four cultural zones

The investigated target of this research is West Central district, and the soundscape has the strong connection with the history and characteristic of these four cultural zones. Thus the following is to address the history, characteristics and soundscape in each zone.

In the Mingshen Garden Cultural Zone, important governmental institutions were built around the Mingshen Garden, which underline the image of city center of Tainan round 1907. There are many historical buildings in this zone, included the National Museum of Taiwan Literature where could display the installations perform Taiwanese poet chanting and aboriginal festival ritual songs, Museum of Meteorology where could hear the beach waves and tornado sounds and in the lord of heaven temple could find the broadcast about religious activities ordinarily and valuable religious ritual songs on the god's birthday.

Confucius Temple Cultural Zone centered at the historical Confucius temple, which is Taiwan's first school. The traditional Confucius ceremonies are held in the temple every year. They are the most well preserved Confucius ceremonies, which involve several traditional music instruments like bamboo fungus, inverted bell and Chinese flute. The sounds of making coffee, fruit drinks or the shaving of ice in shops around the Confucius Temple could be observed daily.

Five Harbor Cultural Zone prospered during the reign of emperors during Qing Dynasty, so the sounds of putting the salts and rice in order in the traditional dry saltery shops are heard. However, the crumbling old houses in this zone is considered the best canvas for groups of creative artists, so graffiti and artwork appear along the street and many unique stores. The Karaoke Television sounds and some art and craft-making sounds could also be heard in this zone.

Chih-kan Cultural zone is one of the few areas in the city where structure built in the Dutch and Jheng Era are seen. The sound of water can be heard from the Chinese garden and ponds in the Provintia, while singers and bands produce music with their instruments that serenade listeners in the evening. Moreover, many traditional food makers create particular sounds during cooking. Also, traditional crafts and daily living equipment makers create particular tempo during production in their shops at the Chih-kan cultural zone.

After investigating the soundscape in these four cultural zones, three categories of soundscape are given based on the Ecological triangle and Soundscape triangle (Wang, 1999).

- (1) People-oriented Soundmark (People as social actor):
City tempo around the street, residents and visitors chatting in different languages, the voice of vendors trying to get everyone's attention, traditional food cooking and craft making.
- (2) Space-oriented Soundmark (Space as social container)
Morning bell from temples, the exhibited devices created beach waves and tornado sounds in Museum of Meteorology, the installations performed Taiwanese poet chanting and aboriginal festival ritual songs in National Museum of Taiwan Literature.
- (3) Activity-oriented Soundmark (Activity as social output)
Sounds produced by traditional music instruments being played in traditional Confucius ceremonies, religious rituals held at the lord of heaven temple, religious procession around the district.

4.2. The soundmap of West Central District

Among the many topics to be explored in soundmap, the important one is *Radio aporee*. This global project has started in 2006 and is a global soundmap dedicated to field recording and the art of listening. It connects sound recordings and places in order to create a sonic cartography. It is open to the public as a collaborative project. The purpose of this project is to encourage everyone listening to the sounds of surroundings, record and share them with others on radio aporee, which relied on everyone's contributions.

The sounds heard are field and location recordings, and sounds from actual sites and situations. However, there are some restrictions implemented. First, music, songs, promos, and recordings of concerts are excluded. Secondly, the sounds where be recorded should be labeled clearly. No sound effects were also recorded, and a recording duration of at least one minute was required. Compared to the Street View function provided by Google map, the *Radio aporee* global map display the soundscape in different variation (hour, day, season) all over the world. And there are 22178 sounds recorded and labeled on 19034 places. In addition the total number of sound records in Taiwan is 2188, most of them are focused on Taipei city as showed as following figure 3.

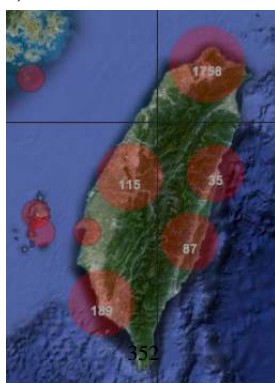


Fig. 3 Taiwan as shown in the *Radio aporee* global map

Therefore, this research constructs the soundmap of West Central District on the *Radio aporee* global map. The correct location and characteristic sounds of space and the ambiences are marked in order to display the soundscape of the historical district in Tainan city for everyone on the Internet.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

In this paper, it presents the findings of soundscape investigation and constructing soundmap of West Central District. And the findings from soundscape investigation may be explained by considering the cultural and sociological perspectives.

A number of interesting findings emerged after the investigation; it shows a strong relationship between space and soundscape. There are numerous historical buildings in this district. And characteristic of them is high ceiling make the sound reverberate and stereo easily.

The important findings from the investigation indicated that some particular sounds announcing weather change for local people, and the sounds from religious ceremonies means important days for traditional religion reminding residents to participate in folk activities or some folk customs. Thus some historical sounds will trigger individuals' memories and emotions based on the interview, these valuable sounds should be recorded and preserved as intangible cultural heritage.

In the future, soundscapes have the potential to successfully raise public awareness of, and responsibility towards, the historical district by means of its soundscape. This was achieved not by promoting a self-realization but rather the identification of sounds as having a greater value or worth within a historical district.

It is hopeful that future research will investigate the soundscape in other districts, and generate the valuable soundscape recording and constructing soundmap in Taiwan.

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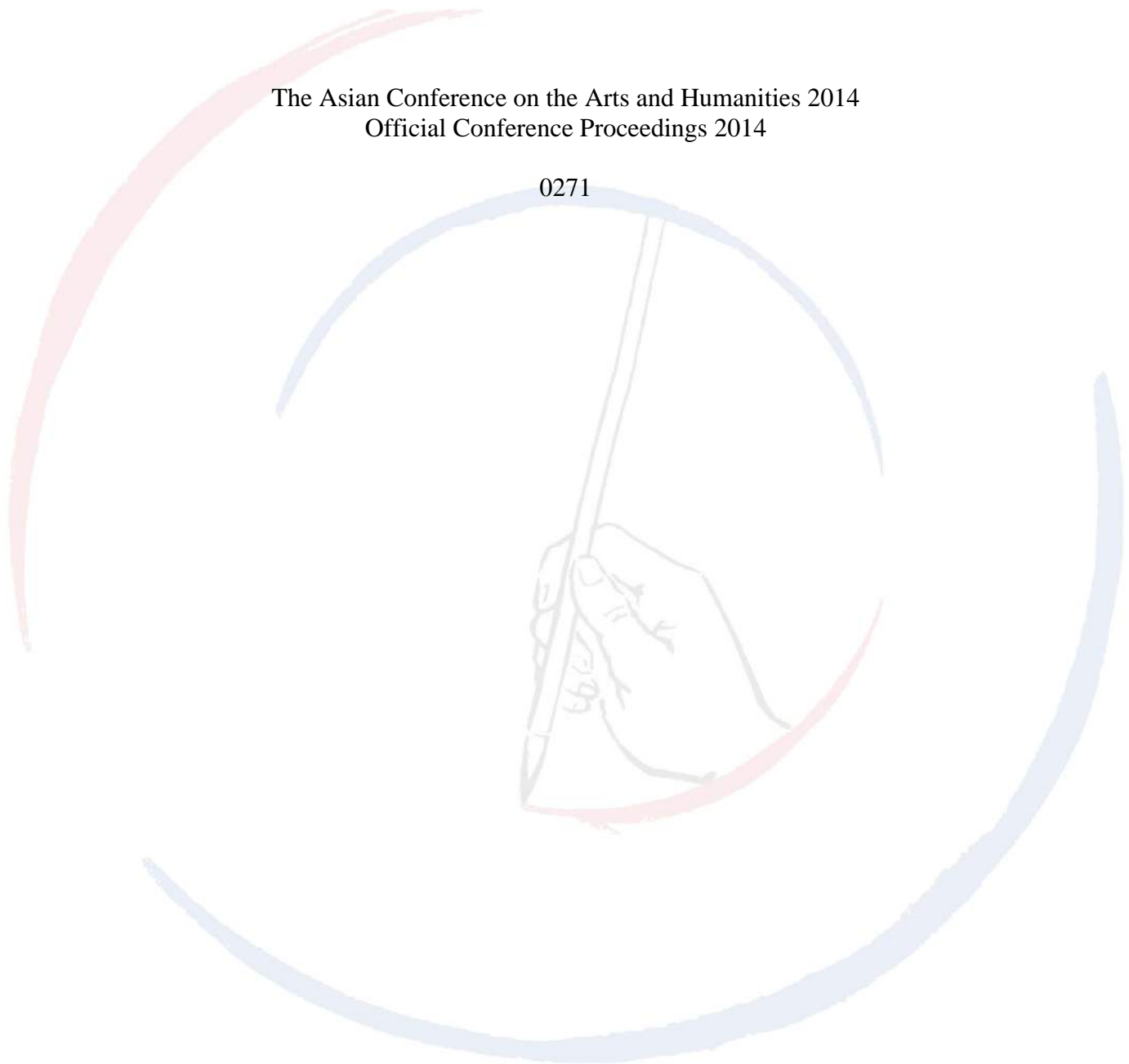
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Theatrical Hybridity, Thy Name is Conflict: A Case Study on Holo Taiwanese Opera Troupe's Tai Tzu Fu Chou (The Prince's Vengeful Plan)

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I. Introduction

In 2002, Holo Taiwanese Opera Troupe adapted William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* into a six-hour-long intercultural performance, *Tai Tzu Fu Chou (The Prince's Vengeful Plan)*, which Pao-hui Chen (陳寶惠), the adaptor, tried to explore a new content for declining traditional Taiwanese Opera. As for *The Prince's Vengeful Plan*, it is the third time for Holo to adapt western drama into Taiwanese Opera, and such a kind of theatrical hybridity has caused a lot of controversies since the troupe adapted Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol's *The Government Inspector* in 1996. Holo's intercultural performances in Taiwanese Opera are considered, according to Patrice Pavis, "cultural collage" accused to blaspheme the original all the time. In order to detect the problems of Holo's intercultural performances, we focus on *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* and discuss the related issues in three aspects: 1) to reevaluate the development of traditional Taiwanese Opera and to see how and why Holo Taiwanese Opera Troupe developed its intercultural Taiwanese Opera, 2) to explore the cultural conflicts when the text of the source culture is adapted into the intercultural performance of the target culture, and 3) to see how and why the spirit and the verses of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* are distorted in Holo's theatrical adaptation. After that, we conclude Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* in Taiwanese Opera is not a successful theatrical adaptation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

II. The Development of Traditional Taiwanese Opera in Taiwan

According to Su-Shang Lu (呂訴上), Taiwanese Opera, the only performing art originated in Taiwan, has absorbed different styles of formal Chinese operas, such as Peking Opera, Luan-Tan Opera (亂彈戲), Si-Ping Opera (四平戲), Li-Yuan Opera (梨園戲), and Gao-Jia Opera (高甲戲). At the very beginning, the forerunner of Taiwanese Opera is Jin-Ge (錦歌) which was brought to Taiwan by Fujian immigrants in 1624.¹ After Jin-Ge was brought to Taiwan, it started to transform into a local ballad in Yi-Lan County. At the very beginning, the ballad was sung by men and women in the country or village. Later, the composers started to arrange some plots for the ballads, and singers also added acting, makeup, and costumes to the performances. Soon, the ballad was turned out to be an opera which was firstly seen in the ceremony of the rituals in Taiwanese temples. After that, the opera became popular and was formally performed on the stage in Taiwan. The first Taiwanese Opera was *Chen San and Wu Niang* (陳三五娘), and the second one was a well-known romance *The Butterfly Lover* (梁山伯與祝英台). From then on, Taiwanese Opera gradually flourished, and several people also started to organize the opera troupes and toured in temple fairs in Taiwan.

The development of Taiwanese Opera was framed in Japanese Occupation Era (1895-1945). In 1937, the Second Sino-Japanese War took place, and the Japanese Colonial Government devoted its efforts to the *Kominka* Movement (*Kominka undo*) and tried to take theatre troupes as mouthpieces to propagate its militarism. According to Lu, the Japanese Colonial Government forbade Taiwanese to study

¹ Jin-Ge is a kind of music tune which can be sung in 5 or 7 words, and it was very popular in Chang Chou (漳州).

native languages of *Han* people because the Japanese authority wanted to brainwash Taiwanese to be loyal to the Japanese emperor. Taiwanese Opera full of local colors was definitely not allowed to be performed in Taiwan, but it was impossible for the Japanese colonial Government to ban this performing art which was deeply rooted in Taiwanese's minds. Instead of forbidding the performances of Taiwanese Opera, the Japanese authority tried to "manage" or "control" these Taiwanese Opera Troupes. As a matter of fact, it was proved in vain and the development of Taiwanese Opera continued flourishing at that time.

After the Japanese Colonial Government surrendered and withdrew from Taiwan, the development of traditional Taiwanese Opera encountered another political oppression when the Kuomintang Government came to Taiwan in 1945. At the very beginning, the Kuomintang Government would like to reform traditional Taiwanese Opera. Like what the Japanese Colonial Government had done before, the Kuomintang Government wanted to use Taiwanese Opera as political propaganda to broadcast the ideology of Anti-Communism and Anti-Russia. Such a condition had the themes of Taiwanese Opera were restricted to "political correctness." For example, the Association of Taiwanese Opera Reformation (台灣歌仔戲改進會) had a Taiwanese Opera Troupe, *Lung Feng She* (龍鳳社), produce a new opera called "Prince of Yanping Recovered the Lost Territory of His Motherland (延平王復國)" which implied that the Kuomintang government would recover the Mainland China some day. Later, the development of traditional Taiwanese Opera was influenced not only by the Kuomintang's political propaganda but also by Peking Opera. When the Kuomintang Government withdrew from the Mainland China, many Peking Opera troupes came to Taiwan and brought their performing skills to Taiwanese Opera singers as well. Under the influence of Peking Opera, the performing skills and the contents of Taiwanese Opera transformed. After that, Taiwanese Opera can be seen in indoor or outdoor theatres, broadcasts, cinemas and TV programs.

In 1985, Chung-yuan Liu (劉鐘元), the founder of Holo Taiwanese Opera Troupe, had the performance of Taiwanese Opera in the broadcast show produce in TV program. At the very beginning, Holo Taiwanese Troupe aimed at producing courtroom dramas. During the 1990s, Holo Taiwanese Opera Troupe guided by Yung-yi Tseng (曾永義), a Taiwanese scholar, produced a series of "Elaborate Taiwanese Opera." According to Tseng, "Elaborate Taiwanese Opera" concerns about six things, including "the themes that conform to unconventional patterns, the well-knot plots, the spectacular stage designs, the witty language of the play scripts, the multiple musical tones and the performers' remarkable skills." (110) After 2000, the troupe started to produce some operas about the history of Taiwan. Meanwhile, the troupe also adapted western dramas into Taiwanese Opera. For example, the troupe adapted Gogol's *The Government Inspector* into *Imperial Envoy* in 1996, and William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* into *A Love Story of Love and Feud* in 2001. In 2002, the troupe adapted Shakespeare's *Hamlet* into *The Prince's Vengeful Plan (Tai Tzu Fu Chou)* in 2002. These theatrical adaptations definitely have enriched the contents of traditional Taiwanese Opera, but these adaptors have caused lots of controversies in modern Taiwanese theatre. In order to detect this issue, we take Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* as an example to explore the cultural conflicts between Holo's adaptation and the original in the following section.

III. The Cultural Conflicts between Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Holo's Adaptation

In modern Taiwanese theatres and operas, there have been a lot of Shakespearean adaptations, but most of them are regarded as “cultural collage.” According to Rustom Bharucha, the main reason that these Shakespearean adaptations regarded as cultural collage is related to the adaptors who ignore the importance of the historical or cultural context of the source culture and arbitrarily distort the spirit of the origin text. In this section, we compare Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* with Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and see how and why these two theatrical genres are incomparable.

As mentioned earlier, the themes of traditional Taiwanese Opera which have been influenced by various kinds of Chinese Operas can be divided into four categories: loyalty, filial piety, integrity, and justice. Besides, Taiwanese Opera influenced by Chinese Operas have to apply their skills, such as singing, chanting, acting, and stage combat, to the performance. In the contrast with Taiwanese Opera, Shakespeare's play is a different kind of performing genre composed of blank verses. Because Taiwanese Opera and Shakespeare's spoken drama are different performing genres and share different cultural backgrounds, it is difficult to translate or adapt Shakespeare's play into Taiwanese Opera faithfully. In 1987, John Y. H. Hu indicated a similar problem when Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was adapted into the Contemporary Legend Theatre's *The Kingdom of Desire*. Hu indicates,

Except for the negligence of the adapters, the conflicts of the theatrical hybridity are due to the great differences between these two performing genres... Peking Opera performers have to spend a lot of time on employing the skills of singing, acting, chanting, and stage combat, to stage *The Kingdom of Desire*. Even though the adapters attempt to present *Macbeth* faithfully, it is inevitable for them to cut the lines and even cast of the original. (80)

Such a condition can be detected in Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* as well. The tempos of Taiwanese Opera are slower than those in Shakespeare's spoken drama, and that is why Holo produced a six-hour-long performance in the case of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

As for the de-historicizing tendency, the adapter of Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* ignores the importance of historical context of the original and its adaptation and arbitrarily sets up the background of the play in the unknown period in ancient Chinese society. In the original, Shakespeare based *Hamlet* on *Amleth* and set up time and space in the court of Denmark; however, the adapter of Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* could not specify the exact time and space and put the historical background of the whole story in the court of ancient Chinese society. As a matter of fact, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* has nothing to do with any related Chinese tales, and the adapter merely appropriates Shakespeare's story and revises it in her theatrical adaptation. Besides, the process of adapting the original text has the statuses of the source culture and the text of the target culture become unequal because the adapter can arbitrarily appropriate the text of the source culture without concerning about the significance of its historical or cultural contexts. For example, the Denmark court

and ancient Chinese court are totally different in their cultural backgrounds. In the western society, King's brother could inherit the whole kingdom after the death of the old king. However, such a condition was rarely seen in ancient Chinese society because the prince is the righteous inheritor of the kingdom. Thus, it's the first fault for Holo's adapter to place Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in ancient Chinese society. Besides, it is impossible for the new Chinese emperor to marry the old emperor's widow because such a condition is hardly seen in feudal morality in the oriental culture, especially in ancient Chinese society.

IV. Distorting Shakespeare

As mentioned above, restricted by four major themes of Chinese Operas, Taiwanese Opera can not faithfully present the highlights of the complicated story of the western theatre; instead, these theatrical adaptation or hybridity even "simplify" the story. In the case of Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan*, it merely maintains the structure of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and the spirit and the poetry of the original are damaged as well. In Taiwanese Opera, the performers have to spend lots of time on singing and chanting instead of speaking their lines, and that is why many details would be cut in the processes of theatrical adaptation. When Holo produced *The Prince Vengeful Plan* in Taiwanese Opera, the content is restricted in four major themes and the multiple layers of the original would be unavoidable simplified at the same time. Furthermore, in order to fit in traditional Chinese culture, the adapter added unrelated plots to rationalize or beautify the whole story. For instance, Ophelia drowned because she believed that she was deserted by Hamlet in the original, but in *The Prince's Vengeful Plan*, Shuei-lian He (賀水蓮), the Ophelia figure, becomes a water goddess after she suicides herself in the pond. Such a condition beautifies the plot of the death of Ophelia, but the plot has nothing to do with the development of the whole story.

As far as the distortion of the original in the case of Holo's adaptation is concerned, the ending of *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* is problematic because it ends up "poetic justice." In *Hamlet*, Hamlet and Laertes have the game of playing foils. In the duel, Laertes wounds Hamlet, and Hamlet also wounds Laertes. As a matter of fact, Hamlet died because he was hurt by a venomous foil. However, in Holo's adaptation, the prince survives, and the prince avenges his father against his uncle successfully and becomes a new emperor at last. Such an arrangement of the ending of Holo's adaptation is close to tragicomedy because the protagonist does not die for his tragic flaw. Obviously, the ending of Holo's adaptation is totally different from that of the original. Even though the Prince Huai-te Tuan (段懷德) seemingly suffers from the death of his girlfriend and his mother, he successfully avenges his father against his vicious uncle and inherits the kingdom at last. In traditional Chinese theatre, such an ending can be regarded as a happy ending, and the Prince Tuan can not be considered as a tragic hero. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the audience would show their sympathy to the death of Hamlet because Hamlet suffers from his hesitation; however, audience's perception of "pity and fear" would have descended because the protagonist does not die at last.

V. Conclusion

As mentioned previously, Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* merely maintains the

frames of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. In order to have the storyline of Holo's adaptation complete, the adapter has to cut several scenes and even adds new plots to the performance. Besides, it is seemingly impossible for the adapter to translate the poetry of Shakespeare's play faithfully because the adapter has to concerns about the lyrics which can be sung in Taiwanese Opera. Therefore, it is unavoidable for the adapter or the translator to revise or even to rewrite the script for its performance. On the one hand, this theatrical hybridity enriches the contents of descending traditional Taiwanese Opera. On the other hand, Holo's intercultural performance of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* exposes the problem of the limitation in adapting western theatre into Taiwanese Opera. Thus, we conclude that adapting Shakespeare's *Hamlet* into Holo's *The Prince's Vengeful Plan* is unsuccessful because they are incomparable performing garners as well as different cultural backgrounds.



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A Great Citizen is Still “Under-Construction”: the Conflicting Self-Identity in Sayonara 1945

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Abstract

Sayonara 1945, performed by Golden Bough Theatre in 2010 in Taipei, was claimed to be a “Heart Tai Magical Musical.” This “Heart Tai Magical Musical” is actually an adaptation of Taiwanese *Opela*, a reformed and adapted style of Taiwanese local opera (*gezaixi*), which has been strongly influenced by Japanese Colonization. *Sayanara 1945* fictionalizes a troop of Taiwanese youths who join the Imperial Army being lied and cheated to dig gold for the Japanese Emperor after the war is over. This play gives a conflicting scenario of being Taiwanese in 1945, while everything that defined Taiwanese suddenly turned out to be treason to the country. By adapting the form of *Opela*, the play structurally presents a society where diverse and plural cultural elements counteract each other in Taiwan. Furthermore, as the title suggests, the play says Sayonara (“Goodbye” in Japanese) to 1945, yet the confusion and conflict generated in 1945 still haunt Taiwanese society. In other words, the play responds to an on-going self-conflict of being Taiwanese that still continues even after the war and unto the present symbolically. Presented in the year before “the Republic of China” celebrated her hundredth birthday, this play portrays the anxiety about who the Taiwanese really are over the island, just like in the summer of 1945 when everything was also uncertain and confusing. This paper intends to discuss, by adopting the form and techniques of *Opela*, how this reformed *Opela* speaks for Taiwanese local arts and culture, and how the Taiwanese identity is framed and shaped ever since the colonization era.

Key words: *Opela*, *Sayonara 1945*, Golden Bough Theatre, Taiwanese opera, Taiwanese identity, Japanese Colonization, Japanization Movement

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Introduction

Sayonara 1945, performed by Golden Bough Theatre (金枝演社) in 2010 in Taipei, one year earlier before the Republic of China celebrated her hundredth national birthday. *Sayonara 1945* is also titled in Chinese, *A March of Great Citizens* (《大國民進行曲》/ *Da guo min jin xing qu*). Both English and Chinese titles suggest 1945 is not only a watershed between Japanese Colonization and the Kuomintang Administration in Taiwan, but at this critical divide, Taiwanese people have experienced a political confusion about who they believe they are and who they really are. As Rong-yu Wang, director of this play, has put it, “[T]his play tells not only a simple story that took place in 1945, but provides a fable just as suitable for modern Taiwan. The illustration of ‘One Country, Two Worlds’ creates a vivid projection of how people feel at this current moment.”¹ Wang would like to utilize this illustration of “One Country, Two Worlds” to point out the inner conflict of today’s Taiwanese people, that although Taiwan has gone through several democratic revolutions, the anxiety about uncertain future and quest for a national identity still haunt the island. While the government celebrated with great pleasure the hundredth national birthday of the Republic of China which actually reigns over Taiwan only after 1945, the doubt and anxiety about who Taiwanese really are also enhance simultaneously.

Golden Bough Theatre has been established in 1993, and claims to draw inspirations from local Taiwanese opera (i.e. Gezaixi/歌仔戲 in Chinese) and western theatrical practices.² Its grassroots spirit and innovative ways of merging Taiwanese opera and modern theatre stand out above the other local theatrical troupes in Taiwan. Golden Bough Theatre has been best-known for its *Opela* productions, a hybrid form of Taiwanese local opera and foreign arts. *Opela* is a transliterated term from “opera” (オペラ) in Japanese, whose origin could be dated back to the colonization era. During Japanese Occupation Era (1895-1945), a lot of western theatrical ideas and practices were introduced to Taiwan by overseas Chinese and Japanese. Later on, due to the severe suppression of the Japanization Movement (*Kominka* Movement/皇民化運動, 1937-1945), *Opela* survived and boosted as the major public entertainment for Taiwanese people, when all Taiwanese indigenous arts were strictly censored and controlled. *Opela* has long been a street demonstration, played along with religious festivals or ceremonies. Golden Bough Theatre now promotes it as a high art to be performed in National Theatre. This shift of the performing locales of *Opela* is phenomenal, for it highlights this hybrid and somewhat vulgarized street art and reminds the audience of the colonial past on this island. In this paper, I would like to discuss, by adopting the form of *Opela*, how Taiwanese identity is presented in *Sayonara 1945* and ever since the colonization era, and how the form of *Opela* represents one trait of Taiwanese identity.

I.

Sayonara 1945 features a troop of Taiwanese youths who join the Imperial Army being lied and cheated by their superiors, Takabashi and Kobayashi, to dig gold for the Japanese Emperor, when the Pacific war is over in 1945. Then, Kobayashi asks

¹ This part is quoted from “1945, Dream On” written by Rong-yu Wang from the pamphlet packed along with the DVD that recorded actual performance.

² See the official website of Golden Bough Theatre, <http://www.goldenbough.com.tw/> (25 Mar. 2014). The major western practice is from the Grotowski training system.

help from a female traveling opera troupe to cover the truth and pretend they are Women's Volunteer Corp sent by the Japanese Government to comfort the soldiers. Kobayashi promises that once gold is found, he would share gold with all of opera performers. With the help from these opera performers, the soldiers are pacified and deeply believe once they succeed, gold would bring them good fortune and fame, and soon they all could return home with honor and wealth. However, as time flies, no gold is found and the opera performers find it more and more difficult to keep deceiving. Eventually, a soldier decides to run away with an opera girl. As he learns their plan, Takabashi is eager to stop them by killing the girl. In order to stop Takabashi, the master of the opera troupe, who turns out to be a secret agent of China, Tamsui Number 3, reveals the truth, and the soldiers finally come to realize all they believe is nothing but a lie, a dream they build in the air.

Structurally, in *Sayonara 1945*, there are a series of illusions and lies. Takabashi, unwilling to accept the truth of being defeated, still hangs on his ambitious dream and imperial glory. In order to realize his dream, Takabashi conspires with Kobayashi and leads the troop to mine gold. He believes once gold is found, he could have enough supply to fight back and prove his loyalty to the Emperor. Kobayashi and the soldiers simply follow the order of mining and regard mining as a great contribution to the country. Meanwhile, the opera performers, who already know the truth that the war is over and Japan is no longer their home country, still consent to help realize the illusion for intriguing financial incentives. Despite the truth of losing the war, everyone in the play seems to believe the dream he or she is building and tries hard to make it come true.

The series of illusions and lies here in this play carry a double meaning. First, the ideal of the imperial glory and great citizens is only an illusion, a make-believe. The play begins with the Japanese Emperor's declaration of defeat in 1945. As the play reveals, Takabashi and Kobayashi are kneeling down in the background and prepare to commit suicide as they learn the war is over. In the meantime, down in the foreground, a group of young opera actresses sing the song of victory. Their master teaches them now the national language is no longer Japanese; they have to practice Mandarin Chinese. Soon, a band of soldiers appear onstage complaining that when the Japanese rule Taiwan, they have to learn Japanese; now if the Chinese come, they all have to learn Mandarin Chinese; they are always busy adjusting themselves to the new ruler. This scenario shows in 1945 everything that Taiwanese people used to be familiar or even identify with, such as language and the nation, suddenly turns out to be foreign and strange. Naturally, the idea of "great citizens" would be always challenged by different political powers. In fact, before 1945, the Japanese colonial government propagandized the idea of being an imperial subject was an honor for the Taiwanese, and the Chinese are the enemy. However, as Japan lost the war, the honor of being an imperial subject soon turned out to be treason, although the Chinese language could be as foreign as Japanese to Taiwanese people at that time. The very first scene just reveals the truth that Taiwanese people are not only between political reigns but between new national identities; yet, their identity is never defined by themselves. The real Japanese, like Takabashi, choose to die for honor, while the Taiwanese adjust themselves for survival. Under this condition, the idea of being great citizens is only a way out for survival under the colonial reign. As the play progresses, the need for survival and reuniting with the family for Taiwanese people stands out above the need for a national identity. Despite the fact that they are

between two different political reigns, all Taiwanese characters in the play are busy covering or prevented from knowing the truth in order to survive, which makes the idea of imperial glory and great citizens that Takabashi propagandizes seem to be airy and vain.

Second, ironically, the series of illusions and lies presented in the play help the Taiwanese to recognize the truth that they are not unified and their lack of a core identity. In this play, Kobayashi and Haruko, the leading actress of the opera troupe, both are aware of the truth that the war is over, and work together to prevent the soldiers from knowing it. They could be seen as representative as how Taiwanese people come to realize the need to control their fate and define their own identity in the times of turbulence. In Act 3, seeing the soldiers being deceived and trapped in lies, Haruko starts to feel troubled by her sense of guilt. She constantly feels confused in her “play” of deception, asking herself who the winner is. Or is everyone the loser who has gold but loses the home (or the home country they used to believe)? Later in Act 4, Haruko decides to confront with Kobayashi and persuades him into ending their “play.” She thinks it is time to reveal the truth, and even blames Kobayashi for being coward to face the fact. Kobayashi replies all he wishes is love and survival, so that he could move onto his life. He is reluctant to face the truth. It is until Takabashi threatens to kill Yokmui who decides to run away with the soldier, Ario, and the Chinese secret agent, Tamsui Number 3, stays indifferent and detached coldly from the possible murder, that Kobayashi realizes he is not Japanese or Chinese, for the Japanese or Chinese never regards him as one of them. He then shouts, “Taiwanese people should be unified” (Act 4). Surviving between different political powers, the desire for survival may suppress Taiwanese people from searching for a national identity; however, it is also the strong need to survive helps the Taiwanese realize their identity is torn and not unified. Presenting the change of Kobayashi’s political stand, *Sayonara 1945* points out the struggle of Taiwanese people during the war and colonization. The shift of political powers and suppressive colonial reigns result in the confusion and dilemma of Taiwanese people, but at the same time activates the desperate need for a national identity.

In this play, the most significant metaphor is the act of mining. On the surface, gold mining is an order from Takabashi, and the soldiers just follow it dutifully. Nevertheless, as they begin digging, the soldiers become hopeful and dream to be shrouded with gold when returning home. This act of mining then turns into a process of dream realizing. For these Taiwanese soldiers, following the order and then getting rewards could lead them to the path of success. Yet, the act of mining displays a submissive and docile body gesture here: bending, sweating, and laboring in darkness; these soldiers are invisible to the Japanese Emperor and even to China, their new ruler. This act of mining demonstrates a vivid contrast to the promise made by Takabashi and Kobayashi: they build the castle in the air, while the soldiers take actions to work for their dreams.

It is worth noting that by the end of the play, all characters find what really shines before them is not gold, but miscanthus flowers, a widespread wild plants in Taiwan. Miscanthus flowers survive even in harsh conditions; once cut or destroyed, they could always survive and bloom. Miscanthus flowers are a symbol of life-force and indigene. During the Japanese Occupation Era, many Taiwanese people would compare themselves as miscanthus flowers which bloom and thrive when being

mistreated.³ In this play, all characters are eager to find gold, an expensive but dead substance to transform them and grant their wishes; however, what really gives rays of life is a native wild plant grown out of the soil. Miscanthus flowers are a reminder to all characters that they all have to move on despite the shift of governments:

All: Coming to a new age / There's nothing after all.

When the sun rises above the mountains

We'll see the light

Shining on our bodies

Giving us warmth

Though the dream is over

We'll still move forward (Act 4).

Ending with the image of miscanthus flowers, *Sayonara 1945* does not seem to provide a solution to the identity dilemma of Taiwanese people. Facing the colonial past and the coming threat from China, *Sayonara 1945* raises the question and reflection about whom Taiwanese people should identify with. However, the image of miscanthus flowers has implied more than it appears: both Japan and China in this play are regarded as foreign powers and neither of them could represent Taiwan; therefore, *Sayonara 1945* strongly suggests the indigenous and native are true Taiwanese, which is the cause of "One Country; Two Worlds" in Taiwan. When Taiwanese people say *sayonara* to the Japanese reign and the Koumintang Chinese came along, for more than 60 years, many Taiwanese people still feel they do not have a say in their freedom and rights. Recently, with the forceful economic and political threat from China, this play once again reminds Taiwanese people of 1945, which is analogous to the present condition: we already said *sayonara* to colonization, but we are anxious and uncertain about the future. In between, the Taiwanese could only hang on to what they have and find the way to survive.

II.

Although *Sayonara 1945* strongly suggests the indigenous and native are what the Taiwanese would identify with, the form of the play does not respond to the idea; on the contrary, the form is a hybrid product of colonization and cultural exchanges. On the posters and promotion ads, Golden Bough Theatre claims *Sayonara 1945* is "Heart Taiwan Magical Musical" (哈台魔幻歌舞劇), a musical form of the Tai style. Actually, this style of the magical musical is a modified and refined form of *Opela*, a reformed and adapted style of Taiwanese local opera. Of all the traditional arts in Taiwan, Taiwanese opera is considered the only art originated locally and developed on the island. The root of Taiwanese opera is religious, for it is commonly seen during all kinds of rituals or festivals as a public demonstration, which makes it closely related to people's life. Before TV was popular in the 1960s, Taiwanese opera used to be the major form of public entertainment.⁴ One of the reasons for Taiwanese opera

³ For example, in 1943, Yu-xian Deng (鄧雨賢/1906-1944), a Taiwanese musician, composed a song titled *Miscanthus Flowers*, depicting the strong life-force of miscanthus flowers to survive even when being discarded, neglected or mistreated. This is metaphorical about Taiwanese people's life during Japanese Occupation Era. See <http://blog.ilc.edu.tw/blog/blog/3226/catid=12775> (April 30, 2014).

⁴ According to Yong-yi Zeng, Cong-ming Chen (陳聰明), the director of Taiwanese opera and TV programs, pointed out the golden age of Taiwanese opera should be the 1940s, especially after 1945 when the Japanese colonial government retreated from Taiwan. There were about 300 troupes in Taiwan, and Taiwanese opera was even more popular than movies. This is the time when the art

to be popular among people is its being accommodating to different political and social realities. The most drastic transformation of Taiwanese opera occurred during the Japanese Occupation Era. At the early stage of the Japanese colonization, the Taiwanese culture and customs were not strictly monitored; on the contrary, the Japanese government tried to understand and preserve all kinds of Taiwanese cultural activities in order to manage this new colony. The political strategy was pacification and assimilation then. However, with the outbreak of the Pacific War (1937-1945), the attitude of the Japanese government changed and it treated Taiwan as a military base for Japan's invasion to South Asia (i.e. the policy of Southern Expansion/南進政策), and issued a series of political and social campaigns to transform Taiwanese people's ways of life. In 1941, the *Kominhokokai* (the Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects/皇民奉公會) was established to officially "reform" Taiwanese society, and helped all imperial subjects establish extreme patriotic loyalty in their life. This is the *Kominka* Movement, or Japanization Movement in Taiwan. The *Kominka* movement actually is a series of political brain-washing campaigns: the colonial government provided economical incentives for people to use the Japanese language and customs, spread the cult of the Japanese Emperor and the Shinto religion, and change Taiwanese people's names and customs. This movement virtually urged the Taiwanese to deny their own culture and forced Taiwanese people to identify with Japan solely.

In order to "Japanize" entertainment business in Taiwan, the *Kominhokokai* issued two principles in "refining" Taiwanese arts: 1) Taiwanese songs and languages were banned from stage, but only Japanese songs and language were allowed; 2) all plays should be strictly censored and controlled, including the scripts, contents and costumes. All performers should wear *Kimono* and sing Japanese songs (Zeng 63). Thus, any theatrical production that followed these two principles were regarded as "refined drama" (改良劇). Under this circumstance, Taiwanese opera was devastated, for the tradition was overthrown and the art was forced to propagandize the Japanization ideal. In order to survive, many opera troupes tried to adapt to this cruel reality and merged Japanese music, performing styles and even imaginary or magical plots, and then a new breed of art, *Opela*, came into being.

Of all the Taiwanese traditional arts, *Opela* is the only one that is modified and strongly influenced by the political power. According to Wan-shun Shih, before the colonial government promoted the *Kominka* Movement, many Taiwanese opera troupes had already added some pop music or Japanese songs in their performance, and termed their performance as "opera" (*Ge-ju*/歌劇) instead of using its Taiwanese name, *Gezaixi*, for the term stands for "western art" and "modernity" (35-36). This is the early form of *Opela*, which is produced based on the box office consideration and desire for modernity. Shih thinks at this time Taiwanese people might not have a comprehensive understanding about what opera is, but people were eager to modernize and enrich the traditional arts by merging exotic elements and novel ideas, which makes Taiwanese opera prone to changes and modification (37). Therefore, as the *Kominka* Movement started to limit that the only aesthetic standard for Taiwanese

reached maturity. Later in the 1950s, the development of this art reached the summit and there were about 500 troupes, and 30 to 60 persons per troupe. Taiwanese opera was the most popular public entertainment at this time (Zeng 66-67).

traditional arts is “de-sinicization” and “Japanization,” *Opela* survived political persecution and found a way out to preserve Taiwanese culture at the critical moments.

Many critics find it nondescript when it comes to terming *Opela*, for it presents various music styles and its non-conventional ways of acting which are quite different from orthodox Taiwanese *Gezaixi*, and some even despise this art for it betrays the tradition and fawns on foreign powers (Chen 2005:155). However, being nondescript and subversive to the Taiwanese opera tradition just shapes the uniqueness of *Opela*. We could find various elements that are popular with the crowds in it, such as flashy light, tacky costume, traditional performing skills, and exotic dance. Rong-yu Wang, director and founder of Golden Bough Theatre, thinks the nature of *Opela* is collage (Ye 140), a projection of commoners’ life and taste. *Opela* usually features a fusion of traditional and modern theatrical arts, just like a variety show where all kinds of dramatic elements could be accepted and performed onstage.

Therefore, it is significant for Golden Bough Theatre to deal with the conflicting identity issue of the Taiwanese via the form of *Opela*. The choice itself is ambivalent enough. Though a modified form from Taiwanese opera, *Opela* is also a reminder of the colonial past, for the background when and where it was nourished. It is a transformation out of the traditional local opera, a hybrid product of various exotic elements. Furthermore, it has been developed based on the ideas of “de-sinicization” and “Japanization.” When Golden Bough Theatre claims to choose the local and grassroots path to produce theatrical works, it has—whether consciously or unconsciously—accepted the aesthetic standard established during the colonization era as a part of the Taiwanese culture, and brought it out to the spotlights of National Theatre. This shift of performing locales—from the street demonstration to National Theatre—shows the ambition of Golden Bough Theatre to celebrate and centralize Taiwanese local arts and traditions; however, Golden Bough Theatre’s choice of *Opela* to speak for Taiwanese spirit seems to suggest the ideas of “de-sinicization” and “Japanization” are not the past, but the present condition.

Like miscanthus flowers, *Opela* is very accommodating and adaptive to various challenges and even threats. Yet, *Opela* is hardly termed as indigenous, for it has subverted the Chinese cultural heritage and presented distorted Japanese culture. It is sometimes tacky and hilarious, and before Golden Bough Theatre’s productions of *Opela*, it was never a high art. Rong-yu Wang’s idea of “One Country; Two Worlds” presented in *Sayonara 1945* shows Taiwanese people now are still between political powers. We cannot deny the colonial past and overlook the forceful Chinese power, since Japanese and Chinese cultures are already parts of Taiwanese culture. But the characteristics of “great Taiwanese citizens” are still “under-construction”: no one could give a definite picture, but only an ambivalent image of the Taiwanese.

Conclusion

According to a poll made by Taiwan Thinkbank in 2013, when asked if Taiwan and China belong to “One China,” or they are two different countries, 79.9% of Taiwanese people replied they think Taiwan and China are two different countries. In terms of self-identification, 78% of people see them as Taiwanese, 7.8% think they

are Chinese, while 10.8% view themselves as both.⁵ The statistics show the majority of Taiwanese people's self-identification does not correspond to "One China Policy" that has long been recognized officially and internationally. There seems to be a gap between what Taiwanese people think they are and what the government or other countries think the Taiwanese are. *Sayonara 1945* allegorizes the present conflicting self-identification of Taiwanese people with a fictional scenario when Taiwanese people actually have to choose their national identity. The play raises the question who Taiwanese are instead of giving a definitive answer, which reflects the truth of Taiwanese conflicting self-image. Now facing China who sticks on "One China Policy" and its strong economic and political power, at the same time the anxiety and fear of being "colonized" are evoked in many Taiwanese people's mind. It seems 1945 does not go away from people's memories; it lingers and still haunts Taiwan.



⁵ See "Taiwanese Attitudes Toward Cross-Strait Relations: Findings from the Polls." Online 30 Apr. 2014.
http://www.taiwanthinktank.org/page/chinese_attachment_1/2704/Taiwanese_Attitudes_Towards_Cross_strait_relations.pdf

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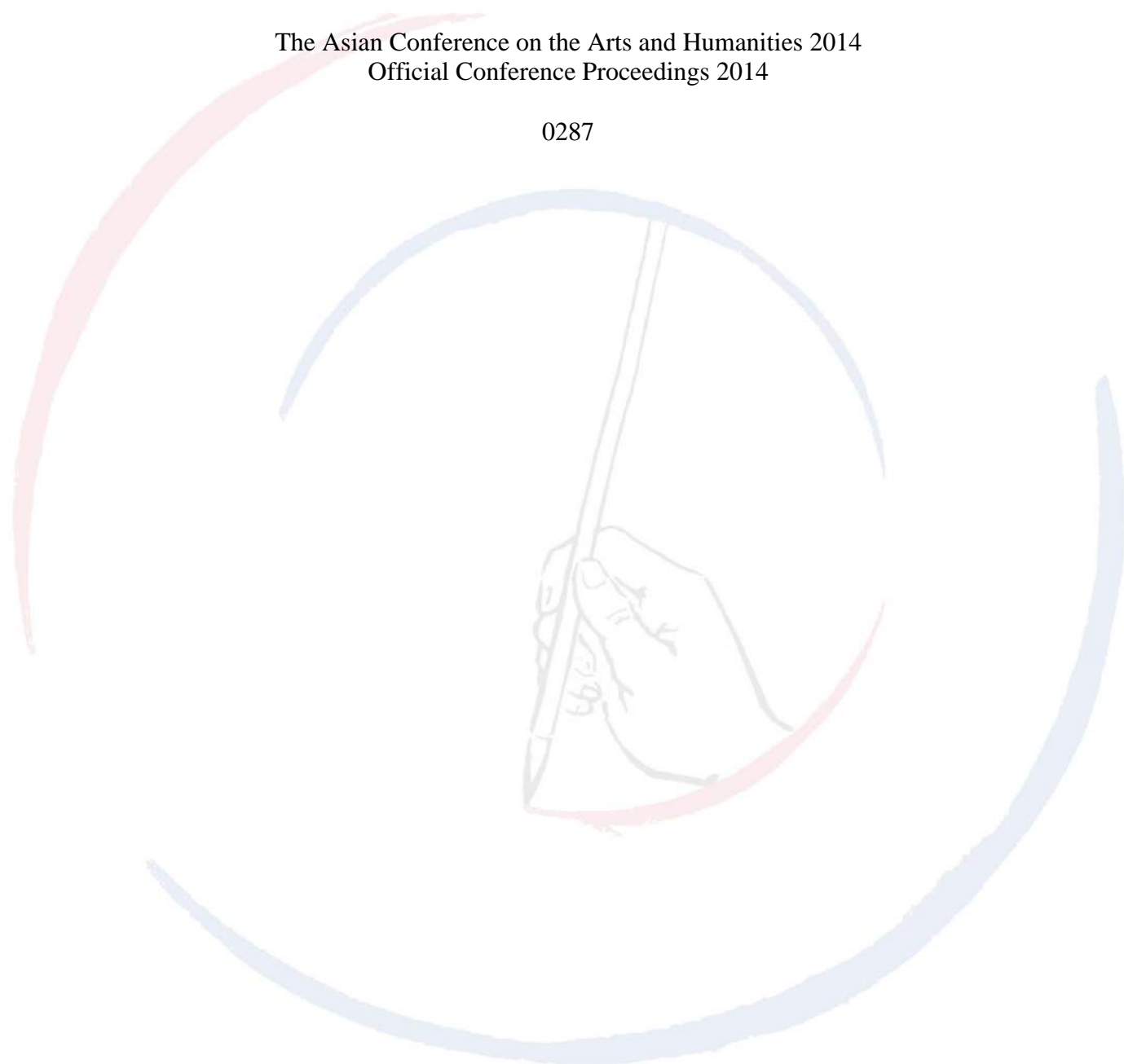
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Flexibility, Family and Guanxi in Indonesian Chinese film Ca-bau-kan (2002)

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Ca-bau-kan (dir. Nia Dinata, 2002) was the first Chinese-themed film made in Indonesia that gain public screening after more than three decades of ethnic Chinese identity erasure. The film is a historical epic set in the Dutch colonial period from around 1930s to 1950s and it vibrantly captured the life of Chinese immigrants and their business activities in Batavia (now known as Jakarta) and Semarang, a Chinese dominated area in central Java. The film premiered on the first day of *Imlek* or Chinese New Year celebration in Indonesia. This is significant because it is a tribute to the ethnic Chinese community who has inhibited in the archipelago for a several generations. It must be noted that, public expression of this kind and the entire cultural representation of the Chinese minority including Chinese education, Chinese media and the practices of Chinese traditional custom were extremely rare in the New Order era (1966-1998) under the administration of President Suharto (Suryadinata, 2008). Throughout the New Order era, there was virtually no visible sign of Chinese themes in Indonesian film, despite the fact that ethnic Chinese filmmakers had been the backbone of the national film industry in 1980s (Sen, 2006).

However, ethnic Chinese repression and discrimination has been significantly diminished after the eruption of ethnic unrest in May 1998 that ensued by the dissolution of the New Order and the resignation of President Suharto. In the post-Suharto era, not only has the public expression of Chinese culture been revitalized, the nation state has undergone various political transformations including decentralization of government control of cinema and a modification of media regulations. It could be argued that the reestablishment of Chinese culture in the public domain is the main reason why *Ca-bau-kan* (2002) gained a public screening on Chinese *Imlek*. In the meantime, with the modification of media policies, many films have engaged with minority issues and cultural taboos that were unthinkable during the new Order era. The American trained director, Nia Dinata is one of the pioneers among the newly emerged filmmakers who are inspired by the newly revolutionized Indonesia. As director, producer and script writer, she adapted the film from a novel of the same name written by Remy Sylado. The film also won her the award for Best Promising New Director at the 2002 Asia Pacific Film Festival. Apart from *Ca-bau-kan* (2002), Nia Dinata's other films include *Arisan! (The Gathering, 2003)*, a film about homosexuality, and *Berbagi Suami (Love for Share, 2006)*, a controversial film about the practice of polygamy. Dinata's choice of controversial topics evinced the greater openness to the treatment of delicate subject matter in contemporary Indonesian films.

The story of *Ca-bau-kan* (2002) focuses on the *peranakan* Chinese character Tan Peng Liang (Ferry Salim) – a wealthy tobacco merchant newly relocated to Batavia and his relationship with an Indonesian courtesan, Tinung (Lola Amalia). The film is narrated by a middle age Indonesian woman Giok Lan (Ninie L. Karim) - Tan Peng Liang and Tinung's daughter who was adopted by a Dutch family at a young age. Giok Lan returns from the Netherlands to be reunited with his brother and to recover her family history. The story of the film begins in 1930s and tells the tale of Tinung, a young indigenous girl who were accused for bringing bad luck to the family after her husband died shortly after their marriage. With her charm and talents, she is encouraged by her aunt to be a courtesan to the Chinese merchants in Batavia. Tan Peng Liang, on the other hand, is a tobacco merchant from Semarang. When Tinung is brought home as a mistress by Tan Peng Liang, his two adult sons are infuriated, but his *peranakan* Chinese wife who is in poor health reacts calmly. Nevertheless, with the blessing of his wife and Tan Peng Liang's parents (Chinese father and Javanese mother), Tan Peng Liang and Tinung are wedded. While the film is about

the love affair between the wealthy Chinese merchant and the indigenous courtesan, most of the time they lived a separate life. After they were married, Tan Peng Liang is involved in a business conflict and sentenced to jail before he escapes as a fugitive to other region. When Tan Peng Liang is in the prison, Tinung returns to be a courtesan at the shore of Kali Pasar Baru. During Japanese invasion (1942-1945) Tinung is gang raped by the Japanese army. In spite of the story of the film is about the relationship between Tan Peng Liang and Tinung, the majority of the film is concerned with Tan Peng Liang's tobacco enterprise in Batavia.

As an influential trader in the capital of Batavia, Tan Peng Liang ardently cultivates a form of social network connection that is based on personal relationship and social exchange (Yang, 1989) to wrestle against the condition of insecurity and uncertainty in the colonial state (Ong, . While he conserved the unique characteristics of flexibility and mobility - conceivably derives from the influence of his ethnic Chinese origin and diasporic identity, that enable him to wrestle against the condition of insecurity and uncertainty, the strong tie between Tan Peng Liang and his family kinship play a crucial role. In the case where he is imprisoned for the crime of money forgery, with the support of family connection he manages to escape and later return to Batavia and reestablish himself as a banker.

This paper examines how flexibility and mobility, the attributes that are compellingly manifested in Tan Peng Liang's the character, allow him negotiate his diasporic identity under the constraints of the colonial regime. The paper shall also argue that the film propagates a strong sense of social network connection that is both family centered and business related. This network connection is identified as *guanxi* (in Mandarin pronunciation). Thus, the paper further discusses *guanxi* relations as a strategy in bridging the relationship of the diasporic subject and the hegemonic ruler on the one hand, and on the other, as the pragmatism in diasporic Chinese family that shaped the flexible characteristics of the diasporic subject.

The Flexibility and Mobility of Tan Peng Liang

The idea of this paper is inspired by the concept of flexibility deployed by Aihwa Ong (Ong, 1993, 1999) particularly her discussion of the notion of 'flexible citizenship' that centers on Chinese diaspora. Ong stresses the significance of flexibility as a strategy mobilized by diasporic subjects, such as overseas Chinese for example, to grapple with the oppressed condition of a colonial state as well as in post-colonial conditions. One advantage that embedded in the pragmatism of flexibility is that, the concept allows diasporic subjects to position themselves in multiple cities at times of political uncertainty and economic insecurity or in situation where they may be exposed to personal threat (Ong, 1993). The paper is intended to weave the idea of flexibility and the unique characteristics of Tan Peng Liang in order to understand and witness an example of diasporic Chinese characteristics in metamorphosis. The understanding of these characteristics and their metamorphism would facilitate our interpretation of the representation of diasporic Chinese identity through the medium of film and how the formation of a new subjectivity is constructed in *Ca-bau-kan* (2002).

As interpreted in the film, the fluidity in his character is evidenced through the constant need for him to relocate throughout the plot, enabling the filmmaker to highlight the flexible nature of his identity. It is significant that the changes

experienced by his character involve the transformation from a wealthy merchant to a convict. The criminal then escapes to the neighboring country and becomes an arms smuggler and later a pro-independence nationalist before he finally returns to Indonesia. In the post-independence Indonesia, he transforms into a successful banker. A close reading of the film is necessary in order to better understand these changes and the traits of his flexibility.

In *Ca-bau-kan* (2002), Tan Peng Liang makes his first appearance at the annual celebration of Chinese Traditional *Cioko* Festival which takes place on his arrival in the colonial capital of Batavia. The wealthy *peranakan* Chinese businessman flaunts his power and wealth to impress the local Chinese community by spreading coins and money throughout the indigenous crowd. Tan Peng Liang's flamboyant characteristics caused an uproar among the Chinese business elites in Batavia who are members of *Kong Koan* (Batavia Chinese Council). Seeing him as rival and a threat to their tobacco business, the members of *Kong Koan* are not amicable or congenial towards him. The furious rivalry among Chinese tobacco merchants as depicted in the film is partially related to the jurisdiction of Dutch colonial power that restricted the Chinese to engaging only in commodity trading and plantation of tobacco and sugar, while the Dutch dominated the financial industries as banking (Mackie, 1991). However, may be seen in the film, Tan Peng Liang is depicted as an adventurous entrepreneur who takes a flexible attitude toward his business ventures. He refuses to be restrained within the Dutch ruler's restrictions. In turn the *peranakan* Chinese merchant becomes involved in a few illegal business activities that contribute to his wealth consolidation. His flexible attitude in his business activities may be seen as one of the reasons he is able to reconsolidate his wealth when he is faced with crisis.

Throughout the film, the majority of the Chinese businesspersons are shown vigorously participating in business activities whether that is legal or an illicit pursuit under the colonial administration. Perhaps this is related to the insecurity and uncertainty of being Chinese under the Dutch hegemonic ruler. Hence, by improving their financial strength they are able to resist the constraints imposed by the Dutch ruler. The film seems to suggest that under colonial rule, the Chinese businesspeople equated money with power and with this power they were able to negotiate their diasporic identity and stability in the state (Ong, 1993). With focus on the power of wealth, it is arguable that ethnic Chinese in Indonesia have been constantly branded as the other, treated as the lower class by the European colonizer and classified as pariahs due to their poor economy status and occupation as coolies. Thus, to most Chinese migrants, wealth is seen as a way to improve their life quality and upgrade their social status. For this reason they are furiously involved in business activities and run the risk of engaging with illicit pursuit that could ultimately strengthen their economy power.

In the film when Tan Peng Liang's involvement in counterfeit money printing is revealed by a journalist in Batavia, he is convicted and sentenced to jail by the Dutch police. However, the conviction does not terminate his determination to strive for survival and to regain his wealth and power as exhibited in the scene when he is approached by an independent journalist for an interview in the prison. He expresses "this is just temporary [referring to his imprisonment] my [Chinese] zodiac sign is rat, I could live in anywhere, in the dark alley and in any sultry condition" (*Ca-bau-kan*, 2002). The statement not only becomes a sign of his flexible identity and adaptability

but also implies that he would be able to outlive any uncertainties even in the most difficult situation.

While the jail sentence of the Chinese merchant is thought to be a personal disaster and financial catastrophe of his business in Batavia, his traits of flexibility and mobility virtually allow him to resurrect and regenerate his wealth. In the following scene, the news about Tan Peng Liang's escape from the prison is released in the local newspaper. He managed to abscond from prison with the assistance of his indigenous cousin (related to him through his Javanese mother), Mas Tardjo (Alex Komang), an underground Indonesian nationalist whose nationalist movement is financed by the Tan Peng Liang. This incident underscores the interrelation between the flexibility performed by Tan Peng Liang and the notion of family that facilitates his fluidity and mobility. Diasporic subject relies on his connection with family members - sons, cousins or other blood-link relatives in many ways to survive and to perform a task. For Tan Peng Liang, the support of Mas Tardjo is crucial, but for the indigenous nationalist, perhaps, he would want to ensure the underground nationalist movement that he participated in continuously received financial support from his wealthy Chinese cousin.

Upon his escape from jail, Tan Peng Liang flees to Macau where he recuperates and restructures his business network after ensuring that fake news about his own death reaches Batavia. In the meantime, when the news of his death makes the headline of the local newspapers in Batavia, his family and business counterparts attend his funeral. With the tactic carefully arranged, Tan Peng Liang rapidly transformed from a criminal to a businessman again. Up until this point, the unique traits of flexibility and mobility embedded in Tan Peng Liang are understood as an essential skill that allows him to relocate and reposition from one place to another in order to survive. Although he might be seen as a criminal, it is his flexible identity that this paper seeks to prioritize.

With the aim of a rapid recovery of his financial strength, Tan Peng Liang becomes involved in drug trafficking in Batavia with his two adult sons. By receiving lifeline and support from his sons apart from his indigenous cousin, Tan Peng Liang is able to regenerate his wealth within a short time. While family plays an important role in the course of the revival of the diasporic subject, the well-being of his family is likewise the major concern of the Chinese merchant.

In the film, a written message from Tan Peng Liang through Mas Tardjo to his sons in Batavia strengthens the bond of the father and sons. With the note, Tan Kim Hok and Tan Kim San are obliged to be engaged in the illegal pursuit in order to facilitate the recovery of their family financial status. A fast tracking shot accommodates the two adult sons moving from the place of prayer of 'the dead Tan Peng Liang' to the casket in another room where they find opium indicating their commitment and kinship obligation that bound them to task. Meanwhile, Tan Peng Liang's voice over on the notes he left in the casket plays become a potent support that sustain their commitment. Shortly after entering into this illegal trade, Tan Peng Liang flees to Siam (Thailand) to rebuild his life as a business person. With the affiliation with a Thai business woman he becomes involved in arms supply for the Indonesian pre-independence nationalist movement as they rebel against the Dutch administration and later the Japanese Army.

Upon meeting with his Thai business partner, Tan Peng Liang is being questioned whether he is a supporter to the communist movement in Indonesia and Southeast Asia region, he explains, "I'm a businessman and I'm only interested in profit." (*Ca-bau-kan*, 2002). With his interest in money-making he soon begins to deliver firearms to Batavia by sea. However, it is understood that his transformation to an arm smuggler is not necessarily confined to the motive of money-making. As, Tan Peng Liang's involvement in the illegal trade is partially related to his desire of home return and the sentiment of patriotism as exemplified in the scene of his emotional return to Batavia.

In the scene of his arrival at the Kepala Sunda Harbor in Batavia, he is captured in a dramatic scene with him disembarking the vessel under the rain in a slow motion shot. The scene sentimentally manifests the notion of 'home coming' or a return to his adopted home. For diapsoric Chinese who live overseas, the notion of home is always a crucial issue. As for Tan Peng Liang, the second generation diasporic Chinese in the colonial state who has less affiliation with his homeland – China, thus the idea of 'home coming' is indisputably related to returning to the adopted homeland, Indonesia. With his return to Batavia, he continues supporting the Indonesian nationalist movement through his cousin Mas Tardjo.

The traits of flexibility and mobility that embedded in Tan Peng Liang not only allowed him to survive in many uncertain circumstances by relocating in multiple cities. It has, as evidenced by the sentimental home return, become an asset for him to reunite with his family and allows him to reconnect with the adopted homeland – Indonesia. The film significantly highlights the emotional attachment of the diasporic character with his adopted homeland and underscored the subconsciousness in striving for home return, albeit the apparent motivating force that keep him alive is coming from wealth. Nevertheless, the pragmatism of flexibility and mobility that Tan Peng Liang displays does not function without the connection with members of family and how he maneuvers his personal relationships.

Family and *Guanxi* in *Ca-bau-kan* (2002)

In *Ca-bau-kan* (2002), we have seen how family becomes the core impetus to Tan Peng Liang in the pragmatic practice of flexibility. As far as the film concerned, his practicality in flexibility and mobility is nonetheless governed by the notion of family. This may be understood through the concept of filial piety. When the obligation of filial piety is applied in diasporic family business – just like Tan Peng Liang who inherits the business and wealth from his family, the law of filial piety obliges him to enhance the family business by focusing on growth and wealth accumulation. Diasporic subjects depend on such family and personal relationships – *guanxi* or network connection to consolidate their economic power. With the power of wealth they are able to negotiate their diasporic identity within the host country. In most cases, *guanxi* relations with family and kinfolks are the main reasons for a systematically organized business empire to be developed inside and outside the colonial state (Ong, 1993). Beyond family relationships, *guanxi* relies on trust between diasporic subjects and friends, business partners and coworkers. *Guanxi* relations may also be established under unofficial social interaction with people, thus this type of relationship may be considered as a form of secondary kinship whereas family relationship is the primary *guanxi* (Yang, 1989).

In *Ca-bau-kan* (2002), there is a profound connection between the characteristics of Tan Peng Liang's flexibility and his family *guanxi* that allows him to survive and position himself in multiple cities. We have seen earlier that he managed to abscond from the prison and flee to Macau with the help of his indigenous cousin Mas Tardjo who is related to him through his Javanese mother. Following his escape, with the help of Mas Tardjo, Tan Peng Liang is able to reconnect with his sons in Batavia with whom he becomes involved in drug trafficking: an illegal undertaking that helps to resuscitate his financial strength. The sequence of events indicates that the practice of Tan Peng Liang's flexibility is sustained with the connection of his family *guanxi*. Similarly, the businessman who is the inheritor of his family business depends on the family relationship to rebuild the business and regain his economic strength.

On the other hand, in launching and administrating his business, Tan Peng Liang prudently nurtures a *guanxi* network that is not only rooted in family, but a network system that is pragmatically expandable to *guanxi* relations outside of family relationship. *Guanxi* network beyond family connection is based on trust, reliability and credibility. The practice of *guanxi* network outside of family relationship is a strategy that supports resilience and systematically regulates Tan Peng Liang's network connection to ensure his business and family survives under the constraints of the Dutch colonizer and the intense discrimination from the local indigenes. Ong's explanation of *guanxi* and family may help us to understand the nature of Tan Peng Liang's *guanxi* network more fully. She asserts,

‘... Chinese subjects depend on a careful cultivation of *guanxi* and instrumentalist family practices. These habits, attitudes, and norms are not simple continuation or legacy of some essentialized bundle of “traditional” Chinese traits. *Guanxi* networks in Southeast Asia are historically contingent ... they are the dispositions and practices that emphasize pragmatism, interpersonal dependence, bodily discipline, gender and age hierarchies, and other ethnic specific modes of social production and reproduction in diaspora and under foreign rule. (Ong, 1999, p. 116)

Hence, family *guanxi* and the practices of *guanxi* relations outside of family are crucial for diasporic Chinese communities to ensure that they are able to combat with the constraints such as oppression and discrimination enforced by the colonial ruler and later the post-colonial state. Through family and *guanxi* relations, Tan Peng Liang is able to tactically construct his flexibility and reposition from one place to another as well as from one country to another. Ong argues that through the practices of *guanxi* networks and flexibility, Chinese capitalists who are able to establish themselves many countries do so by mobilizing both family *guanxi* and unofficial *guanxi* relations. Ong calls this figure the Chinese ‘astronaut’. Perhaps Tan Peng Liang who utilizes a similar kind of *guanxi* and receives a lifeline and support from his family when he was abroad could rightly fit this definition of a ‘Chinese astronaut’ (1993, p. 761).

Although the use of *guanxi* that comes from Chinese tradition relies heavily on family, kinships and friendship ties, in the colonial period, the domination of colonial economy and the formation of political economy as suggested in *Ca-bau-kan* has transformed and expanded the use *guanxi* network to facilitate the flexibility and mobility of transnational Chinese. In the film, Chinese entrepreneurs like Tan Peng Liang tactically reach out to political and social networks by weaving an unofficial

guanxi network to counter the power of the hegemonic colonial government and the unruly indigenous society. For example, in the scene where Tan Peng Liang attends the Lunar New Year celebration at the shore of *Kali Pasar Baru*, with the attempt to establish a *guanxi* relation with the Dutch officials, he sails along the shore in a dragon boat to attract the attention of the officials. Upon meeting with the Dutch official, Tan Peng Liang stresses that he is from Semarang establishing a connection with the place of origin of the Dutch official's wife. He claims, "I am Tan Peng Liang, from Semarang, just like your wife." The Dutch official replies, "How do you know my wife is from Semarang?" Tan Peng Liang affirms that, "Everyone knows about it." Through this link with a place of origin, Tan Peng Liang suggests that he and the Dutch official's wife are potentially blood-link relatives or perhaps may share the same surname or descend from the same clan. Thus, the Dutch official and Tan Peng Liang are indeed family related. The attempt of this network connection exemplifies the transformation of an unofficial *guanxi* relation to an official family *guanxi* link.

With the *guanxi* relation established, Tan Peng Liang is seemingly armed with an invisible shield that allows him to expand his tobacco business as well as to accelerate his accumulation of wealth. When he becomes involved in a business conflict with his rival Thio Boen Hiap that entails a court case, Tan Peng Liang strategically uses the *guanxi* relation that he established earlier with the Dutch official. In exercising the *guanxi* network, he invites the Dutch official and his wife to a 'family' gathering during Chinese New Year. In the 'family' dinner, he offers the Dutch official an *angpow* (meaning red packet in Chinese dialect, filled with cash); a custom practiced by the Chinese during the Lunar Year. In return for the favor, the official instantaneously arrests Thio Boen Hiap and detains him. With this strategy Tan Peng Liang mobilizes the *guanxi* network and is in turn freed from the litigation.

Tan Peng Liang uses a similar practice to prevent a group of journalists in Batavia from investigating his tobacco business and exposing his illicit business activities. He treats the journalist to dinner and offers them *angpows* during a Chinese New Year gathering. Although festive gatherings like this one are generally celebrated only by close-relatives and family, feast throwing and *angpows* are a customary practice of the Chinese community, and we see here that it is mobilized by the businessman to promote his personal business interest. The *guanxi* culture and practice that instigated by Tan Peng Liang might be a kind of social practice commonly performed by diasporic Chinese community since the colonial era as well as at the time the film is made. But, this practice of *guanxi* as exemplified in the film, ostensibly unfolds a form of social malady that is, bribery, which is destructive to the functionality of the social system. Nevertheless, since the practice of such *guanxi* network is performed in the context of Chinese New Year celebration, we are lead to read more as a practice associated with *guanxi*.

It is not uncommon to see this kind of *guanxi* relation practiced within the China. In the case of China, *guanxi* relations maybe understood as a kind of gift economy. Indeed, the art of *guanxi* is a common social practice that involves personal exchange of gifts, favors and banquets (Yang, 1989) and most importantly it stemmed from a relationship that emphasized on family ties and friendship that based on trust and credibility. The *guanxi* network depicted in *Ca-bau-kan* (2002) exhibits a deep influence of Chinese culture and custom that preserved by the diasporic Chinese community in the Indonesian society on the one end, and on the other it reflects the negative impact of such practice especially that related to corruption and nepotism. As

mentioned at the early part of this paper, the film *Ca-bau-kan* (2002) is made four years after the radical transformation of a corrupted governmental system administered under the rules of New Order (1966-1998). In linking this event to the practice of *guanxi* network depicted in *Ca-bau-kan* (2002), the film is seen as a deliberate manifestation of a severely corrupted and an austere nepotistic government led by Suharto from 1966 to 1998. But, ethnic Chinese – a community who are constantly being repressed is made responsible for the presence of this corrupted system.

Nevertheless, the practices of *guanxi* network is a double sided mirror, on the one hand it facilitates the flexibility and mobility of diasporic Chinese against the colonial backdrop where *guanxi* is executed to help out family members and diasporic members who originated from the same hometown. On the other, it reflects domination, violence and exploitation (Ong & Nonini, 1997, p. 22). The regime of *guanxi* network is a relationship that prioritizes family, relatives and friends while it also includes people from the same village or community. This implies that people who are outside of the *guanxi* network may subject to some kind of exploitation or mistreat. An example of this from the film is when Tan Peng Liang aims for the domination of tobacco business in Batavia; his rival Thio Boen Hiap is exploited. In *Ca-bau-kan*, through the diasporic Chinese character Tan Peng Liang we see the art *guanxi* network is ingeniously and cunningly expended to facilitate the network connection for the success of his business endeavor as well as wealth acceleration. The metamorphosis of his identity in different phases of his life sustains his survival and enables him to return to the adopted homeland. Undeniably, the determination of his persistency to survive is emanated from family – a concept that governed his *guanxi* network and the practice of flexibility. Conversely, it is important to note that although violence and exploitation is not necessary for an unsuccessful *guanxi* network, it appears to be the only way suggested by the film *Ca-bau-kan* (2002).

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Futurist Art: Ideas in a Fractal Universe and Digital Art

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Abstract

This article sheds light on the theory and development of “Futurism”—an Italian avant-garde movement which opposed traditional forms of art and culture in the early 20th century. Founded by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Futurism emerged as a response to imitation and artistic associations to the past, consequently influencing a number of modern art movements such as Constructivism, Art deco, Surrealism, Vorticism and Dadaism. As such, I argue that futurist art is increasingly relevant in contemporary globalized culture, with current research indicating a large market for futurist artists in today’s creative industries. I present the New Futurist Manifesto as well as pieces from the show Futurist Art: Ideas in a Fractal Universe.

Keywords: Visual Arts, futurist art, fractal art, new artist manifesto

Introduction

As a social and artistic movement, Futurism originated in the early twentieth century when a cultural shift in Europe revolutionized the world of modern art (Conversi, 2009). This shift can be understood more effectively through the aftermath of World War I, as well as the general perception of Italy being ‘culturally dead’ which prompted the Italian poet and playwright, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, to reinterpret violence and motion in the context of artistic evolution (Cortesini, 2011). This is precisely why futurist thought is underscored by strong political currents and a kind of violent aggressiveness akin to an anti-establishment revolt (Dyogot, 2012).

Among other things, futurist ideas are grounded largely in Marinetti’s conceptual understanding of war as a purifying agent in the midst of a socially stagnating European society (Neil, 2009). His controversial manifesto, published in 1909, eventually spread throughout the continent—making headlines most notably in France’s daily newspaper “Le Figaro”—and subsequently encouraged a wave of new artists to experiment with ideas beyond Impressionism (Conversi, 2009). By going against the norms of tradition, artists discovered a whole new world of possibilities, deeming the new technique ‘a way of the future’ whereby the focus in art shifted drastically from imitating the natural world (and evoking familiar, nostalgic sentiments) to highlighting catalytic factors underlying change in the Western world (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009). These factors were used fervently to reflect the “new” Europe—dismissive of its history and alternatively suggestive of post-industrial changes such as speed, technology, pollution and science (Lorenzi, Doble, & Francaviglia, 2010).

The emphasis on movement, in particular, became a central theme in futurist art since Marinetti drew inspiration from the destructive elements of war and rebellion, viewing it instead as a gateway to social and cultural rejuvenation (Conversi, 2009). By focusing on the more violent aspects of political change, therefore, Futurism allowed greater freedom and experimentalism in the art world, particularly in mediums such as painting, sculpture, music and literature (Dominiczak, 2013). In many ways, these changes signified the growing influence of industrialization in the early twentieth century—with many artists incorporating chaos in their work to capture the radical transformation of European society (Switzky, 2011). Elements specifically inspired by the Industrial Revolution and World War I (and later II) were instrumental in depicting Man’s clash with the passivity of nature, wherein all expressions of motion and speed symbolized the struggle to attain freedom from the tyrannical rule of the past (Neil, 2009). In doing so, political undertones in futurist art became a cultural hallmark to the extent that politics and Futurism became inseparable in all creative spheres of life (Conversi, 2009). In light of this relationship, George Mosse comments:

When the artistic importance of Futurism is acknowledged but its political relevance denied, the aesthetic is torn from its political frame of reference. Yet culture and politics cannot be readily separated. It was precisely because of its cultural orientation that Futurism was able to make an important contribution to modern politics (1990, p. 253).

The close relationship between art, culture and politics is therefore crucial to futurist philosophy, seeing as it traces its origins to a fundamentally political foundation (Neil,

2009). When we examine the socio-political implications of globalization, in particular, futurist art becomes almost necessary to capture the complexities of living in a post-modern world—that is to say, a world constantly searching for absolute meaning and identity (Lorenzi, Doble, & Francaviglia, 2010). This is an interesting area of discussion as it considers the role and application of futurist thought in, both, modern and post-modern narratives (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009).

Additionally, when we delve into the political dimensions of futurist art, it becomes increasingly clear that the historical bourgeoisie-proletariat conflict seems as important today as it was in the early twentieth century (Conversi, 2009). It is for this reason that themes of anti-establishment and revolt are interspersed throughout the art, for they are effective in conveying the futurist cause which is ultimately to embrace and celebrate the beauty of Man's intrinsic aggression for creative growth and liberation (Switzky, 2011). Consequently, ideas that were previously shunned or frowned upon are alternatively glorified in Futurism since they contribute to the destruction of the past and thus help in the awakening of a new era (Dominiczak, 2013). Due to its emphasis on the future, artistic vehicles are used extensively in futurist art to depict catalysis and motion in the pursuit of cultural rebirth (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009). In keeping with this ideology, cars, airplanes, the city and technology are popular futurist icons which illustrate humanity's triumph over nature or the volatility of Time and Space (Visentin, 2012).

History of Futurist Art

The origins of Futurism can be traced back to 20th-century Italy, though it was not long before the movement spread across Europe—particularly Russia—and ultimately reached the United States (Dyogot, 2012). The actual birth of the movement, however, is associated exclusively with Marinetti who, at the time, was not known for anything other than perhaps contributing somewhat to Italian theater (Conversi, 2009). This was soon to change after the publishing of his controversial manifesto, which changed the course of European art (Neil, 2009). Prior to the manifesto, however, his disillusionment stemmed greatly from the predominance of sentimental art movements, such as Impressionism and Romanticism, which shrank the parameters of artistic freedom in theater and poetry (Switzky, 2011).

According to Marinetti's writings, the idea of pursuing Futurism as a revolutionary force came to him after he got into a car accident while trying to avoid two cyclists on the road (Dominiczak, 2013). He claimed to have returned from the accident "a changed man" who realized the importance of celebrating human aggression in the art world, rather than perpetuating the status-quo which essentially glorified the past (Cesare & Sandford, 2010). His ideas were shortly recorded in a manifesto under the title "The Futurist Manifesto", first published in the Italian newspaper "Gazzetta dell'Emilia" on February 5, 1909—followed by a French publication in "Le Figaro", titled "Manifeste du Futurism" on February 20, 1909 (Neil, 2009).

The Futurist Manifesto rocked Europe to its core for its controversial suggestions, and is accordingly noted as a significant event in art history which marks the beginning of the modernization of Italy (Cortesini, 2011). The once allegedly "dead and decaying" culture of Italy was finally revived, now standing in the spotlight because of Futurism, which allowed for a complete radicalization of politics and culture as a means to liberate Man from the shackles of conformity (Conversi, 2009). The ideas presented

in the Futurist Manifesto were deemed controversial primarily because of their contempt for traditional art and philosophy which imitated works of Nature and past discourse, viewing both as an inspiration for human expression (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009).

With the passage of time, Futurism emerged in the art scene as a distinct discipline in its own right, defined mainly by experimentalism in the wake of modernity and fascism (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009). In keeping with Marinetti's interpretation of 'art', Futurism gained recognition worldwide for its glorification of violence, cruelty and injustice—reiterating that human aggression was a unique experience worth celebrating, just as any other form of beauty (Cortesini, 2011).

Key Figures in Futurist Art

While the first futurist manifesto penned by Marinetti laid the foundations of Futurism, it was not until the publishing of the "Manifesto of the Futurist Painters" and "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting" that the movement developed a more specific vision that could be represented directly in painting (Cortesini, 2011). As such, writing and publishing manifestos became an important feature of the futurist movement, regardless of the response it received from art critics and/or the general public (Conversi, 2009). The "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Painting" was written by five of Marinetti's young associates who eventually became some of the most influential names in Italian Futurism—Umberto Boccioni, Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, Giacomo Balla and Gino Severini (Visentin, 2012). Each artist contributed to the futurist movement by specializing in different areas of the arts, for instance, painting, mosaic, sculpture, music, theater and literature, though painting was common to all five (Rizzuto, 2011).

Among other things, the desire to "deliver painting from academism" echoed Marinetti's original manifesto wherein he boldly called for the destruction of museums, libraries and all forms of academy to pave the way for new, original works of art which challenged the status-quo based on "good taste" and "harmony" (Dominiczak, 2013). The ideas put forth were subsequently applied in art through techniques such as Divisionism—a post-Impressionist style of painting which uses light to separate colors into dots or patches for optical interaction (Visentin, 2012). Divisionism, as an individual style, was used notably by Giovanni Segantini, and later by Severini who experimented with the technique extensively to depict futurist ideas on canvas in the early years of his career (Cesare & Sandford, 2010). Although considerably different from present-day Futurism, Divisionism was a stepping stone toward greater experimentalism in Futurist artwork for it allowed the amalgamation of individual elements, namely colors, to enhance the velocity and simultaneity of forms in painting (Cortesini, 2011).

Popularized by one of the most influential names in the history of modern art, Pablo Picasso, Cubism gained popularity primarily for its focus on Space and Time (Cortesini, 2011). The artist would use an array of forms to represent a predominant idea, simultaneously shedding light on multiple planes and perspectives which would conjoin to present a whole image (Antonello, 2009). This was accomplished by creating multi-dimensional objects through the decomposition of forms—a style which bore a strong resemblance to futurist art in that it attempted to project a real

SpaceTime in order to demonstrate the concept of ‘universal dynamism’ (Wurgaft, 2013). Doble, Francaviglia & Lorenzi (2009) explain the difference between the two modern art movements in the following words:

The crucial difference with *Cubism* is that while in Cubism this decomposition makes it possible to represent and imagine a static three-dimensional subject as embedded into a fourth dimension again of spatial character (the painter shows different aspects of it as seen from different views at the same instant of time) in Futurism a real SpaceTime appears and the decomposition is suitably used to embed a three-dimensional object into a four-dimensional continuum formed by Space and Time together, since images taken in different instants (2009, p. 378).

Regardless of their differences, however, Cubism and Futurism both remained vastly different from mainstream Impressionism, in that they allowed the attention to rest on the spectators and thus make them the center of the art itself (Switzky, 2011). A classic example of futurist artwork with cubist undertones is the famous “States of Mind” which was created by Boccioni in three panels titled “The Farewell”, “Those Who Go” and “Those Who Stay” (Visentin, 2012). Much of Boccioni’s work, particularly “States of Mind”, was inspired largely by French philosopher Henri Bergson and his theories on intuition, which played a significant role in expanding the philosophy of Futurism (Lorenzi, Doble, & Francaviglia, 2010).

Inspired by the idea of applying intuition in the art-making process, Boccioni wrote extensively on the relationship between intuition and Futurism in a book titled “Pittura scultura Futuriste: Dinamismo plastic”, which translates into “Futurist Painting Sculpture: Plastic Dynamism”, published in the year 1914 (Cesare & Sandford, 2010). These ideas contributed greatly to the futurist conception of motion for it presented the world in a state of constant movement, as shown in Balla’s “Rhythm of the Bow” and “Dynamism of a Dog on a Leash”, both painted in the year 1912 (Visentin, 2012). Boccioni’s intention was essentially to channel his innermost thoughts while creating art, using intuition as a guide to connect with those who would rediscover themselves through his work (Dominiczak, 2013).

As such, the chief purpose behind the presence of dynamism and simultaneity in futurist artwork is to rebel against the oppressive forces of history, particularly those that maintain and celebrate the stagnancy of culture (Neil, 2009). Marinetti elaborated on the necessity of change by describing the glorification of the past as a direct attack on Italian culture (Conversi, 2009). According to him, institutions responsible for preserving history were clearly nothing more than “cemeteries” with no real purpose except laying down the graves of art heroes for others to tread upon (Wurgaft, 2013). He gave a contemptuous account of the cycle in a profound statement within his founding manifesto:

In truth I tell you that daily visits to museums, libraries, and academies (cemeteries of empty exertion, Calvaries of crucified dreams, registries of aborted beginnings!) are, for artists, as damaging as the prolonged supervision by parents of certain young people drunk with their talent and their ambitious wills (Marinetti, 1909).

In light of this assessment, futurist art depicts motion as an aesthetic gateway to the 'new' whereby chaos and turmoil, speed and velocity, simultaneity and dynamism—all illustrate a collective shift in human consciousness and concurrently trigger Man's emancipation from the past, present and future—existing wholly in the fluidity of perfect oneness (Lorenzi, Doble, & Francaviglia, 2010). Negative labels such as 'misogynistic', 'violent' and 'offensive' are thus consciously embraced by futurists for the purpose of artistic evolution—for in the words of Marinetti himself, "Art, in fact, can be nothing but violence, cruelty, and injustice" (Marinetti, 1909).

Cubism, on the other hand, differs vastly from the founding principles of Futurism in that it originated as a comparatively quiet and accommodating style of art, used with much different intent by futurists than artists like Braque, Picasso and Gris who are accredited for originally popularizing the technique (Cortesini, 2011). Similarly, a number of art styles took inspiration from Futurism and went beyond the limitations of their original concepts, morphing into completely new art trends that would later be remembered as the quintessence of modern art (Cesare & Sandford, 2010). It is no surprise, therefore, that the pioneers of cubism, Braque and Picasso, themselves embraced the modern iconography of futurist artwork (Lorenzi, Doble, & Francaviglia, 2010). After the outbreak of World War I in 1915, however, Futurism seemed to have witnessed a temporary lapse wherein many Italian futurists as well as artists in France, including Picasso and Braque who initially partook in the glorification of machinery, violence and speed, reverted to traditional art—a period that came to be known as the "Return to Order" (Visentin, 2012).

Russian Futurism

Due to a substantial rise in experimentalism in twentieth-century Italy and France, Futurism continually revised and expanded many of its original ideas which soon reached the outskirts of Russia, and ultimately paved the way for a revolution in Russian literature (Dyogot, 2012). As such, the movement gained popularity in the region by the name "Russian Futurism", and subsequently influenced a number of renowned writers in Russian literature such as Vladimir Mayakovsky, along with several visual artists such as Mikhail Larionov, Kazimir Malevich and David Burlyuk—all of whom made significant contributions to the modern art scene in Russia (Wurgaft, 2013).

Following the Russian Revolution of 1917, there was a sharp decline in Russian Futurism especially since many of its strongest advocates emigrated while others passed away (Dyogot, 2012). Notable Russian futurists such as Mayakovsky and Malevich became active in Russian politics and departed from Futurism to join the Soviet and the 1920's Agitprop movement (Cesare & Sandford, 2010). This more or less marked the end of Russian Futurism and the beginning of several offshoot art movements (Dyogot, 2012).

Art Trends Inspired by Futurism

After the end of World War I and, more specifically, following the death of Marinetti, futurist artwork took a backseat to the Return to Order movement in Italy (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009). At the same time, however, Futurism had already left an undeniable impact on new artists all over Europe who, inspired by its cultural philosophy, experimented with many of its ideas—alternatively creating their own

trends (Cortesini, 2011). These were essentially offshoots of the Italian futurist movement which reinterpreted different aspects of its ideology (Pouzet-Duzer, 2013).

Dadaism

Of these art trends, Dadaism is noted as a particularly popular European avant-garde movement that emerged as a response to the atrocities of World War I (Pouzet-Duzer, 2013). While the origins of the word “Dada” are largely unknown, it echoes the underlying philosophy of the movement which is, essentially, to make irrationality, nonsense and intuition more prominent in the art world—and in doing so, making a mockery of traditional techniques and conventional ideas, using nothing but the freedom of an artistic platform to create a revolution (Switzky, 2011).

The origins of Dadaism are generally traced back to the famous “Cabaret Voltaire” in Zurich, Switzerland where Hugo Ball, the owner of the nightclub, read out the very first Dada Manifesto in the year 1916 (Cortesini, 2011). The movement itself was associated closely with a group of artists and poets in Zurich who came together to defy the norms of artistic tradition, taking inspiration from the rebellious nature of futurist art (Pouzet-Duzer, 2013). In many ways, this made Dadaism a largely anti-art movement for it represented themes that strongly opposed popular cultural trends prevailing at the time and, as a result, gained notoriety for its highly controversial subject matter (Switzky, 2011).

Surrealism

Inspired by the philosophy of Dadaism, and in turn Futurism, Surrealism emerged in the 1920’s as a revolutionary cultural movement that changed the face of modern art (Pouzet-Duzer, 2013). It quickly spread around the world and influenced different sectors of the art industry including literature, music, film, and, in particular, the visual arts (Antonello, 2009). Taking the Dadaist principles of irrationality and intuition, Surrealism created art that was imbued with jarring images and outlandish elements—so as to blur the line between reality and dreams (Switzky, 2011).

Whether it be pictures, music, film or literature, the paradoxes present within Surrealist artwork soon gained recognition for their philosophical underpinnings—inviting the spectator to question the very nature of reality and thus refocus his/her attention solely on the subconscious or spiritual dimensions of art (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009). Surrealist artwork generally involves a standard technique, some might say reminiscent of Symbolism, but considerably different in that it allows the artist to express subconscious ideas by juxtaposing bizarre images that—though seemingly illogical—are nonetheless evocative of something terribly deep and profound (Wurgaft, 2013). This juxtaposition is of supreme importance in Surrealist art for it compels us as spectators to delve deeper into the imagery and fully immerse ourselves in its strangeness (Dominiczak, 2013). In doing so, it allows us to go beyond the distinctions between the real and unreal, and comprehend the “surrealism” of an image as a unique, intuitive language in and of itself (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009).

Art Deco

Futurism is credited for starting a number of art trends in France—among these is an influential visual arts movement called Art Deco which came to light after the end of the First World War and lasted between the 1920s to the 1940s (Cesare & Sandford, 2010). Inspired by bold colors and geometric designs, Art Deco gained popularity primarily for its modern eclectic style which included futurist iconography such as machinery and craft motifs to signify the growing influence of industrialization (Lorenzi, Doble, & Francaviglia, 2010). Among other things, Art Deco was known particularly for its representation of technological progress and a concentrated focus on luxury and exuberance, which was meant to celebrate the rapid success of the Industrial Revolution (Visentin, 2012). The movement was also influenced heavily by Cubism, using geometric shapes such as polygons, spheres, trapezoids and rectangles in symmetrical fashion in Deco artwork (Switzky, 2011).

Vorticism

Similar to Russian Futurism, Vorticism was a modernist art movement that emerged in the early twentieth century in England (Dominiczak, 2013). It was mentioned for the first time in the year 1914 in the first-of-its-kind British magazine on Vorticism, called “Blast” written by English author and painter, Wyndham Lewis (Pouzet-Duzer, 2013). Inspired by Cubism—particularly its emphasis on geometric art as opposed to nude/natural imagery—and Futurism, Vorticism embraced modernity through the use of dynamism and machinery in artwork (Cortesini, 2011).

Renowned figure in the early modernist movement, Ezra Pound, was closely associated with Vorticism, creating a number of famous Vorticist paintings in keeping with the futurist tradition of embracing modernity as a means to attain freedom (Cesare & Sandford, 2010). The different between the two styles, however, was that Vorticism did not depict motion necessarily through intuition and iconography but rather through the use of geometric shapes with bold lines and rough colors (Dominiczak, 2013).

Futurism in Music

In keeping with the principles of Futurism, futurist music rejected traditional techniques in composing melodies and focused instead on experimental sound (Williams, 2013). This was a characteristically futurist outlook in that futurist artists, such as Luigi Russolo, for instance, incorporated sounds reminiscent of machinery and noise into their musical compositions as a means to evolve music, giving it a more modern, industrialized edge (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009). In 1910, musician Francesco Balilla Pratella published a manifesto titled “The Technical Manifesto of Futurist Music” in which he detailed everything that he believed was wrong with Italian music, particularly Italian opera:

The shame and filth that I have denounced in general terms faithfully represent Italy’s past in its relationship with art and with the customs of today: industry of the dead, cult of cemeteries, parching of the vital sources.

Futurism, the rebellion of the life of intuition and feeling, quivering and impetuous spring, declares inexorable war on doctrines, individuals and works that repeat, prolong or exalt the past at the expense of the future. It proclaims the conquest of amoral liberty, of action, conscience and imagination. It proclaims that Art is *disinterest, heroism and contempt for easy success*.

I unfurl to the freedom of air and sun the red flag of Futurism, calling to its flaming symbol such young composers as have hearts to love and fight, minds to conceive, and brows free of cowardice. And I shout with joy at feeling myself unfettered from all the chains of tradition, doubt, opportunism and vanity (Pratella, 1910).

As such, the manifesto revolutionized the world of music as it called on people to embrace change rather than resist it, which meant taking risks and facing criticism for the purpose of artistic evolution (Wurgaft, 2013). In Pratella's perspective, Italy was suffering from a cultural disease which inhibited the country's growth in all artistic ventures, ultimately stopping artists from being bold or daring to be different (Dominiczak, 2013). Under the influence of Marinetti's futurist vision, Pratella denounced all forms of tradition in the musical sphere, demanding only the new, the original—even if it was a dramatic deviation from the norm (Rizzuto, 2011). In keeping with his ideas, he reiterated the futurist ideology of dismissing preconceived notions of “good taste”, deeming critics useless in the path of evolution (Doble, Francaviglia, & Lorenzi, 2009).

Futurism in Film

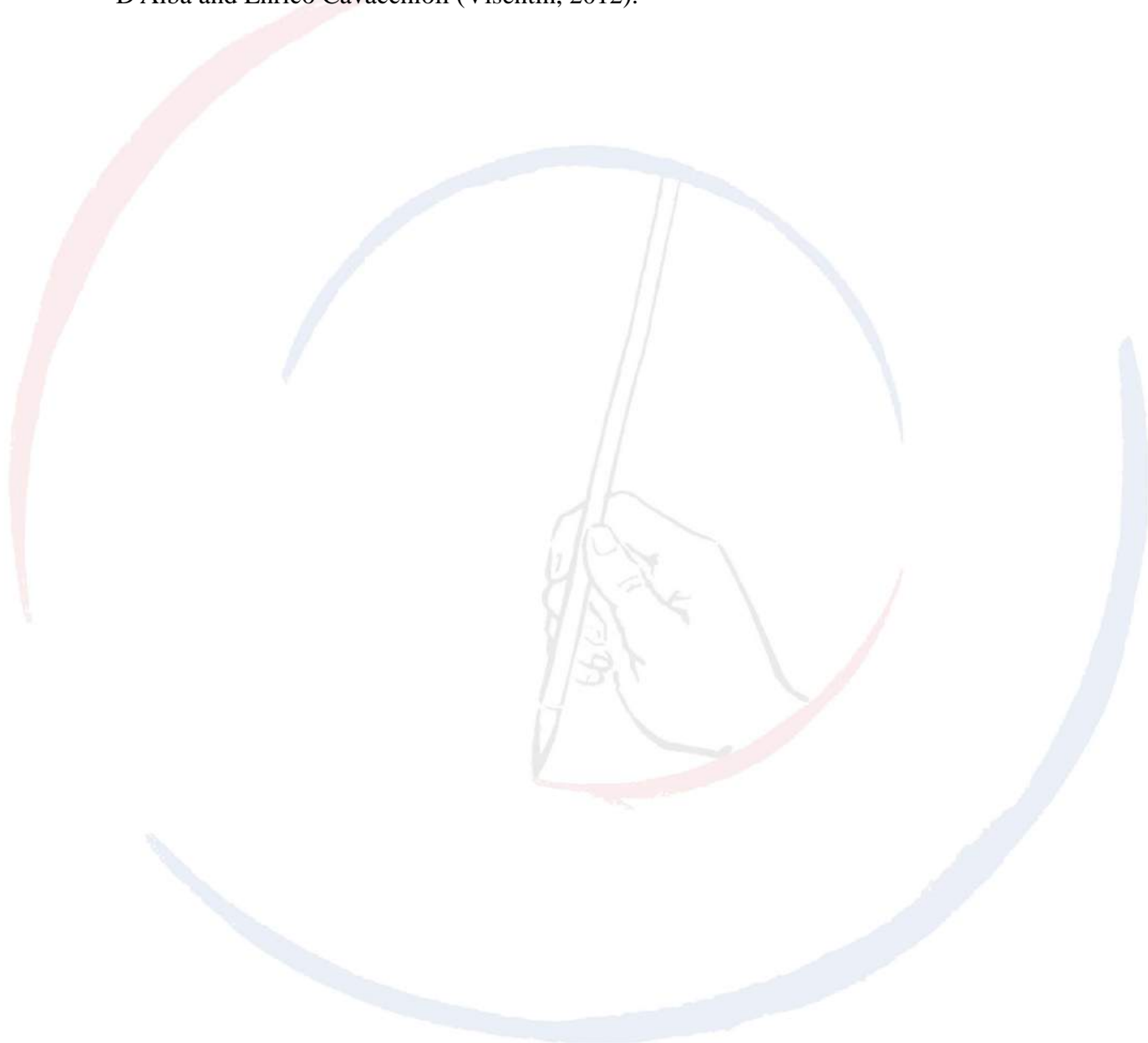
Similar to its impact on music, Futurism has left a strong impact in film—dating all the way back to Italian cinema which changed drastically after the advent of futurist ideology (Dyogot, 2012). In particular, the movement revolutionized Futurist Russian cinema and artists such as Lev Kuleshov, Sergei Eisenstein, Aleksandr Dovzhenko, Vsevolod Pudovkin and Dziga Vertov, along with influencing German Expressionism (Pouzet-Duzer, 2013).

In contemporary culture, it has led to a number of films based on a futurist dystopia, featuring machines, robots, space-travel and mind-control (Cesare & Sandford, 2010). As such, futurist-inspired artists are keen to incorporate elements of Surrealism and Art Deco to enhance their vision of the future (Doble, Lorenzi, & Francaviglia, 2010). With the progress of technology, including digital photography and 3-Dimensional visual effects, it has become even easier to transport the spectator directly to the artist's vision and actively re-create reality in an actual Space-Time continuum. This would be a dark theater shared by a large number of people who partake of their collective intuition to generate belief in the images projected on-screen. A number of popular films influenced by Futurism are *Metropolis* (1927), *Blade Runner* (1982), *Ghost in the Shell* (1995), *The Matrix* (1999), *Minority Report* (2002), *I, Robot* (2004) and *Tron Legacy* (2010) among several others (Doble, Lorenzi, & Francaviglia, 2010).

Futurism in Literature

Futurism's impact on literature had a direct impact on theater, which had a lot to do with the fact that Marinetti himself was a playwright (Cortesini, 2011). Just as the

futurist manifesto called for a rejection of the past, futurist poets and writers rejected old traditions of technical writing and introduced new Futurist aesthetics in literature (Switzky, 2011). In total, there are seven aspects to Futurist writing in poetry and literature, those being analogy, metrical reform, intuition, irony, onomatopoeia, abolition of syntax and synthetic lyricism (Prodhani, 2001). Likewise, Futurist plays were influenced heavily by subversions of traditional writing and thus popularized techniques such as parodies (Cortesini, 2011). Some influential names in Futurist literature and poetry are Libero Altomare, Enrico Cardile, Loris Catrizzi, Auroa D'Alba and Enrico Cavacchioli (Visentin, 2012).



The New Manifesto

What is freedom? Can we see it, wear it, taste it—inject it? Can we buy it? Can we buy our destiny, our future? How do we, the leaders of tomorrow, see tomorrow? Are we free...really?

Over a hundred years have passed since the advent of Futurism, and here we stand, yet again, planting the seeds of Armageddon. Cultural apocalypse; post-modernity; post-apocalypse—here, we buy souls and manufacture love!

Kill me—a thousand times over, kill me, so I can sing again! Today's language is not the language of politics, the preachers, the followers, the teachers. We...desire to desire to desire. Our bodies are dead and broken, surviving on a fog machine. Cars and planes are Yesterday's playthings.

Our revolution lies in the visual arts, the performance arts—in celebrating a marriage between Dreams and Reality. We speak not in verses but in images and symbols; our vision, sharpened in the brightness of dark rooms—we don't foresee the future, we live the future.

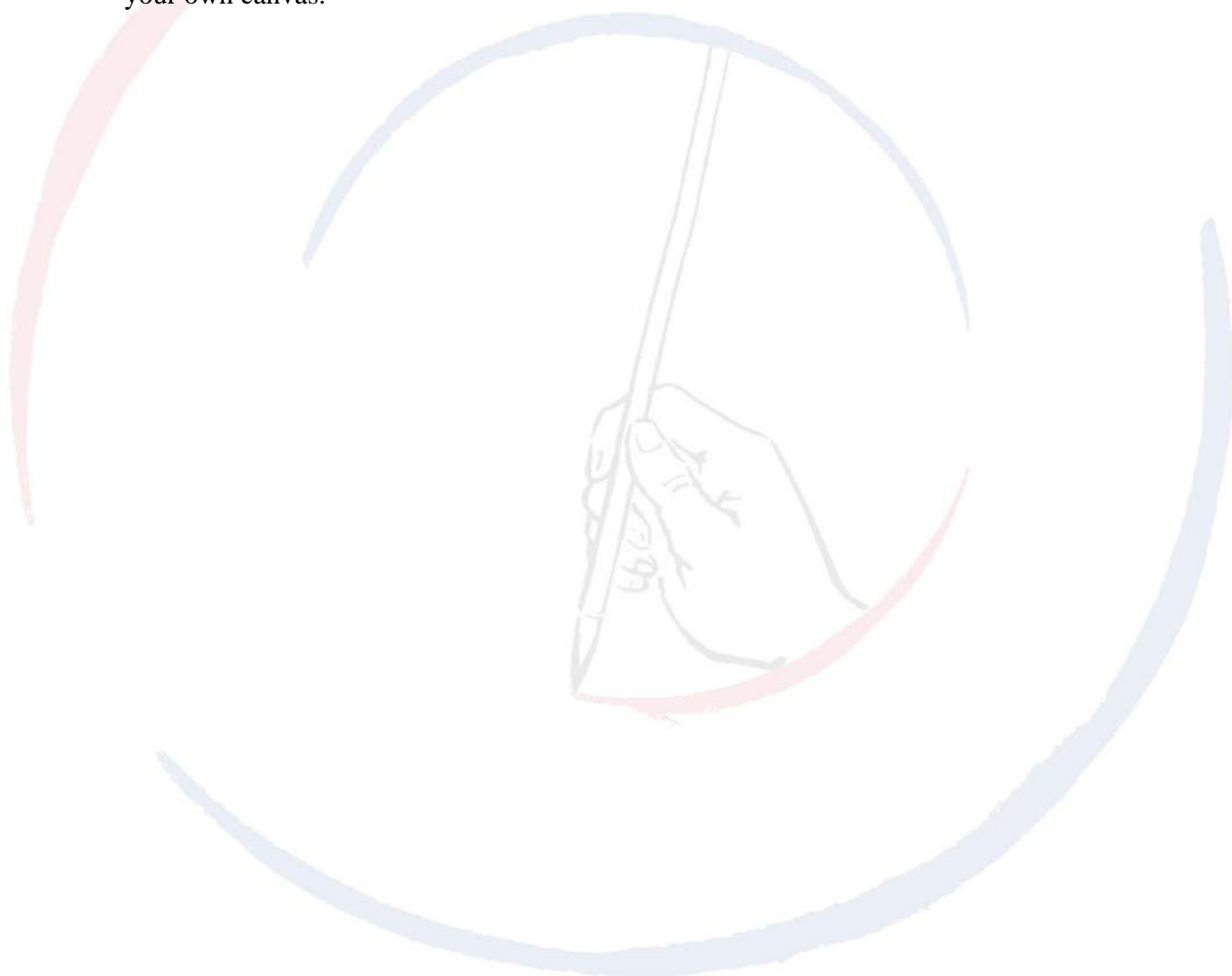
The media is our new voice, our Frankenstein—and through it we shall conquer the Past. This is the Manifesto of a Post-Modern Futurist, and I announce a reintroduction of futurist art in film, music and literature:

1. Films are the language of the future; we must let our art flow through this precious medium and allow every individual around the world the opportunity to abandon tradition.
2. We must allow futurist ideals to seep into our music and rekindle the flames of revolution that now lie dormant.
3. Futurist art has a sacred place in literature, and what are we but uncultured for not celebrating its continuing legacy? Today exists because of our futuristic vision of Tomorrow, and I declare a celebration of the Future in writing and theater—to reimagining our future so we can burn the pages of history books and rewrite our destiny.

Our lives are ours to live! To live passively is to grow fond of the shackles that enslave us. We must remember: hate is not the opposite of love, for the opposite of Love is Apathy! If we want to live again, we must put our feelings on screen, in writing, in music and revive a society that is on the brink of cultural collapse.

Conclusion

Although futurist art has, since its inception, survived a series of attacks for threatening the establishment and propagating violence, the 21st century is ironically defined by the very things that supposedly make art dangerous. It is the suppression of art that is dangerous, not an embrace. The world needs more empathy, inspiration and creativity—and art, particularly futurist art, offers us all that and so much more, without the unwarranted dogma of black and white—without the dangers of judgment, fear and spiritual invasion. If we want freedom, we must take it, not ask for it—for free is how each of us is born. In a land that celebrates freedom of speech, futurist art should dominate, not seek approval or disapproval—because, ultimately, to be a true artist is to allow yourself to be vulnerable and find strength in the naked colors of your own canvas.



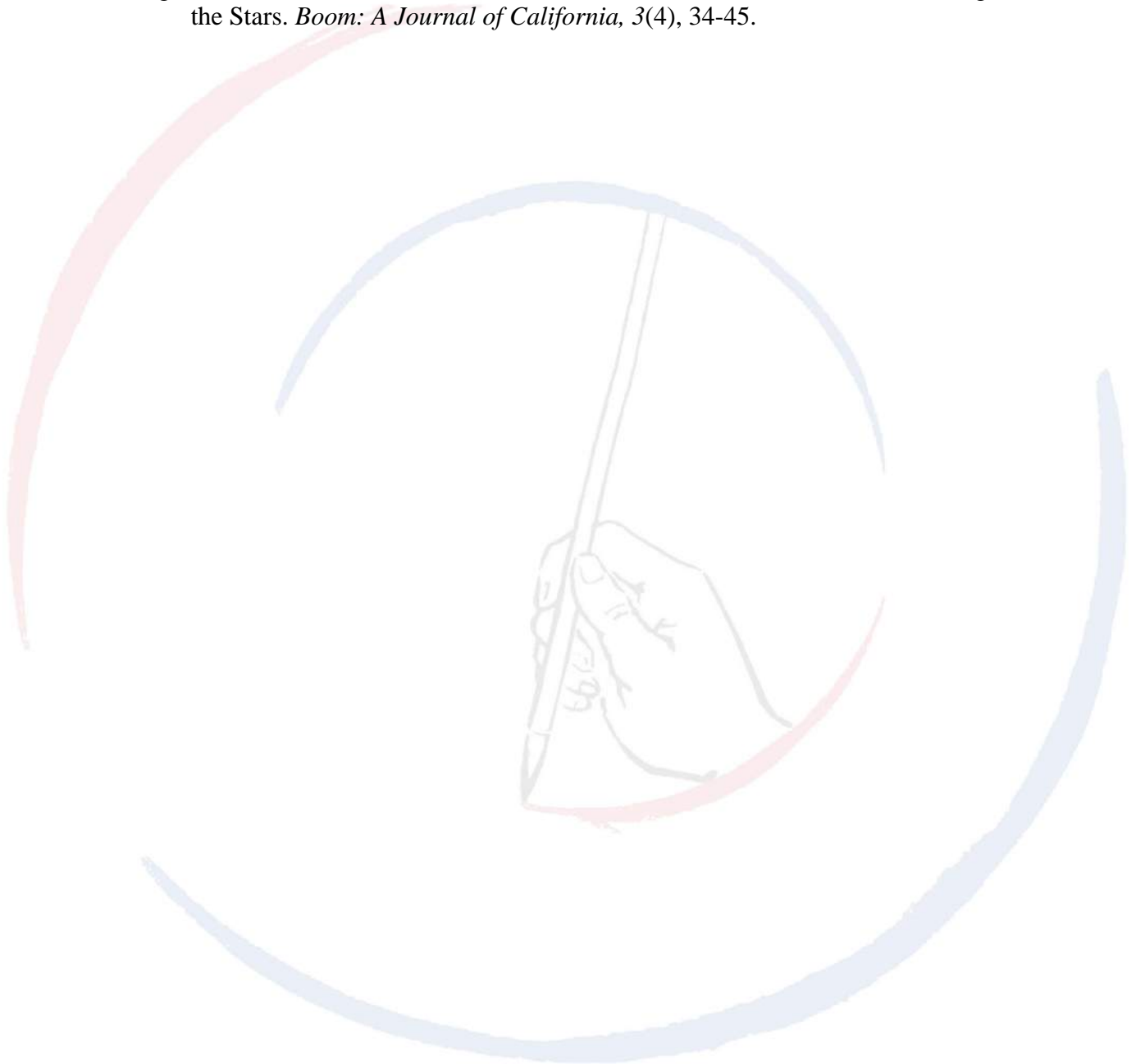
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Futurist Art: Ideas in a Fractal Universe

The pieces exhibited explores fractal based art using concepts of mathematics. Apophysis and PhotoShop programs were utilized.



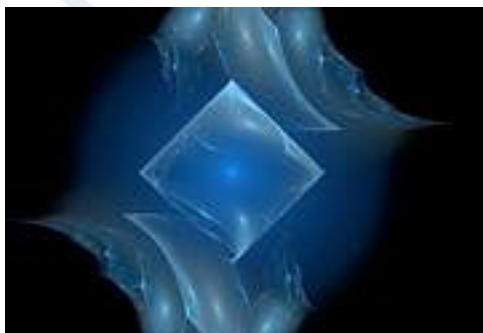
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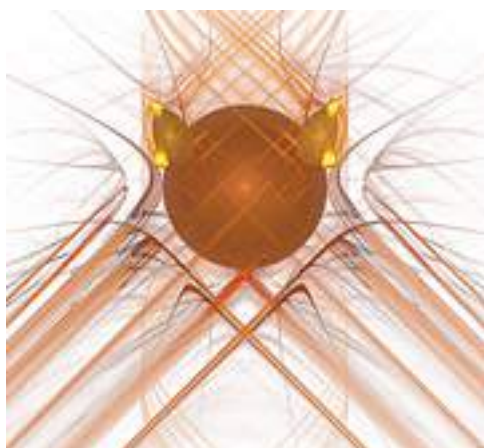
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Fractal 191

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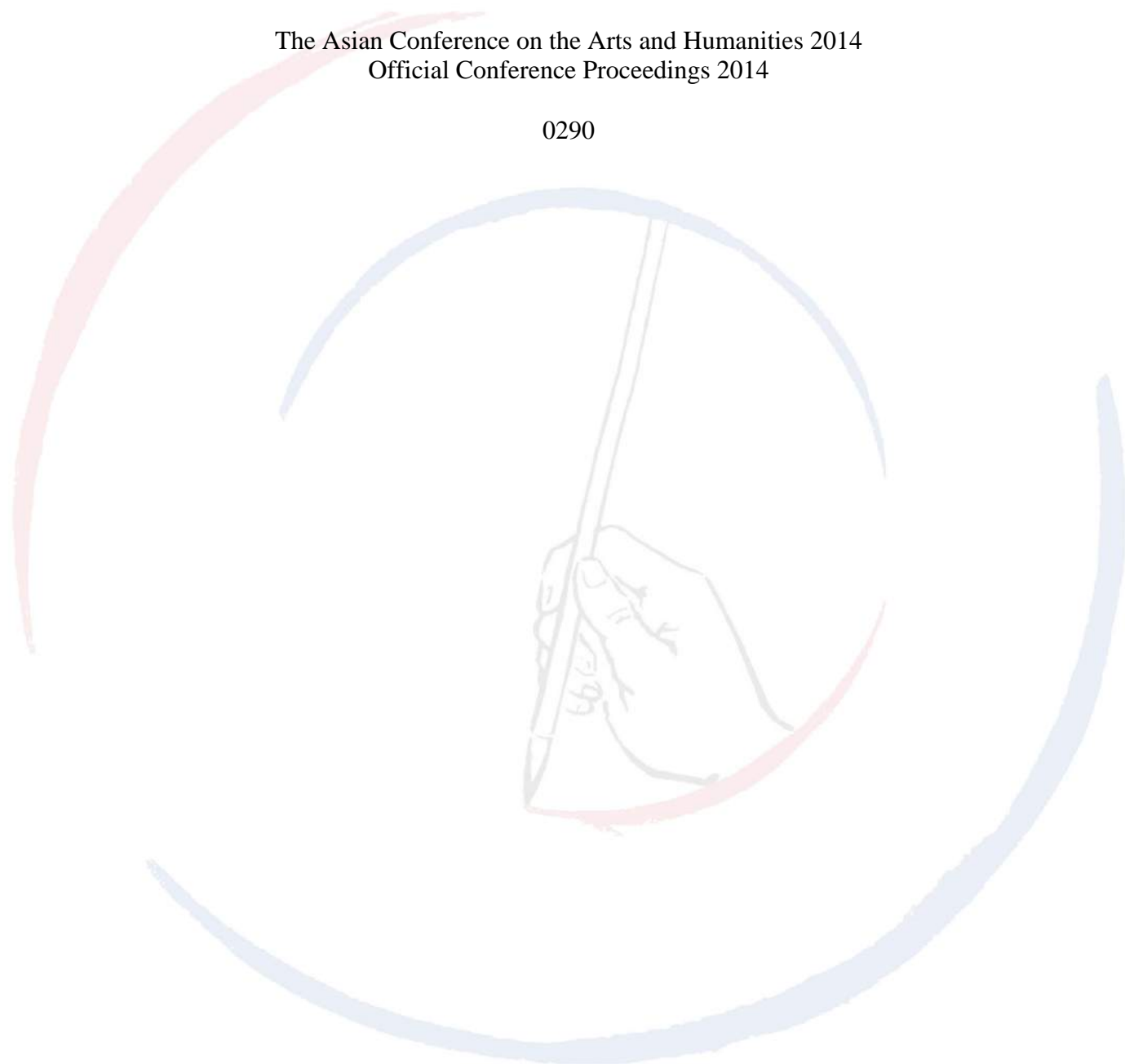
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Conflict Irresolution: Post-Postmodernism and the Legacy of Ironic Subversion

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1. Locating the Post-Postmodern

“Dear Gaston,” the narrator begins in Donald Barthelme’s letter to a fictitious literary critic, “Yes, you are absolutely right—Postmodernism is dead” (1997, p. 45).¹ The letter continues:

So we have a difficulty. What shall we call the New Thing, which I haven’t encountered yet but which is bound to be out there somewhere? Post-Post-Modernism sounds, to me, a little lumpy. I’ve been toying with the Revolution of the Word II, or the New Revolution of the Word It should have the word “new” in it somewhere. The New Newness? Or maybe the Post-New? It’s a problem. I await your comments and suggestions. If we’re going to slap a saddle on this rough beast, we’ve got to get moving. (p. 45)

And in the thirty odd years since the writing of Barthelme’s letter, he and his narrator have not been alone in this pronouncement. With tedious regularity, the death of postmodernism has been echoing through the halls of academia, strewn across the pages of countless critical journals, and publicly mourned at literature and cultural studies conferences for decades. But somehow the death of postmodernism seems to have maneuvered its own obituary into some kind of endless *mise-en-abîme* feedback loop of sudden passings and Lazarus-like reappearances. And yet in spite of these recurring reports of postmodernism’s demise, as Charles B. Harris writes in the *American Book Review*, “the corpse remains suspiciously lively. Like Barthelme’s Dead Father, it continues to walk among us, not only prompting frequent sightings (a new novel by Barth here, one by Federman there) but producing offspring” (2002, p. 1). And reminiscent of the list of ungainly neologisms suggested by Barthelme’s critic, these “offspring” of the undead and undying fathers of postmodernism have had to put up with (or have coined for themselves) all manner of new propositions for the supposedly “New Thing” imagined as the successor to first-wave postmodernism: “Image-Fiction,” “Blank Fiction,” “Tragic Realism,” “Psychological Realism,” “Speculative Realism,” “Crackpot Realism,” “Avant-Pop,” “New-New-Post,” “PoPoMo,” “Long Modernism,” “New Sincerity,” and even “the [new] novel of intimacy.”² However, the category most generally attached to this contemporary generation of fictions (notwithstanding its lumpiness) appears to be “post-postmodernism.”³ But what does this second prefix entail? And where is the *post-* in post-postmodernism actually pointing?

While each of the previous categories varies significantly in the emphasis it places on matters of textual form, historical moment, and referentiality, throughout the contemporary criticism of post-postmodernism runs a recurring theme of “post-ironic sincerity.”⁴ This post-ironic sincerity, as articulated by critics and writers such as Samuel R. Delany, Lynne Tillman, Jonathan Franzen, David Foster Wallace, and

¹ Barthelme’s “Letter to a literary critic” has seen a number of incarnations. See Barthelme, 1997, p. 44-45, 322-24.

² Arranged in order of appearance: see Wallace, 1993, p. 171; Annesley, 1998, p. 135-36; Franzen, 1996, p. 53; Bukiet, 1996, p. 13; Saldívar, 2011, p. 575; McGurl, 2005, p. 102-05; Amerika & Olsen, 1995, p. 2; Federman, 2008, p. 228; Harris, 2012; Hungerford, 2008, p. 418; Burn, 2008, p. ix-xi; Delany, 2008, p. 12-13.

³ See Burn, 2008, p. 17; McLaughlin, 2008, p. 108, 115-16; Harris, 2002.

⁴ The phrase “post-ironic sincerity” is borrowed from Monika Gehlawat’s 2008, UC Berkeley doctoral thesis; see Gehlawat, 2008, p. 1-4.

Robert L. McLaughlin, describes a re-assessment of the ironic nature of the postmodern text and a movement toward a new set of aesthetic positions and political responsibilities no longer directly guided by ironic narrative forms and parodic constructs.⁵

This paper represents an attempt to trace the development of this post-postmodern literature of post-ironic sincerity and briefly examine its formal and political relationships to the type of ironic fiction practiced by postmodern writers such as Thomas Pynchon, Robert Coover, Donald Barthelme, and Ishmael Reed. It is proposed that the critical, self-reflexive, metafictional narrative forms explored by Pynchon, Coover, Barthelme, and Reed during the postmodern period of ironic dominance have led to an increasing tendency toward a more direct, unaffected mode of narrative. This post-postmodern mode of post-ironic sincerity not only signals a change in the cultural values and political crises of late twentieth and early twenty-first century America, this change also indicates that the ironic mode, with its matrix of playful linguistics, parodic subversions of orthodox ontology and epistemology, and its radical ironic indeterminacy, is no longer adequate to the task of confronting the problems faced in today's post-postmodern world.

2. The End of Irony?

Despite the reactionary opinions of media pundits and journalists such as *Vanity Fair's* Graydon Carter, who on September 18, 2001, famously announced that, "There's going to be a seismic change. I think it's the end of the age of irony. . . Things that were considered fringe and frivolous are going to disappear" (Beers, 2001), actually, the "seismic change" declared by Carter had been rumbling through American literature since the late 1970s. Even in the mid-career works of the first-wave fathers of postmodernism a shift in narrative form and political focus is readily apparent. In claustrophobic works such as Coover's *Gerald's Party* (1985) and Barthelme's *Paradise* (1986) it is clear that a new sense of isolation and contradiction had entered the postmodern mix by the 1980s. And comparison of Reed's *The Terrible Twos* (1982) to his *The Terrible Threes* (1989), or Pynchon's *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973) to his *Vineland* (1990), provides a similar trajectory away from the maddening rush of complex, signifying rhetoric that characterizes their early fiction towards an increasingly personal mode of revisionary historicism. In each of these works the prose is directed gradually further away from the grand histories and myths of the past, towards a more personal, domestic, if somewhat uncomfortably tense, approach to the grand histories and myths of the present.

This continual shift toward new narrative explorations of the experiential moment, toward innovative approaches to the depiction of personal and group identities, and toward the formulation of new narrative means by which to conceive of personal responsibility and agency, was brought to the forefront of American literature by the radical, ironic poetics of the 1960s and early 70s.

Through the parodic metafictional critiques of these early postmodern writers the hypocrisies of history and myth that exist throughout American culture and society

⁵ See Delany, 2008, p. 12-13; Tillman, 1991, p. 21; Franzen, 2002, p. 68-70; Wallace, 1993, p. 180-84; Burn, 2008, p. 21; and McLaughlin, 2008, p. 115-16.

were exposed through humor, deconstructive fragmentation, and an incendiary irony that sought to identify the gaps in all ontological and epistemological constructs through a self-reflexively critical approach to the language of narrative. Indeed, by looking at the inner workings of Western myth and American history through the ironic bullet-holes shot in them by the writers, artists, and other subversives of the early postmodern period, many of the dangerous ideologies hidden behind the self-privileging constructs of Western society and culture are revealed and opened up for questioning. These revelations and questionings were made possible by means of a violently critical, highly ironic mode of parody.

As David Foster Wallace writes in his oft-cited essay, “E Unibus Pluram: Television and U.S. Fiction” (1993): “. . . irony—exploiting gaps between what’s said and what’s meant, between how things try to appear and how they really are—is the time-honored way artists seek to illuminate and explode hypocrisy” (p. 182). That the first-wave postmodern writers and artists turned their ironic weaponry upon the “lone-gunman Westerns, paternalistic sitcoms, and jut-jawed law enforcement circa 1960,” Wallace argues, was due to the fact that these artificial idols and images of authority represented, celebrated, and perpetuated, “a deeply hypocritical American self-image” (p. 182).

In “E Unibus Pluram,” Wallace argues that, “Irony in sixties art and culture started out the same way youthful rebellion did. It was difficult and painful, and *productive*—a firm diagnosis of a long-denied disease” (p. 183). “The assumptions behind this early postmodern irony,” writes Wallace, were frank, idealistic, and very convincingly maintained “that etiology and diagnosis pointed toward cure; that revelation of imprisonment yielded freedom” (p. 183). However, despite the intense idealism behind the politics of first-wave postmodernism, much of the tension and self-awareness present in the literature of the 1980s is directly informed by the anxiety surrounding the disappointing realization that, while these 1960s and 70s “revelations” did manage to yield significant advancements in the actualization of artistic expression, these explosive attacks on American hypocrisy did not yield much freedom beyond the insulated bounds of the privileged sectors of American intellectual culture and the elite society of the American art world.

Rather than a new world order of free expression and unbridled creativity, with the deconstruction of pure ontological myth and pure epistemological history came the location of the economic and inter-personal mechanisms of power and control that continue to exert their influences on the course of world events. In response to the location of these new threats, the character of narrative irony also changed; flights of ironic fancy are replaced by a growing disaffection for the bounds of the prison-house of language that the early postmodern artists and theorists had identified and explored. In the 1980s, parody and self-reflexivity turn increasingly inward, and are often directed against the frustrating limitations of the *supposedly* autonomous object of the text and its linguistically mediated ontology.

In works such as Lynne Tillman’s *Living with Contradictions* (1982), Ntozake Shange’s *Sassafrass, Cypress & Indigo* (1982), Audre Lorde’s *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982), and Kathy Acker’s *Blood and Guts in High School* (1984), metafictional tactics of parody and narrative collage are brought to bear against the object of the text, the object of the self, and the place of these objects within an

American culture of production and consumption. And in Acker's *My Death, My Life*, by Pier Paolo Pasolini (1983), these forms of objectification are investigated by the text's multiple narrators and ever-shifting angles of narrative approach. As one of the novella's many narrators states:

I'm an object. Do you, reader, know anything about human objects, what caused them: you with your clawings, your gripes, your gripes, your petty boyfriend complaints? This, all this, is object. Scream. I dream of being punished. Scream. I dream of torment that will carry me over the edge and make me act without considering the action. I dream of having a body and it and thinking being one monster. (1983, p. 281-82)

This terrible realization that all is only language creates a similar anxiety in Lynne Tillman's *Living with Contradictions*, especially in the collection's title story. Musing self-reflexively to herself on the nature of her limited, verbally constructed, commercially mediated experience, Tillman's narrator muses:

People are intimate with their analysts, if they're lucky. What could be more intimate than an advertisement for Ivory soap? It's impossible not to be affected.

[. . .]

The manufacture of desire and the evidence of real desire. But 'real' desire is for what—for what is real or manufactured? (1982, p. 121)

In decline is the flippant, satirical humor of Pynchon, Coover, Barthelme, and Reed—the ironic absurdity gradually replaced by a growing sense of insecurity and self-contradiction. Indeed, in throwing back the curtain to reveal the verbal nature of all interpretations and articulations of experience, many of the characters and narrators of 1980s American fiction discover, as a result, that they share only as much stake in reality as an Ivory soap advertisement or a string of subject-verb agreements.

As apparent in the previous examples, the sense of insignificance that developed in the texts of the period also reflected an angst that many artists and writers were feeling in regards to their place within an American culture crowded with the false art of marketing propaganda, big-budget fluff, and commercialism. In other works of the period, such as DeLillo's *White Noise* (1984), Ellis's *Less Than Zero* (1985), Tim O'Brien's *The Nuclear Age* (1985), and Paul Auster's *In the Country of Last Things* (1987), the objectification of experience is portrayed as the source of a distinct denial of authenticity. This denial is interrogated in these novels through an ironic assessment of the disparate and often directly contradictory things that Americans buy—both materially and consciously—to confirm their success, assert their independence, and affirm their identity. In grueling detail, these works catalogue the loss of self that attends the expansion of popular culture into the lives of an American mass-market populace of paranoid, image-obsessed consumers.

The "image-fiction" that developed as a reply to this mass-market America, according to Wallace's analysis, followed the terms of a pop-centered narrative irony straight into the mirror that it held up to itself. In definition, Wallace writes:

Image-fiction is basically a further involution of the relations between lit and pop that blossomed with sixties postmodernists. If the postmodern church fathers found pop images valid *referents* and *symbols* in fiction, and if in the seventies and early eighties this appeal to the features of mass culture shifted from *use* to *mention*, certain avant-gardists starting to treat of pop and TV and watching as themselves fertile *subjects*, the new fiction of image uses the transient received myths of popular culture as a *world* in which to imagine fictions about 'real,' albeit pop-mediated, public characters. (1993, p. 171)

The advantage of the image-fiction approach to the problems of immaterial authenticity, "real" reality, and the late twentieth-century proliferation of the "fictual", Wallace claims, is a "re-imagining [of] what human life might truly be like over there across the chasms of illusion, mediation, demographics, marketing, image, and appearance" (1993, p. 172-73). However, Wallace states with disappointment, in becoming one with the "passive, addictive TV-psychology" of consumer America, image-fiction does not move beyond the self-stifling constraints of its own irony-saturated discourse (p. 173). Wrapped in the self-silencing entropy of ironic self-consciousness, the corporate worlds projected by the image-fictions of writers such as DeLillo, Ellis, O'Brien, and Auster in the 1980s, as well as those of Douglas Coupland, Mark Leyner, and Ricardo Cortez Cruz in the 1990s, according to Wallace's assessment, act more to support the expansion of neoliberal Capitalism than they do to secure the further advancement of new forms of individual expression and the creative renovation of American culture (1993, p. 182-83).

For just below the surface of the simulacrum, beneath the objects of consumer capital that arrive already bearing the name of some designer or some producer (as in Ellis's *Less Than Zero*, *American Psycho* [1991], and *Glamorama* [1998]), and within the myth of some resonant substantiality that a given object is said to contain, represent, or satisfy (such as the Dylar in DeLillo's *White Noise*, or the baseball in his *Underworld* [1997]), is nothing but desire and solipsism. As Jedediah Purdy interprets it in his analysis of post-postmodern irony in *For Common Things: Irony, Trust, and Commitment in America Today*, through the profound emptiness and paranoia explored in works such as these, "we [as reader] sense an unreal quality in our words and even in our thoughts. They are superficial, they belong to other people and other purposes; they are not ours, and it may be that nothing is properly ours" (2000, p. xiii). But how did the tables turn so completely on the idealistic radicalism that evolved during the postmodern period?

According to Wallace and Franzen, the profound emptiness in much of the literature of the 1980s is due in part to the contemporary appropriation of ironic forms by popular media such as television and other market-driven vehicles of commercial advertising (Wallace, 1993, p. 183; Franzen, 1996, p. 40-42). By evacuating ironic forms of their social purpose and refashioning them into flashy, multi-voiced tools of consumer appeal, irony becomes a highly effective weapon in the commercial battle to subvert consumer suspicion, create desire and, through dissimulation and double-speak, to divert consumer attention from its own sales-pitch. Writers and critics such as Wallace, McLaughlin, and Christy Wampole make a very plausible case for this development, for the forms of ironic dissimulation and the self-denigrating reflexivity

of irony do make the ironic mode of narrative an ideal mode for the creation of entertaining, persuasive pieces of advertising.⁶ However, as this shift occurs and pop-critical irony begins to become indistinct from simple pop-irony, its socio-critical purpose is replaced by a financial purpose and its subversive edge becomes dull.

That this is so, Wallace argues (with more than a trace of Kierkegaard in his analysis), is due to the fact that, “irony, entertaining as it is, serves an exclusively negative function. It’s critical and destructive, a ground-clearing. Surely this is the way our postmodern fathers saw it. But irony’s singularly unuseful when it comes to constructing anything to replace the hypocrisies it debunks” (1993, p. 183). To Wallace this negativity amounts to a kind of tyranny of emptiness and vacuity based on a rhetoric of, “I don’t really mean what I say” (1993, p. 183-84), and to Wallace and other contemporary American artists and writers such as Jonathan Franzen, Dave Eggers, Jonathan Safran Foer, and Jeffrey Eugenides, such a position runs counter to any form of creative expression that consciously—and conscientiously—conceives of itself as other than a marketing tool.

3. Ironizing Irony, or, Sincerity in the Post-Postmodern Moment

As Robert McLaughlin writes in “Post-Postmodern Discontent,” because the hyper-visual, sales-driven culture of American media has “co-opted postmodernism’s bag of tricks to deleterious effect, writers of fiction, especially those who see themselves as the heirs of postmodernism, need to find a way beyond self-referential irony to offer the possibility of construction” (2008, p. 114). In answer to this possibility, post-postmodern fictions seek to show that: “self-referentiality by itself collaborates with the culture of the consumer technology to create a society of style without substance, of language without meaning, of cynicism without belief, of virtual communities without human connection, of rebellion without change” (2008, p. 115). While this literary exhaustion was certainly not the intended socio-cultural consequence behind the writing of such self-reflexive texts as Pynchon’s *V* (1963), Coover’s *Pricksongs & Descants* (1968), Barthelme’s *Snow White*, and Reed’s *Mumbo Jumbo*, nevertheless, such is the character of “consumer technology” that the subversive nature of irony must *itself* be subverted in order for literature to remain subversive.

Wallace’s suggestion in “E Unibus Pluram,” repeated throughout his *Brief Interviews with Hideous Men* (1999), *Consider the Lobster* (2005), *This is Water* (2009), and woven into the rhetoric of his posthumously published novel *The Pale King* (2011), is the suggestion that the next step forward, towards genuine substance and the negation of negative ironic negation, is precisely that—the construction of a counter irony, or, reverse “anti-irony” through an embracing of sincere forms of expression and “single-entendre values.” Wallace writes:

The next real literary ‘rebels’ in this country might well emerge as some weird bunch of ‘anti-rebels’ . . . who have the childish gall actually to endorse single-entendre values. Who treat old untrendy human troubles and emotions in U.S. life with reverence and conviction. Who eschew self-consciousness and fatigue. These anti-rebels would be outdated, of course, before they even started. Too

⁶ See Wallace, 1993, p. 181-84; McLaughlin, 2008, p. 112-14; Wampole, 2012.

sincere. Clearly repressed. Backward, quaint, naïve, anachronistic. Maybe that'll be the point, why they'll be the next real rebels. (1993, p. 192-93)⁷

Although it is, perhaps, too early to say what influence these proposed “anti-rebels” will have on the course of future literary developments, nevertheless, formally conservative, highly “sincere” novels such as Dave Eggers’s *A Heartbreaking Work of Staggering Genius* (2000), Jonathan Franzen’s *The Corrections* (2001), Jonathan Safran Foer’s *Everything is Illuminated* (2002), and Jeffrey Eugenides’s *Middlesex* (2002), have already made their collective mark on the American literary landscape.

Pushing the dominant literary mode ever closer to the realm of referentiality, these works have been lauded for their genial humor, their mastery of observed detail, their earnest concern for human relationships, and their heartfelt attempts to articulate the paradoxes of daily experience.⁸ Convivial, full of quirky, carefully developed characters, and rife with uncomfortably awkward “real life” situations, these novels do not, however, represent the sort of rebellion one might expect as sufficiently radical to shake up the literary world and move it in a new direction. And yet, all evidence suggests that such a move is in the process of taking place. Whether this move simply represents a market fluctuation, or is actually indicative of a deeper transition is unclear, but one thing is clear, the difference in mode between the ironic fiction of the postmodern period and that of its post-postmodern successor is noticeable and significant.

With this return to character, emotion, and personal intimacy comes a drastic alteration to the rhetorical contortions of Coover and Reed. Likewise, the collage-narrative forms of Pynchon and Barthelme are critically revised in these post-postmodern texts and expanded into increasingly referential textual territory. And instead of heaping the trash of the world onto the reader—in the manner of Reed’s machine-gun signifyin(g) and Barthelme’s philosophical dreck—post-postmodern writers are far more likely to pick through the rubbish of contemporary experience and describe it to the reader in detail, itemizing every ingredient, enumerating its provenance, and proposing its potential function within a global matrix of socio-cultural relations.

The current post-postmodern modal shift back towards the threshold of experience marks a departure from the realm of narrative abstraction and a distinct movement towards a more realistic mode of shared, interpersonal discourse, but is this emerging “post-ironic” mode actually any less ironic in its sincere approach? Might not the *post-* in post-ironic, like the *post-* in postmodern, be better thought of as a relational demarcation? Could not the post-ironic actually indicate a further advance in the

⁷ Wallace locates this kind of questionably ironic anti-rebellion in works such as Zbigniew Herbert’s *Mr. Cogito* (1994), as he writes in his review of the work for *Spin* magazine: “Since any great poem communicates an emotional urgency that postmodernism’s intendment of irony renders facile or banal, postmodern poets have a tough row to hoe. Herbert’s *Cogito-persona* permits ironic absurdism and earnest emotion not only to coexist but to nourish one another. . . . It seems significant that only writers from Eastern Europe and Latin America have succeeded in marrying the stuff of spirit and human feeling to the parodic detachment the postmodern experience seems to require. Maybe as political conditions get more oppressive here, we Americans’ll get good at it, too.” See Wallace, 2012, p. 121-22.

⁸ See Begley, 2000; O’Hehir, 2001; Prose, 2002; Lawson, 2002.

evolution of irony as a mode of literature and discourse?

Obviously, it is far too early to propose an articulate reply to these post-postmodern questions. But if there is one thing that connects each of the authors, whether modern, postmodern, or post-postmodern, it is their enduring appeal to the continued exploration of language. As Ihab Hassan writes in *The Dismemberment of Orpheus*: “Language, after all, still remains the deepest habit of our mind, our most thorough inheritance from dead or vanished gods” (1971, p. 17). And like any inheritance, it is now up to its inheritors to decide the future of its use. For the question of language will always remain: which habits of use to discard and which habits of use are in need of further revision.

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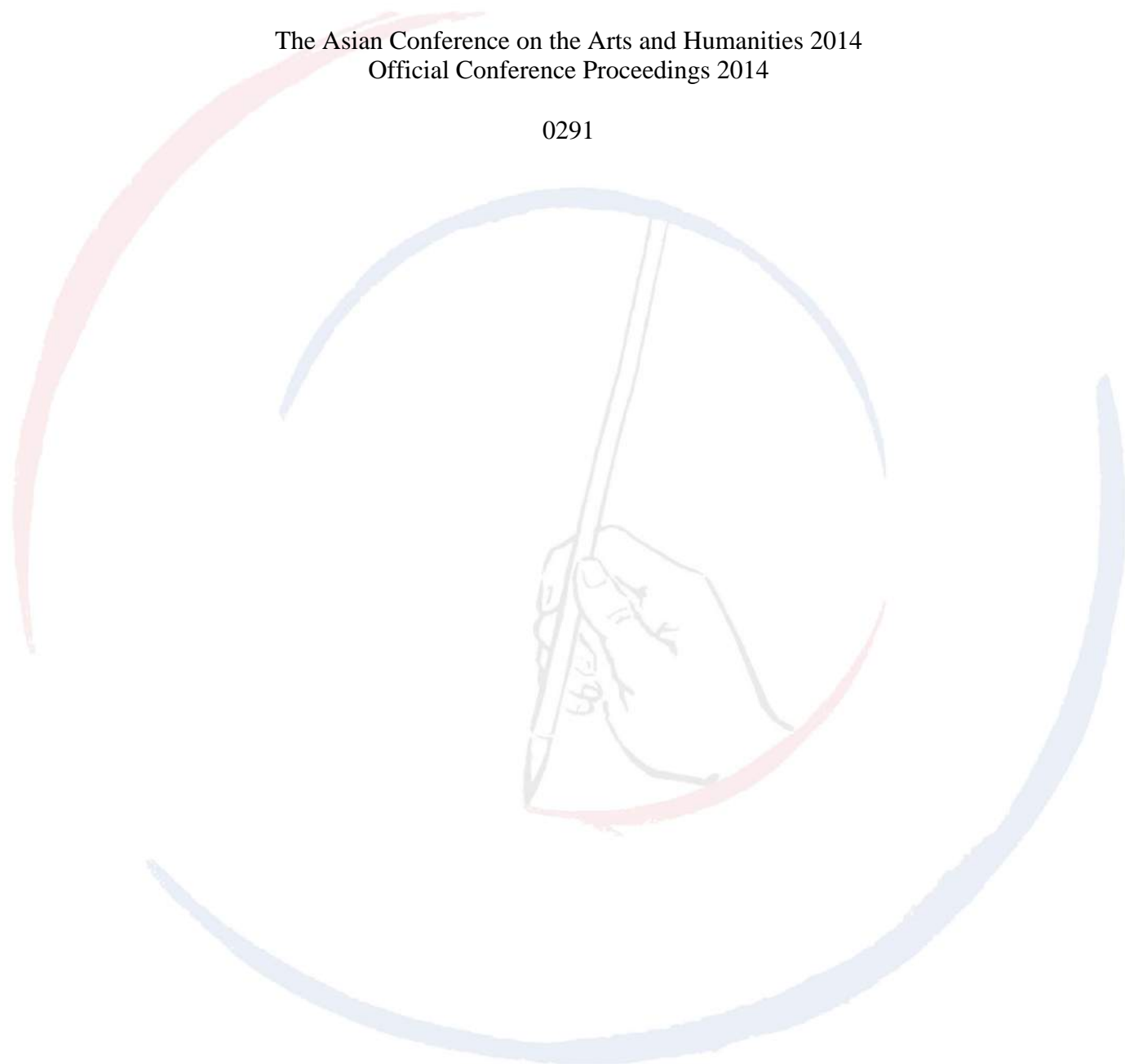
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Sense of Identity in Chang Rae Lee's A Gesture Life

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Addressing racial, gender and national issues, Chang Rae Lee's *A Gesture Life* explores the notion of identity. The narrator-protagonist, a Korean-born man, poses variously throughout his life as a Japanese national, a doctor, a father and an exemplary Asian American success story.

Hata's narrative of advantageous assimilation is consistently undercut by the stories of K, a comfort woman Hata meets while serving as a medic in the Japanese army during WWII, and of Sunny, his adopted daughter after immigrating to the US.

Encamped in a Burmese jungle, Lieutenant Hata is entrusted with safeguarding the health of the five Korean comfort women brought there to service the troops. Assuming Japanese identity, Hata, an ethnic Korean, can communicate with them in their forbidden native language. He becomes enamored of K who shares the same initial with Korea.

K kills Captain Ono after he threatens to kill Hata. Twenty five men are then upon her. They dismember her body in frenzy of cruelty. Picking up her remains, Hata discovers the fetus she was carrying. Haunted by this memory when he assists his adopted daughter's late-term abortion, he conflates K's body with that of his daughter's. Sunny has been impregnated by an African American, and Hata arranges for her abortion wishing to avert miscegenation from derailing his successful integration.

Employing Julia Kristeva's theories on abjection, the stories of the subordinated and marginalized female subjects K and Sunny will be shown to effectively subvert Hata's national and patriarchal narrative of immigration and cultural assimilation.

Chang Rae Lee's *A Gesture Life* underscores liminal, hybrid and ambiguous identities as it deploys tropes such as adoption, passing, conflicting ethnic and national identities and racial blending. It explores coloniality and postcoloniality and their influences on materializing such identities. Exposing the legacies of Japanese colonialism, the novel explores its ensuing troubled hybridities. The protagonist narrator who is simultaneously colonized and colonizer, guard and guardian uncomfortably resides where available subject positions collide (Chuh, 2003). *A Gesture Life* deploys the figure of the "comfort woman," as a critique of patriarchy and misogyny and of Japanese colonialism. It shows how violence against women was sanctioned by military chauvinism that incorporated rape into the imperialist project (Lee, 2012). The figure of the sex slave conscripted into service by the Japanese imperial government represents the radical subjectifying power that produces embodied identities. The hybrid figures depicted in the novel convey the convergence of multiple systems of subjectification. In so doing, Lee proposes the broadening the concept of heritage underpinning identity. By foregrounding adoption, the novel eschews conceptualizing identity on the basis of genetic or geographic origins. Rejecting a teleological model of identity, it effectively argues against essentialism, allowing identity to be produced and investigated within the historico-discursive realm. Lee's use of first-person narration also underscores how identity is contingent upon narrative (Chuh, 2003).

Shuttling back and forth between haunting recollections in Singapore and Burma in WWII and life in present-day American suburbia, the novel captures a man's

“struggle between guilt and desire [and] between self-erasure and self-assertion” (Cheng, 2005, p. 558) as well as his disturbing dislocation from himself and from life. The narrator introduces himself at the outset of the novel as Franklin Hata, a Japanese American resident of the affluent New York suburb of Bedley Run. Now in his 70’s, he lives in a valuable Tudor house with a pool and well-tended gardens and is known in town as “Doc Hata” for the Sunny Medical Supply store he owned and ran before his retirement. Contrary to the protagonist narrator’s declaration: “[E]veryone here knows perfectly who I am” (Lee, 1999, p. 1), Hata’s is shown to have donned various forms of camouflage his entire life; and as his chameleon-like existence comes to the fore, people’s inability to truly know or get close to him becomes apparent. Removed from his emotions and alienated from self, Hata’s own representations become suspect and the motives that shape them are called into question (Chuh, 2003).

The veneer of well-being Hata labors to present when he tends his lawn, swims in his pool and makes amiable small talk with his acquaintances turns out to be surface deep. Within the social suburban environment described as impeccably polite and decorous, there are suggestions of self-destruction. Having let a fire spill from the grate, Hata nearly chokes in his pool and suffers smoke inhalation when he attempts to burn old papers, to purge the house of memories of Sunny, his estranged adopted daughter (Jaggi, 2006). Yet repressed memories from his remote past come back to haunt him. As Hata appears emotionally stunted, the tenuousness of his relationships comes to the fore. He raises Sunny in a stern and disapproving manner, insisting on her self-improvement while disregarding what she likes or wants. He provides her with basic comfort, but is unable to love her unconditionally. Sunny, on her part, runs away from home to live in a drug house near Ebbington, a working class town. Hata’s restrained emotions are also seen in his relationship with Mary Burns, a local widow he meets when they are both in their 50’s. It holds the possibility for mutual love; but he fails to make a commitment, and she grows tired of his distance and detachment and decides to leave him. (Amend, 2010) (Jaggi, 2006)

In flashbacks, memories of another tenuous relationship capture Hata’s mind. He recalls Kkhutaeh, whom he calls “K,” a woman he was enamored of when he served as a paramedic for the Imperial Army in Burma in WWII and whose remains he gathered after her grisly death he did not actually witness. When Hata returns home one day, he is visited by K. Her ghostly visit highlights the disruption of Hata’s semblance of normalcy as it reminds him of the traumatic history he has tried to repress (Lee, 2012).

As the novel unfolds, Hata, is haunted by chilling memories of when he was known as Lieutenant Kurohata, a paramedic in the Japanese army in a remote garrison in Burma and was entrusted with keeping the five Korean s “female volunteers” who arrived there healthy for servicing 200 soldiers in “comfort house” stalls. Sunny’s adolescent sexuality in the novel brings Hata disturbing echoes of K (Chuh, 2003). Mary Burns’ observation suggests Hata’s conflation of Sunny with K, when she points out, “You treat her as if she was a woman to whom you’re beholden, which I can’t understand. I don’t see the reason. You’re the one who wanted her. You adopted her. But you act almost guilty as if she’s someone you hurt once, or betrayed, and now you’re obliged to do whatever she wishes, which is never good for anyone, much less a child” (Lee, 1999, p. 60) Hata’s relationship with his daughter then is marked by guilt that extends back to K.

But Hata has yet an earlier traumatic past to confront. A member of the despised ethnic Korean minority, at age 12 Hata escaped from a ghetto of hide tanners via a scholarship and adoption of a well-to-do Japanese couple. Hata later explains that 'Hata' is in fact a shortened form of "Kurohata" the name assumed upon adoption. Wrested from his native language, he was renamed Jiro Kurohata and indoctrinated amid schoolmates who treated him "like a stray dog." His current sense of racial isolation in Bedley Run is a repetition of this earlier pain impulse to disappear. As a foreigner, Hata is afraid to overstep his welcome as he retains the gratitude of the orphan; he is both ingratiating and appeasing. (Jaggi, 2006)

Hata marks his adoption as the true beginning of his life. In his national identification with Japan he seeks to erase his ethnic origin. He details how "powerful and liberating" pursuing the advantages of Japanese upbringing and education was. Reflecting of his adoption, he remarks, "This was when I first appreciated the comforts of real personhood, and its attendant secrets, among which is the harmonious relation between a self and his society" (Lee, 1999, p. 72). The benefit of "fitting in" can be seen to offer then personhood itself. Subjecthood is associated with social performance and with power (Cheng, 2005). Hata's description foregrounds the theatrical aspect of subjecthood when he captures how gratifying performance is as he remarks, "There is something exemplary in the sensation of near-perfect lightness, of being in a place and not being there, which seems of course a chronic condition of my life. . . until it becomes you through and through. Such is the cast of my belonging, molding to whatever is at hand" (Lee, 1999, p. 290).

As the narrator's observations increase, readers of *A Gesture Life* come to incrementally recognize Doc Hata' as a multiply fabricated identity. (Chuh, 2003) Hata, who has lived for more than thirty years in Bedley Run, believes he has become a venerable elder in his community. Though he is not a physician, he has come to be known as Doc Hata rather than Franklin, his American name. "Franklin" signals Hata's attempts to inaugurate himself as an American citizen; but it is displaced by "Doc," a diminutive not of his own choosing. "Doc Hata then underscores the protagonist's inability to integrate into the community and society at large on his own terms. (Carroll, 2005)

Hata's endeavor to constitute his own identity through attaining citizenship and assimilating is well captured in the novel through the trope of naming. The chain of transmuted names is a metaphoric representation of his journey toward US citizenship. While Jiro Kurohata becomes his name upon adoption, he shortens Kurohata, to Hata to save Americans the trouble of pronunciation. Assuming the American name, Franklin on becoming a US citizen, Hata seeks to put behind him his undesirable origins, as Hata is not originally Japanese, but ethnic Korean, living in "twilight" (Lee, 1985, p. 72), (Carroll, 2005). As Hamilton Carroll observes, "It is this liminal status that Hata comes to the US to escape, hoping to refashion himself as a model citizen and to erase the inauspicious conditions of his marginalized Japanese identity" (Carroll, 2005, p. 599).

Aware of Lieutenant Jiro Kurohata's "true" ethnicity, some of his superior officers in the Japanese Imperial army in WWII, taunt him, but he generally remains safe in "hiding." As a paramedic officer, Kurohata is entrusted with safeguarding the health of the five Korean Comfort Women forcibly abducted for the sexual gratification of the Japanese troops encamped in a Burmese jungle. He then witnesses the visceral

misogyny and racism they encounter. As a man and a Japanese soldier, Hata clearly occupies an oppressor relationship to the Comfort Women, but as a hidden Korean in a relatively anti-Korean militia, his relationship to the women bears some similarity (Cheng, 2005). As Anne Anlin Cheng observes, “Hata’s convoluted ethnic, national, and social background problematizes the Manichean difference between colonialist and colonized in the critical discourse of mimicry. As colonizer and colonized, Hata embodies the disciplinarian and the disciplined” (Cheng, 2005, p. 559).

Kurohata’s liminal subjectivity is already highlighted in his first encounter with K. She first thinks that he is Korean because his voice is like her younger brother’s, but he denies it, saying he has lived in Japan since he was born. K then insists that he is “different” than the other Japanese soldiers. Hata at this point wishes to cut their conversation short, but is shown nonetheless avidly drawn to the sound of the Korean language. His repudiation of his own heritage is amplified later in the same conversation as he claims, in response to Kkhutaeh’s desire to know his Korean name, “I don’t have one.” He goes on immediately, however, to tell the reader that “this was not exactly true. I’d had one at birth, naturally, but it was never used by anyone, including my real parents, who, it must be said, wished as much as I that I become wholly and thoroughly Japanese” (Lee, 1999, p. 235). Clearly, Hata’s own identity poses a thorny issue for him that leads him to an intricate interplay of simulation and dissimulation. K., on her part, mirrors for Hata the resultant ambiguity of his identity. As Hamilton Carroll insightfully observes,

Kurohata’s shortening of Kkhutaeh to K in his narrative clearly signals his desire to disarticulate their shared ethnic and national heritages and his desire to foreclose the strong identification he feels with K because she is Korean. . . . Symbolically, however, the K of Kkhutaeh is also the “K” of Korea, and Hata’s abjection of Kkhutaeh because she is Korean becomes linked to his own attempts to cast off his own marginal ethnic status and become wholly Japanese. As with Hata’s other attempts to distance himself from his multiply figured past, this abstraction fails because the K of Kkhutaeh is also the K of Kurohata, and each use of the initial calls up his own ruptured subjectivity. (Carroll, 2005, 603-604)

Nevertheless, the common originary tie in the Korean language he shares with K helps her confide in him. After she learns about his background, she is fascinated by his status as a Japanese adoptee and likens it to her own marginalized status as a daughter in a patriarchal household, in which she is “treated as if [she] were of the most distant blood.” (Lee, 245) It is interesting to note that Kkhutaeh in Korean means “the lowest rung.” Her name captures the subjugated state of Korea under Japanese occupation but also serves as a painful reminder to Hata of his own lowborn status he has sought to escape. The question Mark C. Jerng poses is germane here: “Is [Hata] always to be haunted by prior identifications: as a Korean, as someone who is not quite Japanese, as someone whose loyalty and belongings are always in question[?]” (Jerng, 2006, 58)

The significance of Hata’s questionable status is elucidated in the suggestively caustic instructions Hata receives from Captain Ono, the doctor of the military base he is posted to regarding how Hata is to treat K. Captain Ono orders Kurohata to remove K from the common space she shares with the other “comfort women” and place her in solitary confinement. Hata is then to signal the completion of this task by hanging a

black flag outside the camp infirmary. We learn from Hata that Captain Ono's command smacked of spite, as he explains:

What he had determined as the sign, the black flag, was of course meant for me. Hata is literally, "flag," and a "black flag," or "Kurohata," is a banner a village would raise by its gate in olden times to warn of a contagion within. It was the signal of spreading death. My adoptive family, I learned right away, had an ancient lineage of apothecaries, who had ventured into stricken villages and had for unknown reasons determined to keep the name, however inauspicious it was (Lee, 1999, pp. 224-225).

The association of Hata's adoptive family name with contagion is an uncanny reminder to Hata that as a native of Korea, a country that was annexed and colonized by Japan at the time, he could easily be deemed as suspect by hegemonic power. By extension, then, the black flag can be seen as a signifier to his own self-abjection unwittingly connecting him to K. to whom he feels powerfully attracted. Hata's subsequent rape is cast as domestic metaphor such that K becomes a house, the site of female domesticity and the repository of Hata's desire for national belonging. But Hata's ambivalent treatment of Kkhutaeh, which combines two contrary impulses, the debasement of the foreign woman and the domestication of the national feminine, foreshadows his own convoluted subjectivity. (Carroll, 2005). Having been assigned by the company captain to "quarantine" K. for the captain's private access, Hata has become K's guardian and guard. It is in this context that Hata narrates the development of their "romance" (Cheng, 2005).

Hata does seem enamored of K as she is "quarantined" in the infirmary away from the other comfort women, so that K's virginity can be especially reserved for the lead Commander. The other women are severely abused, but Hata is reprimanded when he tries to keep them in the infirmary and so he sends them back to the brothel. He cannot or would not acknowledge that he morally objects to the flagrant abuses he witnesses or that he opposes the actions of the Imperial Army and his superiors. Hata refuses to align himself as K's compatriot. He longs for the ethnic relations to which K's body binds him; but as she is a traumatized subject of personal and national subjugation, Hata's sublimated repression of the aggression he embodies in his service of the Imperial Army is brought to the fore (Cho, 2010) (Cheng, 2005). His rape of K which he dissimulates under the guise of affection bespeaks his elaborate acts of self-deception is evident when he says:

Then it was all quite swift and natural, as chaste as it could ever be. . . [S]he lay as if she were the sculpture of a recumbent girl and not a real girl at all. I said then, I love you, and she didn't answer. I love you, I said again in Korean. . .

I could understand why she should become upset. . . [B]ut hadn't I professed my devotion. . . hadn't I in mitigation said the words that should let her know what I was intending for us, after the war? (Lee, 1999, pp. 259-260)

Stating his sincere intentions both conventionally and enigmatically, "Hata's words fold rape into love, strain into promise, highlighting the disturbing gap and closeness between rhetoric and reality, between romance and coercion. The universalizing language of romance here authorizes forms of violence and domination" Cheng, 2005, pp. 560).

The depersonalization that turns K into “a sculpture of a recumbent girl and not a real girl at all” divests her from personal identity and volition, thus paving the way to Hata’s evading responsibility. (Cho, 2010) In another sexual encounter that follows in close sequence K exposes Hata’s carnal urges and misapprehension when she informs him, “You think you love me but what you really want you don’t yet know . . . It is my sex. . . . If you could cut it from me and keep it with you like a pelt or favorite stone, that would be all. You are a decent man, Lieutenant, but really you are not different from the rest”(Lee, 1999, p. 300). As Anne Anlin Cheng points out,

Hata has not only fetishized [K.’s] “sex” . . . but also her ethnicity and nationality. For Hata’s intimacy with K. has ensured a secret reconnection with his renounced ethnic origin while serving as compensation for being emasculated by his Japanese peers. . . . K’s allusion to Hata’s sexual fetishization points to the ways in which the body also participates in a nexus of racial, ethnic and national symbolization. We may even go as far as to say that K., encrypted as the initial for Hata’s unspeakable ethnic origin, functions as a kind of a lynchpin in the web of Hata’s multiple and contradictory symbolic attachments (Cheng, 2005, 560-561).

When Captain Ono threatens to shoot Hata, Kkhutaeh kills the captain who earmarked her for himself. K begs Hata to shoot her in an act of mercy before the murder is discovered by the other soldiers, but he cannot do it. Instead of seeing Hata’s inability to kill her as a sign of his love, K. confronts him on his fetishized objectification of her, adding “If you truly loved me. . . [y]ou could not see me like this, you could not stand for one moment longer the thought of my even living“(Lee, 1999, 300). K. understands that Hata’s choice to preserve her life implies the choice of her death under much more brutal terms. And, in fact, K subsequently has twenty five men upon her. They later dismember her body in frenzy of cruelty.) Given K’s captivity before her grisly death and Hata’s alignment with the powers that be that abducted her as a sex slave, Elaine Scarry elucidates the morality embedded in such dynamics when she explains:

The absence of pain is a presence of world; the presence of pain is the absence of world. Across this set of inversions pain becomes power. . . . The larger the prisoner’s pain (the smaller the prisoner’s world and therefore, by comparison) the larger the torturer’s world. This set of inversions at once objectifies and falsifies the pain, objectifies one crucial aspect of pain in order to falsify all other aspects. The obliteration of the contents of consciousness, the elimination of world ground, which is a condition brought about by the pain and therefore one that once objectified (as it is in confession) should act as the sign of the pain, a call for help, an announcement of a radical occasion for attention and assistance, instead acts to discredit the claims of pain, to repel attention, to ensure that the pain will be unseen and unattended to (Scarry, 1985, 37).

Though K.’s appeal to Hata to kill her in mercy falls on deaf ears, we do get hints that subsequently Hata confronts a dilemma that challenge not merely his humanity but his ethnic-national loyalties as well. Fulfilling K.’s request would have meant breaking rank, transgressing not only military code but also his Japanese and masculine identifications. While Hata at times stood up to his captain on behalf of K., he finally cannot breach the military codes that underpin his identification with being Japanese. Hata’s endeavors to pass and assimilate during the war went well beyond

“fitting in” with his Japanese comrades; as his deep complicity with the horrors of wartime atrocity is demonstrated (Cheng, 2005).

When Hata picks up K’s remains, he discovers the fetus K. was carrying (305). This memory haunts him when he assists his adopted daughter’s late-term abortion when she is 17 (282-83). The more Hata recalls his war experience, the more he conflates K’s body with that of his daughter’s. Sunny, we learn, has been impregnated by an African American, and Hata arranges for her illegal abortion wishing to avert miscegenation from derailing his successful assimilation. The racial makeup of her future progeny is central to his success (Carroll, 2005).

Policing Sunny’s body is Hata’s way of ensuring the fictive purity of his own heritage. It is upon adopting Sunny from a Korean agency that Hata shares his profound disappointment that she was likely the offspring of an African American GI and a local bar girl. As Hata relates,

I had assumed the child and I would have a ready, natural affinity, . . . our being of a single kind and blood. But when I saw her for the first time I realized there could be no such conceit for us, no easy persuasion. Her hair, her skin, were there to see, self-evident, and it was obvious how some other color (or colors) ran deep within her. And perhaps it was right from that moment, the very start, that the young girl sensed my hesitance, the blighted hope in my eyes (Lee, 1999, p. 204.)

As a transracial adoptee, Sunny represents the impossibility of the easy assimilation Hata desires, as she sharply contrasts with his immigrant ideals. Denigrated within race-based national logics, Sunny’s place in the novel—like Kkhutaeh’s—is marked by abjection. The personal trauma Hata’s experience with K. represents the junction of personal and national trauma so it is with Sunny, who as a miscegenated subject illustrates the uncanny return of the repressed for the nation. The link between these two figures of abjection and the traumas that follow them marks postcoloniality onto the national narrative of Hata’s self-making (Carroll, 2005).

But Hata’s unmaking at this juncture can be seen in his being dislocated from his own feelings, thereby driving a wedge between him and Sunny. Hata recalls how he and Sunny never saw eye to eye, he forcing her to play the piano for her own good, and she rebelling against his rigid control. The police officer reveals that as a young woman, Sunny would sneak out at night and stay at Jimmy Gizzi’s, the local drug dealer. When Hata and Sunny get into a fight about the situation, she accuses him of only caring about his reputation in the small town. Sunny later leaves Hata’s life as she moves to NYC to live with her boyfriend, Lincoln Evans, an African American jazz musician.

In Lee’s novel, Sunny’s independence: her departure from home, her construction of life deliberately separate from her adoptive father enable Hata to disarticulate his conception of Sunny and his memories of K. The contrast between K and Sunny suggests an understanding of Korea as victim. Driven to violence herself, beaten and raped, K dies. Sunny, on the other hand, liberated from Hata, from a colonial past, promises and delivers—through her son, Thomas, continuity into the future. Her name likewise suggests ebullient optimism (Chuh, 2003).

But K.'s haunting goes beyond the "real" world of the novel and bespeaks the rupture of historical time in suggesting that her apparition still lives on. Her life after death is captured because the text depends on her continuing presence even if it destabilizes its realist framework. While Hata is inclined to euphemize the enslavement of the "comfort women," K. clearly exposes Japanese imperialism as morally bankrupt. As she becomes the novel's pedagogical and moral voice, her powerlessness is transformed into a position of epistemic and ethical privilege. As a marginalized abject subjectivity, Sunny seems to function as K.'s substitute, an uncanny parallel that enables her to act as a pedagogical voice in the parts of the novel set in the US. (Lee, 2012) Hata's abjection of K. and Sunny underpin his attempts to inaugurate a nationally visible subjectivity in his assimilation narrative. Yet, a narrative that foregrounds the position of these subordinated, marginalized female subjects consistently undercuts his narrative.

It is at the end of the novel that Hata realizes how empty his life has been, that he has merely been going through the motions of living. Lee suggests through the protagonist, that life devoid of closeness, of feeling, is only a shadow of a life. While Hata is reckoning with his past, he renews contact with Sunny and takes care of her son, Thomas, the multiracial child who figures hybridity and whose existence catalyzes the incipient tentative process of reconciliation between Hata and Sunny (Chuh, 2003). That Hata has chosen to embrace Thomas and take care of him marks Hata's ability to transcend his former limitations that were glaringly apparent when he adopted Sunny. Further attesting to the same trend is Hata's saving Thomas from drowning during an outing to the beach, a departure from his lifelong lack of fostering and protection of others. Hata's transformation is further shown when he decides to sell his cherished house and give the proceeds to Sunny so she can establish a stable life for her son.

Lee avoids at this point the facile resolution of the different narratives by offering Hata, Sunny and Thomas as a reunited family. The novel maintains its integrity to the last as it eschews simplicity and closure. Instead, Hata steadfastly refuses to enjoy a future that finally promises community and kinship. He decides to leave Bedley Run and leave Sunny and Thomas behind and embark on an undefined journey. In his closing words he says: "Tomorrow, when [my former] home is alive and full, I will be outside looking in. I will be already on a walk someplace, in this town or the next or one five thousand miles again. I will circle round and arrive again. Come almost home" (Lee, 1999, p. 356). Hata has been driven throughout his life by blind desire to fit in and pass. Given its salience in his life, his acknowledgment of the form of his blind desire (for home and belonging) signals a noteworthy shift. When Hata at the end of the novel defamiliarizes home and belonging, he unpacks the bourgeois naturalism that was the outward form of his desire as he signals his own self-alienation. Hata's invisibility of passing and abjection had to do with ego-protection and consolidation. It gives way here to invisibility associated with unmooring which seems at odds with protecting oneself. It is significant then that the very end of the novel suggests mobility and approximation rather than resolution and affirmation. (Cheng, 2005).

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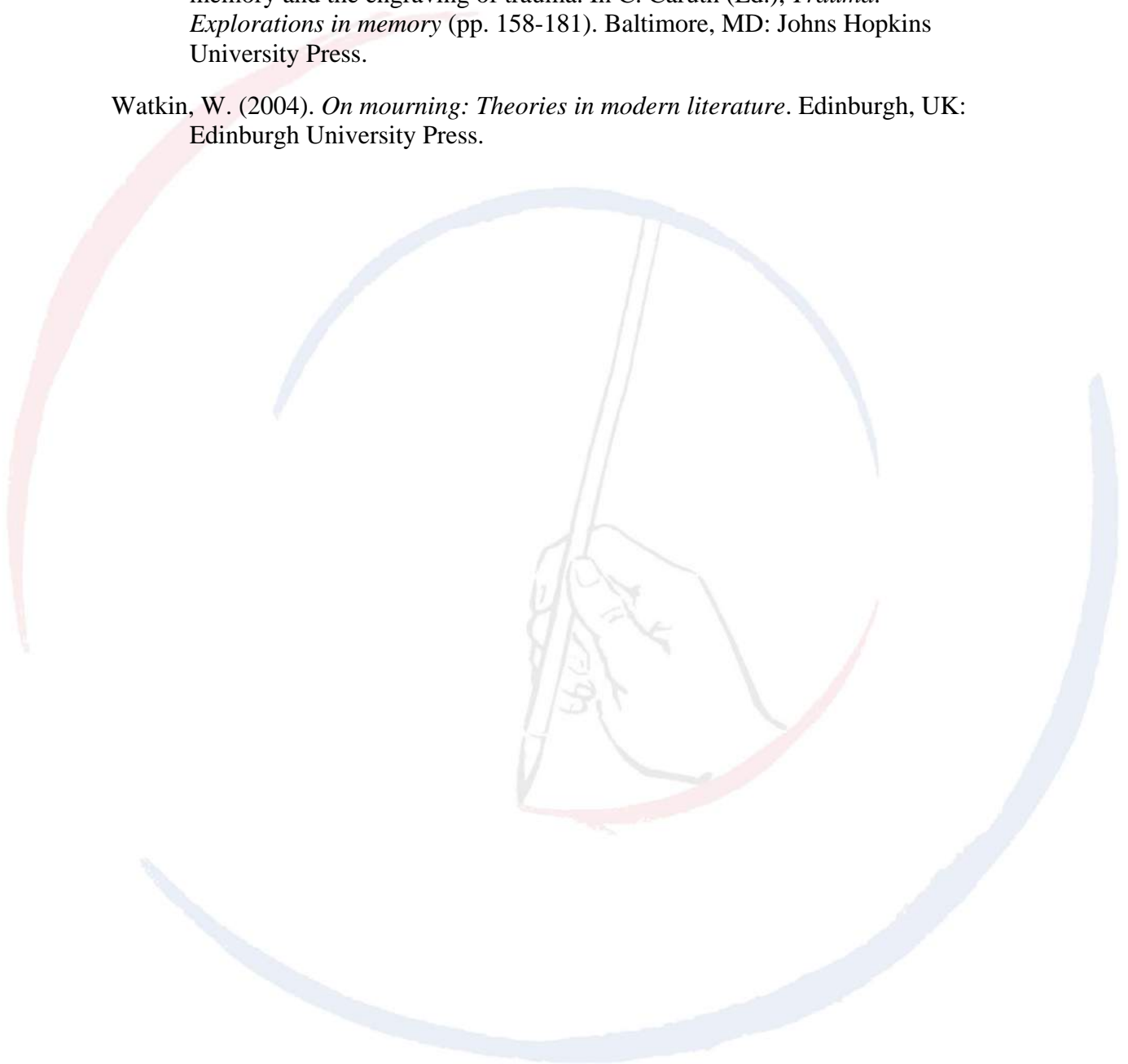
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Sign, Seal and Drum: Buddhist Somatic Cultivation Practices

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Abstract

This article looks at the manipulation of meaning at the level of the mono- (or di-) syllabic-morpheme in a Buddhist *Mahāmudrā* practice. In *Mahāmudrā śamatha* practice, vocal manipulation and visualization may manifest the morpheme as an embodied agent. The morpheme becomes an extension or the will of the adept. The adept-cum-morpheme (there is no distinction between these two) transform and manifest as the divine body that phoneme embodies. The sound “ra” transforms into the body of Ratnasambhava and the sound “ta” becomes the body of Green Tara. The sound “ta” may manifest simultaneously as the written Sanskrit character, and these in turn (the written “ta” and the spoken “ta”) *are* the body of Green Tara herself. Green Tara, an aspect of maternal benevolence, is the embodiment of the Buddha’s capacity to transform suffering into consolation and ill-health into vitality. That vitality, the essence of health, passion and compassionate vitality, may itself issue from Green Tara’s body as green essence that absorbs into the adept, and which the adept re-issues from her body as she vocalizes (or is) the sound ‘ta’. This phoneme is simultaneously an active agent in the universe and the representative will-cum-consciousness of the adept to transmit compassionate salvation to individuals in need of succor. Meaning is embodied through the mono-syllables and through the voice of the adept. The mono-syllable becomes both a symbolic support for tantric perfections and an embodied experience of the contemplation and apprehension of that symbolic message. This paper examines how sound becomes the vehicle for deliberate manipulation and deliberative contemplation at a level that encompasses both the cultivation of mental states and the transformation of physical and sensory response systems. It is suggested that the cultivation of the symbolic support systems and their complex interactions are intended to create a series of “auto-sensory responses” to the auditory stimuli which engender an *embodied* (non-contemplative) understanding of Buddhist phenomena.

1. Introduction

Fifty drummers. One heart-beat. One movement. One body. One intention. One mind. This is the experience of *chan-gu*, Dharma drumming.¹ *Chan-gu* is not simply a performance of non-duality and self-erasure; *chan-gu* allows the drummers to suspend their selves in the space-and-moment of non-duality and self-erasure. The drummer, the drum, the drum team are all one. Each moment gives rise to the next in a natural flow-and-ebb that cannot exist in the presence of ego or individuation. The body, the ear, the arm, the shoulders, the knees, the wrists all act in unity with no particular sense of differentiation: each tap-and-beat flow naturally from the moment as if the body were merely the conduit of the non-dual rhythm that arises. The body acts without reacting. The mind, body, and drum are one. This is the unity and the cultivation of *Chan-gu*.

Body, ear, arm, shoulders, knees, wrists, waist — all are essential in maintaining drumming constancy, tension and unity. Drummers must train, cultivating their bodies, refining, making themselves supple, strong, relaxed and responsive. There must be an embodied awareness of waist, arm, wrist, baton, drum, beat, rhythm, team; their minds must be completely relaxed, tranquil yet alert. This is a cultivated state that incorporates body, drum and mind: beginners may have difficulty ‘remembering’ to keep each part of the body all in the proper position while following musical notations on the page; but when trained, the body remembers while the mind forgets, and the drummer is freed to embrace the unity of *chan-gu*. This formation of the drummer, an embodied cultivation of body and mind, is somatic cultivation.

A similar embodied cultivation occurs in some forms of Tibetan Buddhist *śamatha* cultivation. In some visualization practices (such that described in the abstract), meaning is embodied through mono-syllables and through the voice of the adept. The mono-syllable becomes both a symbolic support for tantric perfections and an embodied experience of the contemplation and apprehension of that symbolic message. This embodied experience can be invoked at will, through intentional manipulations of mental and neurological states: the body itself is cultivated through practice until the brain itself transforms in shape (plasticity) and responsiveness (functional control or FC), allowing for increased attentional control and unique non-attentional activity

¹ The words *chan-gu* translate literally as ‘meditation drumming’. The word ‘gu’ means “drum.” The word “chan” in Chinese (pronounced Zen in Japanese, from the Sanskrit, *dhyāna*) means “meditation.” *Chan-gu* is not limited to the context of a particular Buddhist school, however; rather, the word “chan” communicates the experience of drumming as meditation. Jamgon Kontrul, among others, has termed ‘meditation’ as ‘dharma’: a phenomenal form of Buddha’s teaching in this world; thus, translating *chan gu* as ‘Dharma drumming’ is not without precedent. Because of both its relative popularity and its roots in doctrinal language, the term *chan-gu* is expressed ‘Dharma drum’ throughout; the term “meditational drumming” is also used.

that forms a unique, higher-level non-meditational experience or state-of-being.

1. Putting practice in context

1.1 Background

Around the 1st century CE, two important streams of Buddhism separated and turned east from India, touching the lives and cultures of Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and eventually Japan. The Mahāyāna stream of Buddhism, with its emphasis on salvation and its vast army of saint-like bodhisattvas who wander the earth bringing succor to the suffering, found its hold in the imaginations of those living to the East of India. To the west (the regions of modern India, Nepal, Tibet, parts of west and northwest China), Mahāyāna continued to develop and transform, eventually forming the Mahāmudrā tradition (among others); in China proper, Mahāyāna blended with native concepts, eventually giving rise to a plethora of ‘native’ Buddhist traditions, among them Chan (Zen) Buddhism. These two schools, Mahāmudrā and Chan, may be considered the basis for the practices described above.

Mahāmudrā and Chan arose, each in its own context, in response to parallel developments in understandings of the nature of reality. The nature of reality in Mahāyāna Buddhism is non-dual. This concept of non-duality derives from the Yogācāra school of Buddhism, which developed around the 2nd-3rd century. Yogācārins believed that ignorance arises from the false belief that the knowing subject and the object of knowing are distinct. Freedom from that ignorance lies in simply abiding in the recognition of this non-duality between knowing subject and known object (*grāhya grāha kad vaya*). This concept of non-duality was embraced by Mahāyāna: Mahāyānists believed that freedom from ignorance was achieved through experiencing reality as it truly is.

This concept from Mahāyāna was joined with concepts of *amsrti* and *svasaṃvitti* in the Mahāmudrā school. *Svasaṃvitti* or “reflective awareness” was first fully developed in the works of Dharmakīrti (fl. ca. 6th or 7th c. CE) and his commentators beginning in the 7th century; it describes a form of ‘knowing’ or ‘cognition’ unstructured by subject-object duality. (cf. Dreyfus, 1997; Dunne, 2011; Eltschinger, 2010; van der Kuijp, 1983.) *Amsrti* or non-meditation describes a state beyond reflective meditation, one in which meditation is unstructured by conceptual thought. This idea, expressed notably in the works of Nāgārjuna (ca. 150-250) and Maitripa (1007-1078?), underlies the project of self-cultivation in these schools. These concepts, which reach clear and systematic formulations by the 10th-11th centuries, form the basis for formation of Mahāmudrā’s unique concepts. (Dunne, 2011)

Two major streams of Mahāmudrā cultivation distinguished in the contemporary world are Kagyu and the Kagyu-Gelugs²; both employ a two-phase cultivation, *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā*. *Śamatha* (tranquility) training aims

² Given space considerations, other important streams are not addressed herein.

to quiet and stabilize the flow of thoughts or mindstream. In the Mahāmudrā tradition, *vipaśyanā* or “insight” refers to a level of cognition that goes beyond mere mindfulness (*smṛti*), embraces non-mindfulness (*asmṛti*) and attains perfect insight. This type of apprehension is called Wisdom Mind. The visualization practice outlined in the abstract constitutes one way of actualizing Wisdom Mind.

Chan similarly seeks to actualize an enlightened apprehension of reality through realization of the inner nature and non-duality. The philosophical roots of Chan also begin, therefore, with Yogācāra and the early Mahāyāna tradition. On Chinese soil, Mahāyāna traditions went through a long period of transition beginning about the first millennium CE, adapting to and internally transforming local understandings of religion; by the Tang dynasty there was a flowering of Buddhism, with the emergence of a number of truly Chinese forms of Buddhism. Chan, one of the two most prominent of these schools, emphasized the practice from which this school derives its name, meditation (*chan* Ch.; *dhyāna* Skrt).

In its earliest period, the Chan or Lanka school, emphasized meditation, following the example of Bodhidharma (fl. ca. 5th-6th c. CE). Bodhidharma was a member of the Lanka School who arrived in China in the 6th century and, it is said, claimed the Lankavatara Sutra was “the only translated Scripture which, if followed in conduct may lead to salvation.” (Hu, 1953, p.5) Bodhidharma’s followers committed themselves to an ascetic lifestyle, living and meditating in the wilds, allowing themselves only one begging bowl, one cloak, and a pair of sandals. (Hu, 1953). They sought to achieve enlightenment and personal, direct understanding of the Buddhist teachings through focussed meditation, yet the nature of *how* to practice transformed during Tang, when Chan divided into a Northern school (recognizing the lineage-leadership Shenxiu and his concept of gradual enlightenment) and a Southern school (recognizing Shenhui’s lineage through Huineng, and promoting the concept of sudden enlightenment, gradual cultivation). This sudden-gradual distinction had a profound effect on the understanding of how and why meditation was conducted.

1.2 Practices

The concept of non-duality in Mahāyāna is combined with the concepts of mindfulness (*smṛti*) and non-mindfulness (*asmṛti*) in Mahāmudrā. The adept first begins by cultivating concentration and a calm-but-alert mental state, *śamatha*. A variety of meditations are then employed to eventually cultivate insight or *vipaśyanā*, so that all the individual experiences is the experience of the wisdom mind.

The noted Tibetan Rinpoche and writer, Jamgon Kongtrul, notes six methods of *śamatha* practice practiced by Tibetan Buddhists: *individual withdrawal (pratyahara)* to cut through the objects of mind; *empty structure of the nadis* during which one meditates on the three major channels and the bodily chakras; *vāyu praṇās* (subtle airs of the body) *practice*; and *meditation on yidams* (divine companions), sometimes in alternation with mantra recitation. (Thrangu, 1993, pp.131-132) The vocal manipulation outlined in the beginning

of this presentation can be practiced as the fifth of Kongtrul's six methods of *śamatha*. The aim of all these methods is to gain the supreme wisdom of the wisdom mind. Having attained clarity of insight and stability of mind, adepts return to read the texts and teachings with greater attentional control; thus, they attain a clearer apprehension of the meanings and, "śamatha practice becomes vipaśyanā practice." (Gyamtsso 2004, p.134) This is Insight. (Dunne 2011, p. 81)

This is done in a three-part meditation cycle which includes listening, contemplating and meditating. (cf. Gyamtsso, Kongtrul, Berzin) In the listening phase, one listens to Buddhist teachings. During contemplation, one considers the validity of the teachings and verifies their validity for one's self. Once having ascertained the validity of the teachings, one then 'relaxes the mind' in apprehension of the teachings. at phase of listening to teachings, considering the teachings, and then meditating or relaxing the mind in apprehension of those teachings. These three phases continue through all levels of meditation: even when one has become a Bodhisattva or minor Buddha and is listening to the teachings these three phases of listening, contemplating, and meditating pertain.

Gyamtsso distinguishes the Karma-Kagyu and Kagyu-Gelugs systems of meditation; both begin with Theravāda type meditations and progress from attention-oriented meditations; to non-attention and non-meditation at the level of Prasingika-Madhyamaka meditation; Karma-Kagyu diverges and embraces a final level of meditations, and Shantong-Madhyamaka. This change from object-oriented, focused meditation to non-focused, non-meditation implies a particular facility of the brain to simultaneously have awareness without actually 'holding' that awareness; following an initial moment of intention and effort towards practice which gives rise to the meditation or visualization, the meditation (and accompanying visualizations) swiftly attain their own presence. This meditative state may then lead to a state in which all experience is simultaneously meditation, visualization and non-meditation, non-visualization.

In Chan meditation, there are clear differences in the methods of the Northern and Southern schools. In the Northern school, meditators followed a four-fold formula: "concentrating the mind in order to enter dhyāna, settling the mind in that state by watching its forms of purity, arousing the mind to shine in insight, and finally controlling the mind for its inner verification." (Cited in Hu 1953) But Shenhui of the Southern school embraced a concept similar to *asmṛti* when he said that the four-fold formula and all forms of sitting meditation (*zuo-chan*) were a hindrance to enlightenment. "Here in my school, to have no thoughts is meditation-sitting, and to see one's original nature is *dhyāna*." (Cited in Hu, 1953, p.7)

This distinction between the Northern and Southern schools of Chan is highlighted in a famous story of the 5th Patriarch, Hongren's, transmission of the lineage-leadership to Huineng. Hongren was nearing death and wished to select a worthy disciple to carry on the leadership. He challenged his disciples to post their verses on enlightenment. Only Shenxiu dared. He wrote:

The body is the bodhi-tree
 The mind is like a bright mirror.
 At all times we must strive to polish it
 And must not let the dust collect.
 (McRae, 1986, pp. 1-2, with modifications; from the Platform Sutra of
 the 6th Patriarch)

The cook, Huineng, on hearing this verse realized the author's lack of understanding. He composed the following verse in response:

Bodhi originally has no tree.
 The mirror also has no stand.
 The Buddha Nature is always clear and pure.
 Where is there room for dust?
 (Ibid, 2 with modifications; in the Platform Sutra of the 6th Patriarch)

These verses articulate two distinct methodological and philosophical approaches, and the development of a new 'stage' of meditation which is also distinguished in Mahāmudrā with the terms attention and non-attention, and the distinction between “constructivist” and “innatist” ideas of the human mind/nature noted also in Dunne.(2011) Gomez voices the difference in terms of metaphor:

“[T]hose who assume that the object of religious, aesthetic, or intellectual apprehension is somehow innate in the apprehending subject also tend to assume at the same time that the act of apprehension is abrupt, sudden, and effortless. The most common metaphor employed by advocates of this type of position, Demieville would argue, is the mirror as symbol for the mind: both are innately pure, both are able to know (or reflect) clearly, passively and integrally. The opposite view would then propose that the object of religious, aesthetic, or intellectual apprehension is not innate, and that the act of apprehension is indirect and gradual, the result of dedicated self-cultivation.” (Gomez, 1987, p. 68)

This distinction marks the shift from Shenxiu's rigorous attentional focus to Huineng's rejection of the principles of focus and even the objects of focus — recall similar (but not identical) differences in the qualitative dimension of *samādhi* seen also in Mahāmudrā. However, Gomez is careful to point out that Shenhui's recorded sayings, and even sections of the Platform Sutra itself, indicate a need for cultivation, not a total rejection of meditation. (Gomez 1991, 83)³

Non-duality, sudden insight, and immanence of the Buddhahood — these three concepts combined (ironically) with the concepts of no-Buddha and no-Dharma form a number of different approaches to Chan in the mid to late Tang dynasty. Zongmi (d. 841) analyzed the Chan movement of his own time into

³ For another telling exchange, see Gomez 1991, p. 80.

ten principal schools, which he classified under three main movements: (1) Those that taught "the extinction of false thoughts by cultivating or controlling the mind" — that is, the schools of the old or Indian dhyāna (accords with Gyamtso's first stage of meditation); (2) Those that taught that "nothing is real, and there is nowhere to abide," and that "there is neither Dharma to bind us, nor Buddhahood to attain" (accords in part with Gyamtso's second stage of meditation); (3) Those that discarded all older forms of Chan and taught "a direct appeal to the mind or the nature of man" (accords in part with Gyamtso's third stage of meditation). This group includes the schools of Shenhui and Daoyi. (Hu, 1953, 11) The school of Daoyi, one of the most influential of the 8th-9th century Chan schools — holds many concepts typical of Chan:

The Tao is everywhere and in everything. Every idea, every movement of the body — a cough, a sigh, a snapping of the fingers, or raising of the eyebrows — is the functioning of the Buddha-nature in man. Even love, anger, covetousness and hate are all functionings of the Buddha-nature.

Therefore, there is no need of a particular method of cultivation.

Let the mind be free. Never seek to do good, nor seek to do evil, nor seek to cultivate the Tao. Follow the course of Nature, and move freely. Forbid nothing, and do nothing. That is the way of the 'free man,' who is also called the 'super-man.' (Ibid)

Also,

"There is neither Law [Truth] to bind us, nor Buddhahood to attain." (Hu 1953, p.10)

One of Daoyi's disciples, the lay scholar Pang Yun, left this famous dictum:

"Empty yourselves of everything that exists, and never reify anything that exists not." (Hu, 1953, p.11)

Hu Shi notes an earlier and a later phase of Chan instruction. In the earlier phase, monks employed plain, clear explanations; the wild and often bizarre behavior of later Chan was not attested. Following the rise of Chan in the late 8th-10th centuries, monks such as Yixuan (d. 866) of the Linchi school effected an "intellectual emancipation" (ibid 20) of their disciples, employing a method that included:

- never speaking too plainly, such that the disciple had to work out concepts and meanings on his or her own;
- engaging in erratic, unexpected behaviors (including beating disciples, responding to questions with silence) or responding with paradoxes or ko'an; and,
- after a specific period of cultivation, instructing their adepts to depart and go 'travelling on foot' to 'inquire after the Dharma'. (*Ibid.*, p. 22)

Interestingly enough, Chan was a favorite topic of discussion in the early modern Tibetan community, for Tibetans quickly grasped the relative continuity of Chan and Mahāmudrā concepts. (cf. Stein, 1991, p.51) Stein notes in particular the differences (and constancy) between Tibetan and Chan concepts of “sudden” and “gradual” enlightenment, and links “sudden” to simultaneity and spontaneity. He concludes, “the supreme meaning appears to them to be connected to simultaneity in space (omnipresence) or in time (synchrony) or in thought (cognitio intuitiva, direct and immediate comprehension of unity in multiplicity, of the dharma in the dharmas). (*Ibid*)

The unity of the two schools and their approaches are interestingly similar (although we must, of course, refrain from drawing parallels that are too simplistic or direct). Yet their methods are quite distinct, for in the Chan school, “the oneness of the *samādhi* is not that of a single technique or a simple object, but that of single-mindedness. According to the Southern school, the sacred character of *samādhi* is not derived from a particular sacred object of meditation or from the absence of mental content and activity. The *samādhi* and its content are defined apophatically, as single-minded detachment from all objects and practices. (Gomez, 1987, p.82) Using Shenhui as an example of the Southern approach, Gomez finds evidence that, while the idea of “stages of enlightenment” are not acknowledged, there must be some nod to “means.”

The Nirvana Sutra says: “All living beings would never attain enlightenment without the assistance of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and true spiritual friends [gurus] who instruct them using skillful means.” (*Ibid*, p.87; Gomez 1987, n. 85)

A good deal of research has been devoted to the Northern and Southern schools of Chan, and their differences. However, both appear to accept the idea of cultivation. What appears to divide the two schools is not the necessity of cultivation; first, the meaning of the word ‘enlightenment’ and, second, the means of apperception both appear to be at stake. Indeed, this appears to be a similar distinction to what Gyamtso notes in his distinction between his “progressive stages” four, five and six. These distinctions have a direct effect on how the practices each school employed affect the somatic transformations cultivated.

2. Somatism

This paper begins with a claim to the somatic cultivation of the individual through various Buddhist practices, two of which have been described in the beginning of this paper. I claim that the meditation conducted constitutes a somatic cultivation of the individual. How do I show that both mind and body are cultivated?

Neuroscience provides ample evidence of the somatic cultivation in one part of the body, the brain. Here, there is no claim that the brain represents the mind; rather, the brain is considered an integrated part of the body. The brain is chosen because: there is ample evidence of systematic plastic changes associated with meditation; this evidence is readily available; the science can

be stated in a manner readily accessible to a lay audience; and, after more than thirty years of study, the results are now widely accepted. Whereas medical science is also looking at meditation in the context of controlling cardiovascular, auto-immune and other diseases, these studies universally employ meditation in combination with other therapies such as dietary and other lifestyle changes; therefore, it is impossible to isolate the somatic effects of meditation from those of diet and other therapies.

Neuroscientific research on meditation shows evidence of both plastic and functional changes. Britton et al (2013) and Lazar (2005) find that the dACC, insula, brain stem and sub-cortical regions such as the thalamus, basal ganglia, and arousal related areas of the brain stem have increased activity among meditators, both when meditators are meditating, and when meditators are engaged in daily activities; these are the same areas of the brain associated with tonic alertness.⁴ (Britton et al., 2013, pp.66-7, p.69) The area of the brain associated with consciousness and general awareness (the insula) is more active, denser and thicker among meditators; the longer the meditator has been training, the more significant these physical changes to the brain become. (*Ibid*, p.68) At the same time, the DMN – the one area of the brain that experiences increased activity during sleepiness, drowsiness, attention-wandering and phase-one sleep modes (when one is just going into sleep) – is likewise decreased in activity and size in meditators; once again, length of meditation practice and training correlates with decreased activity in this area of the brain (*Ibid*, p.65, p.66, p.69), except in studies which focus on meditation to resolve social anxiety disorder.⁵ (*Ibid*, p.69) Findings also suggest that, during later stages of meditation (but not necessarily in earlier stages), experienced meditators experience increased connectivity both between nodes of the DMN and between the DMN and areas of the brain associated with alertness. Such increased functional connectivity (FC) is associated with awareness and consciousness whereas fading consciousness in NREM (non REM) sleep and in vegetative conditions is associated with the breakdown in FC. (*Ibid*)

The main affects noted by behavioral, psychological and neuroscientific researchers have to do with attention and attentional control. There are three main functions of attentional control that may be developed through focused meditation: *sustained attention*, *selective attention* and *monitoring*. (Lutz et al 2008) *Sustained attention* refers to the voluntary maintaining of attention on a particular object; *selective attention* involves directing attention toward the object and disregarding distraction away from the object; *monitoring* brings attention to the quality of the attention. Kabat-Zinn (2003), in his

⁴ Tonic alertness, also called intrinsic alertness or vigilant attention is a general level of arousal, alertness, vigilance, wakefulness, or state of mental preparedness to detect or respond to infrequent or unexpected stimuli. (Britton et al 65-66)

⁵ In the case of anxiety disorders, aggregate evidence would suggest that meditation practice in these cases permits a heightened ability to control hyperactivity leading to anxiety and depression.

contemplation on the medical uses of meditation, suggests that the Buddha was in fact a scientist who used his body and his own experience to devise a 'treatment' for the dis-ease of mankind, defined as the three poisons of greed, hatred, and ignorance. The latter of these Kabat-Zinn associates with *inattention*. (p.145) This approach to *meditation-as-mindfulness* as an antidote to inattention characterizes much of the medical/scientific interest in meditation.

The functional outcomes of the form of meditation (MBSR) reported in behavioral and neuroscientific applications and summarized above relate to the third and fourth stages of *śamatha*. (Wallace, 1999, p.11) Dorjee notes, "it has been suggested that the first two functions related to Buddhist mindfulness are associated with brain systems that are distinct from the meta-awareness related monitoring, i.e., the predominantly right hemisphere fronto-parietal network for sustained and selective attention (Corbetta and Shulman, 2002) and the dorso-lateral prefrontal cortex for monitoring (Ridderinkhof et al., 2004). This dissociation lends support to the traditional distinction between mindfulness and meta-awareness." (Dorjee, 2010, p.156) Bishop et al. (2004) proposed two main components of mindfulness in MBSR: self-regulation of attention and change in orientation towards experience marked by curiosity, openness and acceptance; this also corresponds to steps three and four of *śamatha*. (as noted in Wallace, 1999, p.11) This focus on and apparent ceiling of MBSR meditation at stages 3-4 of the *śamatha* practice described in Wallace may be linked to the derivation of mindfulness in MBSR and its connections to the Burmese Theravāda tradition of Mahasi Sayadaw, noted by Dorjee (2010, pp.2-3); Theravāda mindfulness training forms Gyamtso's first stage of meditation.

These findings have led to a number of interesting questions, the answers to which have been intriguing. The training of the brain and some of the plastic changes that occur with this invoke an ability to "accustom" (in Gyamtso's words) the adept to quickly and effortlessly invoke sights, sounds and even smells of a meditative visualization; this is suggestive of an auto-response system invoked by the meditator at will. Brain scans show increased emotional responses to those who train the brain in various meditations such as compassion; again, these invocations are "at will" and, when the meditator invokes this particular mental state, body and brain appear to respond like one of Pavlov's dogs. (Cf. Berkovich-Ohana *et al*, 2012; Britton *et al* 2013; Dorje, 2010; Dreyfus, 2011 (by implication); Farb *et al*, 2007; Lazar *et al*, 2007) Thus is suggestive of a cultivated auto-sensory response: body and brain have been trained to react in particular patterns to self-generated stimuli, be it the visualization of the meditator or the expectation of the drummer. This training allows the tradition to cultivate/inculcate the adept into embodied understanding of its form of knowing, remaking the body and mind of the adept in the image of its own reality. Yet the adept remains an active agent: the meditator's engagement in these activities allows him/her to actualize a formation of self and identity, both psychological and social, that transforms the individual and social body through individual and group realization of and manifestation of particular "realities."



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***Transnational Education:
A Diasporic Experience of Self-actualisation and Neutralisation***

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Abstract

This paper is concerned with the relevance of globalisation and localisation, attachment and detachment and, in particular, how identity is re-constructed in the stage of exile. More specifically, this paper aims to reveal an understanding of students' perceptions of self-identity and sense of belonging while studying transnational and overseas programmes. In order to do this, the paper articulates the concept of 'diaspora', represents people as not only being deterritorialised, transnational and estranged, but argues that they use "multiple masks and a repertoire of performances to conceal an absence of self" (Höpfl, 2007) to re-generate an identity and a sense of belonging for oneself. It also highlights the salient needs for identity and individuality through self-actualisation and neutralisation activities (Vischer, 1989; 1996). Framing the above into the cross-boundary transnational and overseas education, it would be interesting to know to what extent diasporic consciousness re-generates identity and sense of belonging of students studying these programmes.

The empirical work of this study was conducted to two groups of students from two of Hong Kong's higher educational institutions. Preliminary findings reveal that students contended that there is a need to be conscious about one's identity when studying transnational and overseas programmes. It also enables them to sharpen self-awareness and re-generate identities. This further indicates that they have constantly exercising self-actualisation and neutralisation activities, e.g. remaining silence to maintain as an outsider, keeping an arm's length while acquiring the values and customs of the new land to construct new identity, to name just a few.

Keywords: Transnational education, exile, diasporic experience, sense of belonging, self-actualisation, neutralisation.

Higher education has become part of the increasing globalisation of the trade in goods and services; it also provides the education sector with opportunities to attract revenue and investment from overseas and in turn contributes to the country's economy. Transnational education (TNE) has become an attractive and crucial part of the economic sector. It is highly knowledge intensive, value added, and brings forward a long term benefit. Vincent-Lancrin (2009) assesses the current and the future trends in cross-border Higher Education and the international strategies employed by Higher Education Institutions from different countries. He contends that the international mobility of programmes and institutions has increased over time, especially towards Asia and Middle East. The United Kingdom and Australia are the leaders of programme mobility, their higher education institutions (HEIs) offers their programmes to overseas students via different collaborative models and arrangements, which allow students to study a programme in a country different to the awarding institutions. Seeing the chances to promote internationalisation and being one of the major Asian educational hubs, the Hong Kong government initiated a higher education reform in early 2000 to widen the participation rate of higher education to cope with the acute demand for life-long learning in higher education programmes in Hong Kong. The Sutherland Report on Higher Education in HK commissioned by University Grant Committee (Sutherland, 2002), the HKSAR government subsequently suggests to widen the landscape of local higher education institution by strategically collaborate with overseas university to develop new self-financed programmes and provide "additional places for students coming in, via the associate degree route" and "when the economic conditions are right, some private consortium might want to establish a new private university to service Hong Kong" (Sutherland, 2002, p.41). In addition to the import of transnational education programmes, as early as 1999, the Hong Kong government has encouraged local institutions to develop self-financed higher education programmes to cater for the demand from local students as well as to recruit overseas students, especially those from mainland China to study in Hong Kong's higher educational institutions. The promulgation of the cross-boundary education programmes not merely facilitates global exchanges of knowledge and economy, it further articulates the binary concept of in/out, attach/detach, globalise/localise as well as the issue of actualise/neutralise that constitutes the major focus of this study.

Exile and diasporic experience

The concepts of '*exiled*' and '*diaspora*' are arguable. Exile as interpreted by Milosz is a stage of alienation and loss of harmony with the surrounding space and the diasporic experience creates anxiety of the unfamiliar and nostalgia (Milosz, 1998). The issue of diaspora has long been studied by academia in the area of humanities and social science. Vertovec uses diaspora to describe people being deterritorialized, transnational and exiled (Vertovec, 1999). Chander defines "diaspora [as] groups who maintain ties to a homeland while living abroad... [the attempt to] accommodate the dual loyalties" (Chander, 1999, p.1005). Vertovec further specifies the meaning of diaspora by multi-dimensional analysis, claiming that it can be viewed as: 1) social form (forced displacement, alienation, but maintaining collective identity and ties and a hope of returning to homeland), 2) types of consciousness (particularly on the awareness of dual locality/identity thorough the experience of discrimination, decentered, home away from home, here and there and an ever-changing, transnational state of mind), and 3) model of cultural production (maintaining,

renewing and reconstituting social relationships through daily living activities such as politics, economics, business and thus producing or reproducing identities through transformation and difference) (Vertovec, 1999, p.3). Brubaker claims that nowadays definitions of diaspora are not limited to a sharp and definitive break with a homeland; some of those living in the diaspora are guest-workers, while others are immigrants, expatriates etc. In view of the above, we attempt to extend and apply the concept of exile and diaspora to the students of cross-boundary study, and in this study, specifically on transnational education and overseas study. To adapt the concepts of diaspora and exile to the transnational education and overseas study: metaphorically, the transnational programmes and overseas students are being exiled from his/her homeland, and their nostalgic dislocations from geographical origins can be seen as an analogy. Applying the concept of diasporic to the cross-boundary study, students are literally being 'casted away' from families and friends exiled from his/her 'homeland' into foreign countries, where he/she becomes a stranger, with all the negotiations of entry and accommodation that this demands. This prompts feelings of 'being farway, yet so close' and being simultaneously 'exiled' and 'detached' during their study. An earlier study of students studying transnational programme in Hong Kong reveal that they did not have much affiliation with the overseas university. The study also shows that cross-cultural understandings and experiences are yet to be enhanced to promote a tighter bounding between the students studying in United Kingdom's home programme and the same transnational programme in overseas country (Lau and Ng, 2014). Nevertheless, the findings are yet to be re-confirmed and to be extended to a comparison between the students studying transnational programme and those who are studying overseas programme in a foreign country.

Diaspora consciousness, identity and sense of belonging

Vertovec finds that the diaspora in exile will generate 'diaspora consciousness', the negative and positive experience of being discriminated and identified with one's own historical heritage (Vertovec, 1999, p.8). Clifford suggests that "diaspora consciousness lives loss and hope as a definite tension" (Clifford, 1994, cited in Vertovec, 1999). Axel argues that the context of diaspora is "a process of displacement and demoralization that facilitates the productions of both difference and identity" (Axel, 2004, p.30). Hall adapts Derrida's 'différance' to illustrate the trace and the positioning of the unstable, metaphorical and even contradictory identity constituted by similarities and differences (Hall, 2003), while Brubaker expresses the view that diaspora is now awakened in search of true identity in a temporally extended, inter-generational process and claims for "boundary-maintenance": the preservation of a distinctive identity *vis-a-vis* the host society, reluctance to be assimilated and emphasizes the "homeland orientation" (homeland as authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty) in the definitions of diaspora (Brubaker, 2005). All this suggests that the constant search of self identity and sense of belonging is a result of the diaspora consciousness. Höpfl claims that the site of performance as seen in religious rituals is nevertheless regulated by an anterior authority; metaphorically, educational institutions are hierophantic spaces and their sites of performance are regulated by the absent author-creator from afar in order to turn the individual "I" into the collective "We". These "converts" or "the believers" actively demonstrate their commitment to the values and customs of their new land (Höpfl, 2007, p.15). Following the same vein, Höpfl's view suggests that like the inhabitants of a diaspora, students may use a strategy of "converts" or "believers" to re-generate a

sense of belonging, an identity for oneself. Sense of belonging and identity to the transnational and overseas programme are frequently addressed by students. Lau and Ng's study finds that the struggles for identity rest in multiple dimensions of societal, self, school and programme (Lau and Ng, 2014). Another survey on students from mainland China studying cross-boundary programmes in Hong Kong also brings out the concerns of programmes design, social, cultural and mutual acceptances. Other burning issues include professional qualifications, daily living, economical and emotional adaptations. In order to accommodate and blend into the Hong Kong society, the students from mainland China expressed that they would change their thinking and living styles (Hong Kong Ideas Centre, 2013). To a large extent, the above literature and studies purport the diasporic consciousness during the stage of exile, which can be considered as a kind of boundary-maintenance, in one hand, the dilemma to preserve one's identity by maintaining strong ties with one's personal life to maintain sense of belonging, while in the other, accommodate to the new by changing ways of thinking and living,.

It is clear that in the view of globalisation and the development of world-wide economy, the increasing number of transnational programme providers and programmes will attract more attention from the surrounding countries. However, because of the geographical locations and the cultural diversities, a number of critical issues were generated from the transnational education and hence it is essential for us to look into the impact of these programmes on the students' learning experiences. Transnational education, which the Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE 1997) has defined as an export product, is critically related to globalisation, "[t]ransnational Education denotes any teaching or learning activity in which the students are in a different country (the host country) to that in which the institution providing the education is based (the home country)" (GATE, 1997, p. 1). As discussed earlier, these cross-boundary transnational programmes stress on the consistence of teaching and learning to mirror the learning outcomes and experiences of the home programmes. Similarly, students go aboard to study overseas programmes are also confronting with the struggle of localisation and adaptation in order to make peace with their overseas learning experiences. Given the above, our questions remain: what are the students' needs when studying in transnational and overseas programmes? How well have the contextualisation of the contents, students' learning habits and the cultural diversities, in other words, the issues of globalisation/localisation, been taking into considerations? Furthermore, on a social-psychological perspective, it also put forward the question of the students' senses of attachment/detachment while studying in transnational and overseas programmes; and it is also interesting to know how do they cope with the cultural differences to regenerate identity and sense of belonging?

Research design, methodology and analysis

Literature review was first conducted for an in-depth understanding of the issue of transnational and overseas education and its implementations. This was followed by an empirical study conducted in Hong Kong. A questionnaire survey and interviews were conducted to two groups of students to draw individual interpretations to address the research questions. The first group comprised of twelve local students studying in one of Hong Kong's educational institutions studying a part-time transnational education programme provided by a United Kingdom university. The transnational

programme is a top up study pathway for graduates of higher diploma programme. The second group included 34 overseas students (28 students from China, 2 students from Taiwan, 2 students from Malaysia, 1 student from United Kingdom, and 1 student from France) studying their higher diploma programmes in one of Hong Kong's largest vocational training institutions. Out of the 34 students, six have the prior experiences of studied abroad. Vertovec's (1999) multi-dimensional analysis on diaspora: 1) social form, 2) types of consciousness and 3) model of cultural production were adapted for the analysis of the students' individual interpretations on their diasporic experiences while studying in transnational or overseas programmes.

Findings and discussions

To address learning needs when studying transnational and overseas programmes, data collected from the questionnaires reveal that most students from the two groups (group A and group B) expected multi-perspective teaching contents, interactions, mutual help and peer supports to build and share knowledge in a warm and caring learning environment. They also preferred contextualization of the contents using both overseas and local examples for a better understanding of the theories. Students generally agreed that simple, explicit, down to earth language rather than theoretical jargons were essentials to facilitate their learnings. They appreciated support mechanisms and communication channels provided by both institutions that nurtured their intercultural experiences beside the subject knowledge. Almost all of the overseas students from group B preferred out-of-class connections and communications with their local classmates. While the majority of the group B overseas students expected a multi-cultural learning experience so that they could mingle with the local Hong Kong students, it is interesting to learn that most of the group A local students studying the transnational programme responded that they were reluctant to mingle with fellow students from the United Kingdom home programme. The results suggest that students' perceptions differ between studying transnational programs and studying programmes in an overseas country, in this study, both programmes are offered in Hong Kong. The findings also set the scene to address the pertinent cultural issues from a social-psychological perspective in the follow up interviews. In addition to the quantitative findings, thematic analysis was adopted to identify the theme from the qualitative data in the interviews to address how the students cope with the cultural diversities, the senses of attachment/detachment to re-generate identity and sense of belonging while studying in transnational programmes. Key words were identified for the coding to establish the core themes for discussions. Using Vertovec's multi-dimensional analysis on diaspora (social form, diasporic consciousness and model of cultural production), the findings from the interviews were used for the analysis of the students' individual interpretations on their diasporic experiences.

Reviewing of the interview transcriptions clearly suggest that there was a very strong bonding and sharing between the Hong Kong students in group A to maintain collective identity and ties. In general, students expressed that they worked very closely with their local classmates, via peer group discussions, and they also had a lot of professional topics to share within their work practice so as to promote an open and sharing learning culture. Surprisingly, they maintained minimal contacts with the fellow students from the United Kingdom home programme. The reason may be that the group A students were realistic on what to learn and what to archive in a given

time. Group A students were mostly concerned about the professional related elements of their studied programme within the Hong Kong context, as it enabled them to pursue professional qualifications and hence further career advancement. They chose to study the programme because this is a “fast track programme leading to an academic award after their higher diploma study”. They “feel that the local lecturers can give them practical guidance and case studies on their professional experience, and how they can get professional membership in the future”. Students in Hong Kong generally commented that cross-cultural experiences in addition to academic exchanges might not be “necessary” and “not beneficial” to their professional practice. The nature of the part-time delivery further brought forward their views on sense of belonging and identity to the transnational education programme and showed that as part-time learners, they did not have much affiliation with the overseas university. They felt that “the contacts and supports from local teachers and peers alone were good enough” and hence, they “kept an arm’s length with the United Kingdom home programme’s students”. They may consider studying a transnational programme in a part-time mode gave them the feelings of ‘forced displacement’ and ‘alienation’ from the home programme in United Kingdom, and thus maintaining ‘collective identity’ and ‘ties’ with their local fellow students. One incident best illustrated the above. During the yearly student exchange activities, in which the United Kingdom’s students studying the same home course took the opportunity to visit Hong Kong for academic and cultural exchanges. The Hong Kong students were hesitated to ask any questions and therefore the exchange sessions were not as fruitful as expected. It strongly suggests that they were not benefited from these culture exchange activities in Hong Kong. Another noteworthy point showed that there was an issue of lacking sense of belonging resulted from the group A students’ lack of identity to the United Kingdom awarding university. They mentioned that they “clearly feel themselves being students of the Hong Kong partner instead of the United Kingdom’s university” because they “use the local facilities” and could not mentally and physically associate with the United Kingdom’s university in the Hong Kong environment. Responses from the students further reveal that although opportunities were given to them to meet the university staff for meetings during their visits, the students expressed that they had problems in communicating and “do not understand the cultural context” and therefore could not express themselves clearly. The above shows it was rather the cultural differences that hindered the development of sense of belonging between the students studying in Hong Kong and the United Kingdom, most probably it was the result of the languages, east and west characteristics, learning styles and customs that made the differences.

Responses from the interviews with the overseas students in group B reveal that cross-cultural experiences are “necessary” and “beneficial” to their studies. During the interview, we learnt that the overseas students in group B not only discussed, supported and shared teaching and learning matters among themselves but also with local students and teachers. All these activities and interactions suggest that the overseas students are eager to build friendship between local and non-local peers in order to blend into the local Hong Kong communities. Students said with best endeavours, they tried to overcome the obstacles e.g. language barrier, food, weather as well as homesick that happened in their daily lives to better accommodate the local culture. With an open mind, they also maintain a large degree of openness and acceptance that enabled them to sharpen self-awareness, to re-generate their identities and broaden their global views. These activities indicate the students’ awareness of

their dual locality/identity. This is this diasporic consciousness that draw them to reflect on the “labelling effects” so as to adapt themselves to the local culture in order to assimilate the individual “I” into the collective “We”. It could be considered as a form of model of cultural production (Vertovex, 1999) to produce identities through transformation and difference. Moreover, there is a need to be conscious about one’s identity and sense of belonging for their overseas study. This further urged them to reconsider their views that as foreign students, they should constantly reminded themselves to remain silent as an outsider, keeping an arm’s length from the host county and at the same time constructing new identities by acquiring the values and customs of the new land. As some of the mainland students in group B said “Hong Kong is a stepping stone for them” and some of them “would like to stay, work and get the citizenship”, they were very “cautious on not crossing the fine grey line” because for some reasons, “the Hong Kong local students always have negative thoughts that the mainland overseas students will steal their jobs by staying in Hong Kong after their studies”. These self-actualisation and neutralisation activities were carried out to promote mutual trust, accommodation and acceptance between the local Hong Kong and mainland students. Interestingly, the Chinese custom of maintaining a low profile and the culture of a docile, subtle stance and harmonious relationships are revealed.

A comparison of the findings from the two groups shows similarities and differences of the students’ aspects of sense of belonging, boundary-maintenance, acceptance, self-actualisation and neutralisation. Both groups of students were aware of their sense of belonging. Students in group A felt that they are alienated and detached resulted from the nature of the programme. Because the students in the transnational programmes were not literally in exile, hence their needs to embrace the cross-cultural experiences seemed unnecessary and not beneficial. Instead of accommodated affiliate themselves to the home programme in the United Kingdom, they rather considered themselves as the students of the franchised local institution and generated a collective identity through bonding and sharing with their local Hong Kong fellow students for sense of belonging. In contrast, as diaspora in exile, students in group B regarded that cross-cultural experience was “necessary” and “beneficial” during their overseas studies. They maintained out-of class connections and communications with their local classmates so that they could mingle and assimilate themselves into the Hong Kong society. They are constantly aware of their identities and sense of belonging while meticulously keeping an arm’s length from the host country and reminded themselves not to cross the fine grey line in order to gain acceptance from their local Hong Kong students. Acceptance was not an issue for consideration amongst group A because they rather maintain their boundary and reluctant to engage in any academic and cultural exchanges with their fellow students from the United Kingdom home programme. It seems that these psychological reactions and behaviours from the two groups of the students were self-actualisation and neutralisation activities they used to regulate their diasporic complexes. Common views of the two groups were found in their learning needs. Most importantly, they preferred contextualisation (glocalisation) of the contents to nurture their intercultural experiences beside the subject knowledge. Secondly, all of them expected interactions, mutual help and peer supports to build and share knowledge. Either the needs to build in-class rapports with fellow students or to nurture cross-cultural exchanges and experiences at out-of-class time, both groups of students have developed their own strategies to cope with their study needs. In sum, the findings of

this study enable a better understanding of the cross-boundary transnational education in the societal and psychological aspects.

Reflections, implications and conclusion

The concepts of exile and diasporic experience are deeply rooted ideologies in the westerners' minds. In Homer's Greek Classics 'Odyssey', Telemachos went into exile to search for his father, in Joyce's 'A portrait of the artist as a young man'; Stephen Dedalus told his story of the growth of a human soul from early childhood to young manhood; and in contemporary literature, Kerouac's hero Neal Cassidy in his 'On the road' novel, followed the tradition of Twain and Fitzgerald's explorations of personal freedom and challenges the promise of the 'American Dreams' to pursuits an inward spiritual quest. It is still a prevailing culture in the west that when teenagers finished his/her high school studies, they are ready to leave their families and homes to embark for their next journey of life. In quest of life, these grown-ups will leave home for their university studies in other states, cities or countries. It is this exile and diasporic experience that enables them to discover and explore intercultural experiences and the meaning of life. The journey may last for a few years or to an extreme, a never-returning on the road trip. In the same sense, we assert that transnational and overseas education studies are diasporic experiences that shed lights for lofty self-actualisation.

Implications drawn from the findings of this study are, firstly, that a tighter bounding between the students studying the transnational and overseas programmes would promote cross-cultural understandings and learning experiences. In addition to academic knowledge, there is a need to promote and nurture mutual acceptance amongst the students. Furthermore, students' sense of belonging and identity to the transnational and overseas education programme are yet to be enhanced to minimise the cultural differences. Last but not least, given the small number of participants, future research should include a larger sample size from different programmes offered by different countries and institutions for comparison; in particular that further study should focus on full-time transnational programmes to provide comprehensive data for multi-dimensional analysis to generate insights and advance theories.

To conclude, this study relates the concepts of globalisation and localisation, attachment and detachment, exile, diasporic experiences, identity and sense of belonging to the study of transnational and overseas programmes. Results of the study also shows that that to cope with the cultural differences to re-generate identity and sense of belonging, students will turned themselves into converts or believers, actively demonstrate their commitment to the values and customs of their new land so as to assimilate the individual "I" into the collective "We". To put it in a nutshell, the accommodation, assimilation and resistance to the new are forms of self-regulations and struggles of which self-actualisation, nautraulisation and mutual acceptance begin; and in our views, this is the most valuable hidden treasure of any transnational and overseas education programmes.

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Translating the World and Facing the Conflict Within

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Abstract

Translation in the Arab world is a critical issue that affects almost every aspect of life from football to food production and from film festivals to foreign policy. Although translation policies over the past 200 years have been designed to serve the nation's interests they stopped short of impacting on the life of ordinary people. Despite the good intentions and significant contribution to cultural life translation policies remain elitist reflecting the views of the few; the intellectuals. Much has been said about technology, modernisation and progress yet translation has remained within the humanities hugging literature and the arts while the language of instruction in the hard sciences became English and French. Digital technology brought new gadgets, concepts and changes which were adopted by an unexpected sector of the society: youth. On the ground, and indeed online, they continue to make waves. The Arab world needs a policy for the (Facebook) youth of today and of the future (iCloud) generations. Any translation policy that ignores these online facts, and factors, is a policy of the past. The paper builds on previous research that first looked at audiovisual translation (AVT) in the Arab world (Gamal: 2007) then in Egypt (Gamal: 2008a). As AVT studies remain outside the immediate focus of translation, culture, film, language and tourism departments, the study examined the theoretical framework that hinders the emergence of audiovisual translation in the Arab world (Gamal:2013a). In this paper, the study continues the examination of the status quo and focuses on some examples the description and analysis of which will hopefully underscore the importance of *localizing* the discipline of audiovisual translation into Arabic.

Key words: Arabic, audiovisual translation, localization, policy, theory, youth.

Introduction

Audiovisual translation (AVT) in the Arab world continues to remain outside the scope of translation departments at a time when there is an obvious need to espouse the concept, localize the discipline and invest in the training of specialists in Arabic audiovisual translation studies. Recent events both political and cultural underscore the numerous missed opportunities (Alsultani: 2014) and the resulting cost due to the lack of audiovisual translators. As the Arab world today is divided between those going through the difficult Arab Spring and those who are unaffected, the concept of audiovisual translation, though not entirely foreign, remains distant. In this paper, I intend to reflect on some developments that build on my previous studies on AVT in the Arab world pointing to the importance of localizing AVT studies and the immediate issues involved. Perhaps one of the first priorities is to define the concept of AVT within the Arabic context which will help uncover its intricacies and map out its complex and changing landscape. The significance lies in ensuring that the concept is seen through Arab eyes, in a way that reflects the real issues and proposes relevant solutions that address the immediate problems and challenges. Failure to do so would cast a foreign light on audiovisual translation studies which will frustrate efforts to localize the concept and prevent it from taking root in Arabic. There are valuable lessons to be learned from other disciplines such as Egyptology and medicine. The former took many years until it became Egyptianized (Saeed: 1999) and taught in Arabic, whereas the latter remains foreign and taught entirely in English.

Theoretical background

There is a need for a clear, concise and comprehensive definition of audiovisual translation in Arabic. This is required in order to promote the concept which will, eventually, help in its localization. The need for the definition is obvious in light of the reluctance of concerned quarters to espouse the new branch of translation two decades after the launch of the first program in teaching screen translation in the Arab world (The American University in Cairo in 1995). Since then international academic research, conferences and publications have been on the increase pointing to the rising significance of the discipline. Yet, in Arabic the lack of interest continues despite events and incidents that show the relevance of the issue.

A definition of AVT for the Arab world is required as the situation is different from Western Europe where the concept of specialization in audiovisual translation started and takes the lead today. Audiovisual translation is an activity that looks at how translation is created to be consumed via screen. In 2003 a special issue of *The Translator* was dedicated to Screen Translation marking the rise of the academic pursuit (Gambier: 2003). In this respect it differs from print translation and its applications are much more numerous. As a specialization it covers subtitling, dubbing, audio description, subtitling for the hard of hearing, the visually impaired and live subtitling. Unlike traditional translation which is consumed via paper and closely associated with the printing industry, AVT is closely related to digital technology and presupposes a professional technical knowledge of software. While

this definition could be said to apply to all languages the point here is that the definition must be closely linked to the cultural context of Arabic which is complex and must be taken as a whole. In other words, the definition must not be separated from its context otherwise it remains a theory at best or a foreign concept at worst.

The cultural context shows that audiovisual translation is catering to a nation of 300 million speakers of Arabic. The population is very youthful with almost 60% under the age of 25 (World population review) of whom 29% are illiterate or 97 million persons (ALECSO: 2014). At the same time, the national language Arabic is under pressure if not attack (Aljabry: 2013). The language is diglossic and the local vernacular is on the rise, particularly in the written form as a response to the way the young speak and write online. Furthermore, English is infiltrating Arabic at such a fast rate that the incidence of lexical borrowing has reached a record level in both the spoken and written forms of Arabic (Asfour: 2007 p. 207). This is a psycholinguistic issue that is outside the scope of this paper. The Arabic context is also characterised by an education system that is burdened with neglect, lack of resources and investments (Abdelrahman: 2014) and the result is graduates who lack common knowledge. This lack of common knowledge is partly responsible for the spread of diabetes, high blood pressure, obesity, road fatalities and extremism. Each one of these symptoms can be attributed to an education system that has failed the nation.

In this context, audiovisual translation is meant to perform in a way that is different from the old system of translation and its outmoded policies. Despite the rhetoric of how important translation is to modernisation, moderation and progress, translation movements have contributed little to society. Most translation policies are elitist (Wazen: 2010) and lack long term vision (Albatly: 2010). Mathews quotes the founding director of the Higher Translation Institute in Algeria Inam Bioud who sees “a dire need to make up for the huge deficit in scientific books in Arabic if a serious attempt is made to replace English and French as the language of instruction in Arab universities” (Mathews: 2014). Likewise, Egypt’s chief translation policymaker Gaber Asfour expressed his doubts about the effectiveness of the current translation policies in the Arab world in a private meeting in early 2007. Later in the year, he published an article in the Emirates in which he candidly stated his position:

I am still unoptimistic about the future of the translation movement in the Arab world despite all the relevant optimistic factors. These include the increasing number of translation organizations all over the Arab world, including universities that now began publishing translations and lastly, the recent translation prizes offered by these organisations. Such could be seen as optimistic signs but only at the surface. However, should we look deeper, we would find insurmountable problems that will make the road too long and without optimism. (Gaber Asfour: 2007) (My Translation)

What audiovisual translation promises is to address the needs and to provide solutions that are manageable, affordable and accessible. AVT means that information can be translated and presented in a way that is attractive to the youthful population. *Infotainment* can educate and entertain at the same time. Yet, there is a problem with this concept which is being resisted by parents and officials as not educational enough. The result; the term has not been understood, internalized and consequently it has no direct equivalent in Arabic (Gamal: 2013b).

Local Examples

Arab submissions to the Oscars in 2014 were noticeably higher than any previous year. Yet none of the nominations (from Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Palestine) got an award despite the artistic merit of the work presented (Fahim: 2014). Naturally, an Oscar is a prestigious award and the work must be of such an artistic merit to warrant the award (Hanania: 2014). Yet the question remains: in the absence of any formal academic examination of and professional training in subtitling did the directors consider subtitling as a serious factor that may have a direct influence on the reception of the work by 'foreign' viewers and judges? Similarly, Arab and Islamic cities of culture launch their sites online and they remain static for a considerable time lacking updates and interactivity. Isn't this reducing the web site to a form of print-like advertising? The web sites whether for a cultural event, government service or even a site dedicated to translation (the National Translation Centre in Egypt) seem to have translation errors that detract from their attractiveness and authority. Another issue is the language options available as most web sites tend to have the language options limited to English and French only. Asian languages particularly Japanese, Korean and Chinese are seen on a very small number of sites. It is insightful to note that the web site of the tourism organization in Jordan has 12 languages (<http://visitjordan.com/MajorAttractions/tabid/54/Default.aspx>) whereas the web site of Sultan of Oman is available in 19 European as well as Asian languages (<http://www.oman-qaboos.net/omanqaboos/default.aspx>).

Audiovisual translation as mentioned above is a lot more than just subtitling. In the Arabic context, subtitled films almost exclusively mean foreign (mostly American) films subtitled into Arabic. The issue of subtitling Arabic language films into foreign languages remains unexamined in the scarce number of MA theses written on audiovisual translation at Arab universities (Alwan: 2011, Bhai: 2011) and PhD theses at western universities (Alkadi: 2010, Gamal :2013b). The entire Arabic (mostly Egyptian) DVD industry that is subtitled into English (and French) remains unexamined. The question is: why only subtitle into English and French when the DVD can have up to 40 languages? (Carroll: 2004). Over the past two decades Mexican, Korean and Turkish drama invaded the Arab world (Bilbassy-Charter: 2010) through dubbing into classical Arabic, Syrian dialect and Egyptian vernacular. To date, dubbing and its impact on children, youth, the uneducated remains unexamined (Elnabawi: 2014). The Treaty of Marrakesh (www.wipo.int) that came into effect on 1 July 2013 calls for facilitating access to published work for the blind and the visually impaired has had little response from the audio-visual industries in most Arab countries. There is little interest or investment in audio description or audio recordings for this important sector in the community despite the availability of voice talent from Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. Similarly, Arab states with huge tourism sectors (ironically most of them are going through the Arab Spring) remain unaware of the significance of audiovisual translation. The largest tourist media conference held in Luxor earlier in 2014 examined, inter alia, new media and the negative coverage abroad but didn't refer to the role of translation, foreign languages or audiovisual translation in promoting tourism. Despite the importance of tourism in Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Jordan and Oman no courses are dedicated to the genre of tourist translation or the production of documentaries and their translation, subtitling and dubbing remain a foreign idea in the translation departments.

On the other hand, the six members of the Gulf Cooperation Council have taken considerable steps in promoting themselves and Arab culture since the turn of the 21st Century through media production, film festivals, cultural functions and events, and the wholesale adoption of new media and digital technology. The City of Sharjah, the 2014 city of Islamic Culture has a web site that speaks today's language and offers its content in eleven languages. However, the Libyan city of Tripoli which was designated the 2014 Arab City of Culture is still going through the revolutionary phase of the Arab Spring (Mzioudet: 2014). The city of Manama became the inaugural Asian City of Tourism in 2014 and the title allows the city to showcase itself to its citizens, residents and visitors. The Manama case merits closer examination in order to measure the impact of audiovisual translation policies on society since it was the Arab City of Culture in 2012 and the Arab City of Tourism in 2013. Audiovisual translation offers solutions that are affordable and accessible if bureaucrats know how to exploit it otherwise the celebrations would amount to nothing more than the making of a web site in three languages only as the Erbil; the Arab City of Tourism did (www.erbiltourism2014.com). These examples and events, the good ones and not too impressive examples are necessary to build a body of knowledge that provides case studies for examination and discussion. Audiovisual translation is a new discipline and despite the fact that it is practiced, in its simplest forms of subtitling (mostly into Arabic) and dubbing (only into Arabic) it needs to be broadened with investment, collaboration with other vital industries such as film, television, tourism, sport and culture to ensure that it is localized thoroughly and completely. There are lessons to be learnt from other activities and disciplines that were introduced into Arabic and practiced for a long time before they became localized linguistically and professionally such as football (Gamal: 2008b).

It is because of this very reason that research into Arabic audiovisual translation must start in Arabic and with local examples, issues and case studies. Importing a foreign idea is not a bad thing, particularly in today's super-connected world, but for an idea to take root and bear fruit it must be localized and seen as a local activity with direct relevance to the local context.

Despite the lack of interest in audiovisual translation academically and professionally it is significant to point out that research should be focused on examining the local context in Arabic and in as many Arab countries as possible so as to help define the landscape of AVT in Arabic. Thus, attempts by the film industry in Morocco to promote itself abroad in languages other than French and English, the call in Palestine to produce multilingual documentaries on the history and geography of the land for future generations, the activity in Lebanon to increase the interest in and usage of Arabic language (www.feilamer.org), the call in Abu Dhabi to use Arabic only on social media for just one day (Alsubaihi: 2013), the crowd-sourcing activity in Jordan to produce a free Wikipedia-style encyclopaedia in Arabic, the new translation award for Arabic-language works translated into foreign languages offered in Iraq in 2013, the campaign to safeguard Arabic in Saudi Arabia (www.voiceofarabic.net), the initiative to develop a large scale diabetes education campaign in Egypt, the translation conference organised in Abu Dhabi with the focus on young translators, and the announcement of the first MA and first teaching positions in audiovisual translation in Qatar offer a bird's eye view of the current situation in Arabic. This is seen as a prerequisite for the development of solutions that are not only current and practical but also inclusive, relevant and applicable in the wider Arabic context.

Teaching audiovisual translation

Although some translation research at Arab universities can be classified as research into audiovisual translation, it has two major characteristics if not limitations. First, it is linguistically-based focusing on translation proper to the exclusion of other relevant issues in audiovisual translation. These issues are, *inter alia*, non-linguistic meaning in film, the examination of the subtitling of different film genres, the subtitling, dubbing and re-narration of documentaries, subtitling for children and the less-educated, the examination of viewer reception, the examination of non-, extra- and partly-linguistic features in film, technology, alliance with industry and the production of multilingual tourist, sport and political audiovisual translation material either on air, online or in DVD. The other characteristic is the direction of subtitling which is pre-dominantly *into Arabic*. Not unlike the situation in translating Arabic literature into foreign languages, the subtitling of Arabic-language television and filmic material (narrative and documentaries) remains unexamined. The Egyptian Literary Writers Society concluded in its 2013 meeting that ‘translating Egyptian literature into foreign languages should be treated as a national security issue’ (Elmeligui: 2014). The DVD industry in Arabic began with films from Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco but no known studies have examined the activity of subtitling Arabic language films into foreign languages. This is a significant issue as it pertains to two big industries cinema and tourism.

As can be gleaned from the above observations the little research into audiovisual translation does not include reference to the technical issues of software design, selection and use, professional training programs or the practical issues of subtitling such as working conditions, freelance work, pay, resources, quality, working with an editor, deadlines and viewer reception. It is clear that most of the research is purely academic and for academic purposes only (higher degrees by students or publication requirement by faculty) with little interest in or relevance to the real practitioner. It is also insightful to observe that the number of researchers who have published more than one paper on Arabic to English audiovisual translation remains at two. This is a serious issue that, if allowed to continue, will actually hamper, and not help, the localization of audiovisual translation in Arabic. It must be remembered that the number of translators working as subtitlers far outnumber academics and this fact requires that (audiovisual) translation pedagogy adopts a more practical approach. ‘Traditional translation’ professors need to explore the mechanics of working as a freelance subtitler, come to terms with the software, the theory and practice of subtitling as well as the principles of research in audiovisual translation. This, in a nutshell, points to the current gap between academia and the profession on the one hand and the gap between the professors and the students who are growing with YouTube, Facebook and smart phones on the other. Perhaps one of the first things to do is to start by exploring the wider map of audiovisual translation in the Arab world and to examine audiovisual translation as translation consumed via screen, of a multimodal text that requires attention to two channels and the language it employs must be carefully designed to address a particular audience. This theoretical aspect provides a basic introduction to teaching audiovisual translation. However the technical aspect of audiovisual translation is equally fundamental as the subtitler is also the technician who actually produces the translation for television (Gamal: 1996).

The idea of separating the translator from the software is no longer tenable despite the current commercially-dictated practices of the subtitling industry in many countries.

There is clearly a need for the subtitling industry to liaise with the translation profession for mutual benefits. A gap between the two is neither sustainable nor profitable (Gambier: 2014; p. 8). For example, the introduction of the simultaneous interpreting and the subtitling of the prayer service at the Grand Mosque in Mecca (and later in Medina) into English and French, and then into Urdu and Malay, have not been examined either academically or professionally. Its examination would yield professional and pedagogic benefits not only for the service in Saudi Arabia but also to translators, translation scholars, the subtitling industry and the translation community everywhere in the Arab world. The Saudi Ministry responsible for the Hajj (pilgrimage) that attracts two million pilgrims annually could also benefit from audiovisual translation (www.hajjinformation.com). Another example is the introduction by Al-Arabiya news channel (based in Dubai) of English subtitles of its Arabic language content (www.alarabiya.net). This is an advanced technological step and a professional one in news media production. However, the service which subtitles the news feed into English remains outside the scope of industry and academia. These large-scale professional initiatives and practices should provide motivation and scope for research, examination and learning. Failure to capitalize on these individual but successful examples undermines the attempt to localize the discipline of audiovisual translation in Arabic. Researchers, academics and practitioners alike, need to describe their experiences highlighting the conditions, challenges and the strategies employed in these projects. The discussion of these case studies will raise awareness of what is happening in the industry and the real world. Academics need to consult with industry leaders before they design courses and training material to ensure that the skills and techniques taught are actually the same skills and techniques the industry expects. This underscores the significance of a strategic alliance between the translation profession and the media sector/film industry /information technology to ensure that a cadre of researchers/trainers exist to help in localizing the concept. Only then practitioners would be able to use the technology aptly and reflect on practice and develop the necessary expertise to tackle local problems with solutions that are linguistically correct, culturally acceptable and pragmatically appropriate.

Audiovisual translation authority

The numerous applications where a screen is used to study, access information, and do business or to seek entertainment mean that the concept of infotainment will eventually gain more importance and precedence. Already online access has dealt a blow to conventional journalism, print advertisement and physical archives. The increasing trend to place everything online is another indication why audiovisual translation will take supremacy and will gain more and more independence as a separate area in translation studies. Diaz-Cintas, Matamala and Neves who witnessed the early years of the academisation of audiovisual translation concur:

Gone are the days when audiovisual translation (AVT) was seen as a minor area within the broader domain of translation. It has now grown to be

considered a discipline in its own right thanks to the numerous publications, conferences, courses and research projects in recent years that have focussed on it as the main object of study (2010:11).

It is because of this increasing trend that Arabic translation scholars need to reflect on the local context and to be mindful of its features, issues and trends. Audiovisual translation cannot be built on a foreign model without regard to the historical and theoretical framework of the local context of translation in Arabic. Not reflecting on the local events or being oblivious to emerging trends will not enhance the localization of the new area of audiovisual studies and may keep it a pale reflection of its foreign original. Thus, it is significant to recall the Arabic Translation Congress held in Baghdad in March 1988 and to reflect on its objectives which did not materialize. Briefly, and essentially, it called for the unification of efforts in translation and called for a standardized Arab translation policy. It is significant because the Egyptian Arabic Language Academy (<http://www.arabicacademy.org.eg/>) in its 80th session in 2014 dedicated its annual congress to the *arabization* of the sciences, a topic that was discussed in March 1988 and in subsequent years. Likewise, ten years ago in May 2004, Egypt sent its delegation to FIFA headquarters to put its case before the world football body bidding for the 2010 World Cup and the presentation was far from being professional. It was akin to a high school student making his or her first PowerPoint presentation; cluttered with information, crowded with effects and running out of time to actually present it. This was a lesson in the preparation and presentation of audiovisual translation and despite being broadcast on air it received no academic examination. This is another reason why audiovisual translation requires a strategic alliance between the translation industry, academia, the film industry and information technology. In other words, the idea to establish an audiovisual translation authority to supervise and encourage the production of audiovisual material that represents the culture internationally should be seriously entertained. Simply put, Arabic digital content in a multilingual audiovisual format is sorely lacking. There are examples of web sites in the Arab world that would benefit from the supervision and patronage of such an AVT authority that is in a position to offer advice, expertise and indeed training in creating, translating and trans-creating audiovisual material. In the age of the Internet and accessibility it must be said that official online content and its translation is a very serious issue to be left in the hands of amateurs no matter how good their digital skills or intentions are. There are examples in almost every Arab country where a strategic or a sensitive government (or government sponsored) web site is left in the hands of amateurs where the lack of professional revision and constant updating have undermined the ultimate purpose of the web site.

Audiovisual translation vision

There is no doubt that the translation policies adopted by most Arab states as well as organisations affiliated with the League of Arab States (www.lasportal.org) such as the Arab organisation for culture, education and science (<http://www.projects-alecso.org>) have underachieved. One of the persistent questions facing translation campaigns are what to translate and for whom? This is a complex question, and

indeed a valid one, as the efforts have been accused of being elitist reflecting the views of the few and not thinking of the masses. One of the criticisms is that the population is characterised by a youthful generation that in an increasingly visual culture does not read. Against this background, why translate and publish books particularly when illiteracy is around 30% and unemployment is estimated at 20% and the cost of books is also seen as a burden. A vision of audiovisual translation in Arabic would have to be reflective of and responsive to its local context. For a young population, filmic material dubbed or subbed in good Arabic may be a good investment. With high illiteracy would same language subtitling be a possible solution? Would a free DVD on diabetes, well-designed, subtitled in Arabic and professionally presented prove to be a more effective and investment well-made in fighting the epidemic in most Arab countries? Such framework of thinking should be entertained by government bodies and examined by academia. It makes a good start for an attempt to localize audiovisual translation. Another issue is the inadequate Arabic language content online. It is estimated that the Arabic content online is less than 1%. This is strategically precarious since all digital technology appliances as well as applications are imported. The use of these applications as resources from games to software and web sites is mostly conducted in English and other languages (Ghitas and Alghamri: 2013). Arabic is not being used and when used it is increasingly seen as inadequate or inappropriate for these applications. With a young population that is attracted to the unusual and the foreign the rate of lexical borrowing has reached levels that actually prompted officials in Doha to launch campaigns with the frank objective of 'preserving' Arabic (Guttenplan: 2012). Since youth are the major users of the Internet their contribution to content has been so minuscule and amounts to nothing more than forums: cutting and pasting and recycling the same content. When fresh content is added it is usually infantile and lacks rigor, depth or objectivity.

Audiovisual translation policy

As students need clear, relevant and up-to-date training that not only imparts knowledge but also the know-how, so do bureaucrats. Research in translation studies should not be seen as 'theoretical' discussions on linguistic and cultural issues alone but should provide results; relevant and applicable. Such results must be translatable to benefit the community at large. One of these benefits is to help industry and government to see and seize opportunities to create strategic alliances. In the narrow field of translation policy, the experience so far has been less than impressive despite some good features each of the individual translation centres in the Arab world today have. Indeed, some translation programs particularly at universities inside the Emirates are successful and other centres are equally productive in the film, new media, information technology, and in the printing industries. However, they do not talk to each other let alone cooperate with other centres and universities across the Arab world. What is required therefore is an Arab conference dedicated solely to audiovisual translation (Gamal: 2013a).

An inaugural conference on audiovisual translation in the Arab world and despite the lack of studies, research or training will not be built on nothing. There are so many

audiovisual activities in the Arab world that can give the new discipline the support and even the environment for its development and maturity. By and large, there are numerous translation departments in the Arab world, and since everyone has a national television there is at least one subtitling unit in the country. Film and television drama is an essential cultural form in the Arab world and the film industry, despite varying degrees of sophistication, is alive or at least exists everywhere. Finally, each country has a ministry of culture where the same context and situation discussed above is known and shared. Then, what is required is a policy that translates the vision into a plan with a clear strategy to address the status quo. The Arab world, and despite the geopolitical divisions, is the same culturally and linguistically and the solutions are almost the same. The first conference on audiovisual translation in the Arab world will benefit from the history of cinema in Morocco and Tunisia, the subtitling tradition in Egypt and Lebanon, the dubbing expertise in Syria, the filmic production and exhibition abroad by Palestinian and Algerian directors, the new media in the Emirates and Qatar and above all the talent and energy of young film makers in Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

Screen translation has been professionally taught in Cairo for the past twenty years (<http://www.aucegypt.edu/sce/admission/Pages/Home.aspx>) and this is a long enough time to reflect on the experience. The audiovisual translation conference, if well-prepared, can galvanize the energy of so many (young) people who can contribute to the success of this activity. After all, it can be organised virtually online if need be but this is not the objective of the exercise. The real goal is to localize the concept of audiovisual studies so it will continue until it takes root in the local culture and in the various and numerous local settings in each country. However, it must not be left to amateurs to organize otherwise there will be numerous web sites, all copying from each other, with very little genuine contribution made and no progress achieved. This is the type of vision required to catapult the new discipline of audiovisual translation in Arabic. The concept is not really too foreign and does not require 'translation' into Arabic particularly when the wider Arab context has several activities that can provide a rich repertoire of case studies. For instance, the early history of cinema in Tunis and Alexandria which began at the same time the Lumière brothers were experimenting in Paris. Equally insightful is the Anis Ebaid subtitling experience in Egypt which is a world phenomenon not repeated elsewhere except perhaps in Japan. The dubbing of documentaries by the History and National Geographic Channels in the United Arab Emirates is another professional experience that needs to be investigated. Likewise, the so-called waves of Mexican, Korean and Turkish telenovelas can provide a great deal for research in audiovisual translation within the Arabic context.

Promoting Arabic research in audiovisual translation

The lack of interest in audiovisual translation studies which is confirmed by the absence of courses and programs does not necessarily reflect a total lack of interest in researching issues in audiovisual translation (Thawabteh: 2011). There are some studies on subtitling albeit in one direction only; English into Arabic and at the linguistic level only (Mazid: 2006). However, these studies need to be compiled and

discussed in order to develop the Arabic-based literature which will eventually give birth to an Arabic school of thought in audiovisual studies. There are some obvious issues that need to be tackled first and when they do the general awareness of the discipline will increase and with it the theoretical framework, methodologies, views and knowledge. For example; some of the first possible topics for research are film titles. Is there a difference in strategy translating Arabic film titles into English, and American film titles into Arabic? Yes, there is. A quick quantitative survey of Egyptian film titles translated into English would show that the titles are translated *literally* into English. This is in contrast with American film titles which are translated *liberally*. Now, why is this case? What are the linguistic, cultural and translational factors that determine, or indeed force such attitude? Or are there other important factors that have a direct bearing on the process of translating film titles in most Arab countries, and particularly in Egypt, due to the size and volume of the film industry in the country. Of course there are: the commercial factor which looks at promoting the foreign film among sectors of the community. As for the translation of the Arabic-language film into English it is, most likely, the under-developed practice of 'labelling' the film rather than trans-creating a proper title in English for the Egyptian film. Another example is the first film produced in Qatar in 2010 and titled in Arabic *Aqareb el Sa'a* (Hands of the clock). Its English title is *Clockwise* which raises a different problem. There is a popular British film by the same name starring John Cleese and directed by Christopher Morahan in 1986. Was the translation intended and what effect, if any, did it achieve? The commercial translation of film titles produced on DVDs provides a rich opportunity for the examination of Arabic titles into English. It is equally interesting to conduct a bilingual study of the translation of film titles on commercially released DVDs between 2002 and 2010 which will show that the French translations of the Egyptian title, by and large, tend to be more trans-creative, accurate and on the whole more professional (Gamal:2013b). Another avenue for promoting research into audio-visual translation is to encourage students and researchers to pay attention to versions in subtitles. Quite often Egyptian TV channels broadcast a film subtitled into English (and at times into French and Spanish) and these subtitled films offer an invaluable opportunity to examine against the commercially-subtitled DVDs. A comparative study of the subtitling would be highly instructive and informative at the same time. As a matter of fact, this is an idea that has not been contemplated by European courses in AVT and the emerging Arabic school of AVT could develop this technique of research and examination of comparative audiovisual texts. The exercise could be taken further and examine the English and French versions, of the same film, should the students be fluent in both. Starting students in audiovisual research is an important step towards the localization of the discipline. This presupposes interest and expertise by the professors which ought to be at a high level otherwise the exercise will backfire. One of the pitfalls is that the examination takes a linguistic twist and focuses on translational issues only. To overcome this, the professors need to complete an orientation session or a short intensive course in audiovisual translation which is not difficult to develop and deliver specially for faculty. There is, however, a need for the political will to take the first step to train a nucleus group of professors who are first and foremost interested, film-literate, well-versed in the local context, appreciate the mechanics of trans-creating translation to be consumed via a screen and are aware of the viewer and their needs.

Concluding remarks

On the road to the main gate of Cairo University there is an impressive statute of a woman and a sphinx. Everyone in Egypt, and in the Arab world, knows its name: *Nahdat Masr* or Egypt's Awakening. The youthful figure of the female lifting her veil while placing her hand on the head of an eager lion represents the national desire to look forward and to rise again. This is very significant. The statue was erected by Egypt's prodigious sculptor Mahmoud Moukhtar (1891-1934) in response to the popular revolution of 1919, the centenary of which is fast approaching. With a youthful population in Egypt (and the rest of the Arab world) becoming more and more averse to reading in print and wanting everything online, in a multimedia format and want it now; the significance of the statue becomes obvious. It is important to point out to the youthful generations that it is 80 years since Mahmoud Moukhtar died. The story of the statue tells of a national campaign to turn a graduation project into reality and to celebrate its completion (erected on 28th of May 1928) in Cairo. Such anniversaries need to be highlighted, explained and documented on air, online, on DVDs and in new media. Apart from the cultural and historical significance of the anniversary the audiovisual treatment of the event is highly instructive. It shows the importance of understanding the context in order to draw up policy as well as the importance of linking policy to practice. This example shows why audiovisual translation is important: as classrooms are increasingly becoming wired and equipped with WiFi, tablets will soon become the modus operandi of accessing material and resources. Documentaries and audiovisual material both in Arabic and in foreign languages need to be incorporated into the curricula thus the period dedicated to handicrafts would be replaced by online content creation, translation and its trans-creation into foreign languages. The day when the traditional drawing class will be replaced by a programming class is not far away.

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The Narrative of the Apocalypse: Human Destructiveness, Contemporary Crises and Animated Hope

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Abstract

Human interaction with own human and non-human world alike suggests that the destructive character of human kind is almost wired into our core. By means of continuous technological advancement, we have come to reach the point when human agency imposes immanent threat onto the world, equally resulting from destruction of the environment by ways of contemporary livelihood and from continuous frictions between different cultures, which tend to unleash the apocalypse long embodied in the pushing the red button trope.

The environmental crisis is one of the latest realities that bring forth the rhetoric of the apocalypse and it is well encouraged by the environmental activist groups, scientists, media and popular culture narratives. The crisis inspires imagination, which in turn produces many apocalyptic film and literary narratives alike.

The author will explore the rhetoric of the apocalypse in its different historical contexts, arguing apocalyptic imagination has always revealed trending anxieties and fears. It will be argued that the rhetoric of the apocalypse is the single most powerful tool that both popular culture and eco-activists have at their disposal. This power also involves its potentiality for use and abuse, both of which will be discussed in the talk in form of biopolitics.

The author will use an exemplary popular culture masterpiece, Miyazaki Hayao's *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind* (1984), to address the narrative of the apocalypse, rethinking it in the light of the contemporary crises. The anime will also be used to explore human destructiveness and its present place from within technoscientific perspective. The aim is to bring popular culture and ecocriticism together, arguing such symbiosis may offer lens for much needed questioning of the contemporary technoscientific world as well as possible solutions and ways of dealing with the brave new world.

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The Narrative of the Apocalypse: Introduction

In the paper, my interest does not lie in promoting any kind of (apocalyptic) rhetoric or in relying onto the very pervasive imagery of the immanent future end of the world which both secular and religious groups have extensively used and abused in form of the apocalyptic trope in their utilitarian quests.

The paper is a fragment of my wider research which discusses cultural, social and ethical implications of the use of technology (with emphasis on the modern technoscience and the contemporary use of technologies) and technological hybridizations of art, culture and humanity. However, since these hybridizations are quite visible but less explicit or conscious, I use popular culture as a valuable tool for exploring such hybridized effects as well as the ways these changes emerge in material culture: in what forms and with which implications. In particular, I am interested in a popular culture product which is quite influential globally and with its wide range of technoscientific topics simultaneously embodies and expresses the hybridizations in question: anime.

While the goal is not to evaluate and valorize human interaction with technology and the overwhelming cyberization of our societies, it is my intent to understand how technology transforms culture and humanity and how these transformations are being embodied and expressed. It is the many cultural embodiments and expressions, in my opinion, that reveal to us the workings of the *structure of feeling* and the unspoken which deserves further addressing and questioning but perhaps in more subtle and liberated ways – in popular culture for instance.

The notion of the apocalypse is nothing new to humanity, especially within perspective of the pervasive Judeo-Christian eschatological literature, which extends deep into human history reaching as far as year 2100 BC and Zoroaster teachings. Such religious apocalyptic narratives were radically dual and deterministic, emphasizing the fatal and continuous dialectic struggle between Good and Evil, which ends with the World's End and with a promise of eternal life and redemption.

The modern use of the apocalyptic rhetoric is however quite new and emerges only with modernity and technoscientific progress of the humankind. Also, the modern use of the trope is far more secular and related to politics, biopolitics, ecocritical art and environmental groups.

In its modern use, the narrative of the apocalypse includes the brave new world as the source of the problems which may bring about world's end: with its nuclear wastes, global warming, use of chemicals, contamination of Earth and nuclear weapons. Such narrative might as well be the very expression, even while dangerously being (ab)used as a rhetoric tool, of the changes and hybridizations brought about by modern technology and science as well as with its extensive adoption in human daily practices. Still, the problem does not emerge directly from the machines we use, from trivial non-human artifacts such as hair-dryers or refrigerators to more fatal-prone use of uranium and plutonium for both civil (nuclear energy) and military purposes (nuclear weaponry): it is

rather the worldviews or the paradigms that have changed and which in turn changed the face of humanity in the last couple of centuries (Hans Jonas, a philosopher of technology always emphasizes that the scientific revolutions changed man's way of thinking: theory and worldviews, as well as metaphysical outlook, conceptions and method of knowledge (1979: 47) which shaped the face of the contemporary world). To understand that it is the way we perceive and integrate with technology as well as ways these integrations affect our conceptions of environment and life which shapes human world, is to acknowledge that non-human artifacts are not merely isolated objects with their own separate modes of existence. Technology is never autonomous: just like Donna Haraway's companions and organisms, it is always multiple, always *with*.

With this *with* in mind, I am compelled to pose a question emerging from the human-technology relationship: what do cultural products communicate and express about the relationship with the progressive and promising technology, as they inspire extensive apocalyptic narratives which present us with imageries of human-technology engineered death of the world?

This is the focal question I am addressing in the paper, through an overview of the apocalyptic rhetoric as well as an anime example with a film directed by Miyazaki Hayao who presents us with an imagery of a post-apocalyptic earth in his 1984 anime *Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind*.

The Apocalypse (of the brave new world)

As mentioned, the narrative of the apocalypse has been extensively used and abused by different religious and secular groups. Having in mind the powerful echo it is able to produce, it does not surprise that emotionally charged imageries of the world's end can have an immense impact on human psyche, especially to its emotional part:

“Apocalypse is the single most powerful master metaphor that the contemporary environmental imagination has at its disposal.” (Bell in Gerrard, 2012: 101)

As it addresses humanity's destinies and reveals relationship of social order with the evils of the universe (Creps in O'Leary: 1994: 6), the narrative of the apocalypse likewise reflects fears of human societies throughout different historical periods. In the Medieval Europe, apocalypse was embodied in the image of *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, namely War, Plague, Famine, and Death which were at the same time the four major existential concerns of an average European person. In that particular period, religious narratives were still the only ones related to the world's end.

In more recent times, the narrative often changed its expressions in becoming secular and technology-related. The most influential pioneer of the modern environmental apocalypse was Thomas Malthus who published *Essay on the Principle of Population* in 1798 declaring overpopulation and scarcity of resources as modern causes of the coming apocalypse. Paul Ehrlich, with his 1972 *The Population Bomb* was among most intensive

Neo-Malthusians whose rhetoric was used to promote and justify the need for stronger immigration control in developed countries, as well as abolishing food aid and medical aid to so-called third world countries.

For Rachel Carson, the author of most cited work among ecocritics *Silent Spring* (1962) it was contamination and the extensive use of chemicals in vast natural areas that announced the death of nature, and the human species. Carson sent out one of the strongest appeals for environmental protection and a better control of pharmaceutical, chemical and biochemical industries. Her poetic writing explicitly reveals that the human modern paradigms will lead to death of life.

Such *techno-ängstlich* rhetoric will later be furthered with an intensive surge of nuclear technology-related apocalyptic narratives, as expressed by an American poet Robinson Jeffers (1887-1926) who passed away before the large nuclear events took place, but who, in his powerful poems, anticipated the enormous danger of destructive human power which grew with ever-new scientific discoveries in the field of nuclear physics. As Gerrard notes, imagery of nuclear detonation redefined popular conceptions of the end of the world (2012: 103) which is visible due to accompanying increase of apocalyptic rhetoric and narratives in the second half of the twentieth century – after 1948 nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Besides the nuclear apocalypse, the most prevailing rhetoric in spectacle-izing media and among environmentalist groups and scientists alike would be the one of global warming which sees the devastation of nature and destruction of life as an outcome of human hubris and capitalist-consumerist-utilitarian driven modern society.

The concept of the apocalypse of the brave new world now seems more present and more consumed than ever by various audiences of cultural imageries: images created by different cultural industries which seem to produce an ever-increasing number of apocalypse-themed works. In year 2013 there have been ten major western cinema releases (mostly Hollywood blockbusters) depicting various apocalyptic scenarios: in 2012, there has been almost the same amount of such cinema releases, and this data excludes TV releases and minor productions. While the film industry is feeding on the powerful trope, it seems that at the same time the trope exists in the consciousness of contemporary societies as something which is probably “a natural course of action”, followed by the overwhelming human ability to destroy. Added, there are debaters who bring in the deterioration of morale into the discussion, implying that the modern livelihood has its very problematic negative effects which include an *ethical vacuum* (in Hans Jonas’ words) – a problematic area of unknowingness about the world we are rapidly creating, re-inventing and re-shaping.

Nuclear power is one such negative effect: it can be used for the benefit of humankind or for its destruction, and as we have learned from our history, the latter might seem as a more realistic choice. Even when it is used for the benefit, nuclear technology has its problems, including nuclear waste which is highly contaminating and dissolves at a very slow pace, as well as nuclear accidents such as the Chernobyl accident in 1986 and Fukushima accident in 2011. Although in both cases, there were minimal or no direct

human casualties of direct exposure to radioactivity, leaving subsequent environmental contamination as the major concern, both accidents created certain anxieties and a consciousness which understands that the possibility of far worse nuclear 'accidents' is very immanent and very real. Also, unlike the accidents, the 1945 bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, combined the newly attained nuclear power with the killing intent and resulted in immense destruction and death. These were not accidents and these proved to the general public that science and technology do not necessarily work for the benefit of humankind. More likely, it is in combination with utilitarian ethics, struggle for global dominance, politics and economy, that science and technology would produce artefacts, not for all but for few and with a very specific use.

This new understanding of technoscience, combined with images of Earth first time seen from the 'outside', provided by first flights into space, increased the feel of fragility of human and all other lifeall life, including Earth itself. With the new knowledge, ethicists, philosophers and environmentalists started shifting their perspectives from anthropocentrism to biocentrism, especially with James Lovelock's 1979 book *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth which*, after being declined for publishing for some time (the idea of a live Earth was much too controversial at the time), introduced a new perspective of Earth, in which our planet is alive: a self-regulating, self-sustainable live organism whose parts and dynamics are all equally important and worthy for the functioning of the whole. *Gaia*, in a scientific way, evokes past animisms and spirited nature of ancient cultures which were prevalent worldviews before nature has been disenchanted (to which Jonas refers to as *disenchanted knowingness*).

It is precisely the worldview that sees environment as dead, exploitable object of research and conquest: the non-thinking matter in Descartes' terms or a slave in Baconian terms that introduces the utilitarian justification for such human progress than can destroy life in couple of seconds: it takes approximately nine months for a human life to grow and form: it took a couple of seconds to take lives of 45 000 people on the first day of nuclear bombing Hiroshima and 19 000 during subsequent four months; in Nagasaki, 22 000 lives were annihilated on the first day and another 17 000 during following four months. The 103 000 deaths accumulated equal 927 000 months for each life that grew and formed for nine months before being nulled by the promises of the brave new world. It is this very immanent demonstration of technoscientific power that makes Jeffers' verses echo so potently in our age:

‘A drop of marrow. How could that spoil the earth?’ ‘Nevertheless,’
he answered,
‘They have that bomb. The blasts and the fires are nothing: freckles
on the earth: the emanations
Might set the whole planet into a tricky fever
And destroy much.’ ‘Themselves,’ he answered. ‘Let them.
Why not?’ ‘No,’ he answered, ‘life.’

(1987: 73)

Culture always responds to our interventions in the world and our re-shaping of living conditions. Material culture most visibly presents us with our immateriality, as a response to the always newly created world. In that perspective, it comes as no surprise that Jefferson's words have such a strong impact on its readers or that there is a continuously rising number of cultural products dealing with the same anxieties.

These are some of the cultural implications of technological hybridization and, in Bruno Latour's words, delegation of human actions (and even ethics) onto non-human artefacts.

But these artefacts are not on the 'outside' or isolated: we are so integrated with them that we can no longer imagine modern life without them. And yet, at the same time, even while we are immersed into the technoscientific future, the future brings in fragments of anxiety, intensified by isolated events such as Fukushima nuclear plant accident, because we do not know what future implications will our technology bring us. This is the reason for Hans Jonas to re-phrase Kant's imperative as he states:

“Act so that the effects of your action are compatible with the permanence of genuine human life” which may also be formulated as: “Act so that the effects of your action are not destructive of the future possibility of such life.” (1980: 15)

I would however adjust Jonas' rather anthropocentric imperative and invite for permanence of *all* life as well as preservation of all future life. Such biocentric imperative coincides with Miyazaki Hayao's 1984 post-apocalyptic narrative “Nausicaä of the Valley of the Wind” as he calls for acknowledgment of and respect for all life, as well as mutual understanding.

In Miyazaki's portrayal of what seems to be near-dead Earth, the feel of human hubris and utilitas-driven actions are very strongly contrasted to Life.

In the director's imagination, it is human bioengineered weapon which destroys Earth and erases almost all life on it, human species included. But, according to Miyazaki's own words: he is not interested in science fiction.

Nausicaä: Animated Hope

It has been mentioned already that cultural products embody the structure of feeling, while they are at the same time the intersections of many dynamic forces of culture. We analyze them within their sociocultural contexts because we know they are the immanent expressions of our mediated reality (which Susan J. Napier names *consensual reality*). World is never simply there for us, it is never bare and given per se, but always interpreted, experienced, communicated, mediated and expressed. Everything that we as a species is expressed in numerous ways via products we create and produce daily.

Having that in mind, I have chosen to address different contemporary issues through lens of Japanese animation, which, in Mikhail Bakhtin's terms has the potential to be far more

dialogic and heteroglossic than for instance environmental rhetoric or media reports. Anime opens up a space for discussion to everyone, but only an individual is addressed and approaches the narrative in her or his own way. Most anime, like the ones created by Miyazaki Hayao, are open for interpretation and do not provide its audiences with straightforward answers.

In *Nausicaä* we are faced with a post-apocalyptic Earth, mostly covered either in toxic jungles or lifeless deserts, with only a few habitable places which are inhabited by remaining tribes of a small number of human survivors. We learn at the very beginning that Earth has been destroyed by humans: by their bioengineered weapons in an event named Seven Days of Fire, during which anthropomorphic creatures have scorched Earth, reducing it to vast seemingly lifeless space.

However, as we are invited deeper into the future world, we are shown the wonderful biosystems of toxic jungles and intelligence of insects and other creatures deemed hostile and dangerous by remaining humans. Miyazaki invites us, by presenting us the unexpected perspective of the “ugly, terrifying and dangerous” world, to shift views and to understand what it means to appreciate all life, instead of applying anthropocentric interpretations to everything that surrounds us.

This he accomplishes through a character of Nausicaä, a young female scientist and a princess who shows intelligence, wisdom and understanding for the toxic world. At one of the most striking moments in anime, she places an Ohmu (hostile-deemed insect) eye-shell over her head after she had found a shed Ohmu shell. Once she does that, poisonous spores start falling around her and she looks at them through the insect’s eye, admiring the snowflake-like spores that she knows could kill her in just a few seconds. As she gazes at the poisonous world around her, she is humble and respectful and we realize that the scene we have just observed symbolizes a shift of perspectives in which a human female takes on a perspective of an insect and gazes at the poisonous world with understanding that beyond human perception of the world being dangerous and problematic, there is a living world which indiscriminately offers life to everyone. This makes a biocentric appeal, a kind that calls for respect and responsibility.

Although Nausicaä’s tribe, the people of the Valley of the Wind seem to be living in a pre-modern agricultural idyll, thus proposing a lifestyle of reduced use of technologies, they do use technology, as well as Nausicaä who is both a warrior and a scientist who uses a gunpowder weapon and works in her underground laboratory. But none of them uses technology in a utilitarian way, nor do they use it to harm any other life. In Baconian terms but in contrast to Baconian philosophy, in Nausicaä’s world, technology ought not to be used to enslave and conquer nature.

The Metaphysical Outlook for a Destroyed Earth

As Hans Jonas has remarked, it was the scientific revolution that changed man’s way of thinking, as well as theories, worldviews and metaphysical outlook; conceptions and methods of knowledge (Jonas: 1980: 47).

For the brave new world to be created, mere objects do not suffice, as the objects have to be integrated with their users and change the ways that human society perceives its surroundings as well as ways it mediates reality. Also, the creation of different objects is dependent on human way of thinking which, among other things, sets the purpose:

“Technology, historically speaking, is the delayed effect of the scientific and metaphysical revolution with which the modern age begins. The theoretical change alone merits the name of a revolution in its own right, even without this later, revolutionizing effect” (Jonas: 1980: 47)

Modern science is considered to have begun in 1543 when Copernicus and Vesalius published their works: with their publications a new mechanistic view of nature and of universe began to emerge, only to be confirmed in the seventeenth century scientific revolution grounded in works of natural philosophers but likewise in Plato’s mathematics. This was also the age of Francis Bacon (1561-1626) who announced the great restoration of all science, introducing experimental methods in order to penetrate, enslave, analyze and conquer nature which exists solely for the use of men. In his manifesto he used mostly legal terminology used in court trials of witches and it is no coincidence that nature is treated as a female, as a witch: the female embodiment of the mystic and unreasonable. Carolyn Merchant writes about it:

“Bacon developed the power of language as political instrument in reducing female nature to a resource for economic production. Female imagery became a tool in adapting scientific knowledge and method to a new form of human power over nature. The “controversy over women” and the inquisition of witches- both present in Bacon’s social milieu- permeated his description of nature and his metaphorical style and were instrumental in his transformation of the earth as a nurturing mother and womb of life into a source of secrets to be extracted for economic advance. (...) The new man of science must not think that the “inquisition of nature is in any part interdicted or forbidden.” Nature must be “bound into service” and made a “slave”, put “in constrain” and “molded” by the mechanical arts. The “searchers and spies of nature” are to discover her plots and secrets’ (1989: 80-81)

It was then the mechanical philosophy of the mid-seventeenth century that introduced the metaphor of a machine, developed by French thinkers Mersenne, Gassendi and Descartes in the 1620s and 1630s (ibid. 85) Among them, Descartes’ philosophy was most influential which in consequence resulted in legacy of dualism(s) which would for many centuries (and still do) shape scientific paradigms, worldviews and understanding of the world. His division of world into thinking (*res cogitans*) and non-thinking (*res extensa*) matter would further influence a mechanistic worldview and continue the influence of Bacon’s radically utilitarian discourse on nature.

The Industrial Revolution that followed in eighteenth century likewise continued disenchantment of nature and of life by interlinking technology with science. With such technoscientific fusion a new era in human history began. Little is known that in earlier

centuries technology and science were acting separately. One of the outcomes of the Industrial Revolution (and cooperation between technology and science) was the emergence of machinery and technologies that would change all aspects of human life. The Second Industrial Revolution affirmed such “progress” by introducing economy into developing area of human action.

This very brief and simplified historical account should facilitate the understanding of how the notion of the brave new world came about. It ought to provide us with an insight of how human thought has changed, thus enabling this and such particular historical development of modern science and technology. World and its artefacts never exist per se: they are always in process of creation and interpretation.

Therefore the way that Miyazaki’s animated world communicates with us has evolved from a need to understand how the contemporary human situation came about. The anime is not a plea to abandon modern life and technology: it is a plea to rethink the way we use it and the ways we affect life by using it the way we do. Again, Hans Jonas tells us that

“In the image he entertains himself- the potent self-formula which determines his actual being as much as it reflects it- man now is evermore the maker of what he has made and the doer of what he can do, and most of all the preparer of what he will be able to do next. But not your or I: it is the aggregate, not the individual doer or deed that matters here: and the indefinite future, rather than the contemporary context of the action, constitutes the relevant horizon of responsibility. This requires imperatives of a new sort. If the realm of making has invaded the space of essential action, then morality must invade the realm of making” (1980: 11)

It is useful to understand that the contemporary situation which inspired Miyazaki to imagine human-bioengineered weapons destroying earth in the aftermath of Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear bombing, as well as the reality of the nuclear annihilation of numerous lives in a couple of moments, is not the direct product of the modern age. Rather, such situation is an outcome of centuries-emerging outlooks and paradigms which shaped the face of human reality.

In terms of cultural and social implications of this development, there have been many intensive hybridized changes in the ways human live, create, communicate and consume life. Likewise, the implications are embodied in cultural products, of which popular culture seems far more interesting as its character is less formal and more open; it can reach and address various audiences; and since what is popular is also determined by the consumers, it reveals more of ongoing changes in societies than any other segment of cultural production.

Conclusion

In the age of technoscience which started with 1543 scientific revolution marked by Copernicus and Vesalius publishing major works, and in a world where the metaphor of a machine is permeating every single aspect of our lives, one can sense and unravel many uncertainties that have been created alongside the path of technoscientific progress. The mechanistic view of nature and the universe which has drastically changed perception of life and of human being has likewise caused paradigmatic changes toward life and humanity. With all the non-thinking matter becoming exploitable, the thinking human has unlocked the door of destruction and unknowingness. It is precisely the act of unlocking such doors that has also let rhetoric and narrative of the apocalypse enter the scene, with both useful and abusive intentions.

The narrative of the apocalypse, which has become so prevalent in the past half a century however is not merely rhetoric or a consumption trick: its intensifying existence in the many cultural forms and formats is a consequence of growing awareness or feeling of unknowingness: of the appearance of ethical vacuum and uncanniness emerging from destructive and military uses of science and technology, as well as of unlocking doors behind which there is something we cannot define, simply because we had no need to deal with it before.

Instead of providing answers to our (ancient) questions, modern technology and science continue revealing multiplying areas of unknowingness: areas for scientific and philosophical consideration. Such considerations, as they are linked to our culture and society, always bear something unspeakable and perhaps the most available tools at our disposal at present moment to address the emerging dilemmas are cultural artefacts which we continuously create in response to our environment.

To me, one such valuable artefact is anime, heteroglossic and dialogic, in which I see potential for debating issues which are in focus of this paper. In order to debate such issues, perhaps more than anything, what we need is imagination, spontaneity, reflexivity and empathy. Sustainable future always includes imaginative skills: for only if we can imagine that there *is* a future, can we adopt such behavior which would enable its preservation.

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Conflict and Controversy in Contemporary Australian Foreign Policy

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Abstract

Australian foreign policy is considered to be domestically bipartisan overall, and Australia has generally enjoyed a positive image among its neighbours in the Asia-Pacific region, and more broadly as an active 'middle power' in the international community. However, areas of conflict are inevitable in foreign policy, and the conservative Coalition government of Prime Minister Tony Abbott, elected in 2013, has already encountered and engendered a considerable degree of controversy.

These range across a number of issues and areas, including a sudden deterioration in relations with Australia's largest neighbour Indonesia, over espionage revelations. This threatens to undermine a core campaign promise of the Abbott government, to 'stop the boats', halting asylum seekers arriving via Indonesia. Difficulties may further arise with cuts in Australia's Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), which will principally affect the poorer nations of the South Pacific.

Australia also appears to be taking sides among its major trading partners, declaring its support for Japan over China, in the escalating territorial disputes in the East China Sea. Australia remains a loyal ally of the USA, now hosting US forces as part of its strategic 'pivot' to the Pacific, and deploying troops in Afghanistan. On the wider international stage, Australia has taken up its rotating seat on the UN Security Council, is part of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) negotiations, and will host the next G20 leaders' summit. However, the Abbott government is weakening Australia's commitment to international action on climate change. The foreign policy direction of the Abbott government so far seems set to court controversy; can it develop the synergy required to resolve its diplomatic conflicts?

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Introduction

Australian foreign policy has been generally considered to be bipartisan overall, and Australia has broadly enjoyed a positive image among its neighbours in the Asia-Pacific region, and more widely as an active 'middle power' in the international community. However, areas of conflict are inevitable in foreign policy, and the Coalition government of Prime Minister Tony Abbott, elected on September 7, 2013, has already encountered and engendered a considerable degree of controversy over its foreign policy priorities. These range across a number of issues and areas, including a sudden deterioration in relations with Australia's largest neighbour Indonesia, over espionage revelations. This threatens to undermine a core campaign promise of the Abbott government, to 'stop the boats', halting asylum seekers arriving by boat via Indonesia. Difficulties may further arise with ODA cuts, which will principally affect the poorer nations of the South Pacific.

Australia also appears to be taking sides among its major trading partners, openly declaring its support for Japan over China, in the ongoing territorial disputes in the East China Sea. Australia remains a loyal ally of the USA, having deployed troops to Afghanistan, and now is hosting US forces as part of its strategic 'pivot' to the Pacific. On the wider international stage, Australia has taken up its rotating seat on the UN Security Council, is part of the TPP trade negotiations, and will host the next G20 leaders' summit. However, the Abbott government is weakening Australia's commitment to international action on climate change. The foreign policy direction of the Abbott government so far therefore seems set to court controversy.

The Overall Foreign Policy Approach of the Abbott Coalition Government

Foreign policy is generally a bipartisan issue in Australian politics; both major parties – the conservative Liberal-National Party Coalition, and the social-democratic Labor Party, share similar policies of being pro-US alliance, pro-free trade, and encouraging engagement with the Asia-Pacific region, through involvement in International Government Organisations (O'Neil, 2012: 274). However, elements of foreign policy were hotly contested in the 2013 national election, primarily over the issue of asylum seekers arriving by boat; the Coalition advocated, and then introduced tougher measures to deter asylum seekers, campaigning with the slogan to 'stop the boats' (Liberal Party, 2013:47-48). This has especially affected relations with Indonesia, as will be later outlined in further detail.

A bipartisan policy position continuing under the Abbott Coalition government is Australia remaining firmly part of the strategic 'pivot' of the USA, its closest military ally, towards the Pacific region. US Marines and other US forces since 2012 have been 'based' in the Northern Territory, in rotating deployments. US long-range surveillance drones may also be deployed from the Australian territory of the Cocos Islands in the Indian Ocean. Australia is also likely to continue an advisory role presence in Afghanistan, after the withdrawal of NATO/ISAF combat forces by the end of 2014. Australia had the largest non-NATO presence in Afghanistan, primarily to reinforce the commitment to the US alliance (Carr, 2014: 227-233).

Abbott has pledged to increase defence spending from 1.6% of GDP, to an aspirational target of 2%; purchases of US military equipment, including up to \$24

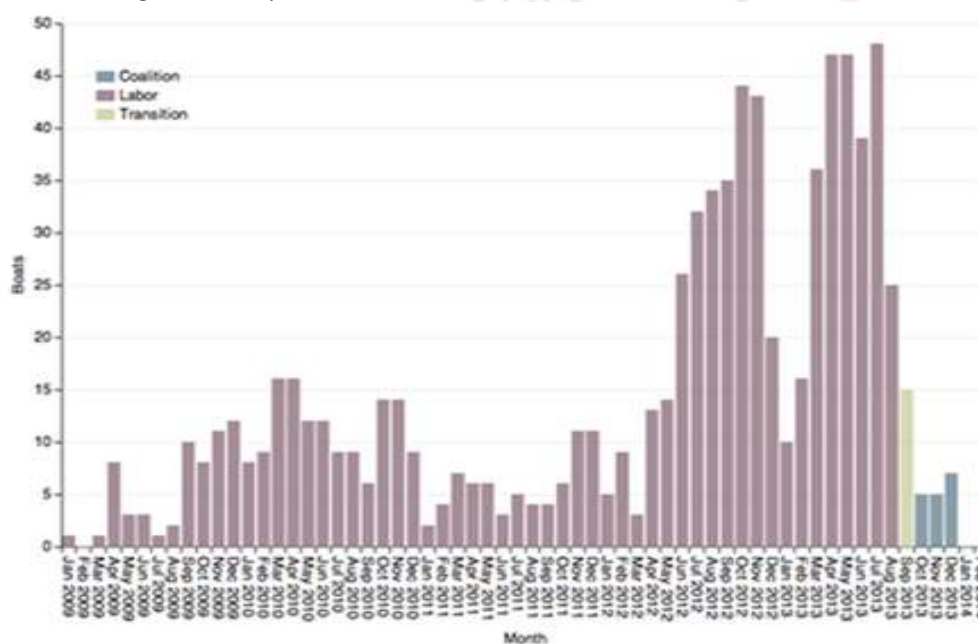
billion on 72 of the controversial F-35 Lightning II Joint Strike Fighter, will most likely comprise a large part of this projected increase. Australia will therefore make its own contribution to the regional arms race, with no real diplomatic action being taken to reduce the extensive increase in regional conventional weapons expenditure (Jones, 2014). Australian intelligence, including the Australian Signals Directorate, has also been implicated in USA's global surveillance network PRISMS, as revealed by whistle-blower Edward Snowden, including possible involvement in the USA's secretive lethal drone strikes (Corcoran, 2014).

Meanwhile, preparations for the ANZAC centenary in 2015 are underway, with Australia set to spend up to \$325 million on First World War commemorations, more than any other country. Critics have accused successive governments of effectively deepening a 'cult' of ANZAC jingoism, while ignoring any sensible discussion or analysis of the long-running drift in strategic doctrine and defence spending of recent decades (Brown, 2014: 12).

Asylum Seekers and Relations with Indonesia

After the previous Rudd Labor government in 2008 ended the Howard Coalition government's 'Pacific Solution', of offshore detention of asylum seekers arriving by boat via Indonesia (mostly to the Australian Indian Ocean territory of Christmas Island), the number of arrivals steadily increased. Asylum seekers have been a highly contested political issue, exploited relentlessly by Coalition while in Opposition during 2007-2013 as an issue of border security, with up to 1000 asylum seekers having possibly drowned at sea. After Tony Abbott became Opposition Leader from December 2009, the Coalition's slogan to 'stop the boats!' was prominently used in the 2010 election campaign (which resulted in a rare minority government, in a 'hung' parliament'), and repeated in 2013, following the steady increase in the number of boat arrivals (Walsh, 2014:137-138).

Figure 1: Asylum Seeker Boat Arrivals to Australia 2009-2014



Kevin Rudd made a temporary return as Prime Minister in June 2013, overthrowing Julia Gillard in a party room leadership spill. In an attempt to blunt Opposition

criticism over Labor's record on asylum seeker boat arrivals, Rudd effectively restored the Pacific Solution, making a deal with Papua New Guinea (PNG) to re-open Manus Island to detain asylum seekers (Gillard had already begun to send them again to Nauru), with asylum seekers arriving by boat being denied any right of settlement in Australia. The number of boat arrivals began to fall following this measure, and have continued to do so following the election of the Abbott Coalition government, with none arriving since February 2014; both major political parties claim credit for restoring the deterrent approach (Kevin, 2014).

Abbott made his first overseas visit as Prime Minister to Indonesia in October 2013, making good a Coalition promise that its foreign policy approach would be focused on 'Jakarta, not Geneva'. The visit was ostensibly to emphasise business, trade, investment, education and people-to-people links. The main underlying motivation for the visit though was to ensure border security cooperation, in tackling people smuggling networks. The Coalition's controversial 2013 election policy was to turn back asylum seeker boats 'when safe to do so', while respecting Indonesian sovereignty (McGrath, 2013). However, the Abbott government was not long in office when revelations emerged (via the Edward Snowden leaks) that Australia had spied on Indonesia's leadership in 2009, and conducted commercial espionage (on behalf of the US) against Indonesia in early 2013. Even though this occurred under the previous Rudd and Gillard Labor government, Indonesia was understandably still angered, and unsatisfied with Abbott's fairly weak apology. Amid the revelations of Australian spying on Indonesia, it also emerged that the previous Howard Coalition government had spied on the newly independent nation of East Timor in 2006, during negotiations over the Timor Gap Treaty for rights to oil and gas development. East Timor has taken Australia to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to annul the treaty, partly as a result of these revelations. The Abbott government has attempted to interfere with the Timorese case, by blocking witnesses from leaving Australia to deliver evidence; an ex-Australian Secret Intelligence Service officer's passport was suspended, and East Timor's lawyers' office in Canberra has been raided by the Australian Security Intelligence Office (Palatino, 2013).

Operation Sovereign Borders

The Abbott government commenced its policy, termed 'Operation Sovereign Borders', under military operational command. The Royal Australian Navy (RAN) began its 'turnbacks', although Immigration and Border Protection Minister Scott Morrison refused to confirm any numbers or details, leading to criticism that the policy lacks transparency. On at least six occasions, boats have been either towed back, or asylum seekers placed onto lifeboats and released into Indonesian waters. Revelations that the RAN had violated Indonesian territorial sovereignty while doing so saw relations with Indonesia deteriorate to their lowest point since the East Timor crisis of 1999 (The Economist, 2014).

Foreign Minister Julie Bishop apologised to Indonesia again, but Australia has remained determined to continue its tough policy. Bishop has engaged in a series of crisis talks with Indonesia, including the aim to establish a Code of Conduct to handle border incidents, and restore guidelines for intelligence and security coordination. There have been indications that a restoration of relations, and possibly resumption of previous levels of military and security cooperation is under way, with Abbott invited

by outgoing President Yudhoyono to visit Jakarta in May 2014 to facilitate this (Alford and Nicholson, 2014).

There has long been ongoing criticism though from the UNHCR, Amnesty International and other human rights NGOs, of the adverse impact of Australia's lengthy detention of asylum seekers (Saul, 2012: 44-45). In January 2014, Nauru saw its senior legal personnel, including the Chief Justice, Chief Magistrate and Solicitor-General unlawfully fired by the Nauruan President. This has practically ended the rule of law in this Australian-subsidised South Pacific micro-state, being yet another deterioration of human and legal rights in the region linked to Australia's asylum seeker policy; over 900 asylum seekers detained on Nauru have been left with no effective legal address to review their claims. Restrictions on media and NGO investigation of Nauru, as well as judicial inquiries being impeded on Manus Island, have also compounded the Coalition government's tendency towards suppressing information and avoiding scrutiny of treatment of asylum seekers (Radio NZ, 2014). Even more seriously, on February 16-17th 2014, an Iranian asylum seeker was killed, and over 60 injured in a riot on Manus Island, with local PNG detention centre staff accused of perpetrating most of the violence. This was the most serious incident so far in a long series of claims of poor treatment of asylum seekers, on Nauru and mainland detention centres, as well as on Manus (Thompson and Michelmore, 2014).

Australia has established regular consultation with PNG to attempt to improve detention camp conditions on Manus Island, with Tony Abbott visiting PNG in March 2014, partly to encourage faster processing and resettling on asylum seekers. However, there are doubts they can be successfully integrated into such a clannish developing society, already stricken with high rates of criminal violence. PNG has declared it will resettle some, but not all those detained on Manus found to be genuine refugees; Cambodia may now also agree to accept settlement of asylum seekers detained by Australia, despite similar concerns over its human rights record (Taylor, 2014a).

This reminds that the great majority of those seeking asylum in Australia (up to 90%) are found to be genuine refugees after processing. The Abbott Coalition government has also removed the right of asylum seekers to claim permanent residency, and restricted access to work rights, health care, social security and other welfare benefits, further eroding the human rights of already traumatised people. These measures could affect up to 30,000 claimants who have been granted temporary protection visas. By the end of February 2014, around 4,700 people were in detention onshore and on Christmas Island, over 2,400 were detained on Nauru and Manus Island, and nearly 24,000 were in the community on bridging visas (DIBP, 2014: 3).

Long-term regional cooperation is the ultimate answer to solving the asylum seeker issue; the ad hoc 'Bali Process' dialogue between regional states began in 2002, but this has made little progress. Any diplomatic renewal towards re-starting the Bali Process has been undermined by Operation Sovereign Borders alienating Australia's largest neighbour Indonesia, exploiting populist xenophobia for domestic political gain. Opinion polls show harsher treatment of asylum seekers remains popular with the majority of voters (Corlett, 2013: 190-191).

The human rights record of the Abbott Coalition government was also blotted early

by its approach to Sri Lanka – again to secure cooperation against people smuggling. As the co-chair of the Commonwealth Heads Of Government Meeting held in Sri Lanka in November 2013, Abbott downplayed widespread concerns over human rights abuses committed by the Rajapaksa government, in the wake of the end of Sri Lanka's civil war in 2009 (Howie, 2013). Also concerning human rights advocates, despite largely cosmetic changes by the military-dominated regime in Fiji, Foreign Minister Bishop has also moved to restore diplomatic ties (partly to counter potential Chinese influence), as elections are prepared for September 2014 (Maclellan, 2014).

ODA Cuts

Another early controversy in the foreign policy of the Abbott Coalition government was the announcement soon after the election by Bishop of effective cuts to the ODA budget, of up to \$4.5 billion over the next five years. These cuts, breaking a 2013 election campaign promise by the Coalition, are to be largely in the form of deferred budget increases previously pledged by the former Labor government, which had also made similar deferments in 2012. AusAID, Australia's ODA delivery arm, will be abolished as a separate agency, with its services subsumed directly within the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) (Rimmer, 2014).

Bishop has argued the cuts will ensure the 'sustainability' of the overall aid program, which will be directed more towards promoting trade and infrastructure development. This approach is criticized by human rights and aid/development NGOs as 'tied aid', benefitting Australian corporate contractors, rather than the ostensible ODA recipients in developing countries. Critics are particularly concerned the ODA changes will adversely impact development in South Pacific countries in particular, as traditional poverty alleviation and humanitarian programs are defunded. In preparing for the Coalition's first Federal Budget in May 2014, Treasurer Joe Hockey indicated though that the government aims to finally meet Australia's Millennium Development Goal commitment of a foreign aid target of 0.5% of Gross National Income, once the budget is returned to surplus – the earliest projection of which is after 2017 (Keane and Dyer, 2014).

Regional Government Organisations, Trade and Regional Diplomacy

Abbott attended his first major multilateral overseas meetings at the 2013 APEC leaders' summit in Indonesia, and the ASEAN/East Asia Summits in Brunei. Apart from conducting multilateral and concurrent bilateral meetings with other Asia-Pacific heads of state, Abbott made a major diplomatic declaration at these summits: the goal of completing Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with Australia's three top trading partners – China, Japan, and South Korea, within a year. The Abbott government has also continued Australia's bipartisan commitment to the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) multilateral trade negotiations, as well as the less-noted parallel Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) scheme, aiming for an East Asian multilateral free trade zone. The other major diplomatic declaration by Abbott at the 2013 Brunei summit was his overt support for Japan as Australia's 'closest friend in Asia' (DPM&C, 2013).

This follows Abbott's description of Japan as an honorary member of the 'Anglosphere', in his 2009 book *Battlelines* (Abbott, 2009: 159-161). At the sidelines

of the APEC 2013 summit, Australia, Japan and the US held a meeting of the Trilateral Security Dialogue, demonstrating the trend towards deepening security ties among the three countries. Australia could possibly take advantage of Japan recently easing its restrictions on military exports, with particular potential interest in Japanese-supplied submarines. Australia has sided with Japan in its dispute with China over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, leading to a public rebuke of Julie Bishop by China's foreign minister, after China declared its Air Defence Identification Zone in the East China Sea in December 2013 (Takenaka and Kubo, 2014).

The main point of diplomatic contention between Australia and Japan has been over Japan's discredited 'scientific' whaling program. The Abbott government continued the bipartisan policy of opposing whaling; however, Australian surveillance of the Japanese whaling fleet in the Southern Antarctic Ocean was reduced under the Coalition, with only brief aircraft overflights conducted, rather than sending a customs patrol vessel (otherwise being used in Operation Sovereign Borders against asylum seekers), breaking an election campaign promise. The case brought by the previous Labor government against Japan in the ICJ went against Japan in March 2014, in a 12-4 ruling; this has subsumed the issue for the near future, until Japan revamps its whaling program to work around the ICJ's judgement (Safi, 2014).

Australia on the International Stage

After an intense lobbying effort by the Rudd/Gillard Labor governments, in 2012 Australia won a rotating seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), for 2013-14. This diplomatic bid was opposed at the time by the Coalition, but nevertheless accepted the win once it was secured. Australia has already taken its turn holding the Presidency of the Security Council, holding votes on international crises such as the Syrian civil war, and conflicts and interventions in the Central African Republic, South Sudan and the Ukraine. Australia is therefore continuing its long tradition of supporting and participating in the UN and its peace-keeping operations (DFAT, 2014). More controversially, Bishop has shifted Australia towards a more overtly pro-Israeli position, reversing Australia's previous recognition of Palestine as an aspirant state at the UN General Assembly (UNGA), and supporting Israel's illegal settlements in the Palestinian Occupied Territories (Narunsky and Jeffay, 2014). It has also been revealed that last October, under Bishop's direction, DFAT opposed New Zealand sponsoring a statement at the UNGA pushing for nuclear disarmament (later backed by Japan), in order to secure Australia's reliance on US nuclear deterrence (Dorling, 2014)

Australia is also due to host the G20 leaders' summit in Brisbane, in November 2014. This will be the most prominent, and potentially the most challenging diplomatic event for the Abbott government so far, and will be the largest visit of world leaders to Australia since the 2007 APEC summit hosted in Sydney. However, there may be no real progress on the G20's supposed 'reform' agenda, with post-Global Financial Crisis (GFC) regulatory reforms of the international financial system having effectively stalled. Another of Abbott's first major international diplomatic appearances was the World Economic Forum in Geneva, where he gave a speech declaring Australia's aims to use the G20 to promote free trade, and reduce taxes and government spending. Abbott also broke diplomatic convention by attacking the economic record of the previous Labor government, particularly its stimulus spending

during the GFC (Seccombe, 2014). At the recent G20 finance ministers' meeting in Sydney, Treasurer Joe Hockey repeated this neoliberal economic rhetoric of the Coalition, of the need for reducing the size and role of government, in order to encourage private sector activity. However, the record of these small-government austerity policies is believed by many economists to have failed overall, as a policy response to the GFC (The Irish Times, 2014).

An even more controversial international policy position of the Abbott government is its weakening of Australia's commitment to action on climate change. One of the first acts by the Coalition in government was to move to abolish the advisory Climate Change Authority, the Clean Energy Finance Corporation, and to reduce the renewable energy target of 20% by 2020, with there being no separate Ministry for Science in the new Cabinet. Environment Minister Greg Hunt did not attend the COP19 meeting in Warsaw, with only lower-level bureaucrats being sent to represent Australia instead. Climate change sceptics are influential in the Coalition, with Abbott's own record on the subject rather erratic, having previously described climate science as 'crap' (Butler, 2014).

Abbott has vowed to repeal Labor's 'carbon tax' legislation – a fixed price on carbon emissions by the 300 largest polluters, meant to shift to a floating price from 2014. This is to be replaced with the Coalition's 'Direct Action' policy: subsidising large polluters to reduce emissions, encouraging biosequestration, plus increased regulation, and projects such as a 'Green Army' to promote reforestation. Hunt's recent policy White Paper, detailing a \$2.55 billion Emissions Reduction Fund has been widely criticised by economists and climate scientists as inadequate, and ultimately unfeasible, with doubts that Australia will be able to reach the declared target of 5% emission cuts by 2020, under the Direct Action plan. Labor and the Greens have blocked the repeal of the carbon tax in the Senate, but after July 2014, the balance of power in the Senate will effectively shift to the populist Palmer United Party. While Palmer's fractious group of allied Senators are willing to abolish the carbon tax, they are also opposed to Direct Action; therefore Australia faces the prospect of soon being left without a working climate policy (Taylor, 2014b).

Abbott's Northeast Asian Tour

The most prominent diplomatic act of the Coalition government so far has been Tony Abbott's visit to northeast Asia in April 2014, which included an especially large entourage of three senior ministers, five state premiers, 30 corporate CEOs, and hundreds of business representatives and advisers. Abbott's visit to Japan during April 5-7 saw the completion of an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with Japan, ending Australian tariffs on Japanese manufacturing imports, in return for greater (but not full) Australian access to Japanese agriculture markets, particularly beef, wine, and horticultural products. This finally concluded negotiations which had been ongoing since 2007, with the lack of progress largely due to resistance by Japanese farmers to greater foreign market access (DPM&C, 2014a).

Abbott was also the first foreign leader to attend a meeting of Japan's new National Security Council, and announced the commencement of negotiations for an agreement to encourage joint development of military technology, equipment and weapons systems. Abbott expressed support for Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's aim to allow

Japan to re-interpret its constitution, to allow participation in collective self-defence with allies, and resume arms exports. Australia and Japan will also deepen security cooperation, including more joint training exercises to improve interoperability between the Australian Defence Force and the Japanese Self Defence Forces (DPM&C, 2014b). Rather optimistically, Abbott (and Bishop) hope the mutual self-interest northeast Asian countries have in continuing trade and peaceful relations will trump the present geopolitical tensions, ultimately averting the danger of conflict. Australia's role is therefore to 'lead by example', maintaining positive relations among states in the region (Takahashi, 2014).

After a visit to South Korea to formally sign a recently concluded FTA, Abbott's visit to China during April 9-11 aimed to reassure China over Australia's closer security ties with Japan, and to also pursue an FTA, to gain greater market access to Australia's largest trading partner (FMPRC, 2014). However, this will be one of the greater diplomatic challenges for the Coalition, given Abbott's overt support for Japan's more nationalistic assertions of its security policies, and also the recent announcement that the US will upgrade its deployment of the Marine Corps to Darwin, seen by China as part of the USA's 'pivot' strategy of encirclement (Sainsbury, 2014).

No doubt hoping to placate his hosts, Abbott welcomed China's economic rise, declaring that its growing military strength poses no threat to the region, and that Australia comes to trade with China, not just to 'do a deal, but to be a friend' (Radio Australia, 2014)). However, in a speech to the Asia Society made just before his trip, Abbott also implied that China will inevitably liberalise its society and political system – which will inevitably raise suspicions among the ruling Chinese Communist Party (Roggeveen, 2014)

While Abbott's northeast Asian trip can be considered relatively successful overall, the Coalition government is set to face the challenge of managing Australia's foreign policy interests in a more uncertain, potentially volatile region, with growing strategic competition between China and its hegemonic rivals: the US, Japan and the ASEAN states. While the Australian economy should continue to perform relatively well overall, assisted by the new regional EPAs, these gains in trade will be threatened if tensions with China deteriorate in the Asia-Pacific region. Concerns over the treatment of asylum seekers are also likely to continue to engender criticism, eroding Australia's human rights reputation (White, 2014).

Overall, the foreign policy approach of the Abbott Coalition government has so far shifted towards a more overtly pro-US and pro-Japanese 'neoconservative' direction, away from the more balanced approach of the previous Labor government; and even compared to the former Coalition Howard government (1996-2007). This is another sign of Abbott's general inexperience in foreign policy, demonstrating a lack of appreciation of the complexities of diplomacy.

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Exploring The Context of Dementia Caregivers in Taiwan

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Abstract

Accompanied by the phenomena of the aging population in Taiwan, dementia has become a very important issue in Taiwan society. Dementia will give rise to the regression in memory and cognition of the patient, accompanied by the happening of behavior and emotion problems, and the caregiver will have trouble in caregiving because the caregiver doesn't understand the patient's past and his or her habits of life. Therefore, it is necessary to fully understand the process of caregiving. If information is not arranged according to the demand from the caregiver, a lot of information which are useless and difficult to realize will occur. It's necessary to define categories and select the most effective information for caregivers.

Therefore, this study tries to find out essential demand of the caregiver. By way of in-depth interviews and analyzing with coding process, important classified information is defined, and it will offer the caregiver the long-term and useful information about dementia, which will point out the current problem and phenomenon, assisting the caregivers and in reducing the care burden.

Introduction

The global prevalence of dementia report pointed out the proportion of dementia anticipated to rise to 63% in 2030 and 71% in 2050 (Prince, et al., 2013). Taiwan is now developing into the high-aged society. Based on the newest statistics indicated by Ministry of Interior, the average life-span in population is up to 79.1, and it is estimated that Taiwan will reach the “super high society” by 2025, that is, 20 percent of the population being aged over 65. However, as Taiwan Dementia Association has pointed out that current domestic dementia prevalence ratio to the population aged over 65 is about 4.8 percent, and if the population is aged over 60, the dementia prevalence ratio will be many times when increasing five years. In other words, there will be five persons in one hundred who are stricken with dementia (社團法人台灣失智症協會, 2013). With the rapid speed of population aging in Taiwan, the growth in the domestic dementia sufferers is rapidly on the increase, and hence, dementia has definitely become a crucially social issue in Taiwan.

The memory of the elderly with dementia will stop in the past, and therefore, they will noisily want to go home, which is frequently what is called the barrier in cognitive function after retrogression, not knowing where they are, when it is, what they are now doing, and who is around them. They will lose their social ability, and even influence someone around them. AD affects not only the individual with the disease but also their caregiver, particularly family caregivers who provide support at home.

Because of the large expense of the accommodation in nursing institutions every month, the main domain of caregiving dementia in Taiwan now is in the patient's family. Currently, there are 80% dementia patient accept family care in Taiwan (張媚,2006). Therefore, the aged with dementia has become the prime issue the families in Taiwan should be faced with. To the families with the aged with dementia, it is a kind of torture, and the sufferer, during his life, will ultimately choose to forget everything which he or she can't easily recollect because his or her family spare no effort to do the job of caregiving (王志宏,2012).

Hence, we can know that the main loading will fall on one main particular family caregiver. But current situation in Taiwan now still exist many problems and unknown barriers about dementia. The family caregivers don't know how to care there patient well. Therefore, through this research, it points out the current problems and situations in Taiwan, aim for reducing the burden on caregivers.

In this research, aim to figure out the research questions below:

1. What is the information needed for the caregivers?
2. What are the essential factors which can construct the patient's life story in the interactions for the caregiver?
3. What kind of technology may help?

Uncured disease- Dementia

Dementia is currently an incurable brain disease that slowly destroys memory and thinking skills. It's a syndrome which is caused by more than one disease (邱銘章, 湯麗玉, 2009). To such extent, it has an effect on this kind of patient's gradual degradation of daily living. Its symptom is not only the loss of memory but also influencing their cognitive function such as memory, thinking, sense of direction, comprehension, calculation, learning ability and judgment. Furthermore, To such extent, it has an effect on a patient's gradual degradation of daily living and his or her cognitive barrier.

In conclusion, it is a progressive degenerative brain disease, involving cognitive, spirit and action. Therefore, the more clearly members of old institutions and family members know Dementia, the better attention they will pay to these powerless people.

Dementia has a long period of incubation. Because of mild stage's symptom which grows slightly, a patient behavior is just the same as normal people's; Therefore, at an mild dementia stage, he or she is easily ignored and misses the best treatment period (林淑錦, 白明奇, 2006).

There are three stages described symptom degree of dementia:

A. Mild dementia stage

In this stage, Dementia people will face these symptoms such as inattention, feeling no interest about environment and everything, loss of social manners and short-term memory loss. The course of disease will last several months or even several years.

B. Moderate dementia stage

Apparent missing short-term memory, gradually lose long-term memory, language reaction slowly, loss the cognitive of time, forget important things furthermore regular events. Loss the cognitive of people and surrounding, wandering around, involuntary move their mouth and tongue, mental deterioration, hard to communication, repeat words, feeling confused, can't recognize himself in the mirror and can't read and write. The course of disease may last about four or five years (謝美芬, 顏兆熊, 2008).

C. Severe dementia stage

Incontinence, ataxia, hallucination, severe mental retardation, can't communicate and recognize family members, no reaction about stimulation, weight loss, susceptible, and dysphagia. In conclusion, dementia people in this stage totally need other peoples' helps. The course of disease last several years or so (湯麗玉, 朱育瑩, 林均澄 等, 2007).

In this research, we will focus on the mild dementia stage.

Family Caregiver 's Care Burden

Family caregiver are terms that refer to unpaid individuals such as family members, friends and neighbors who provide care to elderly who, in some degree, incapacitated and needs help (Alliance, F. C., 2001). AD affects not only the patient but also the caregiver, particularly family caregivers who provide support at home (Alzheimer's Association, 2004). Caregivers usually feel depression and mood disorders during the caring time (Butcher, H. K., Holkup, P. A., & Buckwalter, K. C., 2001). It's more emotionally and physically demanding than caring for other types of disease (Schulz, R., & Williamson, G. M., 1991).

Care burden commonly express the problems, physical, mental, social, and economic, which a caregiver cares a patient in his or her experience of caregiving (Given, et al., 2005). Zarit et.al (1986) defined care burden as how caregiver cognize emotion, mental health, social life and economics be interviewed by caring relatives.

Members of a family who take responsibility over caregiving dementia are under great pressure, and it takes them a lot of time to do the caregiving. Their life structure will drastically change harmony with their patients, for example: change of work and rest, limitation of the range of behavior, and a high percentage of such negative appearances in mentality as depression, fatigue, burden, sleep barrier (Belle, et al., 2006).

Research Design

As what we mentioned above, this thesis aims to understanding the current situation from dementia caregiver's caring experience. Therefore, we need to generalize problem factors and contexts. The research conducted with Qualitative research method. Started with data collection, I select in-depth interview as me method. After that, to analyze the data collected, I applied grounded theory which contained three phase: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. By using this analysis method, I analysed the transcript which generated from in-depth interview and tried to build story lines to find the connection between each coding result. According to these steps can help me answer part of my research questions. In-depth interview was described as "a conversation with a purpose"(Kahn and Cannell,1957). It's a useful qualitative data collection method which allows the interviewer to deeply explore the interviewee's feelings and perspectives on a subject to gain an insight. Knowing about interviewee's experiences, opinions, motives lies in developing more thought and hypothesis than the collect facts or the statistic data, so that the research problem improved can be conceptualized.(Oppenheim, 1992)

In this stage, data will be collected by using in-depth interview. Aim to inquire information needed for non- experience caregivers which can help them get familiar with patients. We will interview three interviewees who have related care experiences to care the dementia patient, because they have the ability and knowledge to find out useful information systematically. Investigate the caregiver who just start to take care of the

dementia patient, what information about the patient should the caregiver know and in what ways do the caregiver get such information.

Participants of in-depth interview were recruited through the support by Zeelandia Dementia Association in Tainan. Because of the time and place constrain, I interviewed with four person: two welfare worker and two volunteer. Although the welfare worker doesn't have any caring experience, but through the previous interview experience, they know each family's status so much, moreover, they know how to construct useful information about the patient. By following the professional dementia knowledge which they have, we can built up the fundamental knowledge. The other interviewee is a volunteer, but she also a family caregivers who cares the dementia patient more than four years. Therefore, we can know their needs through this interview.

According to data collected by interview, we need to find the core pattern by coded return data into different categories. The step which is following three coding procedures of grounded theory. Based on this analyze method will help to establish the core pattern which composed essential factors of life story. Therefore, by way of the grounded theory, try to analyze two phases which constitute the patient's personal life story: crucial elements which constitute the patient's living habits and crucial elements which constitute the patient's past history.

Stage1: Open Coding

The way I did open coding are sentence by sentence or several phrases or sentences, sometimes by several paragraphs. The coding results main constructed by descriptive codes. I got 240 codes from the welfare worker, 50% adopted in-vivo way. As for the volunteer, I got 160 codes, 30% adopted in-vivo way.

Stage2: Axial Coding

After collected codes form open coding, the following stage is axial coding. The way I did axial coding was category and sub-category. The outcome of this stage is 11 categories and 28 sub-categories in total.

Table 1 The result of axial coding

Casual Conditions
Social Factors: - High-aging society - Unpopularity of the concept about dementia - Outside assistance of caregiving resources
Family Factors: - Patients with dementia in the family

Phenomena
<p>Lack of knowledge propaganda of dementia Unknown skill, knowledge of caring:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deal with behavior problems - Lack of caring knowledge
<p>Outside assistance of caring resources:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scattering caring resources - Lack of info propaganda, assistance request route
Context
Lack of some related knowledge of dementia
Intervening Conditions
<p>Caregivers' attitude:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positive, active, healthy - Negative attitude
<p>Related employees's handicap:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of human resource - Disrespect to professionalism
Strategies
<p>More Multi-routed for propaganda:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Force of social communities: information sharing - Higiene information via varieties media way
<p>Need: Excellent models for caregiving:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build up interactive models for communication of sharing - Understand patients more, build up trust between caregiver and patient <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Encourage patients to thinking - Keep patient's mood in steady
<p>Technology Innovation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aging-friendly design - Awaken the past memory, understand patients' past <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assist in caregiving - Prevent in advance and record
Consequences
<p>Development of technology products:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provide caregiving assistance
Policy needed more to promote related knowledge of dementia

Stage3: Selective Coding

During this process of selective coding, the categories and their interrelationships are combined to form a 'storyline' that describes 'what happens' in the phenomenon that is being studied.

The central phenomenon of selective coding are:

1. Lack of knowledge propaganda of dementia.
2. Unknown skill, knowledge of caring.
 - Deal with behavior problems
 - Lack of caring knowledge
3. Outside assistance of caring resources.
 - Scattering caring resources
 - Lack of info propaganda, assistance request route

The story line we got are:

1. High-aging society ->Unknown skill, knowledge of caring ->Satisfied with Caregiver's Need: Excellent models for caregiving ->Develop tech assistance products for caregiving
2. Unpopularity of the concept about dementia-> Lack of knowledge propaganda of dementia, Outside assistance of caring resources->More Multi-routed for propaganda->Policy needed more to promote related knowledge of dementia

Research Finding

Through the story lines which constructed by selective coding, we can concluded two main finding in this research:

1. Caregivers's attitude towards dementia is the major factor to influence whether good caregiving models are offered.
2. Lack of some related knowledge about dementia is the major problem in the process of caregiving and dealing with dementia.

Table 2 The result of axial coding

Research Questions	Findings
What is the information needed for the caregivers?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Need knowledge propaganda of dementia 2. Need related skill, knowledge of caring <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deal with behavior problems - Lack of caring knowledge
What are the essential factors which can construct the patient's life story in the interactions for the caregiver?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Caregivers' attitude <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positive, active, healthy - Negative attitude 2. Need: Excellent models for caregiving <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build up interactive models for communication of sharing - Understand patients more, build up trust between caregiver and patient - Encourage patients to thinking - Let patient keep steady in mood
What should a life-story-recorded pervasive information architecture be?	<p>Need provide technology innovation to help</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aging-friendly design - Awaken the past memory, understand patients' past - Assist in caregiving - Prevent in advance and record

The table above shows the answers for the questions. The main needs for the caregivers are: knowledge propaganda of dementia and related skill, knowledge of caring. They need to know how to deal with the patient's behavior problems, further more, lacking of related dementia knowledge about caring is the main issue. The essential factors to construct the patient's life story are: the caregiver's attitude and they all need the excellent caregiving model to follow. the final part, the innovative technology which provide supported need to follow these criteria: design with the aging-friendly design principle, awaken the past memory, understand patients' past, assist in caregiving, prevent in advance and record. In conclude, a life-story-recorded pervasive information architecture which applying Life-logging technology for dementia caring is needed by the caregivers.

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Bearing Children “for the Good of the Country” in the 21st Century: An Analysis of Government Campaigns Ads in the Shōshika Era

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Abstract

Japan, like many developed countries, has recently seen its population decrease so that in 2012 it reached the lowest low fertility rate of 1.41 (TFR). Since the 1970s, the main identified cause is the postponement of marriage, and therefore childbirth, by women. This is primarily interpreted as the consequence of a conflict between personal choice and the country's good, and one further affected by an ageing society. Since the 1990s, the Japanese government has intervened with various campaigns aimed to reduce this conflict. This paper focuses on several of those campaigns. More subtle and less authoritarian than the eugenic campaigns of the prewar and wartime governments, they nonetheless aimed at 'molding the mind' (Garon 1997). The posters depict ideals of family, parenthood, childhood, as well as society as a whole. This paper attempts to identify the relationships between individuals, members of the community and society put forward in the campaign advertisements as a solution to the issue of low birth rate. Using either photographs or drawing, the posters represent a conflict-less society in which parenthood relies on the synergy of all members of the community.

Japan, like many developed countries, has seen its population decrease to reach the lowest-low fertility rate of 1.41 in 2012. This tendency was first associated with a lower number of children being born to married couples. But since the 1970s, the main identified cause is the postponement of marriage, and therefore childbirth, by women. It is predominantly interpreted as a consequence of the conflict between women's personal choices and the country's good, and a situation that is exacerbated by an increasingly ageing society. Since the 1990s, the Japanese government has made several interventions to mitigate this situation: including changes to financial help and campaigns around work/life balance and gender stereotypes. Each of these laws and campaigns aimed to reduce the struggle between the individual's and society's ideals. This paper focuses on several campaign advertisements launched by different government organizations to raise the fertility rate since the 1990s. More subtle and less authoritarian than the eugenics campaigns of the prewar and wartime governments, they nonetheless aimed at 'molding the mind' (Garon 1997). The posters depict ideals of family, parenthood, childhood, as well as society as a whole. This paper attempts to identify the relationships between individuals, members of the community and society put forward in the campaign advertisements as a solution to the issue of low birth rate. Using either photographs or drawings, the posters represent a conflict-less society in which parenthood relies on the synergy of all members of the community.

In this article, I focus on examples of specific public service advertising encouraging harmonious relationships between family members and between mothers and the community. These posters emerged in the context of the *shōshika* era and were responding to the social concerns with ideals of welfare, society and motherhood that I consider in the first two sections of this paper. I then consider the representations of interactions between motherhood, family and the community in eight selected posters by different government bodies.

The online reproductions of the posters considered in this paper are available from the National Diet Online Library, WARP (for the Cabinet Office posters), and from the Bureau of Social Welfare and Public Health website, Tokyo Kosodate Switch.

The 'Japanese-Style Welfare State'

In 1989, Japan's fertility rate dropped to a new low of 1.59, creating the highly publicised '1.59 shock'. Since then, it has been decreasing steadily. However, it was not until the 1989 'shock' that concerns arose regarding the low fertility rate. This cultural change of perception came from the comparison of the total fertility rate (TFR) with that of the year of the fire horse. According to traditional belief, it is said to be in the traditional Chinese calendar (*kanshi*) a bad year to give birth to a girl as she will bring bad luck to her husband. Women born in those years find it difficult to marry.

Those low numbers have shaped an ageing society, with a Japanese median age of 43 years old in 2006 compared to 22 in 1945. The societal pyramid is inverting, with a lower basis of young people being born, and a large peak of older people living longer. With its low mortality rate, Japan needs a fertility rate of 2.08 to keep the population growth steady. However since the mid 1980s, it has been consistently below this replacement level.

Low fertility rates and population ageing are a common characteristic of most industrialized societies. The ageing problem is thus not a specific Japanese phenomenon, although the tendency emerged early in Japan and has quickly accelerated. The specificity of the Japanese case, however, lies essentially in the government's response to social change and the construction of official discourses around it. Not only was this world-wide phenomenon described as a particular crisis, Japanese people are convinced that their problem is unique (Garon, 222). The specific period of crisis since the 1980s has even been unified under the special concept of *shōshika*. However, as Fujimasa Iwao, professor of biomedical engineering at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, points out, such naming carries strong ideological implications: '*Shōshika* -which literally means a tendency to have fewer children - is a politically correct but deceptive coinage. This term is favored by politicians and others who believe every woman should be fertile. The tendency should be more correctly described as '*shosan, shoshi*' (fewer births, fewer deaths)' (quoted in Sakurai, 2003).

Other countries have been compensating the low TFR with a higher immigration rate as a way to conserve the core of the labor force and to slow down the aging of the population. Both the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Party of Japan (developing a new conservatism) which took over power in September 2008 are opposed to immigration as a way of maintaining the population level. Nonetheless, the idea was initially considered by the former LDP Secretary General, Hidenao Nakagawa, in a fifty-year long-term project aiming to raise the immigration level closer to that of Germany (12.3% of national population, compared to the current 1.6% in Japan, 2005 numbers, in Sutton, 66-7). The proposal quickly disappeared with the change of party. As Sutton argues, the fertility decline is considered wholly in terms of national identity and pride and thus immigration cannot be an acceptable response to the crisis. Japan's low fertility and ageing society issues are framed within the specificities of the Japanese welfare state and built on the discourse of Japaneseness.

Throughout the prewar and postwar period there was a strong constant reliance on the family to support its members. The 1898 Civil Code had already established the structure of the modern 'Japanese-Style Welfare State' which actually required family members and even distant relatives to support their poor relations. Tokonami Takejirō, chief of the Bureau of Local Affairs in 1910 and later an influential Home minister, affirmed: 'in Japan, the family is the unit of society. A parent must raise a child, and a child must help his parent. Brothers must be kind to each other... It is a family shame to send one of its own out to bother outsiders and to depend on others for assistance. This has been the social organization of our country since ancient times' (1910, quoted and translated in Garon, 41). For a brief period after World War Two, emphasis was put on welfare provision, especially through article 25 of the 1946 Constitution which states: 'In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health' (translated in Garon, 217). Nonetheless, the welfare provision was not structurally revised and the pre-war system of locally appointed volunteers (*hōmeniin*) was renamed by the American Occupation Forces *minseiin* but remained unchanged. In the early 1950s, welfare was professionalized and paid social workers were nominated to complement the work of the *minseiin* volunteers.

However, despite the growing professionalization and institutionalization of welfare, the revised Civil Code (1948) reestablished the dominance of family care. 'Direct blood relatives and siblings' and 'relatives living together' remained obligated towards their family members (Garon, 218). Since the 1960s the number of people receiving public assistance has decreased, not only because of the recovery and sustained economic growth but also through the efforts of the government to discourage reliance on public assistance using moral suasion campaigns (Garon, 220).

The 1970s concept of the Japanese-Style Welfare State was, then, not an innovative model but rather simply a formalization of the discourse surrounding the actual state of welfare. Since the post-war decades, and culminating in 1973 with the proclamation of the 'first year of welfare', the party in power, the Liberal Democratic Party, rejected European style welfare systems on the grounds of its incompatibility with Japanese culture (Garon, 223). This rejection led, paradoxically, to the mobilization of a social model in opposition to the 'individualistic' West. In 1977 the Economic Planning Agency outlined in a report the difference between Japanese and Western societies: 'we do not expect our country to become a Western-style individualistic society. It therefore is necessary to make the best use of our intermediary groups (*chūkan shūdan*), such as families and local communities, and continue to strive for the optimal mix of individualism and groupism' (quoted and translated in Garon, 224).

One central such intermediary group is the *ie* or household, characterized by the co-residency of a three-generation family. This living arrangement, combined with the widespread role of women as full-time housewives, provides the state with a large pool of middle-age mothers and daughters-in-law available to care for their family members. The bulk of social welfare relies on them, as they constitute what the Ministry of Health and Welfare qualified as Japan's 'hidden asset in welfare' (1978 White Paper, quoted in Garon, 225). The decrease in the fertility rate, then, not only resulted in the cost of the pension being borne by a smaller proportion of the population, but also resulted in a shortage of available home-based carers. The Japanese government is now facing with alarm the growing number of unmarried young women (Garon, 226). Despite the 'Gold Plan' which increased the number of home helpers for the elderly to 100,000, and of local day service centers to 10,000 by 1999, and the 'Angel Plans', which increased the number of childcare centers, the state still relies mainly on (married) women for its caring provision.

Modern motherhood

The term *shufu*, usually translated as housewife, originally referred to upper class women who acted as head and manager of their household. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Japanese modern society defined the *shufu* as the dominant model of womanhood. This role implies a separation of productive and reproductive labour. The private space of the household is identified with womanhood, and more particularly motherhood, whereas public space is claimed by men as productive agents. This gender role distinction is also a spatial separation of public and private spheres.

Masami Ohinata points to the evolving perception of motherhood as a symbol of social value in modern Japan. She identifies five main periods. The first of such

periods, starting in 1898 with the Civil Law, focused on developing a strong nation-state in which women were responsible for bearing future soldiers and defenders of Japan. The Meiji government constructed the nation on a highly hierarchic form of the family, the *ie*. The state delegated the responsibility to build a 'rich country and strong army' to the family, and more specifically to the women (Ohinata, 200). During the second period, starting in the 1920s, childcare was not exclusively a mother's task but was shared by the community. Ohinata points to the presence of nursemaids, godparents and wet nurses, as well as community centers where groups of children were educated like the *kodomo-gumi*, *wakamono-gumi* or *musume-gumi*. In 1937, the Sino-Japanese war opened up a long period of warfare until the Japanese defeat in 1945. Mothers were once again encouraged to bear soldiers for the Empire. Then, in the mid-1950s, mothers were asked to produce the next generation of labour force in this period of high economic growth as well as providing a domestic heaven for the male work force within the home. The last period, beginning in 1973, corresponds to the crisis and slowing down of the economic growth. To lighten the financial burden that represented welfare, mothers were once again defined as primary carers for children and the elderly.

Kathleen Uno further develops the idea that there was an evolution in the caring role of mothers throughout the modern period. She identifies the persistence during the Taishō period (1912-1926) of pre-modern forms of the family, especially in rural and lower classes households in which the woman's income was necessary for the family's survival (132). As with the immediate postwar period, the Taishō period was a period of different expectations, in which motherhood was not only associated with child-care. However this image of womanhood as productive, rather than reproductive labour, was denigrated by the emerging ideology of *ryōsai kenbo*, the 'good wife, wise mother'. In order to fulfill economic and political national goals, women's role was redefined as primarily within the family. From the Meiji era until today, women were held responsible for bearing children to accommodate the state's needs for soldiers and later for workers. Motherhood is then constructed throughout the modern period as a reproductive asset for the nation, not just the family.

The increased normalization of nuclear families in the post-war period has then accentuated the definition of the mother as the primary, and often sole, carer. This shift of responsibilities onto a single person brought a new perception of childcare as an isolating activity. The Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare reported this increased feeling:

As the social environment is changing due to the progress of birth rate decline, the orientation toward nuclear families and weak community functions, the burden of childrearing is increasing with a feeling of being isolated with no advisers in local communities present. Especially among females with children aged 3 or younger, 80% of such children are being cared for at home, resulting in many having feelings of being isolated and alienated.

However, to counter this trend, and as Ayumi Sasagawa demonstrates, many government or self-organised mother's groups emerged to face this issue and provide women with the knowledge expected from a 'wise' mother (129). On one hand, the government funded Women's Centers offered, among other activities, classes aiming at providing guidance in childcare as part of their social education programs (Murase,

95). Such initiatives did not question the mother's role and duties as the primary carer but instead aimed to change the perception of motherhood from that of self-sacrifice and devotion to one of shared happiness between the family members (Sasagawa, 143). On the other hand, the manifold of independent women's groups that exist in Japan tended to be more concerned with social issues, and in particular women's issues (31% of all women's groups), whereas childrearing and family/home issues represent together only 10% (Murase, 52).

More recently the strict separation of the private and public spheres, and its conflation with the feminine and the masculine, has become increasingly blurred. In response to the low birth rate and feminist women's demands for social changes, the Japanese government broadened responsibility for children to other members of society: professionals (with the Angel Plan), as well as fathers (as developed by the Ikumen project). Other government campaigns then began to appeal for the general support of the community for mothers, as I explore below.

Family Day: family as the basis of society

In 2007, the executive body of the Japanese government, the Cabinet Office, presided by the Prime Minister, instituted a national 'Family Week' (which actually lasts for two weeks) built around a 'Family Day' to be celebrated on the third Sunday of November. This day follows a series of other days dedicated to specific members of the community and highlighting their role within society: Coming of Age Day (*seijin no hi*) for those turning 20 in January; Girls' Day (*hina matsuri*) in march; Boys' Festival (*tango no sekku*) in May; Respect for the Aged Day (*keirō no hi*) in September; Shichigosan (a festival for children aged 3, 5 and 7) in November. All except the Respect for the Aged Day, are festivals dating back to pre-modern forms of religious ceremonies. Both events were created in the contemporary period to respond to social concerns and attempt to influence citizens' behaviour. The government website even explicitly links the emergence of the Family Day to the 'fertility crisis'. As such, it addresses some of the issues identified by the state as causes of the decrease in fertility such as differentiated gender roles and women's isolation in childrearing, thus responding to feminist critiques of nuclear family models. Conservative critics have argued that the Western ideology of 'individualism' and women's 'selfish' pursue of higher education and careers are responsible for the low Japanese fertility rate thus causing the contemporary 'crisis' (Coulmas, 54). The online article encourages fathers to balance work and childrearing, as well as asks 'local people' to help parenting couples.

Unlike the aforementioned festivals which addresses a specific sectional cohort, the Family Day addresses all Japanese citizens, who are all part of a 'family' unit, as registered on the *koseki*. This ideological emphasis is reinforced by the maintenance of single adults, or 'single parasites' as the media nicknamed them (Masahiro), on their parents' family register until marriage. As the posters analysed below demonstrate, the government actively reproduces an ideal image of the family: composed of a couple and child(ren), sometimes with grand-parents. It also favors the representation of young couples in their late twenties or early thirties with young children who are neither demanding babies nor independent teenagers. The posters

then represent the ideologically preferred family model. It affirms the family as the basic unit of society, and focuses on its unity.

This festival can be read in opposition also to the previously established Mothers' Day and Fathers' Day which individually celebrate members of the family. Mothers' Day was introduced in the 1930s, as part of the emulation of the model of the good wife-wise mother. It was initially celebrated on the day of the Empress's birthday, the 6th of March and thus reinforces the family-state (*kokusai*) system, by designating the Empress as the nation's mother. This date was later modified in the post-war period and a random day was chosen.

Every year, the Cabinet Office publishes a poster advertising the 'Family Week' and the events taking place during this period. The posters from 2011 and 2010 advertise the 'Family Day' forum in the Niigata prefecture. The other three were produced in collaboration between the Cabinet Office and the Forum but focus on advertising the dates of the Family Day and Family Week.

The 2008 poster presents an ideal family radiant under the embracing sun. The different elements symbolizing nature (the sun, the bird, flowers, and rainbow) suggest both the blooming happiness of the members and the inherent naturalness of the family system. Besides a symbol of nature, it is difficult not to see in the sun a reference to the pre-war Japanese flag *Kyokujitsuki*. It is, then, the state, symbolised by the sun, which embraces and protects the happy family.

The 2007 poster presents an image of society as interaction between families. Below a tree a three generational family with three children is represented. The grand-parents and one of the children are watering the tree. They symbolise the nurturing of society. The family is shown here as the unit which allows society to grow and develop healthily.

In the subsequent years, the poster focus moved away from society (as the reunion of families) to the individual family. In each one family configuration is featured. The 2009 poster displays a nuclear family with two children (a boy and a girl) and two pets (a dog and a cat). This image conforms to the ideal found in Western advertising and identified by Patricia Holland. The following year's star is a single-child family with both parents focusing on their offspring. The 2011 poster features a couple with three children.

Year	Featured family	Number of children in featured family
2007	Three-generational	3
2008	Bi-parental	2
2009	Bi-parental	2
2010	Bi-parental	1
2011	Bi-parental	3

Tab.1- The models of family represented in the Family Day posters, 2007-2011

Although the featured family model is always based at least on a couple plus one or several children, the different family configurations displayed vary from the traditional three generations family to the nuclear family. The number of children per family is also more varied, going from one to three. The Cabinet Office posters do not reflect a real change in family composition, as it seems to fluctuate every year, but

rather highlight an ideological shift in the idea of alternative forms of family becoming more widely accepted. It can be argued that the forum advertised in 2010 and 2011 is itself a place to discuss such divergences. When we attempt to count the number of mononuclear, three-generational and bi-parental families, we notice the difficulty of defining with certainty the family status. Is the absence of only one parent due to a divorce, the death of a parent, or simply because he (most often 'he') is working at weekends or in another city (*tanshin funin*)? Thus, specific familial arrangements do not define official familial status.

All but one of the posters present several family configurations. Each forms a small group and is identified by being spatially separated from the others. In the 2009 and 2011 posters, the other families are in the background. In the 2010 image, they are surrounding the featured family and each is associated with a house. The house symbolises the home, the family place. The groups seem to happily cohabit, although the physical separation points to a lack of interaction, with each set of parents focused on their offspring. This is even stronger in the 2010 image.

Families and the community

Whereas the posters discussed above focus on ideal representations of the family, specific everyday issues have also been addressed. I will now look at the specific example of mothers using public transport with a baby buggy. This issue is of central importance in a country where public transport is used by 78 % of the population and is known for its dense crowds on such transports, especially in the big cities' (percentage calculated with the data from the *Statistical Handbook of Japan*). It is therefore addressed by different state entities at both national and local levels. I consider three posters, one created by an incorporated foundation supported by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, and two by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Social Welfare and Public Health.

The former poster is entitled 'Educating Children in 10 Seconds'. The photograph on this poster shows a mother sitting on a subway train with a baby in her lap, surrounded by three school-girls playing with the child. The text accompanying the photograph insists on other people's duty to help young mothers in their childrearing task. However, the illustration shows that it is young girls who are the mother's support, whereas the only male figure is standing with his back to the group of women. While we may easily imagine that he has given up his seat to the mother, he does not actively take part in childcare help.

The other two posters, from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Social Welfare and Public Health, both encourage train users to be more considerate of mothers with baby buggies. Both posters represent the same situation: on the railway platform, passengers allow a mother with a buggy to get onto the train first. The passengers are also similar in the posters: a stereotypical 'salaryman' and a school-girl. In the illustrated poster, one of the two school girls is replaced by a middle-aged woman. Men are defined by their productive role of *sarariman*, wearing a suit and carrying a briefcase. Women are either mothers or mothers-in-learning represented with the features of high school girls. The only woman not carrying a child is nonetheless wearing casual clothes, rather than the uniform of office ladies. It can

then be deduced that she is a housewife, still conforming to socially accepted models of womanhood.

In these images, the young girls represented are socialised into proper femininity and their future role as mothers. They are interacting with young children in the first poster, and making eye-contact with the baby in the other two. Thus, the children 'educated in ten seconds', as the poster claims, is not just about helping with the baby, but is also linked to educating the next generation into appropriate gender roles.

Unlike the Family Day posters that focused on the shared responsibility of childrearing by presenting an ideal and leisured world, these last three posters concentrate on work and everyday life. But they insist on the distinction of men going to work and women, including school-girls, caring for children.

Conclusion

This paper has focused on several campaigns aiming to promote cohesion between community members and providing support for mothers. Not only do they encourage practical help for mothers, but they present motherhood- defined in terms of full-time childcare and housewifery – and as a social activity rather than one alienated from the public sphere. In this paper I identified how the state re-defined motherhood as self-fulfillment rather than a duty towards the family and the nation, as a strategy to encourage young women to bear children.

The Family Day posters depict the family as the basic unit of society. The images highlight ideas of shared happiness between the members of the family and a co-responsibility in bringing up the children. In this ideal vision, gender roles are masked as adults are defined primarily as either parents or grand-parents, placing the child at the center of familial relationships. The other posters adopt a different standpoint, however, focusing on the everyday difficulties of mothers and reinforcing traditional gender roles, supported by the state.

By placing these different campaign images side by side, the struggle between an ideal vision and the reality of motherhood and the family becomes more visible. A multiplicity of posters address the question of the low fertility rate in Japan and encourage women to become mothers. The different government agencies and ministries' policies and campaigns thus attempt a balance between a more traditional vision of gender roles and the acknowledgement of women's demands for social change. To which degree such measures are effective is still to be determined in the years to come.

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*Tracing the Images of Home: In the Process of Seeking for Cultural Identity in My
Video Art Practices*

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Abstract

Taiwan is a place with a fruitful and mixed culture that has a perceptible influence on the author's way of thinking and creation. Tracing personal origins can help to review the developing pattern in the thinking passage of my art practice. However, for one lacking in history, the memory of which may be only a fiction, and who tries to piece together the regained information with fragmental images of remembrance, personal memory might not be contoured correctly due to a misty attachment to a misconception. I conjure up my images of home while I am travelling; the memories connect my emotion to the indigenous land.

In addition to my feeling that I have not connected well with my own historical background, it seems that I have not correlated with western culture and arts in a sense of rationale because its cultural system is completely different from mine. In other words, in reviewing my professional background regarding western culture and arts, I find it difficult to connect to the system of western art. Reluctantly and contradictorily, perhaps, through an arbitrary grasping by self-determination with it, I studied and learnt, and formed a one off integration.

Aspects of these will be considered as influential sources for the content of my work, which are not directly focused on but will be transformed into the context of my art practices.

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In speaking of the reflection of seeking for my cultural identity in my video art practices, Taiwan is a place with fruitful and mixed culture that has a perceptible influence on the author's way of thinking and creation. **Tracing personal origins** can help to review the developing pattern in the thinking passage of my art practices. I often learn my country's history and cultural background through the courses of my journeys while I am travelling. Likewise, history provides me with an opportunity to discover the relationship between the culture and my art creation, and to develop its interconnection with memory related textiles and with my own observations. In this paper, I delve into my origin related to my professional field to enable me to explore the linking of my creative concept with my vocational studies. Thereby, I can figure out a foothold of my arts.

I have a professional background related to textile creations. For textile characters in addition to the stable interwoven structures of warp and weft, they have a clear framework, as do the video frame and the painting frame. Outside the viewfinder one may see a continuation or a discontinuous view. In doing this research, there is a turn up opportunity to convert materiality into immateriality, that I start shooting video instead of making actual objects or playing with warp and weft in the frames. That is to say, by revealing my art creation from a fastened frame, I free the frame by traversing back and forth between the frames. Through traversing between and beyond the frames, I have developed a way of working with textiles, and have then evolved a form of video moving images. In order to review my creation concerning the development of my video art practices, in this paper, I firstly introduce my personal cultural background; and then through exploring the fabrication of memories in those Chinese legends of textile relations, the reflection of my art can be suggested. The progression of the expression of my video practices will be then realized.

1.1. Tracing into the personal origin

In order to clarify the creative process and philosophy of my art, it is important to trace my personal origin concerning the interconnection between my cultural background and vocational field.

With reference to my delayed awareness of Taiwan's history in the course of my research, I have discovered a pictorial image relating to Taiwanese history of one hundred or so years ago that my mind failed to register at all before. I obtained this material from a publication of a missionary who was travelling in the east in the early days, in which the author's view of peoples' life, natural conditions and social

customs of places including Taiwan and the southeast coastal area of China in the second half of the nineteenth century are noted. The author, portraying the Formosan natives, says:

That's where the natives of the island live—the people who were there before ever the Chinese crossed from the mainland, and took part of the country for themselves.

Here is a native cottage, made of bamboo, and thatched with bamboo leaves, and the walls plastered with mud and lime. A Chinese village is all house and shops. A savage village seems all trees. A new-comer might walk for a long time along the country road, with bamboo on each side, and bamboo meeting overhead, without ever finding out that he is in a village. The bamboos at the side are really fences. (Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland, 1895, 22)

This document goes on to describe:

Those natives who live in the high hills towards the north of Formosa are very warlike. Some of them are even said to be cannibals. Those who live in the plains to the south, however, are very peaceable, and have adopted the ways of their Chinese conquerors. They look much more wide-awake than the Chinese, with big round eyes, instead of the Chinese narrow slits, and bright, shy manners. (Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland, 1895, 23)

For me, this image of indigenous Taiwanese is an unfamiliar one. Some scholars studying the culture of Taiwan and its history have been aware of this picture and those people who were old enough to have experienced the reality of that phase of history are no more; in addition, the older generations who received their education from the Japanese have learnt one form of the history of Taiwan, while the generations including my parents and I have studied a dissimilar history. The connections between aboriginal history and their subjectivity were distorted and erased by means of wiping out the recordings of indigenous Taiwanese; the KMT (Kuomintang) government aimed at inculcating Taiwanese people to be Chinese when it ruled Taiwan. As a result of that, Taiwanese people who recognize this picture at present are probably in the minority, although it seems that there has been an increasing trend of understanding the indigenous history of Taiwan in recent years.

To refer to this delayed awareness, on the one hand, I am surprised at my discovery of this particular context which was gained through my travelling. On the other hand,

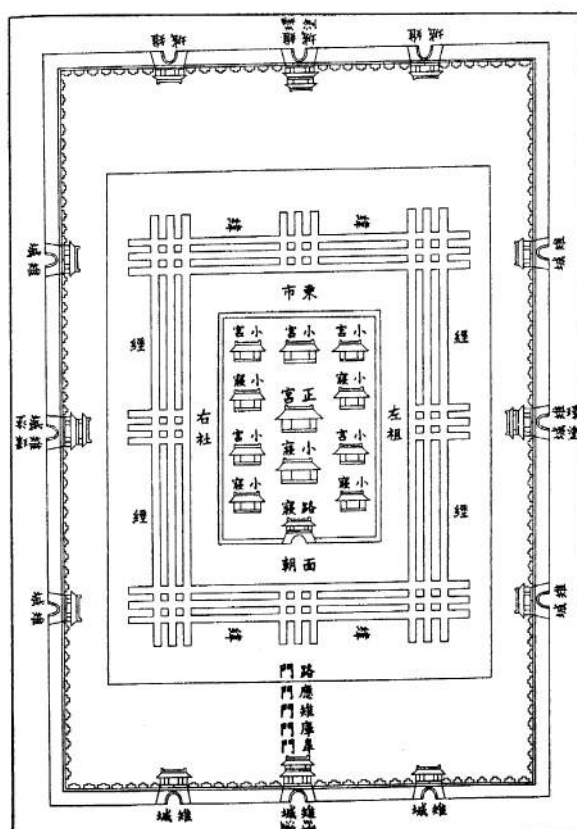
what I want to emphasize here is that the fabricated Taiwanese history gave rise in me as a Taiwanese, along with many others, a feeling of a sense of shifting. Furthermore, this leads to the obvious gaps in the identification with the land that forms between different generations and between various groups of people. Presently, there are more and more materials that have been revealed after the repeal of Martial Law in 1987; local dialects are encouraged and to be used as the research materials for understanding Taiwanese local culture. For example, a Taiwanese proverb says ‘there is Tangshan Gong [male], no Tangshan Ma [female], (有唐山公，無唐山嬭)’, which has already been proposed by the historical scholars as evidence for understanding the racial origin of Taiwanese inhabitants as well as the history of Taiwan¹. Tangshan as it is known is a place where the earlier immigrants came from; they crossed the Taiwan Strait travelling from Mainland China to Formosa Island, and according to this adage it is believed there were amongst them only a limited number of female immigrants. It is clear that a close relationship between Taiwanese and the original indigenous people could be proposed. Therefore, the erased original indigenous pictures cannot entirely be obliterated.

In addition to a delayed recognition of the indigenous history, in the course of forming my primary knowledge it was indoctrinated in me that: Taiwan, where I come from, has a cultural background mainly influenced by the Chinese, which was based on Confucian doctrines with a subterranean strong countercurrent of Taoist thinking. In discussing the difference between Confucianism and Taoism, Arnold Tonybee states that ‘[i]n Confucianism the Way is the way of man, but in Taoism it is the way of Nature.’ (Chan, 1973, in Toynebee, ed., 1973, 116)

To review the influence of Confucian doctrines, I would firstly specially like to suggest some stories of Chinese legends. The backgrounds of these stories are ones with textile relations, which may suggest that the implementation of Chinese doctrines reflects the actual meaning of the textile discipline, namely the restrictive principle of interweaving between warp and weft. A drawing of a fifteenth-century diagram of *Wangcheng*, a schematic plan of the ‘Kingly City’ quoted in John Hay’s essay gives a hint (Fig. 1). Hay’s essay states that ‘[t]he essential structural elements in its conception are rectangular halls, walls, grids of avenues and gates’, ‘..., the dominant political thought and practice of Neo-Confucianism drew its boundaries very firmly.’ (Hay, 1994, 15) Noticeably, the grids of avenues in this schematic drawing of *Wangcheng* were noted as warp (經) and weft (緯). Here, the rigorous urban planning of the Kingly City projects a solid specification of thinking.

¹ See Zhou, 1998, 94.

² Also see Cook, 1998.



1. A schematic plan of the central section of Wangcheng, the 'Kingly City', redrawn from the Imperial Chinese encyclopaedia [*yongle Dadian*], completed CE 1407, derived from the *Kaogongji* description, in Hay, 1994, 16.

1.2. Fabrication of memories: Chinese legends of the warp and the weft

Firstly, from Chinese legends, Lei-tsu (嫫祖), the wife of Huang-ti (黃帝), is known as the lady of the silkworms or the Goddess of Silk, who discovered and bred silkworms and used silk to weave cloth. (Lowry 2003, 1) Through teaching people to breed silkworms, to weave cloth, and to initiate the way of Chinese clothes, she is considered as a contributor to the enlightenment of people's etiquette (convenances). (China.org.cn, 2007) The story obviously implies the ethical codes of Chinese doctrine, through which the beginning of the civilized history of ancient China was disseminated in Taiwanese textbooks.

The continuous influence of Chinese doctrine can be coherently understood from the story of Mencius (孟子). Mencius was educated by his mother, which is described

in the section of ‘Zi Bu Xue, Duan Ji Zhu’ (子不學，斷機杼, the son did not study, therefore Mother Meng angrily broke the warp on the machine loom) in *San Zi Jing* (三字經, Three Character Primer), a beginner’s reader for the enlightenment of the family. (Wang, ling-ling, 1988) The story tells that little Mencius once played truant, therefore Mother Meng attempted to educate little Mencius in the importance of studying eagerly and untiringly. She cut her warp off part way through her weaving without hesitation. Through the way of metaphor, Mother Meng admonishes little Mencius that if he studied without diligently going to school, the learning would be like the ruptured warp; thus, all that had been achieved would come to nothing and everything would have to start again from the beginning.

Furthermore, ‘textile making’ was used as a description of disciplined personality in Chinese legends. For example, Mulan was recognized as a weaver who made great efforts in weaving fabric before joining the army. Being narrated as ‘Ji Ji Fu Ji Ji, Mulan Dang Hu Zhi’ (唧唧復唧唧，木蘭當戶織, Click Clack Click Clack ..., Mulan is weaving and facing the household door) (Anonymous, in Zhuang, Guo-shou, ed., 2007, 79-88) at the beginning of the poem, *Mulan Ci* (木蘭詩, The Poem of Mulan), a story was told that Mulan disguised herself as a man to join the army instead of her old father. Mulan represents the ‘traditional model’ with a perfect Chinese personality possessed of the loftiest behavior and filial piety.² This poem was selected for a textbook in junior high school in Taiwan in my generations.

These legends show steady and rigorous doctrines that are similar to the principle of textiles, in that the warp and weft can be imagined as interweaving in the disciplined conditions of the society. This can be seen in the descriptions of travel experience that were noted by a western missionary who travelled to the East during the nineteenth century:

The pupils begin at the last page of the book, and read *down* the column of characters; and they do not sit quietly at their desks to study, but shout out their lessons at the top of their voices. When anyone knows his lesson, he takes his book to the teacher, turns his back to him, and repeats it. (Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland, 1895, 12)

They are taught never to question any command that may be given to them, never to speak back, and never to contradict. They must be silent even when unjustly punished, and must make no sound when beaten by their elders.

² Also see Cook, 1998.

(Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland, 1895, 37)

The description goes on:

China is a great country, but many things there are dwarfed, such as the little feet of the women, and the trees which Chinese gardeners cut and trim and hold down in wire cages, in order that they may grow up like some dragon or other fabulous beast. The natures of Chinese children are also caged and cramped and kept down just like the trees; but after all the Chinese boy has some pleasant things to do and to see; that we cannot have in this country. If he is of the better class, very likely he is clothed in dark silk. And very neat and trim he looks, with his bright eyes and glossy pigtail. (Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland, 1895, 37)

Of course, this travel writing shows the differences of the East from the West that this missionary had observed. However, this steady social ethical code can be suggested to be a typical Chinese tradition, which was dominated by Confucian thought and has solidly influenced its culture. Moreover, the spread of Confucianism also has a significant influence (Ru Hua, 儒化) on Taiwanese indigenous people. (Zhuang, 2003, 197-230)

While exploring personal or collective memory through fabricated story relating textiles, and so turning this exploration into the references of artistic creation, I find that the question I ask more and more is: 'Is this true? Why does this feel so unfamiliar to me?' In other words, what is the constructed fictitious memory? Particularly in the history of Taiwan after World War II, this kind of firmly fabricated history and implanted memory, as well as its result in the distortion of reality, forced one into the phenomena of anxiety. Though these experiences have not been directly quoted and applied to my creative subject matter, I believe that they have influenced my ways, actions and behavior in art creation.

1.3. The freedom beyond the warp

On the one hand, the above account of Chinese Confucian doctrine was so influential on Taiwanese culture that this social formality had determined the forming of my earlier thoughts. In contrast, the idea of Chuang-tzu that holds the importance of naturalism embedded in my living surroundings was officially less accessible. My later discovery of it changed my viewing of things. Chuang-tzu's idea of

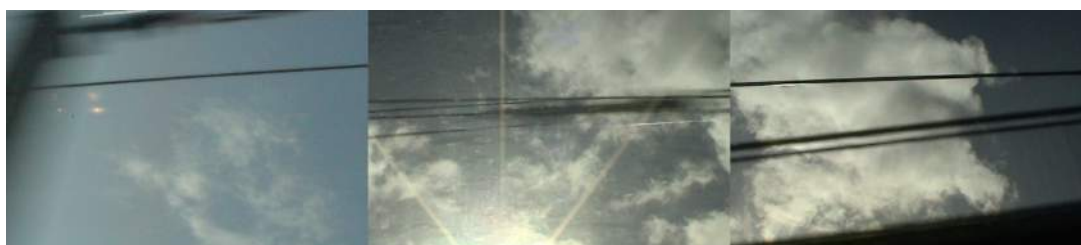
harmonizing with the order of nature suggests the potential of freedom, which provides capacities for me to integrate my subjectivity with skills and creative media as well as my surroundings. With this inspiration, the principle of textiles, of interweaving, may transcend the materiality, by which the structure of warp and weft can be emancipated.

In addition to my feeling that I have not connected well with my own historical background, it seems that I have not correlated with western culture and arts in a sense of rationale because its cultural system is completely different from mine. In other words, in reviewing my professional background regarding western culture and arts, I find it difficult to connect to the system of western art. Reluctantly, perhaps, through an arbitrary grasping of it by self-determination, I studied and learnt, and formed a one off integration. For my artistic practices, this integration of my own results in my seeming to find an analogous way of playfulness with materials to artists such as Jackson Pollock, Andy Goldsworthy etc. Where their work interests me is that they reveal touched creative actions, which is compatible with vigor and absorption in freedom. As well as this, they constantly challenge the current situation to discover and learn through the course of their art creation as well as seeking the meaning of art creation in relation to life.

Furthermore, in some aspects, with their enthusiastic activity and immersion in the action of looking for the unexpected outcome, I have discovered that their artistic conception is very close to the way of Tao. I would like to state that, by associating with the ideas of nature in Taoism together with my personal cultural and professional background in relation to my art creation with textiles, I have developed an approach to a special method of treating materials. Traversing through the traditional conceptual discipline, through play with the frames, this approach can be reviewed through the images of my previous works (Fig. 2.), and also will be seen in the transformation of my art from materiality into immaterial forms of video arts. (Fig. 3) Traversing in and out of the frames, the viewpoint is shifted and, beyond the frames, images of Home can be redrawn.



1. Huang, S.F., *Beyond the Boundary*, mixed material, installation, 2003, Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Art, Taiwan.



3. Huang, S.F., *Traces of Travelling, I*, extracts from video moving image, still, 2006-07, private collection.

1.4. Finding a Way: in the process of tracing Home

As far as the above idea is concerned, I look beyond to the circumstances while I am travelling. My video work *Nesting* and *Finding a Way* was produced in this way. *Nesting* [like nest, like a home], the footage of parents and a child convey an intimate message of tenderness. (Fig. 4 (right)) Speaking of the intimate sense between mother and child as for that child's attachment to the mother, *Nesting* provokes the experience of a soft feeling that aroused images of my homeland. In the journey, contact with my home image is inevitable. However, it is bewildered by a distorted indication of home, which is analogous to a self-conflicting nostalgia insinuating the

wish to go 'home' in spite of puzzlingly achieving that prospect. Through video practices, I wish to propose a potential insight into my unsteady phenomenon, to arouse the awareness of people further. The moving images carry a sense of unsteadiness, that set forth a journey stepping toward a self-exploration.

In encountering the masses in an underground station, the people in the crowd are each finding ways on their journeys. On the way, in the endless flow of the streaming of otherness in and out of the station, everyone seems to be keeping their definite direction and destination with forceful paces and rhythm. There is a heightened sense of fluidity made by thousands of passengers moving in and out of the frame of my viewfinder. *Finding a Way* characterized a repeated beginning, re-orientation and redefinition of the notion of home tracing the initiation of a new beginning. (Fig. 4 (left)) With rhythmic stubborn paces of constant flow, moving in wilful directions at a steady speed, from time to time they are looking for a sense of direction. Individuals seem to be walking in a motion that is unrelaxed and with reciprocal expressionless faces when encountering others. The discernible expressions of these moving images that people/objects in and out of the frame with shifting viewpoints convey a stacking emotion of wishing to arouse recognizable images and directions of home, with disturbance, finding a way.



4. Huang, S.F., '*Finding a Way*' (left) and '*Nesting*' (right) [in a solo exhibition: *Finding a Way*], video installation, 2007, Cultural Bureau of Kaohsiung County, Kaohsiung, Taiwan.

Conclusion

In addition to an achievement through vocational studies, this is a process of self-discovery and self-awakening with respect to the land. The characters of the stable structure of interwoven textiles in this paper bring to life a metaphor of the

sinicization of Taiwan society, which possesses a stable doctrinal structure. Thought to be the rigid frames, this solid dogma of social structure may be suggested by the indoctrination of the fictional stories. Likewise, re-viewing the history provides an opportunity to discover the relationship between the culture and my art creation, and to develop its interconnection with the memory of textiles and with my own observations.

The fabricated history of Taiwan caused in me as a Taiwanese, along with many others, a feeling of a sense of shifting. These implantations have caused obvious gaps in identification with the land that are formed between different generations and between various groups of people. For those who want to explore the aspect stretching out of that frames, this kind of firmly fabricated history and implanted memory, as well as its result in the distortion of reality, have forced one into the phenomena of anxiety. Though these predicaments have not been directly cited or brought into the practice of my creative subject matter, the release of materials and the adventure of video manifestation may have revealed an illumination of images of Home.

The affirmation of self-identity may rely on re-studying and re-understanding of one's history and language. In the process of tracing the images of Home, the seeking of cultural identity through my video art practices presents a kind of expressive concept that one may have in a state of confusion and uncertainty as a result of having learnt a misleading history. The fabricated stories have again been reviewed through the process of this sense of shifting. The learning from, and the psychological impact by, this process of self-arousing, have been transformed into a positive energy. In turning this referential exploration into the transformation of the medium, this unfolded strength has benefited the expressiveness of my video practices.

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Note: All translations are mine unless indicated in *italics*.

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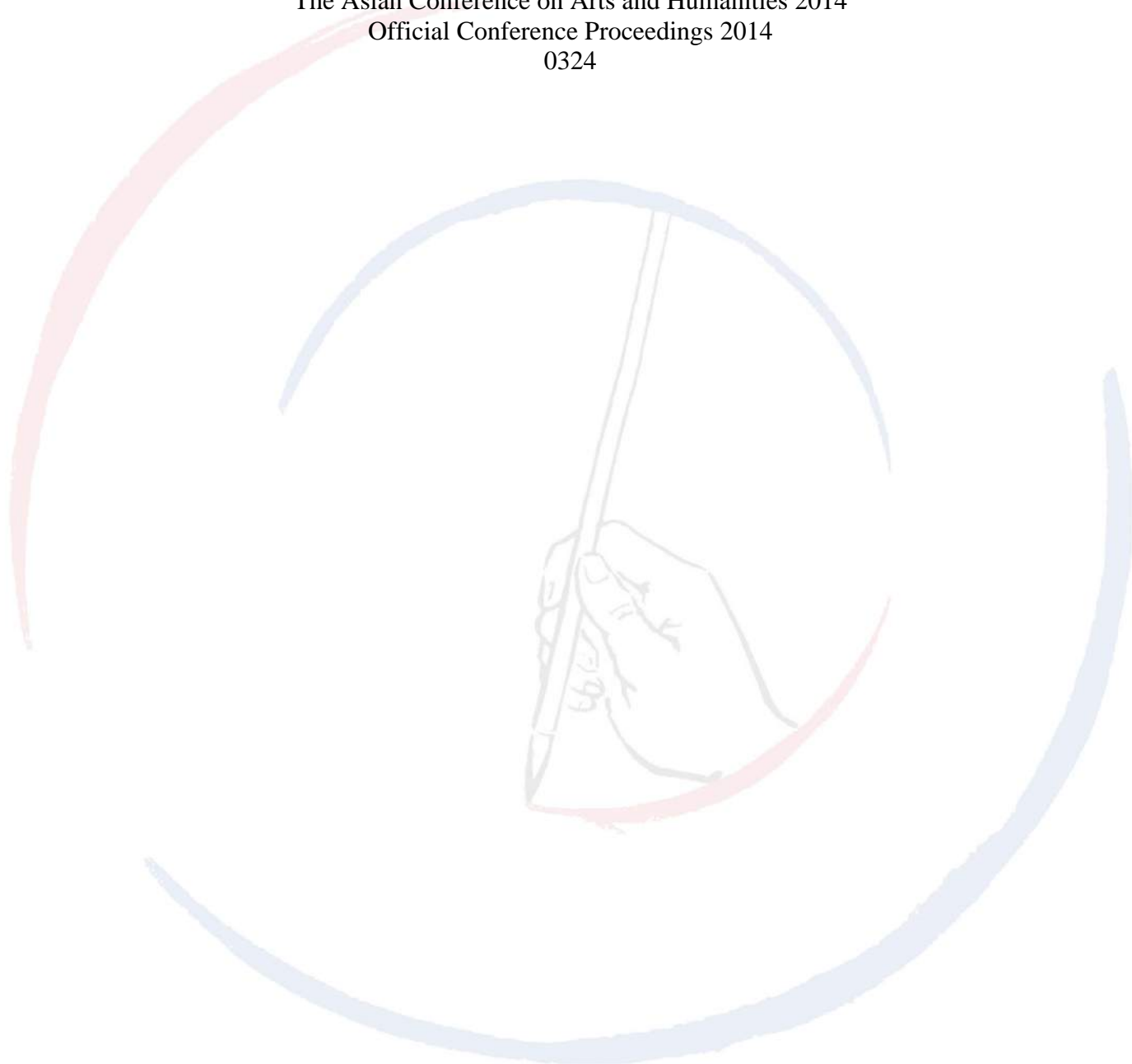
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***The Serial Designer:
Continual Elements, Connectedness and Simultaneity in Graphic Design***

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In the era which sustainability is one of the most popular topics of discussion, it is important to redefine the term and think about it beyond the environmental and ecological outcome of a design piece. When Udo Ropohl defines what designing in series is, he also invites one to further think about sustainability and the expansions of it in the field of graphic design: "Designing in series means identifying an idea capable of sustaining variations" (Ropohl, 2006). Here, Ropohl focuses on the continuity of an idea, and being able to keep an approach stable through time.

Creating an idea at a certain moment and being able to design its variations to be produced in the future is designing in series. To predict certain problems and to propose a flexible but connected set of fixed elements to solve these possible problems that might come across in the future is what a designer does when designing in series. The designer sometimes creates these rules for himself, and sometimes for other possible designers to inherit the job in the future. Series design is about time, designing now and for the future. It is also about making a permanent mark to catch the eye each time to be seen.

"National Geographic's front cover is a great example of how well simple branding can be tied to a product or message. In this case, the slightly warm yellow has become a symbol of wonderful photography, intriguing articles and serves as a doorway into places worlds away." In his essay "The Timeless Beauty of National Geographic", Alexander Ross Charchar focuses on the magazine's cover and interior design. No matter which country it is published, or which crowded magazine stand it is put, one can immediately recognize National Geographic magazine (*Fig. 1*). "The eponymous yellow rectangle has seen virtually no change, much like the interior pages, since it first bordered the front covers of the 1888 launch issue" (Charchar, 2010). The design of this yellow frame is strong enough to carry the magazine's identity for more than a hundred years.



Figure 1. International issues of the National Geographic magazine.

Series design can also be examined in simultaneous pieces. Works that have multiple parts that are created simultaneously can also create a series design piece. A set of ten books from different writers but focusing on the same theme to be launched on the same year by a publishing house will most probably require a series design.

“The presence of continuity can add to the collectability of particular pieces” (Ambrose & Harris, 2010, p. 172). This is also one of the important outcomes of series design. When one or more piece of the puzzle is seen, the other pieces also catch the attention with the instinct of seeing the bigger picture or collecting the completed piece, the set. (Fig. 2)



Figure 2. Serial cover design for Franz Kafka book series by Vier für Texas (Frankfurt) for Fischer Verlag.

1. Creating a visual language

“The idea of searching out a shared framework in which to invent and organize visual content dates back to the origins of modern graphic design. In the 1920s, institutions such as the Bauhaus in Germany explored design as a universal, perceptually based “language of vision”, a concept that continues to shape design education today around the world.” (Lupton & Cole Phillips, 2008, p. 8). Graphic design is about creating a system. Just like an alphabet that use letters of the same language make sense, road signs or pictograms that use a common visual code also aims to create a new visual language.



Figure 3. Different groups of pictograms and signs.

In *Fig. 3*, we see different series of signs. We tend to group them horizontally for each line has a different language and common specifications of their own. We can assume that these signs are probably designed by different designers or for different purposes or for different regions because each line has a different visual language. In *Fig. 4*, we can see that each sign is designed in harmony within each other and when they are displayed together, it is easy to understand the specifications and the set of rules. It is also possible to understand how each element of the visual alphabet is designed to fit these standards.



Figure 4. An example for pictogram design.

Graphic design always uses some standards to organize bigger amounts of visual information. “Continuity is the term often used to denote the visual relationship between two or more individual designs. An aid often used in such serial designs is the grid.” (Pentak & A. Lauer, 2005, p.36) Using grids on a page of a publication, for example, helps the designer solve each page in ease; he/she doesn't have to calculate the margins, the columns every time. But to be able to do this, the designer has to foresee the possible composition options, anticipate the problems that may occur on each page with various blocks of information to be placed such as different sized images, different type characters and sizes of text etc. Graphic design creates a system. A designer has to be sensitive to what that system needs in order to make it a successful one.

2. Thinking in series

“While translating a spontaneous thought into a feasible serial concept requires a certain amount of analytical capability, a purely rational approach to rules, grids and proportions is unlikely to stir up lasting excitement.” (Klanten, Mika, Boris, & Commentz, 2006, p. 2). This sentence from the foreword of the book "Serialize" explains the adventurous joy of designers when a serial design job is commissioned. To set boundaries, then trying to find new creative solutions inside the boundaries is

one of the favorite design games. *Repetition* sets the boundaries and gives the sense of a group or a team, while *variation* is the game of creativity.

In *Fig. 5* we see a group of photographs. In these various black and white buildings, we immediately sense that they belong to the same work or artist. This is because they have a similar approach, idea, technique, size and frame. By using similarity, the contrasts will also be more visible. “The use of unity with variety displayed in the collection of photographs suggest a more rigid approach. The individual subject of industrial buildings might not catch our attention, but the variety displayed in the grid format immediately invites comparison and contrast” (Pentak & A. Lauer, 2005, p. 41).



Figure 5. Bernd and Hilla Becher. Industrial Facades. 1970-92. Fifteen black-and-white photographs installed as a group. (Retrieved from Pentak & A. Lauer, 2005, s. 41)

This very simple example of repetition and variation may give us a very broad sense of what other possibilities may be. The variables in visual arts are very hard to calculate because of the infinite possibilities of composition of elements and colors. Just keeping the frame and technique constant, we have a new set of works; with this, we can start to think about what other elements can be kept standard and what others might change. This creative exercise is used for creating many successful variations and results.

“The design team needs to consider whether a job is a stand-alone piece or part of a series. Design is seldom undertaken in isolation and a design concept is often rolled out through different media and different items within the same media group.”

(Ambrose & Harris, 2010, p.172). If the job is a part of a series, the design team or designer uses a more complex brainstorming process to think about the multiple design solutions. This can be a set of posters of the same company in the same format, or a set of different media to be designed under the same corporate identity (*Fig. 6*). “If a design will form a part of a series, implementation thinking needs to consider how the piece will relate to earlier and subsequent versions or editions.” (Ambrose & Harris, 2010, p.172).



Figure 6. Poster design by Studio Laucke Siebein (Amsterdam) for an exhibition of Pastoe, a furniture company.

“The artist has almost unlimited choices in how to apply the concept of continuation in a single design. The task changes, however, when there are multiple units. The artist’s job now is not only to unify one design, but to create several designs that somehow seem to relate to each other. In other words, all the designs must seem part of a “series”. In a series the same unifying theme continues in successive designs. This is not an unusual job for a designer. Countless books, catalogs, magazines, pamphlets, and so on all require this designing skill.” (Pentak & A. Lauer, 2005, p.36).



Figure 7. Book cover design by Esen Karol (İstanbul).

In *Fig. 7*, we can see Esen Karol's book cover designs that use repetition of typography and varying background image and colors. The grid and composition help keep the identity of the books. A perfect balance of group identity and individual identity is achieved through designs such as Karol's design. "Without some aspect of unity, an image or design becomes chaotic and quickly "unreadable". Without some elements of variety, an image is lifeless and dull and becomes uninteresting. Neither utter confusion nor utter regularity is satisfying." (Pentak & A. Lauer, 2005, p. 46). To find a good spot between the confusion and boring repetitions, a designer sometimes needs to be able to measure what needs to be done.

3. Constants, Variables, Combination and Permutation

"A series inscribes as an individual object with additional information. It constitutes itself as a series of elements, some of whose specific features resemble one another, some of which are dissimilar." (Heidenreich, 2006)

In order to understand the complex nature of repetitions and variations, one can try to use a mathematical approach. A very simple mathematical formula is used for combinations and permutations: n^r is the formula for combination, while for permutation, the formula $n!/(n-r)!$ is used. When calculating combinations, the order of elements is not counted—in other words, the difference between combination and permutation is the order of things—and this can also be very significant in a design with layers. As long as we have new element, the combination or permutation of these can be calculated. But when we think about the context and the composition, the mathematical formula to the solution becomes very complex. The intuition of the artists and the designer, the experience with leading, color, typography etc. is hard to convert to the mathematical language of combination and permutation.

Although it is not possible to create and solve an exact formula for a serial design solution, various design solutions should be examined by design students and young designers to further understand the multi-layered and multi-channelled thinking. The organization, the continued usage and composition of design elements, changing uniformity by making different combinations, and dividing the concept into channels of products helps create unity and communicate a bigger and continued message. To create a new formula, the mathematical approach can be useful:

a. Constant + Varied = ?

Constant Color + Varied Composition
Constant Composition + Varied Color

Constant Typography + Varied Text
Constant Text + Varied Typography

Constant Typography + Varied Scale
Constant Typography + Varied Framing
Constant Typography + Varied Technique
Constant Typography + Varied Color
Constant Typography + Varied Composition

Constant Typography + Varied Background



Figure 8. Poster design by Florian Mewes/Arjan Groot (Amsterdam).

- b. Constant + Varied + Varied = ?
or Constant + Constant + Varied = ?

Constant Color + Varied Composition + Varied Text
Constant Composition + Constant Text + Varied Color

Constant Typography + Varied Scale + Varied Framing

Constant Typography + Constant Color + Varied Framing
 Constant Typography + Varied Technique + Varied Format
 Constant Typography + Varied Color + Varied Framing
 Constant Typography + Constant Color + Varied Composition
 Constant Typography + Varied Format + Varied Technique

- c. Constant + Varied + Varied + Varied = ?
 or Constant + Constant + Varied + Varied = ?

Constant Color + Constant Scale + Varied Composition + Varied Text
 Constant Composition + Constant Framing + Varied Text + Varied Color

Constant Typography + Varied Scale + Varied Framing + Varied Color
 Constant Typography + Constant Leading + Constant Color + Varied Framing
 Constant Typography + Varied Size + Constant Leading + Varied Format
 Constant Typography + Varied Color + Varied Framing + Varied Punto
 Constant Typography + Constant Leading + Varied Punto + Varied Composition
 Constant Typography + Varied Implementation + Varied Technique + Varied Type Size
 Constant Typography + Varied Color + Varied Framing + Varied Type Size
 Constant Composition + Varied Color + Constant Leading + Varied Format
 Constant Composition + Varied Size + Varied Text + Varied Color
 Constant Composition + Constant Scale + Constant Leading + Varied Format
 Constant Composition + Constant Framing + Varied Text + Varied Format
 Constant Composition + Constant Framing + Varied Text + Varied Type Size

In these formula examples, we can clearly see that just by keeping typography constant, we can change the whole design, or by varying color and composition, we can design a series. The examples here open a path for experiments, and suggest a way of thinking to new approaches to serial thinking (*Fig. 8*).

If we take the elements and principles of design and try to calculate the design results with more constant and variable elements, the results can be endless. Nevertheless, we can still try to examine and understand the existing design examples according to such formula, and try to design our own approach with a new formula to create a new language.

The principles of serial design as “the analysis of the status quo, creation of a structure, definition of parameters and then a playful, irreverent approach to these self-imposed ground rules” (Klanten, Mika, Boris, & Commentz, 2006). By creating basic mathematical formulas for the design approach, the definition of parameters can be less abstract and this can lead to faster solutions and more time to play and experiment.

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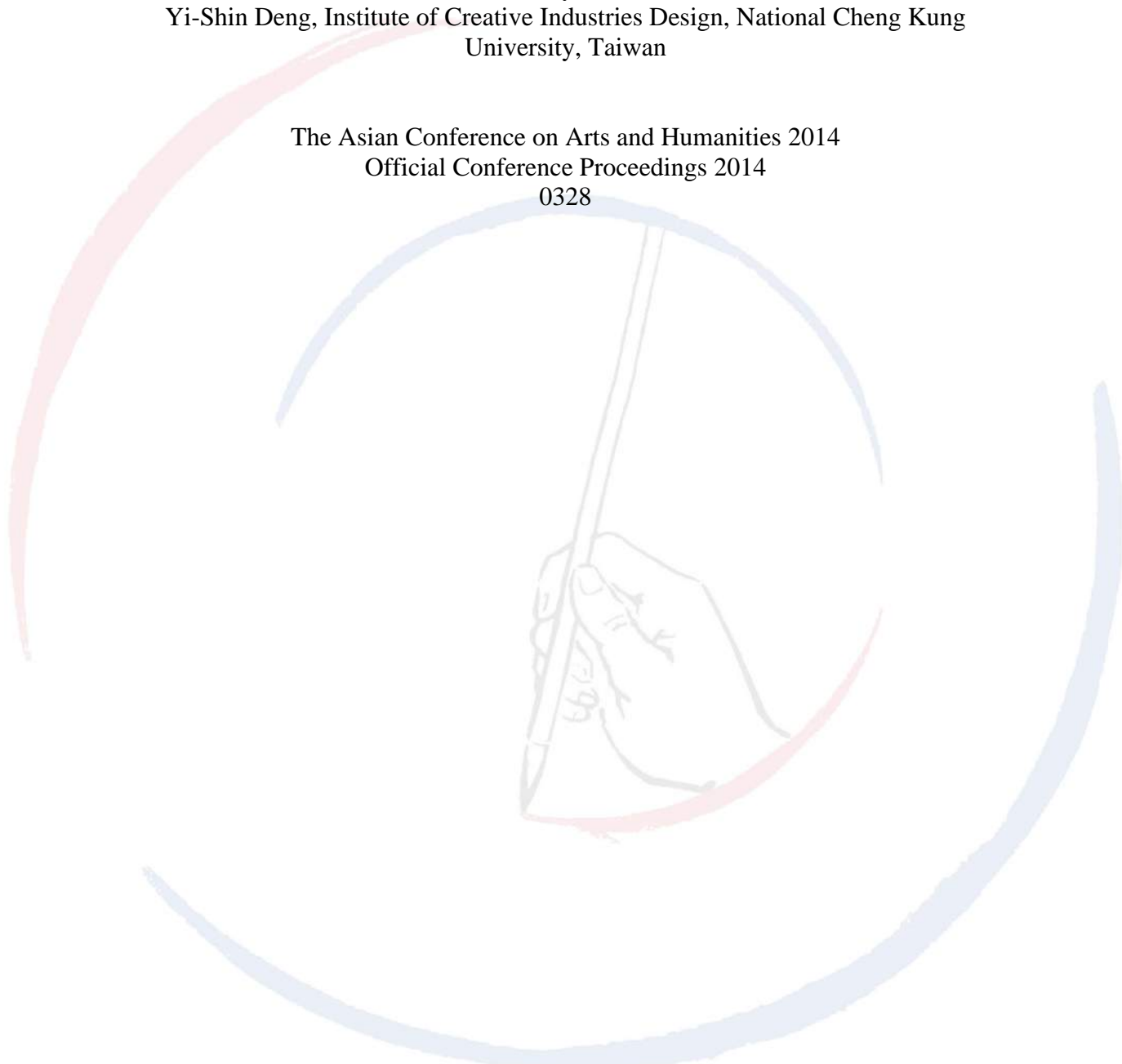
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Optimizing the media use of mobile device application software in transmitting disaster response information

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We are now living in a world frequently facing and dealing with disasters. Taiwan is a natural disaster-prone area suffers from high frequency of disasters such as typhoon, earthquake, flood, land-slide, and other complex disasters. Furthermore, extreme climate recent years also increased disasters. Many researches pointed out that communication of disaster response information is the most important after disaster. Along with development of communication technology and internet, “mobility” is the synonym of life style in this era. Application software, which is known as “Apps”, has become greatly important in people’s life experiences, government and people use Apps for disaster response and reduction recent years.

However, the now existing disaster prevention Apps don’t provide good user experience for people due to improper ways or medium for displaying disaster response information, which resulted in poor performances as a role of a transmitting channel of disaster response information. Thus, better services for users could be a turning point for disaster prevention Apps.

This study examines that, with Apps, the relationship between the way of getting information and the kind of information offered. With different media and interaction, how do people acquire information, and under what circumstance software applications have better or poorer performance than traditional information channels. Observation and interview are selected as research methods to investigate the issue, and tests for existed disaster prevention Apps as an evaluation of the findings applied to them.

Keywords: disaster response, application software, internet media, crisis communication, information need

Background and Motivation

Owing to the special geographical environment, Taiwan is inherently easy to suffer from natural disasters. Typhoon, earthquake, flood, land-slide, other complex disasters, the threat these disasters bringing to Taiwan is like an unavoidable destiny for Taiwanese people and causes heavy casualties and tremendous economic losses almost every year. According to the research report of global disaster hotspots, which is requested by World Bank and conducted by The Earth Institute at Columbia University, 73% of Taiwan’s land area and population are exposed to the risk of more than 4 natural disasters, which is the highest rate in the world. That is to say, Taiwan is probably one of the regions most vulnerable to natural disasters on earth. (Dilley etc., 2005) Thus, disaster prevention, response, and reduction are definitely significant issues that both government and people in Taiwan have to carefully pay attention to. To deal with the problems disasters bring to us, government, related institutions and organizations are developing solutions for it, a very big part of these methods are combined with technologies.

Along with the development of communication technology and rapid growth of internet, mobile devices have become an indispensable part of our daily lives and “mobility” can even be the synonym of life style in this era. With continuous progress in technique innovation, mobile phones have evolved into smart phones, in recent years smart phones have become the dominance of mobile devices. What we can do

on smart phones are just as same as what we can do on computers, programs have been transferred into different software applications.

Application software, which is known as “applications” or “Apps”, thrives prosperously with the growing of smart phones and has become a more and more important role in people’s life experiences. App exists as a tool with a purpose to make people live more conveniently, by offering services or information with smart phones or mobile devices, a software application could be a coach, a teacher, a guider, a consultant, an advisor, or even a friend.

The tools government and people rely on for disaster response and reduction includes Apps recent years, these Apps are designed to fulfill people’s needs towards disasters. There are plenty of Apps helping dealing with disasters on the market, all of them are developed with an expectation to become a powerful and useful tool for people, however, the performance is not that outstanding as we hoped it to be. Designers of each disaster prevention App may spent much of time and made a lot of effort on it, but without clear and definite regulations or rules for making it, all the efforts could be wasted, the App still could be a not-easy-to-use or not-easy-to-understand tool for users.

A mini research conducted by myself revealed the problem, in a brief interview with one of the designers of a App for flood in Taiwan, 行動水情, the interviewee admitted that the App was not a user-centered design from the begin. According to the interviewee, the App is a cooperative work with the government, the designers are asked to develop an App for government, but the government want this App to be used by normal people also, so this App was not user-oriented from the begin. The interviewee also mentioned that from the feedback they collected from the users, some of the users commented this App “not easy to use”, “cannot find the information they need”, “confusing”, etc.

From this mini research, we can say that the poor experience of using Apps for disasters usually comes from difficulties of finding the information they wanted to know, or perplexity of decoding the information offered.

The now existing disaster prevention Apps don’t provide good user experience for people due to improper ways of displaying disaster response information, which resulted in poor performances as a role of a transmitting channel of disaster information. We can conclude that, the now existing disaster Apps are not built with well-arranged information architecture. According to Wurman (1976), an information architecture can make information clear and simple for users, helping users easily complete tasks like getting information quick and directly.

Apps for disasters are tools haven’t existed for very long time and in need of improvements. Taiwan’s proneness of high frequency of disasters is a critical issue that Taiwanese people have faced for decades. Thus, better services for users could be a turning point for this kind of Apps.

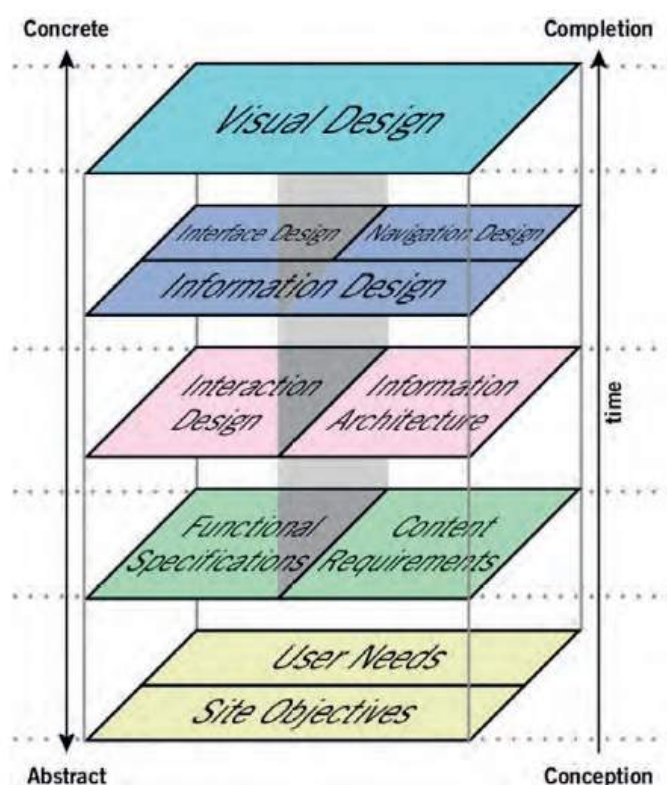
Objectives

1. To build up Information Architecture of Apps for floods by investigating needs in information and suitable ways of displaying information on Apps.

- To improve user experience of Apps for disasters with user-centered design, develop a prototype and provide principles and insights for designing Apps for disasters.

Research Question

- What is the expectation of flood victims towards Apps for floods?
- What are the information needed for flood victims?
- How do flood victims interact with information of floods?
- What are the suitable ways to display information of floods for flood victims?



The research questions are designed to help the researcher build information architecture, each question correspond to a layer of elements in Apps. To construct information architecture, we need to investigate user needs and objectives for this App, and then we have to find out the requirements for the content of the App, each layer can help us build information architecture.

Literature Review

Information in Disaster

'Disaster' is defined as a crisis situation causing damage on life, welfare, material, and environment, and the crisis situation is caused by natural or manmade technological factors.(丘昌泰, 2000) Disaster management is the method and procedure of prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery for crisis situations like natural or manmade disasters. (Lewis,1988) Federal Emergency Management Agency of US government(FEMA) consider disaster management as a mechanism that predict or prevent disasters with organized plans, integrate resources from both government and non-governmental organizations to reduce the harm of disasters. Decision under natural disasters has characteristics listed below (Lewis, 1988):

1. High risk, 2.Uncertainty, 3.High variation, 4.Complex conflict, 5.Mobile directed, 6.Urgency, 7.Lack of information, 8.Difficulties in communication, 9.Difficulties in prediction.

Furthermore, concluded from many theories, disaster management can be divided into four stages, which is also known as “All-Hazard Approach” (Comerio, 1998; Comfort, 1988; Elliot & Smith, 2004; Mileti, 1999; Schneid & Collins, 2000):

1. Mitigation: to limit the impact of disasters
2. Preparedness: to reduce the loss from disasters
3. Response: to handle the conditions immediately and effectively
4. Recovery: to bring the affected area back to some degree of normalcy

“Disaster Management is Information Management.” (張維安、李宗義、李士傑, 2013) It has been proved that application of information in disaster prevention and relief really help in decreasing catastrophe. (Morris et al., 2002) Concrete and correct disaster information is the primary factor in determining the effectiveness of the disaster rescue and relief system. The content of information, which is the condition of a disaster, can be classified into Who – the number of people affected by the disaster, What – the type of disaster, When – the time, Where – the location, environment, and range, and What – the goods and materials needed. The information collected should be shared not only between governmental organizations vertically and horizontally, but also should be spread externally in order to let the community know the condition of the disaster and help reduce disaster instantly and effectively. The research of 楊永年 (2009) pointed out that, weather information is important before disaster, and afterward, information about condition of disaster becomes extremely important. Only the information be transferred immediately can have rescue be implemented instantly.

United Nations (2007) puts great emphasis on gathering disaster information because it highly related to whether lives can be successfully saved. Early warning and disaster information are key factors of disaster reduction and relief, therefore alarming systems, disaster information transmission systems, and disaster information integration platforms are important. The sources of information are Central Weather Bureau, Soil and Water Conservation Bureau, River Management Offices, and multiple professional departments.(楊永年, 2009)

Smartphone and App

華家紳 (2011) defined smartphone functions as follows:

1. Based on an open operating system platform,
2. Provides voice, internet, PIM (Personal Information Management), music, photography, electronic maps, and other basic functions like integrating personal mobile commerce and mobile entertainment, fulfill extended personalized needs with third-party software.

Institute for Information Industry (2010) thinks that smartphones should contain data communication, voice communication, and different forms of input, processor and operating systems. According to 郭馨荼 (2013), the most distinguish characteristics are: Ability to connect to internet, and operating systems with PIM, also, a software market that integrates third-party software is provided.

Application Software, which is also known as “App” is the functional software designed for mobile phones by mobile device developers or software developers. Apps could be installed on the phone before users purchased it, or users can download it from software market (like App store for iOS system or Google Play for Android) by payment or for free. Downloads and usage of Apps are around users’ needs in daily lives, people can expand the functions of their mobile phones with their preferences or habits. (張筑婷, 2011)

Through various applications, users can reach to internet, handle information, use mobile entertainment function, etc. Smartphone is not only an important part of our daily lives, but also creating a different communication channel and form. (許芷浩, 2013)

Information Architecture

Relative to computers, information display on smartphones is limited to the size of screen, thus interface design for smartphones tend to be function directed and the steps for operation are simplified, making information obvious at a glance, or help users quickly associate to the function with mental model. Excessive choices or steps may cause burdens in efficiency of use; therefore we have to make users be sure of which layer they are at while operating phones. Now the developers of application software often try to add as many functions as they can, but a situation happens often that some items are never used.

“The best way to organize information is the way that most easily reveals what you want to communicate.” Information architecture can display information to users clearly and simply so that users can quickly get information. (Wurman, 1976) Rosenfeld and Morville (2002) defined information architecture as follows:

1. The structural design of shared information environments.
2. The combination of organization, labeling, search, and navigation systems within websites and intranets.
3. The art and science of shaping information products and experiences to support usability and findability.
4. An emerging discipline and community of practice focused on bringing principles of design and architecture to the digital landscape.

Information architecture can be discussed in three dimensions: users, context, and content. Users are the group the system aim to serve; it could be specific groups or normal people, content is the data/information the system has to communicate, and context is purpose of the system’s existence.

Mreville and Rosenfeld(2008) described information with its elements:

1. Organization System: how do we categorize information, for example by subject or date?
2. Navigation System: how do we browse or move through information, for example clicking through a hierarchy.
3. Search System: for example executing a search query against an index.
4. Labeling System: how do we represent information, for example scientific or folk terminology.

Organization System can be classified into organization schema and organization structure. There are exact and ambiguous organization schemes. Exact organization schemes divide information into well-defined and mutually exclusive sections, for example, alphabetical order of a phone book. Ambiguous organization schemes divide information into categories that defy exact definition, for example, by the subjects, purpose, or tasks. Smartphone belongs to ambiguous organization schemes. Organization structure is the way information be categorized and link. The structure of information defines the ways in which users can navigate.

Larson and Czerwinski (1998) explained Visual Scanning and Memory Span are main factors that affects users operate and adapt to information, take application software as example, the small screen causes invisibility of many operation clues, which makes rely on visual scanning more due to burden increase of memory span.

Labeling is a form of representation. Labels represent a relationship between users and content. The goal of a label is to communicate information efficiently that is without taking too much of a web page space or of a user's time. Labels show the user your organization and navigation systems. Unprofessional labels of a web site can destroy a user's confidence in that organization. There are two types of labels: textual and iconic labels. The problems of labeling system that Moreville and Rosenfeld(2008) think may cause perplexity to users: Underrepresented words, which cannot discriminate it from others, and Too many professional terms, which is not user-centered.

Navigation systems support browsing. When users are not sure what they are looking for, they are not going to use search, they are going to browse. Form perspective of Norman(1986), Navigation System can help users know where they are and maintain the sense of direction of information architecture.

Mini Research Questions

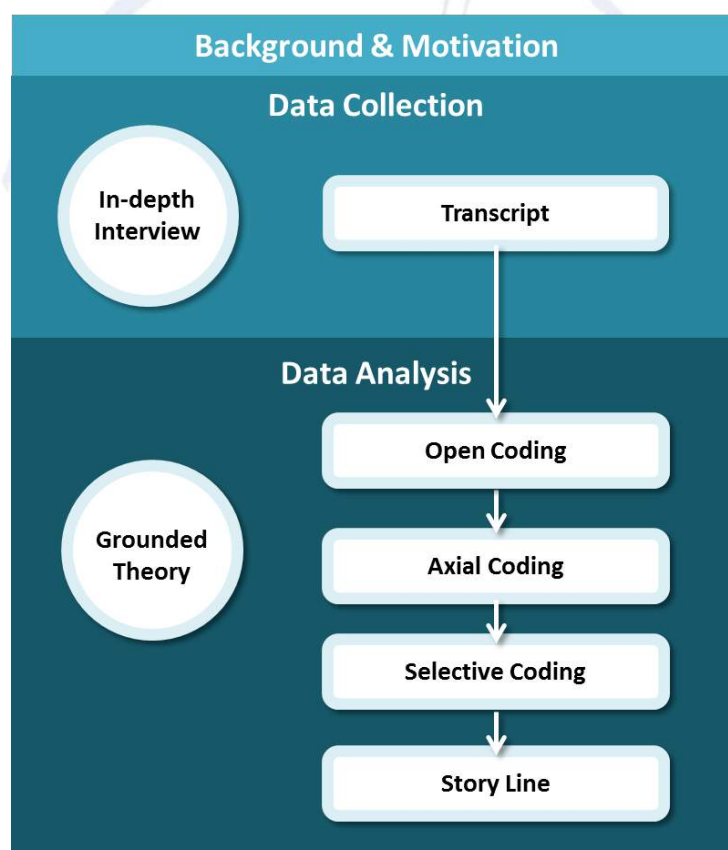
In this report, the researcher focuses on investigating the needs of flood victims, especially needs in information, and the roles smartphones and Apps play dealing with floods, to figure out the phenomenon in these directions, the researcher tried to develop mini research questions, which are listed as follows:

- What happens in floods?
What do people usually prepare for disasters? Why?
What are the attitude people hold towards floods?
What are the situations of floods?
What causes the situations?
What is the process of dealing with floods?
- What information do people need in floods?
What are the info needed? Why?
What channels do people use to get information? Why?
What do people do with mobile phone in floods? Why?
- What do people need in floods?
What do people prepare for floods?
What kinds of help or resources do they need?
How do people fulfill their needs?
Do people in different area have different needs?
What are the losses resulted from floods?

- What is the expectation of flood victims towards Apps for floods?
What is the characteristic of Apps for people?
What can we benefit from Apps in floods?
What kind of services do people want in floods can be provided by Apps?

Research Framework

As the previous paragraphs mentioned, this research focuses on investigating the needs in floods and the use of Apps and smartphones in floods in this report. It begins with research background and motivation, here the researcher set the objectives and research questions of this research, and then reviewed literature related to it. The research started with data collection, here the researcher chose in-depth interview as the data collecting research method. To analyze the data collected, grounded theory is applied; the researcher conducted open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to the transcripts generated from in-depth interview and built story lines to help answer the research questions or mini research questions the researcher had built at the begin.



Data collection

In-depth Interview

Kahn and Cannell (1957) described interview as “a conversation with a purpose”; it may be the overall strategy or one of several methods employed in a study. Interviewing varies in terms of a priori structure and in the latitude the interviewee has in responding to questions.

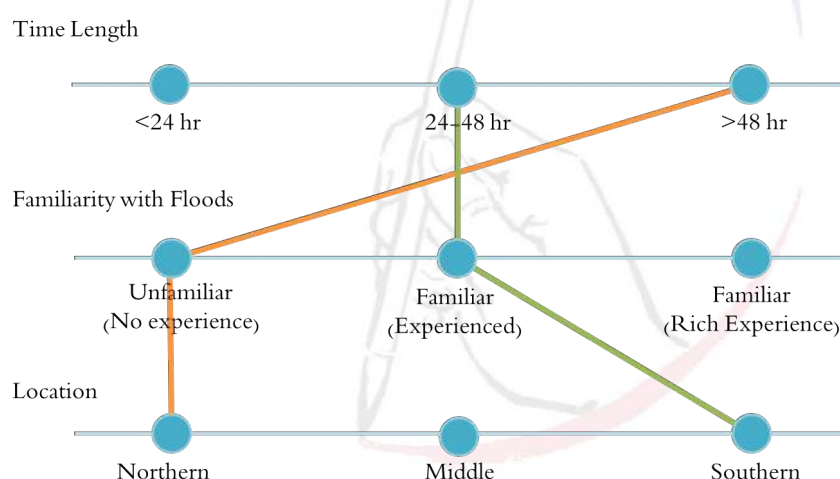
Maso(1987) defined interview as ”a form of conversation in which one person – the interviewer-restricts oneself to posing questions concerning behavior, ideas, attitudes, and experiences with regard to social phenomena, to one or more others – the

participants or the interviewees – who mainly limit themselves to providing answers to these questions”

In in-depth interview the researcher aimed at finding out the needs of flood victims towards disaster response information, ensuring what information they want to see or use after flood. And take a look at their expectations of Apps for disaster response in floods. In addition, the researcher wanted to find out the characteristics and limits of displaying information on mobile devices in disaster.

The interviewees are flood victims selected with certain criterion, the flood they experienced has lasted for over a day. The set of time length is owing to that some problems or needs may be overlooked if the victims got out from the suffering situation soon, so there's a necessity for setting the time length of floods they experienced.

The interviewees were one be familiar with floods and another with few experience with it. The reason why setting the experience with floods is out of an anticipation to get perspectives both from “novice” and “master”. The location was also what being considered while setting the criterion; therefore the researcher recruited one interviewee from Taipei and another from Tainan. The weather and resources differs with location, which could result in different situations of floods and different needs.



The outcome of this stage is transcripts made from the two interviews, and the data collected will be analyzed in the next stage.

Data Analysis

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is the most popular research method used by qualitative researchers in the social sciences. While the methodology originated in sociology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) it has been applied to numerous disciplines since.

Grounded theory emerged in the 1960s as a result of Glaser and Strauss's sociological research program on dying in hospitals (Charmaz, 2000; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). They developed a method that enabled the researcher to systematically generate a substantive theory grounded in empirical data. The goal was to discover a theory that

had grab, would fit the data, and would work in the real world (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

To analyze the data collected from in-depth interview, grounded theory was applied in this stage, which aims at investigating the phenomenon happens in floods, especially those related to information, needs, expectations with Apps and smartphones in floods.

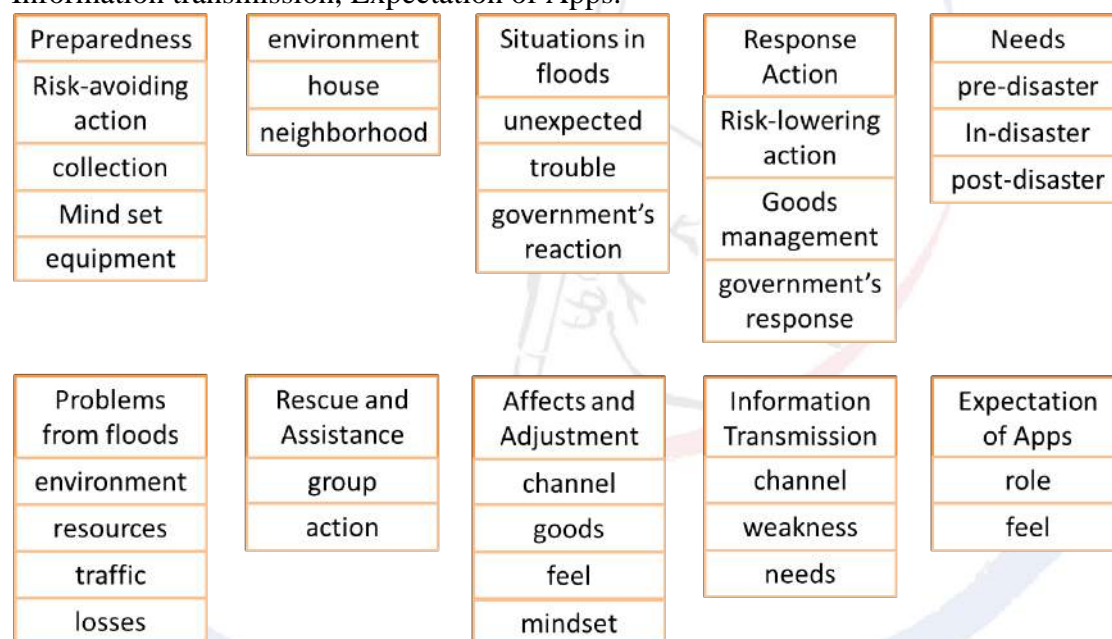
- Stage 1: Open Coding

The first step to do grounded theory coding is open coding, the way the researcher did open coding are line by line, sentence by sentence, or several phrases or sentences. 231 codes in total were collected as the outcome of this stage.

- Stage 2: Axial Coding

After collected codes form open coding, the following stage is axial coding. The way the researcher did axial coding was category and sub-category. The outcome of this stage is 10 categories and 2-4 sub-categories for each category, and there are 30 sub-categories in total.

The 10 categories are: Preparedness, Environment, Situations in floods, Response Action, Needs, Problems from floods, Rescue and assistance, Affects and adjustment, Information transmission, Expectation of Apps.

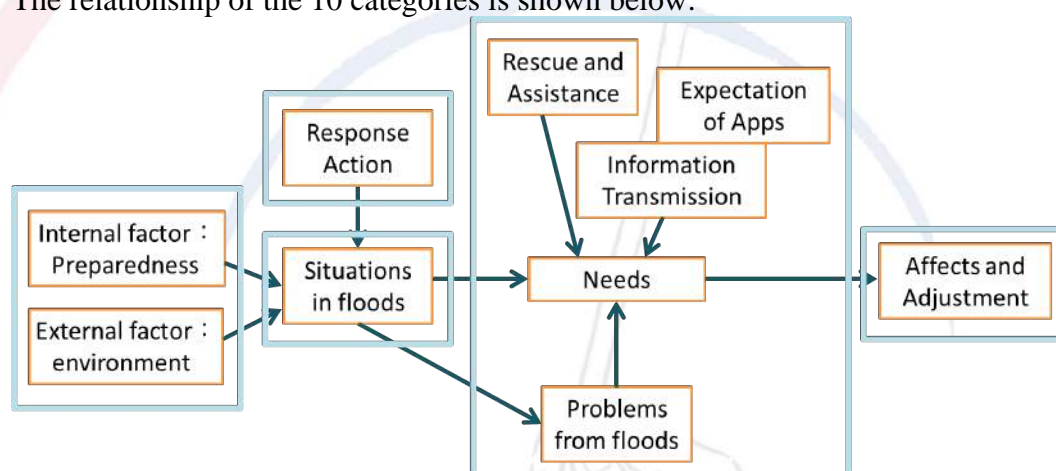


Preparedness refers to preparation before flood could be divided into risk-avoiding action, collection of information or goods, mindset, and equipment. Environment can be divided into house and neighborhood as sub-categories, describing environment around the house the interviewee lives in and the near communities. Situations in floods have three sub-categories: unexpected, which means what they didn't think of or what past experiences didn't work in floods, the other two are trouble and government's reaction. Response action contains risk-lowering action, goods management, and government's response. Needs can be sub-categorized into three stages: pre-disaster, in-disaster, post-disaster. Needs in pre-disaster stage is equipment for drainage, in-disaster are labor power, goods, and caring for elderly and children.

Needs of resources and equipment such as electricity, water, and lighting, and needs of government's help showed both in-disaster stage and post-disaster stage. In post-disaster stage the needs are recovery of environment, traffic and transportation, and economical assistance. Problems from floods have mainly four sub-categories and it also reflects needs in post-disaster stage: environment, resources, traffic and transportation, and losses. Affects and adjustments stands for the change flood brought to people or the society: the development of information channel, prices of goods, feel of floods, and thoughts of floods. Information transmission can be divided into channels, weakness to be improved of disaster information, and needs of information. Expectation of Apps contains anticipation of the role of Apps in floods and the feel of Apps in floods now.

- Stage 3: Selective Coding

The relationship of the 10 categories is shown below:



In this report the researcher focused on the needs of information and the expectation of Apps for floods, in selective coding stage, three central concepts are gathered from it: (1) Unsatisfied needs. The needs of information and others can all be divided into the three stages of disasters, pre-disaster, in-disaster, and post-disaster. In different stage, people demand for different things or information to help them deal with floods. (2) Key factor of selecting information channel. While facing floods, or other disasters, what channel to adopt highly relates to how well the information be integrated and organized and how fast can the channel transfer information. People want to get information in the most convenient way in disasters because there are many other things to worry about and works to do, they don't want to spend much time on it, so if we want to develop Apps for floods, it has to be fast and rich in well-integrated information at least. (3) Stage needs assistance most: post-disaster. In post-disaster stage, people confronted with the mess brought by flood, mud are everywhere. They need help to clean up the mud and to dispose the garbage. The traffic is also a big problem in need of help, people have to go to the office or school but cars and scooters were all damaged in the flood; the situation of traffic and transportation are also information they need, like which area was damaged or blocked and which road can they use to get to the destination. The other thing is people need economic assistance to compensate for the loss occurred from the flood.

The story line we got are:

1. Preparedness → Response action → Needs → Affects & Adjustments
2. Environment → Situations in floods → Problems in floods → Affects and Adjustments

And the story line of information needs and expectation of Apps are:

1. Information collection before flood → Response action in floods → Problems in floods → Needs of information → Expectation of information channel and Apps
2. (pre-disaster stage)
Mindset of floods → information collection → Needs of information: locations (to park cars, to get resources and goods) → Risk-avoid action
3. (in-disaster stage)
Situation in floods → Risk-lowering action → Needs of information: Weather, Government’s announcement, Traffic, Communication → build up an information channel (in post-disaster stage)
4. (post-disaster stage)
Problems from floods → Needs of information: Traffic, Help for cleaning up environment → Build up an information channel

Findings

	Pre-disaster	In-disaster		Post disaster
1. What happens in floods?	Preparation • Risk avoid • Info/ goods	• Trapped: food, resources, freedom		• Loss • Environment • traffic
2. What do people need in floods?	• equipment	• Labor power • Goods • Caring	• Resource • Equipment	• Environment • Traffic • Economic
3. What are the information needed in floods?	• Location : resources, goods, car	• Weather • Government announcement		• Traffic
4. What can smartphone and Apps help in floods?	• Advance announcement	• Communication		• share
	• Actively notice • Integrative information		• Not common	

To answer the mini research questions:

- What happens in floods?
- What do people need in floods?
- What information do people need in floods?
- What is the expectation of flood victims towards Apps for floods?

The table above shows the answers for the questions, each answer was divided into the three stages of disaster. The main activities in different stages of floods are: preparation for floods, trouble of being trapped by floods and worries of food and resources, loss and mess and traffic problems resulted from floods. The needs are: equipment to drain water as a preparation set in pre-disaster stage, labor power to move things in order to avoid damage from floods, goods like food, and caring for elderly and children in in-disaster stage, environment recovery, traffic transportation, and economic compensation in post-disaster stage. The needs of information in the three stages are: location for goods, resources, and places to put cars for the first stage, weather information and government’s announcement for the second, and

traffic information in the last one. The expectation of Apps and smartphones in pre-disaster stage is to announce the disaster in advance, help communicate in in-disaster stage, and share the information of flood in post-disaster stage. The App is required to contain integrative information, and offers actively notice to users. The problems of Apps now is that it is not commonly known and used.

Future Work

As mentioned in the three objectives listed in previous paragraphs, the ultimate goal of this research is to improve user experience of Apps for floods with user-centered design through investigating users' needs and building up information architecture of it. What have been completed so far has revealed users' expectations and attitudes. To achieve the ultimate goals of this research, there will be stages for building up prototype of Apps for floods with information architecture constructed, and another for evaluation of this prototype with usability tests.

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*Examining Fashion-related Exhibitions as Marketing Strategy
for Selected Museums in Taipei*

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Abstract

Fashion-related exhibitions have been held in museums in Taipei since 2005 more frequently than what may have been expected. Museums that have held these types of exhibitions specialize in different areas from contemporary art to anthropology, raising the questions, why these institutions include the subject of fashion in their exhibition programs and how fashion in relation to their specialization contributes to marketing their organizations. It is speculated that the inclusion of fashion as a theme for some of their exhibitions is devised as a marketing strategy to, in duality, attract more visitors who are interested in fashion in terms of appreciating fashion items not only as consumer products of aesthetic value but also pieces that are validated as artifacts and befitting to be contained in museums. Interviews with the guest curator from Museum of Contemporary Art Taipei (MOCA Taipei) and head of the collections management department of the National Taiwan Museum (NTM) were conducted for data collection and analysis. Bearing considerable relevance to museum name and specialization, fashion-related exhibitions could be frequently exhibited in the future in Taipei museums that specialize in contemporary art. Fashion-related exhibitions also enable these types of museums to promote themselves to the public as a brand. Minimal feature of fashion-related exhibitions is expected from museums in Taipei that specialize in other areas due to fashion's indirect relation to their institution's specialization as a whole. Fashion however may enable to attract a wider market for their museum through exhibitions that incorporate traditional motif and cultural aspects with contemporary design.

Key words: Fashion, fashion-related exhibition, museum, museum marketing

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I. INTRODUCTION

Museums become successful in marketing their organization and exhibitions through activities that help promote their name and events held in their institution. These activities, in the form of print and media advertising, are common not only to museums but also to organizations and companies that hope to capture the attention of potential and current market through consumer awareness. Despite the fact that marketing activities are proven effective for promotion, the museums' offerings to the public, particularly special exhibitions, provides more than what has been advertised about these events. The exhibition theme, title, and featured items on display satisfy requirements for sufficient information needed to be conveyed to the public about the exhibition.

Fashion has been utilized by several museums that hold special exhibitions of items and artifacts derivative and reflective of the subject (Steele, 2008). These exhibitions include a range of pieces from historical clothing to works of well-known people in the industry of fashion. Museums specializing in fashion hold exhibitions devoted to the subject itself. Thus, this contributes to how their institution can be marketed or promoted as a specialized museum. On the other hand, museums holding exhibitions that are related to fashion may or may not initially consider these types of exhibitions to be beneficial for the marketing of their institution considering their specialization, but rather contributive by being added attraction as special exhibitions.

Specialization may refer to the museums' concentration to a specific subject or field where pieces and artifacts to be exhibited or collected are based (Burcaw, 1997; Bennett, 1995). One reason for museums to specialize is to distinguish themselves from other museums or cultural centers (MacDonald, 2011). Other than specialization, museums also come up with thematic exhibitions. Exhibitions with themes are planned around a specific idea and designed to develop that idea (Kalfatovic, 2002), and they provide a framework for the appreciation of museum pieces through contextualization (Lord and Piacente, 2014). Contextualization helps connect museum specialization with exhibition pieces, and while exhibition pieces have their own stories themselves (e.g. as a commodities before becoming artifacts), themes enable these pieces to be interpreted by visitors in different ways other than being limited to the constraints of their previous function. Fashion as a theme for example transcends interpretation of clothing and accessories from commercial purpose to cultural, historical, or sociological significance (Craik, 2009).

While the statement fashion exhibition may commonly be used by museums for exhibitions that evidently or strongly represent fashion, fashion-related exhibitions suggest exhibitions that may or may not entirely comprise of fashion items or include pieces that can be classified under the subject fashion. However, fashion-related exhibitions have been recently used by museums to point out a non-delimiting term for fashion exhibitions. An example is the Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology's use of the statement fashion-related exhibitions in their calendar of global exhibitions for the year 2014 (www.fitnyc.edu/21977.asp).

Museums in Taipei, Taiwan, have held exhibitions related to fashion such as the Vivienne Westwood exhibit held in 2005 at Taipei Fine Arts Museums (TFAM), and the *Qipao* exhibit held in 2013 at National Taiwan Museum (NTM). These

exhibitions have carried themes and titles, and showcased pieces relevant to the subject of fashion. Major items presented in these museums are items that ranged from historical clothing to dresses that carry famous designers' labels. Due to their apparent frequency, fashion-related exhibitions may have been held by museums in Taipei to serve as a potential strategy that underlies the achievement of a successful marketing plan.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Museum marketing goals

Museums regard marketing as essential for their institutions' survival through its contribution to increasing visitor number, building relationships with stakeholders, and increase revenue (Kotler, et al., 2008). Museum directors have long been faced with the challenge to recognize new roles of their institutions as well as devise strategies to appeal a broader audience (Gombault, 2002; Rentschler, 2002, cited in Rentschler and Hede, 2007; Kotler & Kotler, 2001). The goal to attract new and maintained audience might seem to be easy to achieve; however, due to the lack of marketing tactics, museums face difficulties doing so. According to Yucelt (2001), needs, wants, interest and satisfaction level of visitors differ, thus we require careful planning. Flexibility and agility of museums position themselves to leverage their resources with creativity and innovation (McNichol, 2005). Thus, museum staff responsible for marketing their institution needs to develop activities that create, communicate, and deliver values for their visitors (Kotler, et. al. 2008).

Depending on their organizations' structure, size and staff tasks, museums may not have a separate department solely responsible for marketing. Museums have however recently changed due to their perception of audiences, thus they gave importance to marketing by assigning this responsibility to key staff. Yet even though some museums have visible marketing departments, these divisions may only serve their purpose of promoting the museums' reputation and exhibitions by preparing marketing materials of information such as print and media advertisements. For museums that do not have appropriate staff to conduct marketing activities, curators and other key persons working in their institution despite their separate function or indirect responsibility to serve as marketers, hold a crucial responsibility of attracting visitors through the exhibitions they conceptualize, organize, and eventually promote to the public. How these people see their institutions under the perspective of marketing may not be entirely their focus, as their museums have different roles that are either functional or purposive (Weil, 1990; Thompson, 1998, cited in Rentschler and Hede, 2007). Functional roles are done by museums through collection, preservation, and display of objects. Being object-based, these roles are better portrayed by museums that hold exhibitions for educational purposes. On the other hand, museums that have purposive roles are consumer-centered by factoring the public's interest and needs in planning exhibitions and presenting exhibitions to the people for enjoyment and learning.

Museums look into attracting audiences. The challenge enters when there is a need to increase visitor number while maintaining loyal audiences. Encouraging these people to come to their institutions requires approaches that are developed as marketing techniques. One of these techniques is providing new offerings to the public. These offerings come as special exhibitions with various themes.

Fashion and marketing

Fashion has long been a subject of argument among experts who regard the topic based on its relevance to their field. In the industry of business for example, fashion comes to importance from the shift of trends for each season that companies and individual designers consider crucial for their upcoming collections (Godart, 2012; Craik, 2009). For these groups, fashion is a means for their businesses to survive. Thus, the importance of fashion is embedded in the products that are to be marketed, sold, and used such as clothing and accessories. Fashion for the business industry mainly functions for the sake of consumers.

As for other industries, fashion is given importance by its social and cultural influence (Craik, 2009; Knell, 2007; Breward, 1995). Among the cultural industries, museums embrace fashion because of its representations that their institutions find befitting to their specializations (Melchior, 2011; Steele, 2008). Among these museums are museums that concentrate on art. Items that represent fashion have long been contested as art forms because of their commerciality yet characteristic elements as embodiments of aesthetic value. Although being ephemeral and deemed belonging to decorative or applied arts compared to actual art, fashion takes a role of being beneficial for art because of creative expression given to these items of fashion (Geczy and Karaminas, 2012). Museums that see fashion this way have opened the doors for fashion to enter their domain. For them, fashion is art, thus its validation to be put in museums. Other museums see fashion under the lens of history and anthropology, where the subject contributes to research in civilization's use of items of fashion from past to present. Underlying dimensions of museum audience studies suggest they are of great value of policy in marketing analysis and can help museum's sustainability in fulfilling cultural authority (Rentschler & Reussner, 2002).

The difference between these groups relies on the extent of how fashion's value contributes to their industry. These industries may be dissimilar by nature, yet fashion acts as a magnet that pulls the public to understand and appreciate items of fashion from the perspective of these two separate groups. The manner that the public appreciates fashion may differ depending on how they understand and acknowledge the subject. Industries devise activities to attract these audiences to appreciate fashion, and these activities come in the form of marketing. Marketing efforts of business entities prove to be successful when consumers become aware of the new products that these fashion companies offer in each season. On the other hand, both current and potential visitors of museums become aware of the institutions' upcoming exhibitions.

Marketing fashion is clearly differed by industry, yet the influence of fashion itself is not limited to the marketing activities characterized by business or educational organizations. In as much as the marketing of fashion may be conventionally recognized as key activities held for the purpose of promoting fashion brands and products, minimal consideration has been given to see how fashion becomes contributive to museum marketing. Therefore, this study sought to find out how fashion-related exhibitions held in museums contribute to marketing their institutions.

Recently, fashion-related exhibitions had been frequently held in museums in Taipei. These museums are known for their varying concentrations, and the inclusion of fashion in their exhibitions creates interest on investigating the subject's contribution

on marketing their institutions considering their institution name or title, specialization, exhibition themes, and showcased pieces.

III. METHODOLOGY

Selection of museums

Only three museums were chosen for the study: Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) Taipei, National Taiwan Museum (NTM), and Taipei Fine Arts Museum (TFAM). Other museums in Taipei and other regions in Taiwan have not held any exhibition or featured museums pieces that are related to fashion, thus were excluded. One of the selected museums, NTM, had held only one exhibition where fashion has been apparent. Only the *Qipao* exhibit was included by the researcher due to the absence or weak presence of fashion in other previously held exhibitions in NTM.

Interview

The researchers aimed to conduct interviews for primary data with key persons working in museums in Taipei where fashion-related exhibitions were held. Selection of key persons to be interviewed depended on their knowledge and involvement with the fashion-related exhibitions held in their museums. The researcher was able to interview the guest curator from MOCA Taipei and the head of the collections department at NTM. Unavailability of staff from TFAM for interview limited obtainment of more data. However, TFAM was still included for the study considering the secondary data taken from their website, which provides the number of fashion-related exhibitions held in their museum.

Questions asked during the interview sought to find out fashion's role in the marketing of their institutions. These questions were categorized based on individual factors: museum specialization and name, exhibition title/theme/items, future plans to hold these types of exhibitions, and attracting visitors and increasing audience through fashion-related exhibitions. These four factors were chosen by the authors for the following concerns: contribution of fashion-related exhibitions towards marketing the museum's name and offerings, and contribution of fashion-related exhibitions towards appealing museums visitors. The museums chosen in this study may have differing aims with regards to attracting specific groups as audience, and how fashion is featured and interpreted in their exhibitions.

This present study was also prompted by secondary data obtained by the researcher from online records of past fashion-related exhibitions held in the chosen museums in Taipei, which show that fashion-related exhibitions had been held frequently in the previous years (see Table 1).

Museum	Exhibition Title	Exhibition date
Taipei Museum of Fine Arts (TFAM)	<i>Vivienne Westwood</i>	Sept. 1-Oct. 19, 2005
	<i>Play > Mode: Fashion Designers vs. Folk Artists</i>	Oct. 13-Nov. 18, 2007
	<i>Breakthrough: Johan Ku Wearable Sculpture</i>	Mar. 13-Apr. 11, 2010
	<i>Jean Paul Gaultier / Regine Chopinot</i>	May 29-August 15, 2010
	<i>Super Contemporary: Designed in London</i>	Aug. 27-Nov. 27, 2011
Museum of Contemporary Art Taipei (MOCA Taipei)	<i>50 Years of Italian Fashion</i>	Feb. 18-Jun. 4, 2006
	<i>Fashion Accidentally</i>	May 26-Jul. 22, 2007
	<i>Exploring Christian Lacroix by Christian Rizzo & David Dubois</i>	Apr. 26-Jun. 15, 2008
	<i>Summer Holiday: Solo Exhibition by Tim Yip</i>	Jun. 11-Aug. 8, 2010
	<i>Elle Power of Young and New</i>	Feb. 22-Mar. 13, 2011
	<i>Happy Mistake!: Pattern on Pattern. Mint Designs by Hokuto Katsui and Nao Yagi</i>	May 6-Jun 12, 2011
	<i>Fashionista in Taiwan</i>	Sept. 16-Nov. 13, 2011
National Taiwan Museum (NTM)	<i>Qipao: Memory, Modernity and Fashion</i>	May 11-Nov. 10, 2013

Table 1 Previously held fashion-related exhibitions in selected Taipei museums

IV. FINDINGS

The contribution of fashion-related exhibitions towards marketing of MOCA Taipei and NTM were investigated based on four aspects previously mentioned. From the data obtained from the interviews, MOCA Taipei and NTM have differing responses and considerations on how fashion-related exhibitions serve as potential or effective marketing strategy for their museums.

Museum specialization and name

MOCA Taipei considers fashion as a very important field in contemporary art owing to its aesthetic value. For MOCA Taipei, the inclusion of fashion works not only for marketing their institution but also as a brand strategy. Fashion, as represented in the clothing and accessories shown in their exhibitions, is reflective of contemporary art, which their institution specializes in and contained in their museum's name. Their institution's name serves as their brand, and fashion acts as reinforcement. NTM on the other hand includes the concept of fashion under anthropological perspective for its ability to combine the old with the new items used by society. Fashion may be included in the contents in their exhibition as well as research; however, marketing plays a minimal role for their museum. Thus, marketing strategy or fashion as potential marketing strategy could not be considered essential in promoting their institution.

Exhibition title, theme, and featured pieces in fashion-related exhibitions

MOCA Taipei regards the inclusion of fashion in their exhibition title, theme and exhibited items as a marketing strategy. However, this is implemented not only for fashion-related exhibitions but also for every exhibition held in MOCA Taipei. The director of MOCA Taipei considers the importance and contribution of the title, theme and featured items in their exhibitions to contemporary art in Taiwan, and how it can convey new ideas to the public. NTM's exhibitions feature titles, themes, and items adhere to specific categories in their museum, namely botany, anthropology, zoology, and education. Therefore, titles, themes, and items in exhibitions do not serve as marketing strategies but only supporting aspects for different categories.

Future plans to hold these types of exhibitions

Although a definite timeframe of upcoming or planned exhibitions has not yet been finalized, MOCA Taipei hopes to hold fashion-related exhibitions biannually. This indicates fashion's potential success in attracting audience despite considering the success of fashion-related exhibitions in other countries may not be the same in Taiwan. MOCA Taipei is not known to mainly specialize in fashion-related exhibitions since most exhibitions held at MOCA Taipei are focused on conventional contemporary art forms. However, MOCA Taipei believes that fashion's aesthetic value can go beyond being restrained in commodities such as clothes. Clothes bear aesthetic quality, thus being given higher recognition as a type of art form. Attraction of potential visitors who are interested in fashion as a form of art through the frequent holding of these exhibitions also suggests a possible increase of museum visitors.

For NTM, future plans to hold fashion-related exhibitions is not so easy to determine due to their audience having different interests about their collections. Clothing and accessories are just one small part of it. However, contemporary development in aboriginal handicraft may interest both new and current visitors. Taiwanese aboriginal handicraft, which includes clothing and accessories, are different among aboriginal groups, thus having different aesthetic value and design. Developments of these handicrafts are not definite among these groups as any change of design or style may differ for certain reasons such as use of new materials (e.g. use of synthetic fiber). However, these changes are acknowledged by NTM and enable them to interpret aboriginal handicraft, especially clothing and accessories, under the concept of fashion. Fashion, with its deeper meaning, can be reflected in these items. Therefore, NTM may be able to offer exhibitions related to fashion. For NTM, exhibitions that incorporate traditional motif and cultural aspects with contemporary design may enable their museum to cope with any emerging trend in exhibitions featuring fashion. However, NTM's interpretation of fashion still relies on how they see it as relevant to their specialization.

Attracting visitors / Increasing audience

Fashion-related exhibitions are validated by MOCA Taipei to attract more audience. As previously mentioned, an increase in the number of audience is owed to visitors' interest in fashion and not only orthodox contemporary art. NTM on the other hand considers fashion as one of the ways to attract more audience; thus indicating the utilization of fashion to interest the public to visit their museum. NTM however regards students to be the biggest group of their visitors, and fashion may not be clearly understood by these audiences. Although a portion of NTM's visitors are adults who are at a suitable level to understand and appreciate fashion-related exhibitions, themes and pieces may not be easy to explain to the young students.

NTM feels the need to guide these visitors by explaining about the contents and the important issues about these exhibitions related to education. Unlike NTM, MOCA Taipei's benefit to have a specialization that attracts huge visitor demographic enables them to reach a wider audience regardless of how well these exhibitions are absorbed.

V. DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

Fashion is considered by museums chosen in this study as a concept that is relative and contributive to each institution's specialization. Although fashion is versatile in terms of being applied in diverse areas of contemporary art, history and anthropology, it is still regarded by museums based on their significance as artifacts. Clothing and other related items under fashion are representative of cultural, historical, and aesthetic values, and these values are what these museums look into, bearing in mind the relevance of these pieces to their specialization.

Specialization of museums is mostly, if not often, depicted in their institutions' names, and this satisfies the activity of promoting themselves to the public. Diverse exhibitions held in these museums differ from each other by themes, titles, and featured pieces added to attracting and offering something new to the public. These exhibitions are separate activities and promoted as single exhibitions (e.g. special exhibitions). The function of having diverse exhibitions or collections allows the capability of museums not only to maintain their current audience but also to attract different visitors. Museums are professionally driven institutions, and they work on planning and marketing exhibitions for the public's interest, which includes exhibitions that bear fashion's influence.

Fashion stands on its own, but is understood and promoted under each museum's concentration. Designer, company, or brand names in the fashion industry that are featured in titles of fashion-related exhibitions attract audience who may already have knowledge of these names due to their prominence in the industry. Unless museums change themselves as consumer-centered organizations, the degree of the public's knowledge about fashion may be looked into with minimal attention by museums as they already acknowledge items from fashion companies as artifacts, and not as commercial products.

This research is sought to find out how fashion-related exhibitions held in museums in Taiwan contribute to marketing their institutions. Substantial findings that were obtained helped derive implications to museum marketing. However, this present study is preliminary in nature and requires further development through future research. Limitations are thus needed to be identified. Museum marketing as a concept was treated in this study as a broad topic. Various subjects aside from fashion can be investigated in the future concerning their impact on the marketing plans of museums that carry these subjects in their exhibitions. A single chosen case, which is Taipei, may not be sufficient in contributing to museum marketing in a holistic sense, especially if museums in other regions or locations that have recently held fashion-related exhibitions are considered. Statistical data showing actual number of visitors who went to see these fashion-related exhibitions, which may be compared with visitor count in other types of exhibitions in MOCA Taipei and NTM in a given period, may provide apparent results. A higher number of visitor count for fashion-related exhibitions may be assumed that these types of exhibitions can work as

feasible strategies for marketing, while in vice versa may not be effective in increasing audience attendance. In order to better understand visitor needs and how the selected museums in Taipei would respond to these needs through marketing efforts, visitor perspective may necessarily be obtained. Future studies taking account of these issues may need to be carried out to provide significant results and extensive contribution to the area of marketing, particularly in museums.

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***The Tri- Colors in Iranian-Islamic Architecture of SAFAVID dynasty: Green, Red,
Blue
Considering Three Gunas of Vedic Texts***

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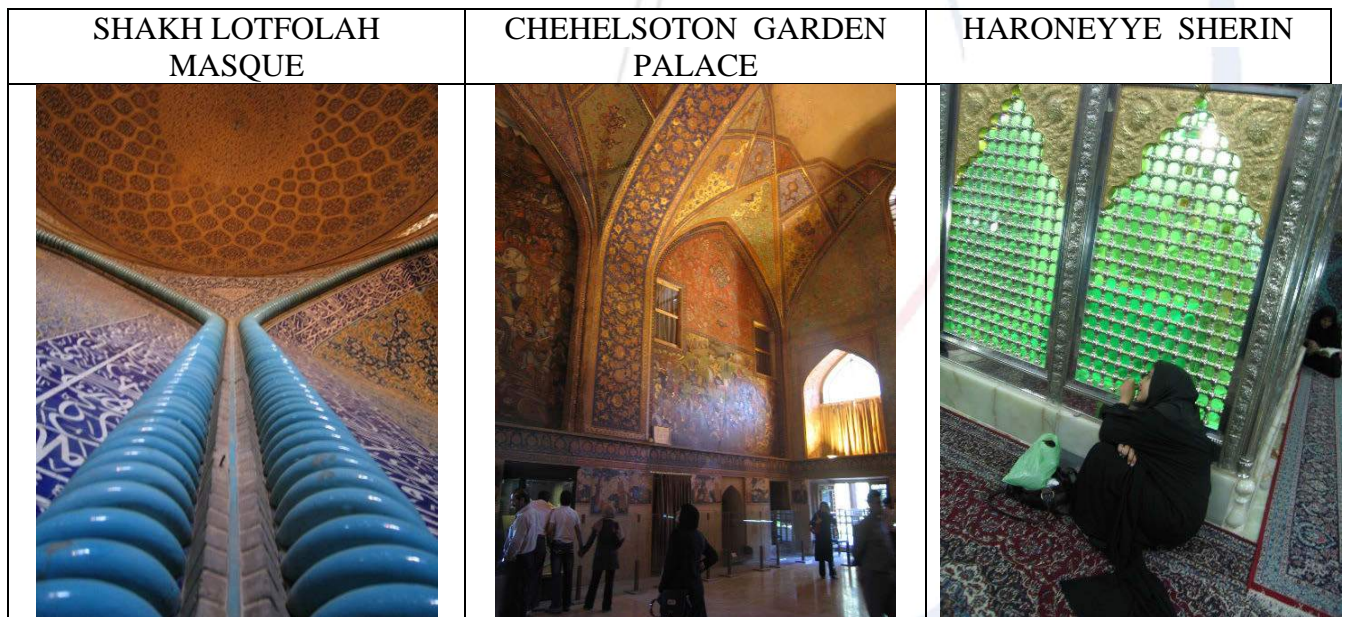
Abstract

Tri-color pattern of Red, Blue and Green in Islamic-Iranian architecture Safavid Dynasty (1501-1736) of Isfahan in Persia was resulted in 2008 of field research. This colorful model was gained from the report of tourists' feeling after visiting three specific colorful buildings and the opinion of mystic Najm al-Din Kubra (1145-1220, He is famous as superhero of Islamic Gnostic history of Iran). For example the blue color in the Masque (Shaykh Lotfollah) indicates spiritual existence, while the red color of the Garden Palace (Chehel Soton) shows the extend of physical existence. For more detailed analysis, the tri-color pattern of Iranian-Islamic Safavid architecture was examined by model of basic energy and vibrations of nature or Indian theory about elements, Three Gunas (Sattva, Rajas, Tamas), which was mentioned in the Vedic texts. It should be noted that the reason for choosing Veda model was because of the similarity in "Visionary knowledge" of Hindu doctrine and Islamic-Iranian philosophy (illumination philosophy).

Keywords: Vedic texts, Tri-color pattern, Three gunas, Visionary knowledge

INTRODUCTION

Around 500 years ago (1501-1736), in the Safavid Empire in Persia, the flourishing growth in art and architecture is not deniable as it used holistic and widespread theological sciences in designs. The tiling and painting of the buildings were no exceptions either. For example, in their capital, Isfahan, Shakh Lotfollah Masque were tiled in blue while Chehel Soton Garden Palace were painted with reddish theme, also the Holy Shrine, Haroneye, have been lightened in green. (picture1). It seems each place in this era was ornamented on especial plan based on the Persian acquaintance of colors, both physical and metaphysical aspects. For instance, *Najm al-Din Kubre*, (1145-1220) was a Persian Sufi metaphysician during the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries A.D, who wrote about the symbolism or esoteric meaning of colorful lights in his book “Aromas of beauty and Preambles of Majesty”. He and some of his followers explained their “visionary knowledge” through meditation experiences. This wisdom back to antic Iran and India (The second millennium BC) “when the presence of innate thought of monotheism is not deniable from the written resources namely Old Avesta (Yasht ah) and Rig Veda¹.”(Alikhani, 2011, p83). The Avesta is a sacred book of Zoroastrians (ancient Iranian religion) and Veda is an ancient India holy collection.



Picture 1

1. A glance on LIGHT and COLORS

According to Corbin(1986, 9) “light and colors are different things, light being the cause not of the existence but of the manifestation of color, and color being manifested on all levels of the universes, sensible as well as supra-sensible.” In addition, Muh Karim-Khan Kirmani (d.1870) indicated that colors are like creation and light is creator. Looking under the dome of Sheikh Lotf Allah Mosque clearly indicates that how the center of

¹ Veda is divided into four categories: Rig-veda, Yajor-veda, Sama-veda, Atharva-veda.

dome spread out which is look like creator (light) and creature (colors) as esoteric aspect. Dispersion of sunlight into colors of the spectrum, of Isaac Newton's optical model (1642-1726) in color physics can also illustrate light and colors in domain of materiality. (Figure 1)

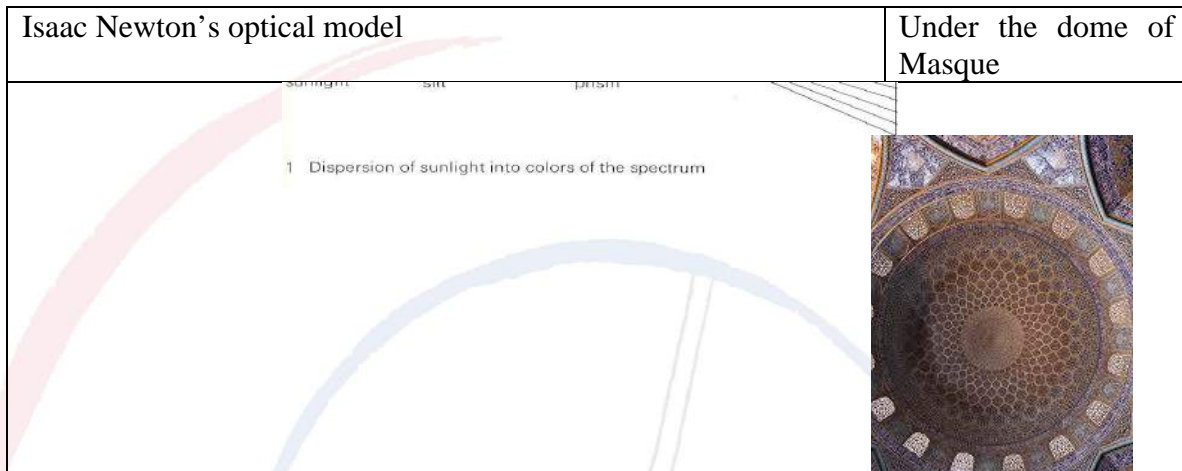


Figure 1

1.1: Green, Red, Blue

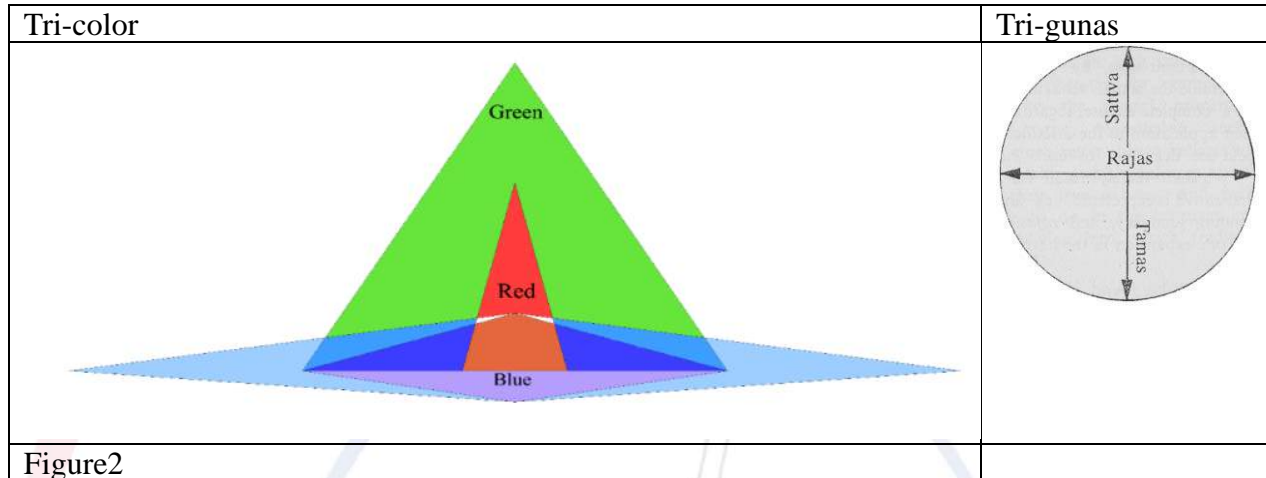
In 2008, visitors of three colourful building in Isfahan, Iran, was questioned about their feelings after visiting those places. Most of them recorded that the blue colour of masque remembered wideness and comfort while the reddish color of garden-palace caused feeling of enjoy and happiness. And the green light in shrine impact the sense of secure. Also, they used usual life experiences to state their feeling. For example blue as sky or sea, wide and merry, red as glorious celebration and green as mother without expectation. To drawing a final model all visitors' ideas compared with *Najm al-Din Kubre's* state. He believed that green is the purest light and it can be observed in the higher level of spiritual strengthen of Sufi, red light is signed as a desires and wishes while blue is illustrated as an effort to get rid of dependencies

1.2: Three GUNA and three primary colors (red, blue, yellow)

Porter (1987) indicated that: "Gunas is sanskrit word etymologically suggesting a "stand" or "thread" several of which when intertwined *make up a rope*. It seems for weaving a rope at least three string are required otherwise it is not created. It could be like three primary colours, red, blue and yellow, in which absence of any of these colours would be cause imbalance as Lengs (1999, 204) stated: "Take away red, and the perfect balance would be broken in the direction of too much *cold*: the absence of blue would make for excessive *heat*: without yellow, the residue would be too *ponderous*." he concluded that *Sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, *three constituents of materiality* or three gunas, is not exceptional because according to hindu doctrine every creation things partakes in varying degree of three gunas. So, any gap cause broken the balance. In addition, Porter (1978, 139) indicated that: " **Satva** connotes the bright, light, buoyant, wise, good, transparent aspect of nature and all creation. **Tamas** connotes their opposite, hence what is dark, heavy, dull, bad, opaque. **Rajas** is catalytic or dynamic principle."

The TRI-COLORS CONSIDERING with TRI-GUNA

three colors were extracted from three buildings in Isfahan of Safavid dynasty. (figure2). The below diagram illustrates those colors and also their directions which was discovered



from visitors' feeling. For instance, blue as sea can be translate to horezenatal trend which spread out from center to surrounding or overspread on the surface, while green like mother, dispersion from an upper point to a surface and it have virtical growth. Red was explained as pleasure and stand in between. it can clearly seen that blue and green do not have the same direction. Blue is look like rajasic guna with **horizontal growth**. Red denotes a luminous quality like sattvic guna with **upward tendency** whereas Green does not have any guna direction. According to Lengs(1999) "In Hindo Doctrine, everything in the manifested universe in monotheistic terms, every created things partakes in varying degrees of three Gounas, that is, **qualites** or **tendencies**, and these are sattva, rajas and tamas". then green trend shows the diffrences between nature of materiality (3 gunas) and nature of spirituality (light).

CONCLUSION

The final colorful diagram consists of one colorful light and two colors. Red and blue are colors because they are comparable with tri-gunas' trend so they are belongs to domain of materiality but green as *Najm al-Din Kubre* said, illustrates the spiritual state.

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*An evaluation of the British stance during
The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878*

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Abstract

From 1876 until the late 1880s, the question of the status of the Ottoman Empire as to the rights of Christian subjects was transformed into a national question for Great Britain. Following the Bulgarian Agitation of 1876, the New Year began with the possible solutions for the so-called 'Eastern Question' inside the British Empire. Hence, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 might be seen as a scene for the Parliament debates whether to intervene as a tradition in favour of the Ottoman Empire or preserving British neutrality during the war. Beyond any doubt, during the nineteenth century, along with the enlightenment of the Victorian era, the public has become accustomed to read, to write and to brainstorm the social agenda more than ever. Moreover, due to the increase of the news and interest of the public on the future of the Ottoman subjects became a national matter as well as a headline in domestic politics. Further, there were several reasons for the majority to join in the events and the debates existing.

In this study, this paper tries to define the debates of the Disraeli parliament and division/conflicts inside the British society on the roles of British Empire with her "acts" on the Ottoman Christian subjects and the process of the war. The analysis of the process will be generally based on the British policies, attitudes and the reactions of the public on the ongoing Russo-Turkish War. Besides, this research will try to explore the conflicts and following possible and precise resolutions as a society. On the other hand, this research would not simply address the British perceptions on the Russo-Turkish War or the principles of British wartime diplomacy.

Keywords: The Eastern Question, W. E. Gladstone, Victorian society, The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, British Wartime Diplomacy

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‘Go forward then, gentleman, with British pluck and resolution; go forward, you have much to do. You have error and neglect to repair, but you have an example to set, and a great purpose to accomplish, which if you shall happily achieve, you will once again add to glories of your forefathers, and make a solid and a worthy contribution to the happiness of mankind.’

W. E. Gladstone, August 1878¹

“The Eastern Question” is a term used to define the events and perfectives laid out regarding the fate of the weakened Ottoman Empire with regards to her Balkan and Middle East territories since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The matter of the guardianship of the Ottoman provinces in order to secure the Mediterranean Sea with the Indian routes between Russia and Britain gradually enhanced this importance. From the British perspective, however, the Eastern Question has taken a completely different dimension in the 1870s. Beyond being a question of the fate of the Ottoman Christians in the Ottoman Empire, the period of the Eastern Question can be regarded as a scene for the portrayal of intense political rivalry between Gladstone and Disraeli, the metamorphosis of British diplomacy towards the Ottoman Empire and growing importance of public opinion in a foreign issue that connected with party politics.

In this state of long-term consequences of the Eastern Question, the main argument should be related to the reasons for the British involvement and concern of the Eastern Question. Following Gladstone’s publishing of the Bulgarian pamphlet in 1876, each event during that time period proved the effect of a foreign issue on the public opinion instantly. The parliamentary debates which concerned sending the British fleet to Constantinople during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, dissolution of the Disraeli cabinet with the resignations of the ministers and the question of imperialism with British expansion on the Ottoman territories appeared as evidence.

The stage of the Anglo-Ottoman relations reached prior to the Russo-Ottoman war was very different in comparison to the alliance during the Crimean War. Along with the rebellions and insurrections in Bulgaria, the British people believed that the correspondence was not enough and too late to make English people understand the reality of the events. Also, there was no concentration on the Ottoman Empire affairs. When Gladstone got involved to the scene, he succeeded in unifying English people in one purpose: to stop Turkish barbarity on her subjects. That meant humanity, bringing justice back, helping the Christians against the Muslim Turks for them. Especially, the working and subaltern classes supporting these ideas. Along with his pamphlet and speeches in 1876, Gladstone was chosen and Heaven-sent leader for English men. He was free from the failure of the liberal party in 1874 and the other liberals. As a charismatic leader, he got involved to the daily life of Englishmen with the newspaper articles, periodicals and cartoons. Thus, English people support him categorically and he represented justice, freedom, humanity and liberation of the oppressed Christian minorities.

¹ Gladstone, W. E., ‘A speech delivered at Blackheath on Saturday, September 9th, 1876: together with letters on the question of the East’, Bristol Selected Pamphlets, 1876, p. 31.

After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78 (commonly known as "93 Harbi" in Ottoman historiography)², a new era began for the Anglo-Ottoman relations. Moreover, the idea of protecting the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire since the Crimean War completely disappeared from this alliance. During the 1850s, the alliance between the Ottomans and Britons was against the Russian power in the Crimean War. From the Crimean War onwards, particularly the traditional Palmerstonian policy against the Ottoman Empire was followed by subsequent governments. While the main purpose was to protect Ottoman territories and unification, this has been transformed gradually beginning with Gladstone's involvement into the events. In his previous statements Gladstone openly stated that the Palmerston's Crimean system was a mistake by pointing out the promised Ottoman reforms. In contrary, Benjamin Disraeli was the last British statesman to support the Palmerstonian system and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire which he believed essential for the European Balance of Power.

Beyond any doubt, during the nineteenth century, along with the enlightenment of the Victorian era, the public has become accustomed to read, to write and to brainstorm the social agenda more than ever. The Crimean War was not only the proof of the Anglo-Ottoman alliance in diplomatic terms, but it was also the common ground for the relationship between press and public. Yet, this created a butterfly effect among the readers frequently. Before the government's official reports on the atrocities, the press created a knowledge which led to an anti-Ottoman propaganda. The majority of the information that was received by the public came from print media. As Jones stated, readers' letters to the newspaper editors were the main comprehension of the press influence on the public. 'Writing to a paper' was a veritable cottage industry in the nineteenth century's England, motivated in part at least by the readers' ambition to see their words and names appear in print, and correspondence columns occupied substantial proportions of newspaper space particularly in local press. This was also evident during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-1878 after the Bulgarian Agitation of 1876. Following the Bulgarian Agitation of 1876, the New Year began with the possible solutions for the 'Eastern Question'. Moreover, due to the increase of the news and interest of the public on the future of the Ottoman subjects, the year 1877 may be called as the 'News Year'. Without question, the public was aware of the events inside the Ottoman Empire not from the official reports of Disraeli cabinet, but from the newspaper correspondence since the Bulgarian Agitation had happened in July, 1876. Further, while the *Daily News* was the main source for those events in the Ottoman Empire, Gladstone became the sound of the masses.

Between 1665 and 1800, only 88 newspaper companies were established in Britain, compared to 492 established from 1855 to 1861.³ The newspaper industry became lucrative and owning or managing a paper was perceived as a symbol of wealth and status. The repeal of the Stamp Duty was one driving force behind the impressive rise in the number of newspapers in Britain. Suddenly, small papers were able to turn a profit despite having lower circulations and costs than their rivals. This significantly

² According to the Gregorian calendar, this war began on 24 April 1877 which corresponded with the year 1294 for Moslem (hijri) calendar. However, Rumi calendar was used to finance the war and they assessed the beginning of the year 1293 that also named mentioned war, 'War of Ninety three'.

³ Source: Saunders, Otley and Co., *Newspaper Press Census for 1861* (1861) in Jones, A. *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth Century England*, (Aldershot, England: Scholar Press), 1996, p. 23.

assisted representation of all classes in society and the right to choose and to read the news without considering the price. Government policy towards the production of newspapers in the nineteenth century Britain was thus shaped not only by the agitation, but also by changing perceptions of the needs of economy and of the political and moral condition of society.⁴

Newspapers began to draw parallels between the current situation and the last Russo-Ottoman conflict that Britain was drawn into, the Crimean War. *The Times* remembered that, at the time of the Crimean War no one could point out the precise cause of the conflict—the precise incident in the absence of which Europe would have remained at peace; they could only point out an “ungovernable impetus of feelings and events in one direction, and under it the nations seemed to have moved purposeless and spellbound into war.”⁵ Moreover, as the tradition coming from the Crimean War, the newspapers diverged in terms of their perspectives and of being a supporter of Disraeli Government or that of W. E. Gladstone in the opposition. As Shannon speculated, the pro-Liberal press; *Daily News*, *Manchester “Guardian”*, *Sheffield “Independent”* (edited by Robert Leader), *“Darlington Echo”* (editor William T. Stead) became spokesmen of the movement.⁶ Apart from the others, the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-8 was a diplomatic battleground for the change of policies in terms of British diplomacy towards the Ottomans and the balance between the Disraeli government and the Whigs under the leadership of Gladstone. Particularly, the analysis of the newspaper articles and the perceptions of the readers in letters to the editors of the newspaper editors were substantial. There was a general notion that London journalism did not reflect the values and opinions of the population at large, but only that of the upper crust of British society, a group that was more inclined to “side with masters against servants, with governors against subjects, with wealth against poverty, with the status quo in all things against change in which it finds no personal profit.”⁷ However, the Bulgarian agitation truly was a mass movement, not limited to the elites, like the public demonstrations during the Greek War of Independence. There was a relief that the voices of the masses were being heard because of the popular opinion that if “*the Times* and *the Daily News* are on one side, there is more than enough to counterbalance the rest of daily journalism.”⁸ According to Harris, the Conservative press, led by such publications as *John Bull*, *the Pall Mall Gazette*, *The Globe*, *The Standard*, and *Vanity Fair*, struggled to define their policies. These journals tended to avoid the subject of

Bulgaria altogether in July.⁹ The Liberal press in London more or less followed the lead of *The Times*, with the exception of *the Daily News*. The Catholic press also provided interesting insight. During the 1860s, Catholics had lost enthusiasm for the Liberal Party but were generally unwilling to support the Conservatives, who had a

⁴ Jones, A. Ibid, p. 24.

⁵ *The Times*, 17 October 1877, p. 7.

⁶ Shannon, R. T., *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876*, (Great Britain: Robert Cunningham and Sons Ltd., Longbank Works, Alva, 1963), p. 49.

⁷ Kinnear, J. B., *The Mind of England on the Eastern Question*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), p. 4.

⁸ Kinnear, J. B., Ibid, p. 5.

⁹ Harris, D., *Britain and the Bulgarian Horrors of 1876*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 150.

long tradition of anti-Catholicism.¹⁰ On the other hand, the parallels between the Turkish mistreatment of Slavs and the English mistreatment of the Irish were not lost on these Catholic journals, which served only to complicate their relationship further during the agitation. Catholics were generally unsympathetic of Gladstone, who rose to prominence within the agitation. W.G. Ward of *Dublin Review* wrote, “A little more sack cloth and ashes would, in truth, be becoming when Mr. Gladstone next expostulates with foreign nations on the score of humanity towards insurgents.” The *Examiner* and *Northern Star* of Belfast opined, “Now that [Gladstone] had become a Home Ruler for Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Herzegovina who knows but that he may end by seeing self-government is also good for Ireland.”¹¹ In contrast, John Boyd Kinnear theorized that, “Both in Vienna and in London, some of the leading newspapers are the property of Jews, who, because of Turkish toleration and Christian persecutions, are disposed to back the Turks.”¹²

Still, Gladstone stated that he tried not to impose on the reader and lead them to think about the official information by the British agents. This guidance however was a direction to his strong representation against the Turkish and Disraeli governments. As giving examples from everyday routine, Gladstone’s portrayal was influential on the readers; ‘If the mother can tend the house and the father till the field in peace, it is when, and so long as, the agents of this Government are not in view; and it only proves that tyrannous Power has not yet found the alchemy, by which it can convert human life into one huge mass of misery, uniform and unredeemed.’¹³ As the ‘bag and baggage’ phrase was in the Bulgarian pamphlet, Gladstone’s motto was ‘Do it again’ by referring to the Turkish Government’s acts on an ongoing basis.¹⁴

By reminding his duties in the Crimean War, statesman justified himself, ‘With a share of responsibility of the Crimean War upon me, I respectfully decline to join them: and I have a firm conviction that, when the people of England tell their mind to the world and to the Porte in the choice of their representatives from time to time, the lesson conveyed by their acts, so far as it goes, will be, "You shall not do it again."’¹⁵ Despite being controversial, the last sentence of the pamphlet entirely summarized the statesman’s arguments. Along with supporting his previous arguments Gladstone mainly addressed the roles of the Disraeli government. He drew particular attention to the policies of Lord Derby and Henry Elliot. ‘It is necessary here to consider whether this Government, with its defective organisation, was in real, or only in official, ignorance of the gravity of the case. We now the proper answer mentioned but not explained.’¹⁶ Besides, he stated that he could lengthen his pamphlet by detail the series of complaints by the Ambassador, the Consuls, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Baring, respecting the delays, the evasions, and the partiality, of the

¹⁰ Rossi, J. P., “Catholic Opinion on the Eastern Question, 1876-1878,” in *Church History*, vol. 51, no. 1 (March, 1982), p. 54.

¹¹ Rossi, J. P., *Ibid*, p. 58.

¹² Kinnear, J. B., *Ibid*, p. 4.

¹³ Gladstone, W.E., ‘Lessons in massacre, or, the conduct of the Turkish government in and about Bulgaria since May, 1876: chiefly from the papers presented by command’, *Bristol Selected Pamphlets*, (1877),’ p. 79.

¹⁴ Gladstone, W. E., *Lessons in massacre...*, p. 8.

¹⁵ Gladstone, W. E., *Lessons in massacre...*, p. 80.

¹⁶ Gladstone, W. E., *Lessons in massacre...*, p. 16.

Commission that could bring it into collision with the inflamed and savage temper of the Mahometan population of Bulgaria.¹⁷

In January 1877, Gladstone's other main concern was highlighted a book titled *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe*¹⁸ written by Georgina Mackenzie and Paulina Irby. Following the 1875 outbreak of the events in Bosnia, Adeline Pauline Irby became a British heroic character in the eyes of the public for her aid to the Bosnian Christians. Following publication of her memoirs with Miss Mackenzie, Miss Irby became the leading figure in Bosnia just like Gladstone's position in the Bulgarian agitation. Further, it can be argued that Miss Irby and Miss Mackenzie were the humanitarian part of the war as Florence Nightingale had been during the Crimean War. Furthermore, the inseparability of Christianity and humanitarianism was unambiguous for the majority of those involved with the agitation.

While the context of the book composed by the memoirs and recollections from the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire, it existed as the substantiation of the existing condition of the Christian minorities from these witnesses. In other words, being neutral, and not being a member of any political organization, and being fearless and brave women, Mackenzie and Irby were the representatives of the humanitarian nation. Hence, these were also the main reasons why Gladstone addressed their work and supported his arguments in the preface of this book. As he noted in the preface, 'I do not mean to disparage the labours and services of others when I say that, in my opinion, no diplomatist, no consul, no traveller, among our countrymen, has made such a valuable contribution to our means of knowledge in this important matter, as was made by Miss Mackenzie and Miss Irby, when they published, in 1867, their travels in some of the Slovenian Provinces of European Turkey.'¹⁹ Furthermore, by giving instances from this book, Gladstone illustrated the daily life events in order to be simply understood. As it was during the times of the Crimean War and the heroic stories of Florence Nightingale, these two travellers were connected to Christians in Balkan territories. 'Adeline and Priscilla were just arriving back to the Balkans from a summer in England when the conflict hit Bosnia. After quickly evacuating the school, they began to contemplate how they might be of assistance to the refugees who were huddling along the roads in Slavonia, barely surviving on thirty cents per day (those over 14 receiving half of that) with the winter fast approaching. With the help of Adeline's friend Florence Nightingale, they began raising money in England, creating the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Fugitives' Orphan Relief Fund' and appealing for funds in *The Times*. Within three months they were back in Croatia, opening schools for the refugee children across Slavonia. The schools provided a healthy distraction for these displaced kids and gave the ladies centralized locations from which to distribute food, clothing, and provisions to the refugees. By June 1876 they had opened eight schools with four hundred children, and had fed over three thousand women and children. But their work was only beginning. Over the next three years, Adeline and Priscilla worked tirelessly for the thousands of refugees, expanding their work to the Dalmatian region near Knin. By the summer of 1877,

¹⁷ Gladstone, W. E., *Lessons in massacre...*, p. 67.

¹⁸ Georgiana. M., M. & Irby, A. P. *Travels In The Slavonic Provinces Of Turkey In Europe*, (London: Daldy, Isbister & Co, 56, Ludgate Hill), 1877

¹⁹ Gladstone, W.E., preface, p. ix., Georgiana. M., M. & Irby, A. P. *Travels In The Slavonic Provinces Of Turkey In Europe*, (London: Daldy, Isbister & Co, 56, Ludgate Hill), 1877.

twenty schools had been established; twelve hundred children taught, fed and clothed; twenty-eight orphans in boarding homes.²⁰ Josh Irby²¹ argued for the motivation and the values of these two travellers in order to accomplish these facts as a woman and in the environment of Victorian Britain. He stated that ‘the motivation can be best understood through the perspective of her Protestant faith. Within the Anglican church in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was a movement of philanthropic-minded evangelicals for whom humanitarian work and the spread of the gospel were not mutually exclusive.’²² It should be again fair to argue that there was a resemblance and connection between Gladstone’s own values and these ladies. The concern on humanity and the loyalty to the Protestant Christianity combined the same purposes under the leadership of Gladstone. As he stated, ‘The work of Miss Irby, with the chapters she has added, widens our perspective. I have myself stated, months back, to the public that, while we were venting indignation about Bulgaria, the Turk was doing the very same foul work, though not on the same imperial scale, in Bosnia. *The Manchester Guardian* has rendered important public service with respect to the same afflicted region, through its very valuable correspondence. Miss Irby, after her long and self-sacrificing experience, speaks with a weight of dispassionate authority, to which neither I nor any correspondent of a public journal can pretend. She now discloses, and that down to the latest date, upon information which she knows to be trustworthy, a state of things which exhibits a greater aggregate of human misery flowing from Turkish rule, than even the Bulgaria of 1876 could show.’²³

During 1877, the entertainment news portions of the newspapers had made themselves the thread of the current foreign policies. Particularly, the extracts from *Punch* had a priority. A *Sheffield Daily* fun part says that “a child a day old is liable to serve in the serve of Turkish army, and must pay exemption tax.” Evidently, while the Turks fancy England is but their vassal, they regard the great game of war as the merest child of play.”²⁴

Further, the public joined in the events and the debates for various reasons. Firstly, the lack of punishment of the British offenders and the real stories from the participants in the era like Miss Irby and Miss Mackenzie found interest in the society. The press’s ability to create knowledge expediently, coupled by the silence of the government, incited the public. As Harris stated, in fact the silence of the government allowed strong suspicions to grow.²⁵ Disraeli and the Foreign Office was slow to release information to the public and people trusted newspaper articles rather than official reports of the government. Second, the newspaper industry along with the competition of the prices had changed and every member of the society became free to read any kind of newspaper. Thirdly, blame for Henry Elliot as the British Ambassador in the Porte on account of the agitation, British support for Ottoman misrule, and the Russo-Turkish War, was popular and persisted as late as the 1930s, supported by Harold

²⁰ Josh Irby, ‘Adeline Paulina Irby, Bosnian Heroine, Noble Humanitarian, Protestant Believer’, p 4 of 7, <http://tr.scribd.com/doc/47249400/Adeline-Paulina-Irby>

²¹ One of the relatives of Paulina Irby. For his blog and more memoirs on Paulina Irby: http://tr.scribd.com/josh_irby

²² Josh Irby, ‘Adeline Paulina Irby, Bosnian Heroine, Noble Humanitarian, Protestant Believer’, p 5 of 7, <http://tr.scribd.com/doc/47249400/Adeline-Paulina-Irby>

²³ Gladstone, W. E., *Ibid*, 1877, p. xii.

²⁴ ‘Children In arms’, ‘the Extracts from the Punch’, *The York Herald*, 20 January 1877

²⁵ Harris, D. *Ibid*, p. 94.

Temperley's history of the Bulgarian agitation.²⁶ After the agitation, Gladstone in opposition wrote, "The heaviest question of all is not what was suffered in a given district at a given date, but what the normal and habitual condition of eight or ten millions of the subject races, who for fifteen generations of men have been in servitude to the Turk."²⁷ Furthermore, Gladstone lacked the support of the media's coverage, which also contributed to the popularity of his first pamphlet. Gladstone's general argument clearly condemned the Ottoman government. He wrote, 'The acts of the Porte, through nine long months, demonstrate a deliberate intention, and a coherent plan. That purpose has been to cover up iniquity; to baffle inquiry' to reward prominence in crime; to punish or discourage humanity among its own agents; to prolong the reign of terror; to impress with a steady coherency upon the minds of its Mahometan subjects this but too intelligible lesson for the next similar occasion, *do it again*.'²⁸ However, since the British public was aware of massacres within the borders of the Ottoman Empire throughout the century, perhaps there was a perception that brutality was the cost of doing business with the Ottomans. The Bulgarian agitation was a turning point; even Conservative papers were swept up in the movement, condemning the Sultanate. It seems as though there were numerous reasons for this sudden change in Eastern policy, many of which were intrinsically related to *the Daily News* reporting. By doing so, journalism was fundamentally changed; the government saw a need to work with, not against the press which was founded in the Eastern Question policies of Gladstone.

Along with the interest of the public opinion, there was a substantial increase in the amount of the caricatures during the Russo-Turkish war. In other words, public opinion was more formed with the party politics and foreign policy against the Ottoman Empire. For instance, as portraying the political situation before and during the 1877-8 Ottoman-Russian War, "Dogs of War" titled cartoon illustrated what happened between this triangle; Russia, Britain and the Ottomans. While Dogs representing the Balkan nations, their collars showed their names of these nations: Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Montenegrins. The man with the dogs to be let loose in Russia, while looking out from behind the fence, Britain and looking back in front of the Ottoman Empire represented man as drawn, the sick man of Europe. Hence, there is no doubt that these newspaper cartoons, reveals this period by the illustrations without questioning the realism of the documents provided by the parties. The Eastern Question was also a scene for the rise of Jingoism and its relation with working classes. According to Cunningham, 'In terms of British politics its course ran from the agitation over Bulgarian atrocities in the autumn of 1876 to the apparent Conservative triumph at the Congress of Berlin in the summer of 1878.'²⁹ A. J. Mundella described to Gladstone, on 26 December 1877, what was happening: "Great efforts have been made and are still making to induce the working classes to declare for war, and a great deal of money is circulating in promotion of this object. Maltman Barry ... is the prime agent in this business and I have traced him to his headquarters which turn out to be the offices of the *Morning Post*. . . Some hundreds of pounds must have been spent on printing alone. Working class districts are everywhere

²⁶ Temperley H., *The Bulgarian and Other Atrocities, 1875-8, in the Light of Historical Criticism*, (London: H. Milford, 1931).

²⁷ Gladstone, W.E., *Ibid*, p. 29.

²⁸ Gladstone, W., E., *Ibid*, p. 29.

²⁹ Cunningham, H., 'Jingoism in 1877-78', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Jun., 1971), pp. 429-453, p. 431.

placarded with inflammatory appeals against Russia".³⁰ The Resolutions for the situation of Britain during the Russo-Turkish war was composed by the liberal meetings, conferences and letters which voiced under Gladstone. *The Daily News* on 4 May 1877 gave a broad place for the details and information provided for Gladstone's Resolutions.³¹ Furthermore, *The Star* summarized the current situation under three subtitles: 'War between Turkey and Russia being now an established fact, the part which England is likely to play in the future is being speculated on and discussed in every corner of Europe. There are three courses, and three only, open to Her Majesty's Government. The first and most obvious course is neutrality. The second course is an alliance with Turkey alone or with Turkey and Austria for the defence of British interests. The third course is an alliance with Russia, for the chastisement of Muhammedian insolence and the liberation of Christian population from the yoke of Osmanli. The first named policy is now being pursued by Her Majesty's Government. The second policy is that advocated by what is called a pro-Turkish or anti-Russian party, comprising men who, as a rule, have had more experience of Continental affairs than their neighbours. The third policy that represented by Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Argyll and *The Daily News*, may immediately be dismissed as untenable, for it has the marked disapproval of the Conservative, and the bulk of the Liberal party as well as the country at large.'³²

Although the debates concerning the neutrality of England, the conditions of the Ottoman Christian minorities, Russians war aims, and newspaper correspondence coming from the region were different from period to period throughout the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-8, the main arguments were related to the policies of the Disraeli Cabinet and the increasing public interest in the events that were occurring. Without doubt, Gladstone's propaganda with his publishing of his famous pamphlet from different perspectives can be specified, such as humanitarian, religious or strategic since the Bulgarian Uprising in September 1876. These aspects, however, had more extensive dimensions together with the experienced events during the Russo-Turkish War. The historian Justin McCarthy from another approach has stated that if the Bulgarian Horrors had not engaged the sympathies of the British, the war probably would not have taken place.³³ As he argued, whipped up by religious sympathy and prejudice, the political opportunism of Gladstone and the liberal press with the British public opinion made it impossible for Disraeli to come the aid of the Turks, despite his own wish to do so.³⁴ The British public found it unacceptable to consider intervening in any pending conflict on the side of the Ottoman state, no matter how much the Russians were detested.³⁵ Critics of the agitation placed blame on the press for the Russo-Turkish War, believing that Russia was encouraged to go to war since Britain was unlikely to intervene on behalf of the Ottomans in response to the strong tide of public opinion.³⁶

³⁰ Gladstone Papers Add. MSS 44258, f. 150, Cunningham, H., 'Jingoism in 1877-78', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Jun., 1971), pp. 429-453, p. 431.

³¹ 'Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions on the Eastern Question', *Daily News*, 4 May 1877.

³² *The Star*, 5 May 1877.

³³ Mc Carthy J., *Death and exile: the ethnic cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922*, (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1992), p. 64.

³⁴ Mc Carthy J., *Ibid*, p. 64.

³⁵ Harris, D., *Ibid*, p. 132.

³⁶ Shannon, *Ibid*, p. 266.

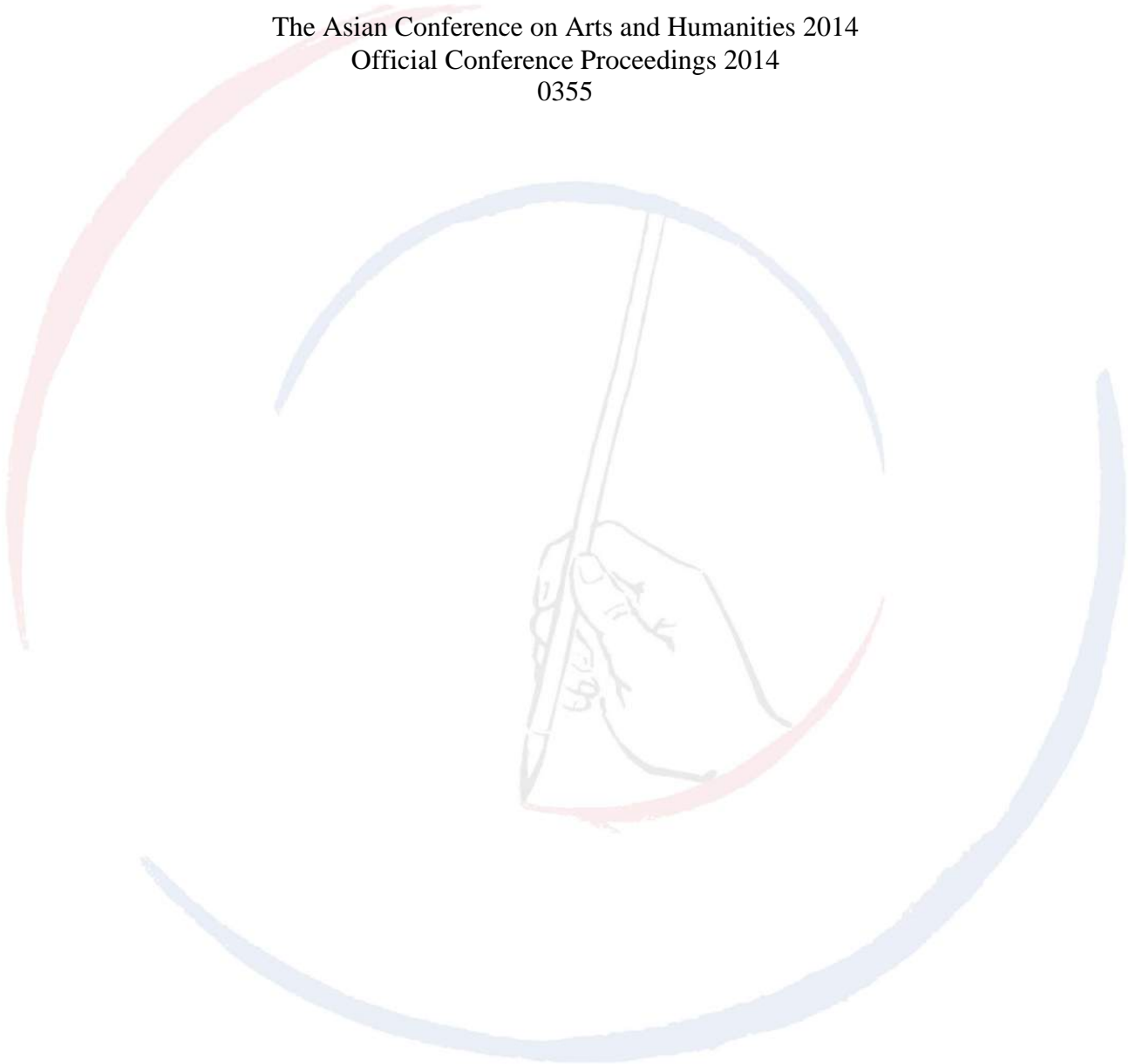
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Fragmented Communities-- Friendships in Dyadic Relationships between a Young Adult with a Developmental Disability and a Nondisabled Peer

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Diversity, among people is a strength, not a weakness; however, the person who experiences a developmental disability may walk on the outside, -- in the margins. Friendship is a treasured aspect of being human. For anyone it is a place of refuge and understanding, and in that place of being or through that portal much laughter, strength, and joy gather. It is difficult to define friendship, but we know that there are countless benefits that we experience in our friendship with others. However, what is it like between someone who has a disability and a nondisabled peer within their relationships and friendships? Friendships serve to dispel the deep structural parameters that exist— person to person, and they offer a way into otherwise close, and fragmented communities.

Through the media of the short podcast, (audio and visual) and still photographs where young people tell us about their friendships, we can understand more about how to bring people together in communities that are in many ways increasingly fragmented, isolated. As Eisner (1997) proposed, “Put another way, our capacity to wonder is stimulated by the possibilities the new forms of representation suggest” (p. 8). The basic interpretive interviews captured on video help to explore the nature of friendships, and included are third-party participants, a parent and a professor. According to Merriam (2002), “The product of a qualitative inquiry is richly descriptive. Words and pictures rather than numbers are used to convey what a researcher has learned about a phenomena” (p.5). The medium of video captures qualitative interpretive interviews, and also allows for clarification and further understanding through the stimulated recall method, where participants are asked to review their video interviews, and offer further information (Retiano, 2005). The study of gestures and nonverbal cues, tone of voice, and body language, are then observed by the researcher, for there is ongoing, shared communication, not necessarily verbalized, between the friends. The video information adds to the data.

Communities, proximity, and friendship, offer much for the person who is marginalized. The communities of the performing arts, and artist collectives, may also offer a way into a community of friendships through collaboration and creativity. Artists in inclusive communities, may understand difference, and marginalization, and perhaps be more empathetic, and open to include someone with a developmental disability. Art, and other artistic endeavors may also provide a way out of what is fragmented and isolated.

Sharing with others contact with the rhythms of the universal life through appreciation of great works of art generates spiritual solidarity that can be expanded to link all peoples everywhere. Experiencing art helps us rediscover our true humanity and return to that elemental life where we are all on a footing of equality, where no barriers exist. In a very real sense, art and literature are tools for peace because the knowledge and experience gained from appreciating and sharing them cultivate nonviolence, compassion, trust, solidarity, beauty and breadth of mind, and intensified awareness of the natures and needs of all humanity (Galtung & Ikeda, 2005, p.12).

This warrants further exploration and research. One interviewee for the pilot project for this study of friendship in dyads, “Alex,” in “Alex and Jollean,” now performs in an inclusive dance company, and this has provided many relationships and friendships for him, within a community of performing artists, who experience developmental and physical disabilities, and nondisabled peers. The benefits for Alex are many, -- the company provides a way out of marginalization for him, but it also allows him to develop his work as a modern dancer and performer, in an urban center, within an inclusive community. He talks about how it is more than just about his dance experience, that he has opportunities to go out with his colleagues, and do other activities with them.

Within the pilot podcast for this study “Alex and Jollean,”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FVY83annrA> benefits of the friendship are evident between the young people, and their friendship offers them much satisfaction and happiness. Additionally, the other podcasts shot specifically using qualitative on-camera interviews, exemplify what is important within their friendships. As Alex said, “I like being in a friendship with Jo,” I want to have a good time, I have had a lot of experience with her, having a great talk and a great laugh,” and he also says “that I think our friendship is very important.” Jollean says that, “he has strengthened my personality,” “I have more confidence, “I have become a better friend in general.”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WaaKCfkTQy4> Shani and Aimee do things together, “walk together,” and “cook together,” and learn how to get along with one another within a specific framework of support worker and person who has a developmental disability. They become closer through facilitation, and a “paradigm switch,” that occurs for them takes them beyond their current limitations, into friendship. The self esteem that Aimee develops, because of their friendship, and “her joy in just the simple things of life,” that they share--“energizes the two of them.” Shani talks about “the intangibles that I can’t describe, that are just our relationship,” and “although I usually like words there are no words for me to put a finger on this friendship that feels like it’s older than we are.” “Like we were friends somewhere before,” says Shani, and Aimee agrees with her. Aimee has an obvious rapport with Shani, and answers her questions about what friends do without hesitation. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNVxVe3W1_o Emily and Alethea, met at a university where Alethea was the volunteer note taker for Emily, in a criminology class. They too have found a common purpose in their friendship which interests them both, and speak of what the characteristics are that they like in friends. They mention, “honesty,” “fun to be around with,” and becoming “the person who helps you be a better version of yourself.” Emily and Alethea are connected by their passion of self-discovery, as well as through educational concerns of various kinds. These relationships demonstrate that commonalities cement the underlying foundation of their friendship, and this must be understood and emphasized in a positive way to others. Beyond that very powerful foundation of sharing something in common with another person, is a shared purpose within these friendships.

Furthermore, nondisabled peers experience changes in beliefs and attitudes in inclusive educational experiences, as reported by Fisher (1999)-- “improvements in self-concept, growth in social cognition, increased tolerance of others, reduced fear of human differences, development of personal principles, and interpersonal acceptance and

friendships” (p. 459). He states that a lack of contact between people with disabilities and people without disabilities will lead to further segregation and discrimination. The advantage of friendships in these dyads is that they are not one sided because nondisabled peers can develop the attributes of caring, compassion, and empathy for others who are more vulnerable. These attributes, as well as social justice, according to Van der Klift and Kunc (2002), should be taught and encouraged at all levels of education because they are relevant (Sutherland, p.24, 2010). We need to ask how to reach young people who will make a difference in subsequent generations to come? As we care for the vulnerable in our societies the ripple effects will extend to reach an ever-wider group of people.

Researchers too, may perceive someone who has a disability as unable to be in, and have a friendship with a peer without a disability. Lutifiyya (1991) found an exchange and equality between people who were happy to be in relationships, whereas previously, researchers may have limited their research to only persons with similar impairments. Taylor and Bogden (1989) stated that the relationship that they studied between persons with mental challenges and nondisabled peers were strong, real, and endured. Sutherland (2010) also found friendships in dyads between a young adult with a developmental disability and a nondisabled peer to be a rich experience that have many beneficial qualities for the young people involved in them. Proximity provides people with a way into friendships and relationships. Furthermore, without inclusive attitudes and beliefs, and the opportunities that it provides, we have to ask the question, how is there a way otherwise?

Flavey, Forest, Pearpoint and Rosenberg (2002) noted: one of the key characteristics of building connections and friendships is being in close proximity to people and having frequent opportunities to interact with each other (Asher, Odem & Gottman, 1977; Hartup, 1975; Howes; 1983; Lewis & Rosenblum, 1975...(p.29).

Within the social network of an inclusive community there are many possibilities of how to connect others. We find ourselves in fragmented communities that are not fully representative of all of what society comprises, which fall short of who is represented within the full spectrum of human diversity. When we segregate, and marginalize, we lose accessibility to others, the benefits that are gained from working and living together, and the contributions that others make. These limitations may mean that we limit ourselves, and what can be achieved together. As our planet grows ever smaller we need to educate young people of the many aspects of diverse populations. Through educational endeavors, and awareness we can bring people together, and work alongside vulnerable people rather than perpetuating a cold-hearted world void of humanism and caring. We must work on these endeavors, so we can pass on knowledge of how to bring people together in subsequent generations. It is a very important task.

As the forces of globalization, modernity and late capitalism, have eroded the place based nature of communities children can find themselves with less richness and stability of community life” (Ellis, J. 2005, p.57). These forces continue to seep into our lives, and our communities are now less stable, where belonging is eroded, and many people find

themselves alone, and isolated. Inclusive networks of people, and communities provide places for people. As Galtung & Ikeda (1995), discuss how there are structures within our systems that disempower people, this is particularly true when one considers the life of the person who experiences a developmental disability. For someone who has little skill, or ability to reach out to others, and caregivers who may see little need to do so on their behalf, there is only further unhappiness. In advocacy and community associations there is a growing movement toward further normalization and socialization, however, there is a very long path ahead.

The connections that are provided through proximity and inclusive educational and artistic communities will fill a need for the person with a developmental disability through connections with nondisabled peers. These peers may provide lifelong friendships for the person who experiences a developmental disability. Additionally, there may also be employment, and security that is provided through person to person contacts. Postsecondary inclusive education initiatives, and the wider community, need to find ways to fill the void that can be a very harsh reality for very vulnerable people.

Peers will come up with natural ways to connect with one another. This cannot be underestimated in its power, and knowledge of how to bring someone into the fold through respect, value, and caring. All people must be impartial in their beliefs and support friendships within positive communities of belonging and inclusivity. Our communities should endeavor to include diverse populations within them as we work to build a better world for everyone as: “We are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied into a single garment of destiny... We are made to live together”... (King ... *The Trumpet of Conscience*, 69, as cited in Soka, *Buddhist Humanism in Action*, 2014). Recently, feedback was given about a dance that was presented by an inclusive dance company. There were three words that were suggested: community, diversity, and home that represented their piece, --these words, and their work, are only the beginning.

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Friendship Podcasts by Lorna Sutherland

Alex & Jollean

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FVY83annrA>

Emily & Alethea

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNVxVe3W1_o

Shani & Aimee

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WaaKCfkTQy4>

A Linkage between Environmental-Awareness Raising and Sustainable Consumption of One-way Bottled Water in Thailand

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Abstract:

Public participation in behaving sustainable consumption is challenging for improving Thai-based socio-economic and environmental securities. This paper presents evidence-based evaluation of implementing the sustainable consumption (SC) of one-way bottled water, with emphasis on environmental-awareness raising (EAW). A matrix format was used to identify the EAW based on the interplay of awareness and action towards two SC indicators: resource efficiency and impact reduction. A set of questionnaire was prepared to measure consumer's awareness of and action for consuming one-way bottled water and disposing of post-used bottles, including the opinions about environment and human health consequences. The data were analyzed and categorized for a five-point scale of the SC and the EAW, in the means comparison. The prominent finding is that consumers moderately perform the SC pertinent to the extreme feature of EAW matrix: action with awareness. They favor resource efficiency measure over the impact reduction. Drinking up a whole bottle of water is the most favorite practice for achieving in the SC, unlike the choices of recycling post-used bottles and changing to tap water. The research also conclude that the SC pattern is potential for filling the gap between environmental awareness and sustainable actions. Hence, a bottom-up participation in the SC shall be largely developed to ensure sustainability success in Thai context.

Keywords: Environmental-awareness raising, Sustainable consumption, One-way bottled water, Thailand

1. Introduction

Humanities generally behave to satisfy the opportunity to consume and the sense of fulfillment associated with their experiences of social life [1]. The advances of new technologies are the primary drivers of increasing demand for and supply of products and services those also resulting in consumerist lifestyle and materially intensive economies [2]. Many disposable products make life possible for a faster and convenient pace of society indicate a consumption pattern and the future livelihoods [3, 4]. Thus, the achievement in sustainable development cannot come true until the public is aware of environmental problems and has a participatory role in performing sustainable consumption [5, 6].

Sustainable consumption results from the attempts on environmental protection with growing concern to resource efficiency and impact reduction [7]. Increasing demand for one-way bottled water those eventually translating into consumer wastes is pushing the planet away from sustainability [8-10]. These bottles transformed the interplay of social, economic and environmental development as they were mostly demanded for today-lifestyle [8, 11]. It would say that without greater understanding of how to consume one-way bottled water and dispose of the post-used bottles in sustainable paradigm, it may even worsen the most disagreeable impacts to this planet[9, 12-14].

1.1 One-way bottled water. Bottled water has been the top end-used application of Polyethylene terephthalate (PET) plastic since its introduction into beverage packaging [15]. There are more than 6,000 bottlers throughout Thailand [16], consuming nearly 40,000 tons of PET plastic and producing 2.4 billion liters of bottled water every year [17, 18]. PET-bottled water has become one of the most common plastic products to be consumed and disposed of, on a regular basis, both at and away from home [8, 12]. The popularity in PET-bottled water consumption is possibly due to a state policy on price control within US\$ 0.20 (baht 7.00) per a 500-600 cc (cubic centimeter) water-weighted bottle, as a so-called unit of on-the-go pack size [18]. PET plastic is regarded as the most possibly recyclable plastic is petroleum-based material where actually constitutes various pollutions to damaging ecological system and biodiversity, including human health [19-23]. The production of one kg of PET resin consumes about three liters of petroleum [24]. Owing to Song and Hyun [25], its environmental impacts arise at the highest level when 100% of post-used bottles go to landfill.

1.2 Sustainable consumption (SC). Environmental impacts and human health risk would decrease when societies were aware of the precedent consumerist-lifestyle [26]. Referring to Raskin et al.[27], increasing demand for consumer goods can cause a stream of waste and the relevant environment and human health issues. Implementation of SC requires bottom-up participation, from demand side, in changing to individually sustainable lifestyle[7]. In this regard, humanities who live in a finite world are eventually forced to adopt the SC practice including as to how and how much consumer's awareness and their real action were contributed to environmental protection [1, 28]. The SC can be developed through a 3 R's principle representing three great ways (reduce, reuse, recycle) for waste elimination and environmental protection [23, 29]. According to Srinivas [30], a reduction of waste generation can save both materials and energy as well as remove the need and

expense of disposal. While a reuse saves new material and product consumption, recycling saves valuable raw materials, and cuts down waste collection and disposal costs. In other words, the attempt to resource benefit optimization with impact minimization is a basis of SC implementation.

1.2.1 Resource efficiency. Due to Cellura et al. [31], all social and economic activities depend on the availability and use of natural resources. The amount of resources that are consumed for a unit of product or service have to be used efficiently, with less material consumption and less pollution. When people used fewer resources and generated fewer emissions in meeting their demands for food, transport, residence, energy and so on, they could minimize natural resource consumption as well as maximize its all benefits by increasing reuse, recycling and every recovery [3, 6, 32]. Coelho et al. [13] proposed that recycling the waste bottles was more effective than did other recoveries. It helped in a reduction of both finite resource consumption and volume of landfills, including efficiencies in recapturing and reusing the energy and its raw materials.

1.2.2 Impact reduction. Impact prevention and reduction was often discussed as a component of resource consumption practices [7, 26]. It involved the use of resources and processes that were able to eliminate pollutants and wastes generation both at the source and within their use [33, 34]. However, the efficient use would deliver growth in resource consumption and contradicted efforts to save resources for greater efficiency [21]. In other words, consumption efficiency delivers rebound effect to increasing demand for the goods eventually needs a trade-off between resource efficiency and impact reduction so that the SC can be substantial.

1.3 Environmental-awareness raising (EAW). As the world has been beyond nature's carrying capacity, a way of socio-economic growth on sustainable development must be strengthened by all means [27]. The progress toward sustainability represented as to how people viewed themselves and how important changes were in individual behavior [5, 35]. Consumption behavior was not simply about the act of purchase but reflected a cultural phenomenon that served to legitimate capitalism on an everyday basis [36]. Flor [37] believed that a sense of responsibility to care, protect and enhance environmental quality has being concerted to people in this decade. He therefore proposed that bio-geophysics and social action against the economic and humanistic values in a social system must converge on environmental awareness. Among the adverse impacts from globalization, EAW has been becoming a powerful catalyzer to reach sustainable future by constructing a new kind of consumers' relationship with the public realm [38, 39]. The desirable actions of environmental protection are existing whenever the EAW is universally addressed in society [40].

In psychological view, the stages of covert and overt activities and experiences that individuals engaged in their behavioral patterns were conceptualized for an interplayed set of thought and action [41]. Human always behaves as a rational actor, striving to satisfy the own needs consistent with the external influences of norms and values grounded in and governed by social values [6, 42]. Therefore, a conceptual form of human behavior was generally based on the interplay of awareness and action against attitude gap [43]. Bandura [41] emphasized that person showed the gap between the areas of action (stage of awareness), and the readiness to act (state of

action) when expressing the intention. The behavioral pattern might be inconsistent with the mainly positive attitude towards environmental issues[28]. Consumers who considered themselves as a high environmental awareness probably behaved contradictory to attitude [44]. They may choose to spend less money for eco-products due to factors of conveniences, habit, money value, personal health, etc. It would say that level of environmental awareness was related to actionable resilience against motivational factors[45].

Based on the interplay of awareness and action, the EAW can exist for four matrices. First, consumer has neither awareness nor action for the SC. Secondly, consumer is aware of the SC practice but take no action (awareness but no action). When the action is performed with habitude, it refers to the third one: action without awareness. The awareness and action, or action with awareness indicates the extreme feature of EAW explained that consumer has so much awareness of the SC that the action is intentionally performed. The EAW matrix, as shown in Figure 1, is conceptualized for the assumption that if enough consumers discontinue any unsustainable pattern of one-way bottled water consumption and truly address the EAW, they can drive change towards the SC.

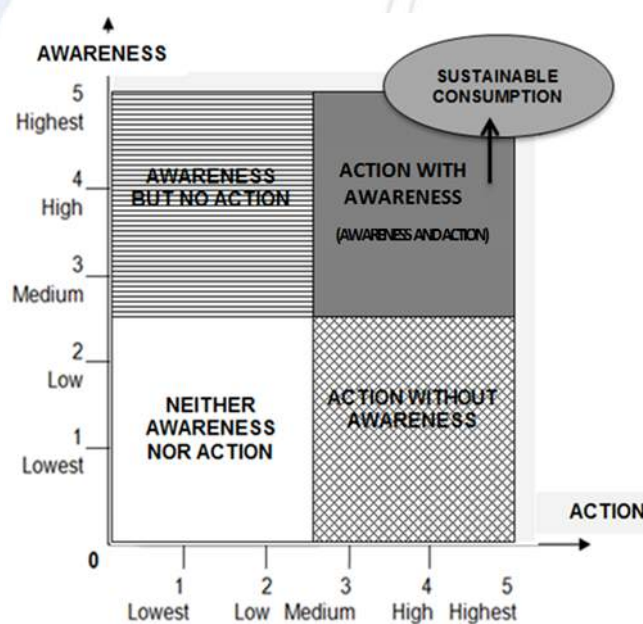


Figure 1. Evaluation of the SC success with the EAW matrix of awareness and action

2. Methodology

2.1 Terms and scopes. The research focuses on consumers' performances in consuming PET-bottled water and disposing of the post-used bottles. A variety of on-the-go pack size; 500-600 cc PET-bottled water, designates a so-called functional unit in this study. Bangkok and its vicinities (cities like Pathum Thani, Nonthaburi, Nakhon Pathom, Samut Prakan and Samut Sakhon) are the area boundary. Two indicators of the SC include resource efficiency and impact reduction were measured to indicate the matrix format of EAW towards the SC of PET-bottled water.

2.2 Population and sampling. Coupled with Yamane formula[46] , sample size was based on the residents in Bangkok; approximately 6,000,000 people, and its vicinities covering population of 500,000-1,000,000 people at each [47]. From these references, 400 units should be estimated for the samples subject to a significance level of $\pm 5\%$, at population over 100,000 units. However, a sample size was targeted at a double in this research, equivalent to 800 samples. Any invalid and wasted responses were replaced, accordingly.

A multiple random sampling was referred to in data collection. First, using quota random sampling arranged the samples, with 300 units for Bangkok and 100 units for every vicinity. Then, a purposive sampling was applied to the office buildings those having 200 persons working inside in weekdays. The research also targeted the offices located on the main roads of each city. They were Sathorn-Silom-Phaya Thai for Bangkok, Phahol Yothin-Viphavadee for Pathum Thani, Pakkred-Chaengwattna for Nonthaburi, Petchkasem for Nakhon Pathom, Bangna-Bangplee for Samut Prakan and Bang Khun Thian for Samut Sakhon.

2.3 Instruments and data treatment. A set of closed-ended questions was divided to two parts. The first part of choice selection was devoted to information about bottled water consumption and the impact consequences. The other was based on the rating choices against degree of awareness and frequency of action against PET-bottled-water consumption so that the SC practice can be identified.

A content validity of rating questions was justified based on the agreement from those who are keen on environment, bottled water, PET plastics and research methodology. The experts helped in addressing the adequacy and representativeness before item editing and a trial-test for reliability analysis with the Cronbach's Alpha [48]. Collective data of the first part were distributed in a number and the percentage, with a majority figure. The other was computed in the means comparison to a five-point scale, with the range value of 0.8 for a frequency distribution between the intervals as presenting in Table 1.

Table 1. A Five-Point Scale for Rating the EAW and the SC

Level	Range value	Degree of awareness	Frequency of action	Level determination
5	4.21 - 5.00	Strongly agree	Always	Highest
4	3.41 - 4.20	Agree	Often	High
3	2.61 - 3.40	No idea (neutral)	Occasionally (neutral)	Medium
2	1.81 - 2.60	Disagree	Seldom	Low
1	1.00 - 1.80	Strongly disagree	Never	Lowest

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Majority of bottled water consumption and opinions of impact consequences

Referring to Table 2, the majority of respondents are female (63.10%), 26-35 years of age (32.30%), with monthly income of US\$ 330-1,000 (55.40%) and mostly use their

own car for transportation in daily life (37.80%). Most consume 6-8 glasses of drinking water a day (41.50%), while purchasing 1-2 bottles of water of on-the-go pack size everyday (60.30%). They prefer PET-bottled water (71.60%) to the opaque bottle (high-density polyethylene; HDPE), glass bottle, even paper box. The respondents perceive that PET-bottled water is a purified, clean and safe product (58.90%). Coupled with negative consumer's perception to the purity of tap water, it was revealed that a mobilization of advertisement has PET-bottled-water consumption in the Thai market continued growth at 12-13% every year. [12, 18]. Consistent with the statement of Seri Wongsemontha [49] pointing that consumer perception can be built by good advertising.

Consumers are most likely to buy PET bottled water if thirsty, either in working day (71.90%), and during shopping or travelling (68.10%), while tap-water drinking is out of recognition. When asked about their purchasing decision, the statement of convenient and easy carrying is outstanding (37.10%). Factor of eco-product communication is least considered, even if sustainable lifestyle towards use of products or services with an environmental protection and prevention has been largely addressed in the contemporary society [38, 45].

Table 2. The Majority of Choice Selection Against Bottled Water Consumption

	Items...Answers (500/550/600 cc PET-bottled water)	Majority	
		N = 800	100%
1. Gender:	<i>Female</i>	505	63.10
2. Age (year):	<i>26-35</i>	258	32.30
3. Income (US\$ / month):	<i>330 – 1,000</i>	443	55.40
4. Main vehicle used in daily life:	<i>Own car</i>	302	37.80
5. Amount of daily consumption (glass of water):	<i>6-8</i>	332	41.50
6. Purchasing amount per day:	<i>1-2 bottles of water</i>	482	60.30
7. Preferable packaging:	<i>PET bottle</i>	573	71.60
8. Perceived qualification of PET-bottled water:	<i>purified, clean and save</i>	471	58.90
9. Practice in working days when thirsty:	<i>Buy one-way bottled water</i>	575	71.90
10. Practice during shopping and travelling when thirsty:	<i>Buy one-way bottled water</i>	545	68.10
11. Influencing factor to purchasing decision:	<i>Convenient and easy to carry</i>	297	37.10

As with the data drawn in Table 3, a litter of post-used bottle is mostly addressed (32.30%) as to how PET-bottled-water consumption can cause and affect the degradation of river, sea, forest, flora-fauna lives, including disease consequences. This is concurrent to the fact found by the Pollution Control Department [50] revealing that only 0.27% of waste-PET plastics were incinerated in Thailand in 2005. In global context, the balance of 75% of post-used bottles actually ended up in

landfills, lakes and streams [14, 51]. Most samples believe that relevant laws and regulations prohibiting a litter of post-used bottle should be strictly enforced (42.80%). They also choose to accompany post-used bottle till finding a trashcan (52.80%). Most are unaware that a health risk can be caused by improper manners of use and multiuse (64.60%), e.g. consume the bottle exposed to direct sunlight contact in hours, ignore scratch inside the bottle during washing process and refill hot water. These were related to either some kinds of bacteria and fungus or toxic chemicals like antimony and aldehydes leached away from PET bottle to the water [19, 21, 22].

For resource efficiency measure, the respondents are most likely to drink up a whole bottle of water (40.10%) whereas a choice of recycling post-used bottles is least allotted. Either is a change to tap water due to low confidence in it quality. Most of them still lack of knowledge about qualification of most recyclability of PET plastic (54.60%) though the advantages of resource consumption reduction, efficient use, cost effectiveness and greater impact reduction are in evidence [52-54]. In their opinion, among the choices of 3 R, polluter pays principle (PPP) and green tax, EAW is most selected as an initial factor to SC development and its achievement (37.80%). Referring to UNDESA [26] and Lefin [55], the substantial EAW to environmental education became a powerful catalyst to transform consumption pattern to a more sustainable future and better quality of life. Finally, business sector (producer) is first prioritized for the SC development (38.90%), followed by the consumers themselves (37.50%). As in Liu et al.[3] and Cellura et al.[31], consumer's demand for products or services is actually related to a sustainability, either in consumption or production domain. Consistently, each of bottom-up stakeholders; producer, retail and consumer, is a certain part of SC success [7].

Table 3. The Majority of Opinions about Impact Consequences

Items...Answers (500/550/600 cc PET- bottled water)	Majority	
	800 N	100%
1. Consumption behavior that mostly cause the impacts: <i>A litter of post-used bottles</i>	258	32.30
2. Best to prevent a litter: <i>Enforcement of relevant laws and regulations</i>	342	42.80
3. Best practice for impact reduction: <i>Accompany post-used bottle for disposal in a trashcan</i>	422	52.80
4. The most unknown: <i>Health risk from improper manners of use and multiuse of PET-bottled water</i>	517	64.60
5. Best practice for resource efficiency: <i>Drink up a whole bottle of water</i>	321	40.10
6. Understanding of recycled-PET qualification: <i>Poor</i>	437	54.60
7. Key component to develop and accomplish the SC: <i>Environmental-awareness raising(EAW)</i>	302	37.80
8. Prioritized as the most concern to SC success: <i>Business sector (producer)</i>	311	38.90

3.2 A five-point scale of the EAW and the SC

Referring to Table 4, the research reveals that consumers' performance in resource efficiency rises to a high level (3.641) and declines to average point for the impact reduction (3.165). Either are the awareness and action towards the SC of PET-bottled water. It means consumers are highly aware of the SC (3.550), for which they act at a medium level (3.200). It is however summarized that consumers moderately perform the SC relevant to level 3 (3.365).

Table 4. Consumers' Performances in the EAW and the SC of PET-Bottled Water

Measures	Awareness			Action			SC		
	Mean	S.D.	Level	Mean	S.D.	Level	Mean	S.D.	Level
Resource efficiency	3.643	.4848	4	3.529	.5045	4	3.641	.4799	4
Impact reduction	3.379	.4956	3	3.031	.4278	3	3.165	.3714	3
SC	3.550	.4978	4	3.200	.4003	3	3.365	.4817	3

In addition, the SC of PET-bottled water in Thailand is based on the feature of action with awareness (awareness and action), which is an extreme format of EAW matrix, as shown in Figure 2. Since environmental awareness is factor that influences the SC of products or services, the more the EAW is encouraged to the consumers, the better the SC of PET-bottled water is achieved. The rapidly-increasing demand for PET-bottled water shows what social gains for better living is what we have lost [5, 56]. The results bring to the crucial statement that bottom-up SC will remain ever elusive unless the EAW is strengthened. The actionable resilience toward motivational factors is also necessary for a justification of environmental behavior [28, 57].

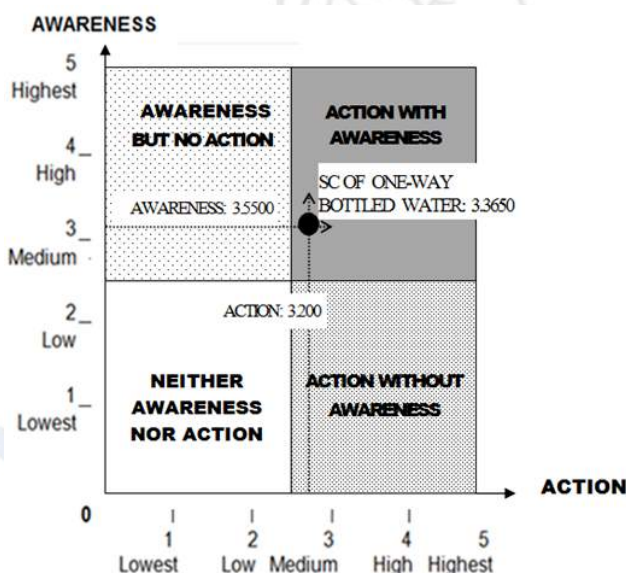


Figure 2. Results of the SC development consistent with the extreme EAW of action with awareness (awareness and action)

3.2.1 Resource efficiency. Referring to data shown in Table 4 and 5, consumers' performances in resource efficiency is high (3.641), with the same levels of awareness and action behind the means of 3.643 and 3.529, respectively. In view of rating, there is neither awareness, nor action corresponding to a medium degree. It is obvious

that most consumers keep rating for the positive (high and highest) and negative directions (low and lowest) precisely, instead of neutral response.

Table 5: Results of Resource Efficiency in PET-Bottled-Water Consumption in the Means Comparison between Consumer's Awareness and Action (500/550/600 cc: on-the-go pack size)

Items	Resource Efficiency			
	Awareness		Action	
	Means	Level	Means	Level
1. Drink up a whole bottle of water	4.143	High	4.225	Highest
2. Select pack size fitting to demand	4.065	High	4.245	Highest
3. Take the leftover for further use	4.013	High	3.905	High
4. Prepare personal flask when away from home	3.973	High	2.330	Low
5. Order glass bottle or refillable jug when eating out	3.929	High	3.703	High
6. Avoid using bottled water for coffee, tea and cooking	3.774	High	4.199	High
7. Refill drinkable water	2.360	Low	3.433	High
8. Turn post-used bottles to money	2.240	Low	1.703	Lowest
9. Change to tap-water	1.454	Lowest	1.720	Lowest
10. Recycle the bottles when not in use	1.428	Lowest	1.654	Lowest
Total means	3.643	High	3.529	High

Focusing on the awareness, six in ten items are highly agreeable those covering *'drink up a whole bottle of water, select pack size fitting to demand, take the leftover for further use, prepare personal flask when away from home, order glass bottles or refillable jug when eating out and avoid using bottled water for coffee, tea and cooking'*. Two choices are rated at low degree include *'refill drinkable water and turn post-used bottles to money'*. The rest are weighted at lowest level: *'change to tap water and recycle the bottles when not in use'*. Once in actions, consumers do differently in many cases. The acts of *'drink up a whole bottle of water and select pack size fitting to demand'* are upward to the highest level, while *'turning post-used bottles to money'* declines to the lowest level. The results are concurrent to the fact noted by Schafer and Herde [57] that people, who highly value for environmental awareness, possibly behave contradictory to their attitude.

Most consumers are highly aware that *'preparing personal flask when away from home'* helps in getting better resource efficiency, but their real action is low. They are hardly aware of *'refilling drinkable water'* (low level) for increasing resource efficiency, but in contrast, they often take action (high level). Besides these, the comparative results between the awareness and action remain the same. They similarly account for *'taking the leftover for further use, ordering glass bottles or*

refillable jug when eating out and avoiding use of bottled water for coffee, tea and cooking at the high level. According to Peacocke [43], individuals may modify the manners when they attain the gains on time, energy and information, during action.

Shortly, the results show consumers' interest to optimize all benefits of product and possibly minimize resources used with the reuse. The pattern can be reconciled with the 3 R's principle when most of them *'drink up a whole bottle of water and select pack size fitting to demand'* (reduce), and *'refill drinkable water'* (reuse). It is interesting that *'recycling the bottles when not in use'* (recycle) is not their choice for improving efficiency in resource consumption, even if 100% recycled-PET alternates better consequences of new applications and cost of waste bottles management [13, 58, 59].

3.2.2 Impact reduction. Due to Table 6, most consumers similarly express their contributions to the awareness, the action and the SC at medium level, with the means values of 3.379, 3.031 and 3.165, respectively.

Table 6: Results of Impact Reduction from PET-Bottled-Water Consumption in the Means Comparison between Consumer's Awareness and their Action (500/550/600 cc: on-the-go pack size)

Items	Impact Reduction			
	Awareness		Action	
	Means	Level	Means	Level
1. Accompany post-used bottle if cannot find a trashcan	3.935	High	3.858	High
2. Clean post-used bottle before refilling	3.858	High	2.815	Medium
3. Use personal flask	3.820	High	2.495	Low
4. Sort out the waste bottles	3.470	High	2.073	Low
5. Avoid using the bottle that has been opened and exposed to direct sunlight	3.143	Medium	2.518	Low
6. Buy eco-brand	2.898	Medium	2.328	Low
7. Dispose of waste bottle in recycle bin only	2.815	Medium	2.419	Low
8. Order glass bottle or refillable jug when eating out	2.635	Medium	2.815	Medium
9. Recycle post-used bottles	1.590	Low	1.693	Lowest
10. Increase tap-water drinking	1.530	Low	1.670	Lowest
Total means	3.379	Medium	3.031	Medium

Looking at the details, the identical level of awareness and action in comparison exists for two items those covering *'accompany post-used bottle if cannot find a trashcan'*

(high) and *'ordering glass bottles or refillable jug when eating out'* (medium). It is noteworthy that the majority of awareness device represent a higher value than do the real actions. The scale of items including *'avoiding use of bottled water for coffee, tea and cooking'*, *'buy eco-brand'* and *'dispose of waste bottles in recycle bin only'* are equal to medium level of awareness, however, they are declined to a low level of action. As well, two items turn from a high level of awareness to a low level of action: *'use personal flask when away from home'* and *'sort out the waste bottles'*. In relevance, the others like *'recycling post-used bottles'* and *'increasing tap-water drinking'*, capturing a low level of awareness, become worst (lowest level).

It is obvious that the comparative performances in reducing the impacts are somewhat away from the SC criteria. Humanities were actually shaped their lives on social action with various factors, including the external influences of norms and values because they wanted to be inside the mainstream behavior [6, 42]. Moreover, a consumption pattern derives from a whole range of different lifestyles, not only a unique way of life, those eventually grounded in and governed by social values.

5. Conclusions and Recommendation

In conclusion, consumers need change in consumption pattern to more sustainable actions of recycling post-used bottles and sorting out the waste bottles. Either is the health consequence from the reuse. The matrix model of EAW has potential for the evaluation of SC development and environmental education. This is important in the realm of sustainability success in which regulatory policies and environmental consciousness have not been fully developed. Due to the growing consumers' concern to drinkable water, we must accept that without environmental awareness education, the SC will not advance the larger development in consumer behavior.

This study is particularly timely since PET-bottled water is shifting from one of problem-framing to new agendas that are much more concerned with sustainability objectives. The improvement of assessment methodologies from a multi-disciplinary perspective could be set for reframing current public understanding towards the SC. The extension could be observed in the differences of sampling method, focused group selection, changing demographic pattern, areas of study, including new research designs. Other types of products in bottled water market, such as soft drinks, functional drinks and any popular drinkable water, should be reviewed to identify causes, effects and solutions on sustainability target themselves. In particular, there should be opportunities for future research that provides greater interdisciplinary expectations

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Disability and Social Alienation: Conflict, Confusion and Community.

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Abstract:

Disability has been defined as a form of social oppression, as an object of victimization and the only burden of this tragedy falls upon the shoulders of the disabled; the community estranges, alienates and marginalizes the disabled in spite of many efforts exerted from different communities to overcome this problem. This research tries to examine the dilemma of disabled and how does the disability result in the feeling of social alienation, passing through mixed feelings of conflict and confusion within communities. The research mainly aims at exploring the theme of Social Alienation which results from the disabled feelings of inferiority and isolation as reflected in Daniel Keyes' *Flowers for Algernon*, since Charlie Gordon- a disabled character- struggles to achieve his humanity and he is refused to be improved because of his disability. Unfortunately, his salvation was only temporary, since he always feels social alienation and abuse from the community. He is marginalized because of his mental disability which is sometimes challenged but in vain. Exiting areas for further research have been suggested through this research. The need to focus on the concept of "using me" is also identified. The purpose of this research is to explore the mutual relationship between disability and social alienation. The experience of the hero is of great importance to understand the struggles and feelings of frustration from which the disabled suffer.

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There may be situations where the social structure of disability is highly alienating. There are probably very vocal individuals who are bitter, angry and quite estranged from society, their families and themselves; and the bases for this estrangement may be directly related to their disability (Romeis:25).

Disability refers to a tragedy or a dilemma, which victimize not only the disabled but also people around him, since the disabled cannot live individually. "Disability is defined as difficulty or dependency in carrying out activities essential to independent living" (Fried, Ferrucci and others: 255). Furthermore, it has been recognized as an object of victimization for the disabled feelings of social alienation and inferiority. The disabled feels inferiority and denial from the community in which he lives. ABBERLEY states "disabled people can be regarded as a group whose members are in an inferior position to other members of society because they are disabled people". (7)

The community alienates the disabled to a level of social oppression. This socio-literary manipulation could be said to reflect the reality of living as a mentally disabled within a community blames the disabled for his disability. Disability is equated with alienation from the human norm of any community. The Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) has defined disability as "the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organization which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and this excludes them in the mainstream of social activities...Disability is therefore a particular form of social oppression" (UPIAS, 1975:Unpaged). The failure to be integrated and equalized to ordinary people represents one of the most important themes the researcher tries to analyze and manipulate "To represent disability is to engage oneself in an encounter with that which is believed to be off the map of recognizable human experiences" (Mitchell & Snyder: 2001:5)

Disability remains one of the main causes of social alienation; there is a mutual relationship between disability and social alienation. The development of the disabled people must begin by the society's changing ideology towards them. The problem lies in not only the disabled but also in the community itself and its manipulation to the disabled as the other. "Disability is social disadvantage and discrimination. The social model message is simple and strong: if you want to make a difference to the lives of disabled people, you must change society and the way society treats people who have impairments" (Stone: 2).

To be more concise, there is a distinction between the definition of disability, impairment and handicapped. According to the World Health Organization, "impairment is an abnormality or a loss of a mental or physical structure or function. A disability is noted as the inability to perform a function due to the impairment" (Diane & Perso: 237). Handicap is in turn defined as the social result of both impairment and disability. According to the United Nations' International League Tables "Impairment is defined as the biological condition, disability as the ensuing functional limitation, and handicap as the social consequences of impairment and disability (UN 1990)". (Barnes and Mercer: 2)

Due to the increasing interest in the dilemma of the disabled, the *Centre for Disability Studies* explored a new perception which is known as 'Disabilitism' or 'Disablism' or 'Disabledism'; it is the product of mixing both 'Disability' and 'Racism' which expresses the mutual feeling between the disabled and community. This cruel concept reflects the impact of disability upon the disabled feeling of racism and segregation. "Disablism, Disabilitism, and Disabledism arise in many forms in society, with many prevailing and recurring disabling themes and guises when it comes to the responses of society in addressing the presence, needs, interests, and capabilities, of a person living with, or affected by circumstances of disability" (Unnamed: 1).

The researcher is obsessed with the concept of disability and its impact upon the disabled feelings of social alienation. According to Wikipedia, social alienation is defined as "the feeling of being segregated from one's community" (6). The feeling of alienation that results from disability is like that results from other situation of social disadvantage. Disabled People feel inferiority, otherness, and social rejection within communities. Emma Stone wonders "The question still remains: how can disabled people have equal opportunities in developing countries?" (Ibid: 6)

Disabled people are pushing for social change and aspiring for development by themselves. These desires may be due to first; the continuous violation of their rights as human being, second; their classification by non-disabled as inferior creatures and finally; their suffering from discrimination within their community. "There is no country in the world where disabled people's rights are not violated. The discrimination, oppression, violence and abuse faced by disabled people does not respect national boundaries, national wealth or national poverty" (Hurst: 25).

The disabled people began to ask for their rights through different means, for example, they began to form organizations for disabled people to rearrange the reciprocal unjust relationship between the disabled and their community. Finkelstein (1999:22) states that "Disabled people in organizations of disabled people have begun to express their human nature by re-defining themselves and inventing their own forms of assistance in this image. In so doing, disabled people have begun a process of engaging in the transformation of the disabling society".

This study aims at exploring the theme of Disability and Social Alienation as reflected in Daniel Keyes' *Flowers for Algernon*, since Keyes can be considered one of the most outstanding American writers who manipulates this issue and is interested in the dilemma of the disabled through most of his writings. It also examines the representation of the mental disabled feeling of alienation which is the result of his disability, a fact which is clearly reflected through the embodiment of Charlie Gordon- a mental disabled character who passes through a series of internal and external conflicts within his community. The researcher investigates how literature contributes to help those victims to display their dilemma through a literary milieu. "*Flowers for Algernon* is considered a landmark work on both science fiction and disability literature." (2014: 1) Regardless of any other kind of disability, this research focuses on the constant attempts of the mental disabled to overcome his disability; it does not claim to solve these issues, but we just shed light on the anguish of the disabled through a literary context.

Daniel Keyes was born in NY, USA in 1927. He was graduated from Brooklyn College and granted a BA in Psychology and a Master Degree in English and American Literature; then, he worked as a teacher of English language during the whole week and writing during his weekends. He also worked as an associate fiction editor and his writings include: *Journey into Unknown Worlds*, *Flowers for Algernon* (1966), *The Touch* (1968), *The Fifth Sally* (1980), *The Sleeping Princess*(1998), *The Minds of Billy Milligan* (1981), *A True Story of Serial Murder* (1986), *The Milligan Wars* (1994), *Algernon, Charlie, and I: A Writer's Journey* (2004). Keyes' *Flowers for Algernon* can be regarded as one of the most remarkable novels he ever wrote. In 1960, Issac Assimov praised the novel saying "How did he do it?...How did he do it"(2000:86)

The idea of increasing the mental disabled intelligence is derived from two real situations which affect Keyes to write this novel; first, when he worked as a teacher to mental disabled children and one of his students came to his desk and said 'I want to be smart'. Second, it is derived from a real story of a mentally disabled called Steve Dekker who wants to be smart. Daniel Keyes declares that "Steve Dekker...has this self-defeating kind of personality that ends up in failure. He decides that this is because he's not smart enough-...So when he reads an article about making animals smarter he barges in and offers himself as guinea-pig for brain surgery" (Ibid: 69).

The novel narrates the predicament of a thirty two year old mentally disabled character whose life can be divided into three phases; we first met him as a poor worker in Donner's Bakery. He wrote "My name is Charlie Gordon I Werk in Donners Bakery where Mr. Donner gives me 11 dollars a week" (P.1). One important characteristic about disabled is their poverty, because their community somehow refuses to give them the full chance to be improved economically and socially. Stone (Ibid: p.6) affirms that "People with impairments worldwide are more likely to be poor because of the disabling barriers that prevent them from getting an education, a job, access to appropriate support and services, and so forth".

The representation of Charlie's progress reports can be characterized by a great deal of spelling and grammar mistakes, a fact which affirms his mentally disability and the low level of education he received. For example he wrote "progris riport1 martch"(P.1) "rite, mabye, werk, (P.1) "eye-Q"(P.7). Charlie's professors asked him to write what he feels and talks. "I tolld dr Strauss and perfesser Nemur I cant rite good but he says it dont matter he says I shud rite just like I talk" (P.1) Keyes expressed his anxiousness to write a novel through the voice of Charlie. "But how would I handle the sentence structure and spelling?...How would I know how he thought? I would try to remember what it was to be like a child. How would I know his feelings? I would give him my feelings."(Keyes: Ibid: 80).

Charlie was a subject of mockery from the employees who found their amusement by laughing at him. When he joined a private classroom to improve his writing, he wrote "he interduced me to a lot of studints and some of them look at me funny like I dont belong in a collidge. I almost forgot and started to tell them I was going to be very smart soon like them "(P.14). As a result, he was obsessed with the idea of being SMART in order to communicate with the other world which in turn othered him. "I thot I was going to be smart rite away and I coud go back to show the guys at the

bakery how smart I am and talk with them about things ...I tolld Miss Kinnian I would try hard to be smart as hard as I can" (P.13)

Charlie Gordon's obsession with being smart overwhelms his thoughts and feelings; There are many examples affirm this fact, "I wanted to be smart" (P:1), "I wanted to be smart"(P:8), "After the operashun I m gonna try to be smart"(P:8), "I wantid to be smart and not dumb"(P.3), " I want to get smart if they will let me"(P.3)

Keyes sympathized with Charlie and decided to give him the chance to be smart. He declares that "Charlie Gordon- whoever you are, wherever you are- I hear you. I hear your voice calling out, "Mr. Keyes, I want to be smart." Okay, Charlie Gordon, you want to be smart? I'll make you smart. Here I come, ready or not."(P. 76). Charlie was very ideal for this experiment; he was convinced by his doctors that he made something great for science and for all mental disabled people. "Prof Nemur says if it werks good and its perminent they will make other pepul like me smart also. Mabye pepul all over the world. And he said that meens Im doing something grate for science and Ill be famus and my name will go down in the books. I dont care so much about beeing famus I just want to be smart like other pepul so I can have lots of friends who like me"(P:9)

Charlie Gordon can be considered the first human being who accepts to undergo this operation. Dr Strauss said to him "This experimint has been successful on lots of animils but its never bin tride on humen being. You will be the first"(P.8). In this concern, he wrote "Then Prof Nemur said remembir he will be the first human beeing ever to have his intelijence increesd by sergery"(P.7).

He accepted to be chosen by a team of scientists to undergo an experimental surgery designed to boost his intelligence and which slowly triples his IQ; he thought by increasing his intelligence, he could receive an advanced level of education. His teacher Alice Kinnian "feels he has an overwhelm** desire to learn"(P.8). "I reely wanted to lern I wantd it more even then pepul who are smarter even then me"(P.3). This surgery will satisfy his social and intellectual aspirations. " Then when I am smart they will talk to me and I can sit with them"(P.11). Again, he wrote "If your smart you can have lots of friends to talk to and you never get lonely by yourself all the time"(P: 11). He wants to challenge his disability and appear in a new identity to be socially accepted. Siebers affirms:

Disability offers a challenge to the representation of the body-this is often said. Usually it means that the disabled body provides insight into the fact that all bodies are socially constructed...The disabled body changes the process of representation itself...Different bodies require and create new modes of representation (54).

This stage of life is best titled as *Used and Abused*, because he is used by the doctors in an inhumane way and abused because he is always equated with a laboratory animal called Algernon. "He said Charlie we werked on this for a long time but only on animils like Algernon"(P.8) During his first game called a maze which was a paper with lines and boxes with a START and FINISH points, he commented "it was just like he was doing the same thing Burt wanted me to do with the lines on the paper...And he could fix up Algernon a maze to be the same like that one so we could

both be doing the same kind"(P.5-6). When Algernon won the competition, he wrote "I dint know mice were so smart"(P.6).

Algernon has preceded him in this stage and Charlie began to hate the mouse which was identified with him. "I had lots of tests and differint kinds races with Algernon. I hate that mouse. He always beets me" (P.13) He said "I hate Algernon. I never new before that I was dumber than a mouse"(P.15). He declared his refusal to be with Algernon in any test, writing "I told them I dont want to race with Algernon no more"(P.18); he felt jealousy and added "I beet Algernon...but after that I beet him 8 more times. I must be getting smart to beat a smart mouse like Algernon. But I don't feel smarter" (P.22).

Charlie was conscious from the very beginning that he was used by others like animals, but he let others use him with his acceptance of undergoing the operation. He wrote "they can use me"(P.1), again "they will still use me"(P.3), "they use me"(P.4), "so their going to use me"(P.7), and "we will use Charlie"(P.8). Charlie's suffering with his disability led him to be indifferent to the consequences of the failure of the surgery or to the great deal of insult he experienced. "I said I dint care...Im very strong and I always do good "(P.8)

In spite of his inferior position within his community, Charlie's feeling of self-respect is clear, since he always refers to him with the capital pronoun I as in pages 1, 2, 11,...etc. Again, he used a more polite and civilized reference to the retarded people classroom as "I go to lern reeding for slow adults"(P.2). When he decided to undergo the operation, he referred to it as "Adult Center"(P.9). Keyes sympathized with his character and gave a name to the mouse to raise the social identity of the victimized hero who was socially alienated from the human norm; when the society animalized the hero, Keyes in turn humanized the mouse. He tried to give a human flavor to the mouse by giving it a name even if this name was on the paper only. Keyes said "A name- I had to give the mouse a name. My fingers went over the keys. It just appeared on the page"(P.82).

Disabled people needs a support from the community in which they live in order to acquire their self-confidence which is stolen by the other. The community which alienates them needs to reevaluate its ideology about disabled. Charlie's strong motivation to be smart led him to fear from failure during the operation's tests. In the first test named the ink blot, he wrote "I got skared of failing the test"(P.2). He tried to find excuses to him saying "if I had my eye glassis I coud probably see better"(P.2). Charlie's fear began to be shattered when he was supported by Burt during a psychological test called 'a raw shock test'. "I tolld Burt I saw ink spilled on wite card. Burt said yes and he smild and that maid me feel good"(P.2) Charlie's teacher Miss Kinnian slowly talked to him and greatly added to his self-confidence. "Burt is very nice and he talks slow like Miss Kinnian does in her class"(P.2). Hilda is also an extremely supporting character who takes care of him after the operation. "She says I was a very brave man to let them do things to my hed... It was to make me smart. And she said mabey they got no rite to make me smart because if god wantid me to be smart he would have made me born that way" (P.12).

Hilda's discussion about God's angry resulted in: first; Charlie's remembering of his mother's speech about religion and loving god; he told Burt "I dont know what those

things are about I know riligion is god. Mom use to tell me all about him and things he done to make the werld. She said I shoud always love god and prey to him"(P.14). Secondly, the doctors changed the nurse next day and brought another nurse called Lucille. When Charlie asked about her, she said "Hilda wasnt werking in that part of the hospital no more. Only in the matirinity ward by the babys where it dont matter if she talks too much"(P.12). This quotation affirms two facts the first is that the doctors are sure about the failure of the operation and that his room is cammed by the doctors who don't need anyone to spoil their impact upon Charlie as well as he was like laboratory animal which must be controlled all the time.

Charlie's development witnessed many fields; first; his writing is improved, he began to correct his spelling mistakes. For example, "*progis*" became "*progress*" and "*rip*" became "*reports*"(P.11). From progress report 1 to 6, he wrote "progris riport-martch" whereas in progress report number 7, he wrote "PROGRESS REPORT 7 MARCH 11) as if he wanted to attract our attention to his development. Keyes identifies between this development in Charlie's life and the bandage which was removed from his eyes after the operation. "They took off the bandiges from my eyes today so I can make a PROGRESS REPORT now". (P.10)

Related to his developing is his improving in reading which is considered the second consequence of the operation; he started to buy newspaper and began to read. "I was so happy to lern to read that I bougt a newspaper to take home with me and read after I lerned"(P.-19-20). He added "I meen I pretend to pepul I know how to read but it aint true and I wantid to lern"(P.20). Thirdly, Charlie's emotional feelings began to be developed; he was attracted to his teacher Alice. With the passage of time, he became closer to her and experienced a special kind of sensation he never felt before. Fourthly, he began to write long reports because he firstly suffered from disremembering. "I don't remember so good"(P.2), "I forgot his last name because I don't remember so good"(P.2), "I said I don't remember"(P.3)," I don't rimember about my familie"(P.3-4). Whereas, from progress report 7, he writes it correctly, but he still suffered from disremembering; in progress report 8, he wrote "thinking and remembering is hard"(P.20).

After the operation, Charlie can no longer enjoy this development, because he discovered that it is temporarily, especially when he discovered that Algernon's intelligence began to slip and it was soon died and Charlie felt that what will happen to the mouse will happen to him. He was frustrated because he feels himself not smart as he aimed at. He discovered that nothing happened to him. When Miss Kinnian met him, he told her "I tolld her nothing was happening. When am I going to get smart"(P.14). His doctors deceived him, they were nothing except opportunists. He added " when I waked up this morning rite away I thot I was gone to be smart but Im not. Evry morning I think Im gone to be smart but nothing happins"(P.15). Pomidors declared that "the doctors in Daniel Keyes' *Flowers for Algernon* display little concern for their patient's well-being. Indeed, in those stories, the patient is less a person than a research object, and the physician's attention is focused on technology he is attempting to perfect."(P. 513)

At the end of the novel, Charlie failed to have more friends in his community, to prevent them from laughing at him, to be socially integrated instead of his feeling of alienation and loneliness; he passed through a great deal of internal and external

conflicts within himself and with the other. He became edgy around people at his community and paid the price for his aspirations. One has to ask whether he is the real loser throughout the whole story; because he experiences a normal life and lost it at the same time ; he is better without the operation, because he would have his jobs and friends whereas after the operation he failed to preserve both.

Here is a man who desperately wants to be like others in the hope that he will have friends and be able to participate fully in the social world. Following surgery, Charlie's intelligence increases rapidly and with it his perception of social complexity. As Charlie matures, so do his relationships with his coworkers and former "friends, his teacher, and his doctors. However, increased intelligence does not hold the key to positive social interactions, to happiness, or to peace of mind (Dunbar: 3).

Unfortunately, Charlie's growing awareness caused not only scholastic ability but also pain during his third phase of his life which witnessed his deterioration and downfall. Sumanta Banerjee declares that:

Daniel Keyes' moving story '*Flowers for Algernon*' is about a mentally-retarded person, whose intelligence is artificially increased to the level of a genius through a crash course of experiments. But the high level achieved by him deteriorates soon at an equally rapid pace- which underlines the story's main point about the deficiencies embedded in any method that treats human beings as guinea-pigs. (P. 3013)

Daniel Keyes ended his novel by making a request through the voice of Charlie when he asked from the readers to leave fresh flowers on Algernon's grave; "P.S. please if you get a chance put some flowrs on Algernon grave in the bak yard"(P.216). Charlie's only contribution to science is his working out of what he called "Algernon-Gordon Effect". He wrote "anyway I bet Im the first dumb person in the world who found out something inportent for science. I did something but I dont remember what. So I gess its like I did it for all the dumb pepul like me in Warren and all over the world"(P.216). At the end of the novel, Charly became satisfied with his reality, advising everyone to accept his reality as it is. "Its easy to have frends if you let pepul laff at you. I am going to have lots of frends where I go"(P.216).

To conclude, Charlie's operation has many advantages and disadvantages at the same time. Concerning the advantages, he was finally realized what was going in the world; he experienced what all human beings go and was able to experience everything he learnt. Whereas the disadvantages of his situation can be concluded in his feelings of unhappiness till the end of his life; the operation killed his aspirations; he felt loneliness and became very confused about the world around him. Keyes' novel opened the readers' hearts and eyes to recognize how a person with mental retardation acts, thinks, writes, feels and dreams through the character of Charlie Gordon. The writer successfully embodies the feelings of the mental disabled and in turn puts the reader in Charlie's position and shows what he has gone through his lifetime. He was teased, thrown in the dirt, laughed at and hurt just because he was a mental disabled. In spite of his retardation, the character of Charlie taught us to become better persons, preserve our time and improve ourselves to become the best. This story can be considered a real cry for communities to stop discriminating disabled and treating them as equal human beings. The change must include their treatment, recognition, respect, involvement towards the disabled within their communities. This

manipulation also represents a need to a full commitment to remove the hidden and unhidden barriers from which the disabled suffer. After examining the novel, the researcher came to a conclusion that there are many kinds of appearing and disappearing disability; in other words appearing disability such as mental or physical disability like Keyes' character, whereas disappearing disability is existed within any individual who treats disabled as an inferior and alienated human being.



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***A Parallel Study: Europe Dada Poetry, Guo's The Goddesses, and Japanese Poetry
1910-1930***

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Abstract:

This paper attempts to justify Chinese poet Guo Moruo (郭沫若)¹ as the first Chinese Dadaist using his most famous collections of poetry *The Goddesses* under the influence of European Dadaist movement. The paper consists of three sections. Section 1 emphasizes Dadaism as an important modernist literary trend around the globe, identifies six most important features of Dada poetry and outlines the spread of Dadaism from Europe to Asia, namely Japan and China. Section 2 elucidates how and to what extent can Guo's poetry be read as Dadaist poetry by comparing Guo's work with Europe Dada poems written by Dadaists such as Tristan Tzara and Hugo Ball, and also with some Japanese poetry written by Shinkichi Takahashi(高橋新吉) who incorporates the idea of Dada with local culture into the poem, such as the idea of Zen² with Dada. The last section discusses why there is such a discrepancy in Dadaist elements found between Guo's poetry and Japanese poetry, and suggests the possible reasons by contrasting the differences among Europe, China and Japan with historical and cultural analyses. By reading Guo's poetry from a different perspective, we will be able to understand the Chinese literary development, as well as the constraints that might limit it.

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¹ This paper, except direct quotations from others, sticks to mainland pinyin spelling system of Chinese characters.

² According to Lucien Stryk and Takashi Ikemoto in *Zen Poetry*, Zen is indeed "a product of the merging of Buddhism and Taoism," and it rapidly grows in early Tang China.

I. Introduction

A. Dadaism as an important literary trend

Dada or Dadaism is an art movement commencing in Zurich, Switzerland in 1916. Originated from negative reactions to the terrifying First World War (1914-1918) by Tristan Tzara the Romanian artist, the movement rejected present reasons and logic, and despised all the artwork created by bourgeois people, as was told in “1918 Dada Manifesto” (Dachy, 2006, p. 98-99) The origin of Dada has been controversial, as Hugo Ball insisted the internationality of the word which signifies hobbyhorse in French, “yes, yes” in Romania and “an allusion in German to the early sounds a baby makes.” (Kuenzli, 2006, p. 19) However, irrespective of its origin, challenging the present art and spreading to the rest of Europe and to the world, Dada laid groundwork to abstract art and sound poetries. In 1916, Hugo Ball created sound poems (Klanggedichte) using “heavy series of vowels and a rhythm that was dragging elephants.” (Dachy, 2006: 27) For instance, below shows the first five lines of the first verse of “gadji beri bimba” written in 1916 by Ball:

gadji beri bimba
 glandridi lauli lonni cadori
 gadjama bim beri glassala
 glandridi glassala tuffm i zimbrabim
 blassa galassasa tuffm i zimbrabim

When readers skimmed these four lines at the first sight, they might find them meaningless looking simply at the words. Only through reading the lines aloud will they understand the heavy rhythm equivalent to different lengths of musical notes in the score. Ball was probably experimenting the sound poem to blur the genre between poetry and music. He once wrote in his diary, “The heavy vowel sequences and the plodding rhythm of the elephants had given me one last crescendo.” (Ball, 1996, p. 71) His attempt was to widen the definition of poetry by not confining to expressing ideas with mere “witticisms and images,” (Ball, 1996, p. 71) but also with sounds and beats through the emphasis of vowels. I shall say the above example the purest sound poem in which solely sound but not the meaning of the words are stressed. However, even in another poem of Ball “Dance of Death”³ (*Totentanz*), we could find traits of sound poems from the first verse:

So sterben wir, so sterben wir.	This is how we die, this is how we die
Wir sterben alle Tage,	Every day we die
Weil es so gemütlich sich sterben läßt.	Death comes so cosily.
Morgens noch in Schlaf und Traum	In the morning, still sleepy and dreaming
Mittags schon dahin.	Gone by lunchtime
Abends schon zu unterst im Grabe drin.	Deep in the grave by evening

We can see the word “die” (*sterben*) was repeated four times, and “we” three times in the mere first verse to lay the emphasis of the action “we die”, and the poem contains more alliteration such as “morning” (*Morgens* in German) and “lunchtime” (*Mittags*), “sleepy” (*Schlaf*) and “already gone” (*schon*). This poems has no particular meter or rhyme though the word *dahin* (literally meaning: there) rhymes with *drin* (literally

³ The poem was translated by David Britt and Debbit Lewer from German.

meaning: within) at the end of the forth and the last line. In terms of contextual meaning, we see no particular images as we see daffodils in William Wordsworth. Instead, we could only feel the dark and gloomy mood of the poem by reading aloud and hearing the sound effect brought by the combinations of those words.

Starting from the 1920s, Dada poetries spread to Tokyo through Japanese poets such as Murayama Tomoyoshi (村山知義) who had spent nine months in Berlin and Takahashi Shinkichi who had his Dada poems first published in April 1922. They, together with a few dada poets, established the Mavo group and journal aiming to “change society and win greater freedom.” (Kuenzli, 2006, p. 166) Since then Dada poems flourished and became metamorphosed in Japan. For instance, Shinkichi Takahashi connected the idea of Zen Buddhism with Dadaism and wrote Yamatoshimane in a new style unique to Europe. (Lucien & Takashi, 1977) Impressed by Takahashi’s works, Cyûya Nakahara produced his own version of Dada poems beginning from 1918. (Watanabe, 2007) On the other hand, China was indeed obsessed with reformation. Accompanied by the Cultural Movement, Chen Du-xiu (陳獨秀) published the journal *New Youth* introducing Western ideas in the hope to change the society as well. Hu Shih, one of the intellectuals who published articles in the journal, championed the use of vernacular Chinese and during that period Guo Mo-ruo created during his studies in Japan in 1921 the most representative new-style poem *The Goddesses* into which he incorporated lots of modernist ideas.

B. Defining Dada poetry

Before discussing further how the idea of Dadaism, and to what extent is Dada represented respectively in the works of Guo Moruo and Takahashi Shinkichi, we must first understand the definition of Dadaist poetry works. I will characterize six main features of Dada poetry: nihilism, erase of life and art dichotomy, multilingualism, capricious style, blurring of genre, radicalism and strange eroticism. One of the characteristics is the nihilism which signifies the nothingness, denying the meaning in every aspect of life. As Francis Picabia remarked in the *Cannibal Dada Manifesto* in 1920, dada is nothing like “hopes,” “heaven,” “politicians,” “heroes,” “artists,” and “religions”.⁴ In the poem “I am Javanese”⁵ (*Je suis des Javanais*) written by Picabia, he also represented the senseless of dada, which echoes his manifesto saying “DADA, as for it, is smells of nothing, nothing, nothing.”⁶

Le fond de ma pensée et une imprimerie correcte	My underlying thoughts and their proper publication
Un livre superbe condense mes facultés	A great book distils my faculties
Niaiseries n’est-ce pas ?	Nonsense, isn’t it
Tout est niaiseries – en Amérique tout est DADA	Everything is nonsense – in America everything is DADA

⁴ For more details, one may refer to the documents in P. 266 from Kuenzli Rudolf’s *Dada: Themes and Movements*

⁵ The poem was an extract from line 9 -12, translated by Terry Hale from French. In this paper, both the foreign original text and its English translation are shown in-parallel for readers’ reference.

⁶ Same as (5)

Picabia underscored in the poem the word “nonsense” (*niaiseries*) questioning the existence of everything including the deeply-rooted and traditional matters such as knowledge, forms and content of literary works.

The second characteristic is the attempt to “erase distinctions between the claims of art and those of life.” (Hopkins, 2004, p. 17) In other words, Dadaists consider everything related to life can be art ranging from newspaper cutting to random writing. Looking back to poetry, we can see the randomness with no intentional rhymes and metaphors employed as classical or romantic poets did. Third is the multilingual feature shown in the poems. The poems tend to reflect poets’ capability in different languages because in the case of Europe, certain Dadaist figures “such as Tzara, Picabia and Arp were bi- and multi-lingual.” (Hopkins, 2004, p. 26) For instance, Tristan Tzara invented simultaneous poem from which different people read the poems in different languages and with different rhythms at the same time. The fourth feature is the capricious style of the poetry which changes tremendously since the poets experimented different forms and structures of their works. Take Hugo Ball as an example, his two poems *Karawana* and *Dance of Death (Totentanz)*, both of which were written in 1916 but differed stylistically.⁷ The fifth characteristic is Dadaists’ intention to blur the genre between poetry and other art forms. *Karawana* that Ball wrote was indeed a phonetic poem which blurred the distinction between “musical composition” and “poem”. The sixth is the radical and strange erotic ideas represented in the poem. Take Picabia’s “I am Javanese” as an instance, he overturned the meaning of everything by decreeing the meaninglessness of everything. In other words, he is radical about the present existence of matters. In terms of eroticism, we can see from Tzara’s “The Sailor”⁸ (*Le Marin*):

<p>Il fait l’amour avec une femme qui n’a qu’une jambe l’étroitesse d’un anneau Pondichery On a ouvert son ventre qui grince GRIGri d’où sortent les bas et les animaux oblongs</p>	<p>He is making love to a woman who has only one leg the tightness of a Pondichery ring they have opened his stomach which shrieks chi-chi from which come the stockings and the oblong animals</p>
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The first line, “He is making love to a woman who has only one leg” as well as the four line “from which the stockings and the oblong animals” is suggestive of sexual desire. The erotic way to express sexual desire might have been represented in the courtly-love poems over the past centuries, but such strange way of describing having sex with someone who is physically handicapped, and the weird juxtaposition of “stockings” and “oblong animals” is indeed unprecedented.

II. Analyses of The Goddesses

Of all the Chinese scholars and writers during the late 1910s and the early 1920s, Guo Moruo was the most daring in applying western ideas in his poetries. Guo’s exposure to these western ideas probably started in 1914 when he went to study in Japan where lots of other western theories had already been introduced. (Hsu, 1963) As Bonnie S. McDougall put, Guo was particularly influenced by expressionism in which

⁷ More detailed analyses of the two poems can be found in page 5 and 6 of this paper.

⁸ The poem was an extract from line 1-4, translated and edited by William Bohn from French

expressionists “showed the greatest spirits of revolt,” (McDougall, 1977, p. 197) leading to the “nihilism of dada” (McDougall, 1977, p. 197). She supplemented that Guo “read some examples of expressionist poetry and drama by Ernst Toller, Georg Kaiser and others,” (McDougall, 1977, p. 196) and watched “the expressionist film, *Das Kabinet des Doktor Caligaries*.” (McDougall, 1977, p. 196) She pointed out the similarities of the expressionist ideas Guo published in his article “Nature and Art” in *Creation Weekly*. (McDougall, 1977, p. 196) From these, we can infer that Guo might also employ those ideas in his poetries.

Guo Moruo, born from a fairly wealthy family, was well trained in both Chinese classics and Chinese literary. (Hsu, 1963, p. 29) In 1914, he went to Japan and studied medicine at the Kyushu Imperial University where students were required to learn three more foreign languages. The acquisition of Latin, English and German enabled Guo to access different national literatures, leading to his versatile styles of poetry works. As Roy remarked, Guo’s vision of founding a magazine “devoted entirely to literature” (Roy, 1971, p. 3) could be traced back “as early as the summer of 1918,” (Roy, 1971, p. 3) and he realized his dream in 1921 with his friends in Tokyo such as Yu Dadu and Tian Han by establishing the Creation Society (創造社) in which literary works heavily influenced by Western ideas were introduced. The society, as suggested by its name, was aimed at creating something completely new from the old or classic literary works found before in China. The aim of the society was to promote “creative writing rather than on translation, information and theory.” (McDougall, 1971, p. 37) As Michel Hockx remarked, it was “different life-style” (Hockx, 1999, p. 73) and the “different tastes that the Creationists had acquired” (Hockx, 1999, p. 73) that the whole group “had obtained it first avant-garde.” (Hockx, 1999, p. 73) Such a favorable environment enables the flow of new ideas among literary writers, and thus also enables Guo to create his avant-garde works.

His post as an editor in the Taidong Press further allows Guo to publish his first collection of poems on August 5 1921, *The Goddesses* which was made as “the first volume in the *Creation Society Collectanea* (創造社叢書)” (Roy, 1971, p. 116) to draw Chinese readers’ attention to his poetry works which were completely different from the past Chinese classical poetry. Since then, he was widely recognized as a versatile poet. The whole collection of *The Goddesses* consists of fifty seven poems, most of which were created during his studies in Japan from 1918 to 1921. Different from old classical Chinese poems which emphasized rhymes, number of words in each line, and imagery, *The Goddesses* depicts the spontaneity and randomness of his poetry, which matches the second characteristic of Dada poetry aforementioned.

For instance, when we read closely the poem “The Good Morning” (晨安)⁹, it is not difficult to find relevant traits:

晨安！大西洋呀！

晨安！大西洋畔的新大陸呀！

晨安！華盛頓的墓呀！林肯的墓呀！

Whitman

的墓呀！

I greet you with a Good Morning,

Atlantic, flanked by the New World,

grave of Washington, of Lincoln, of

Whitman,

Whitman! Whitman! The Pacific that was

Whitman!

⁹ The poem is translated from Chinese to English by John Lester and A.C. Barnes in *Selected poems from the Goddesses*. The poem shown in this paper is only part of the extract.

啊啊！惠特曼呀！惠特曼呀！ 太平洋一	Pacific!
樣的	Pacific Ocean! Isles of the Pacific,
惠特曼呀！	ancient Fu-
啊啊！太平洋呀！	sang lying in the Pacific,
晨安！太平洋呀！太平洋上的諸島呀！	O Fusang! Fusang still wrapped in
太平	dream.
洋上的扶桑呀！	Awake! <i>Mésamé</i> !
扶桑呀！扶桑呀！ 還在夢里裏著的扶桑	Hasten to share in this millennial dawn!
呀！	
醒呀！ <i>Mésamé</i> 呀！	
快來享受這千載一時的晨光呀！	

We can see from the above poem that Guo did not intentionally amend his works, or in other words, he wrote almost immediately what he thought. Just as the scholar Li Zhi-min remarked, Guo did not precisely control “either diction or emotion” (Li, 2005: 47) to achieve deliberately any aesthetic effects of his works. He possibly wrote to praise the prettiness of the morning subconsciously during his stay in Japan. In the poem, Guo also mentioned figures such as Washington, Lincoln and Whitman which might spring up in his mind when he put down the lines. Roy quoted the letter of Guo to Tsung Po-hua of February 16, 1920, in which he considered the language of poetry “not a human effort to express emotion, but emotion’s expression of itself,” (Roy, 1971, p. 90) and in which he further elucidated the languages of “primitive men and of young children are expressions of poetry” (Roy, 1971, p. 90) because they “derive fresh sensation” (Roy, 1971, p. 90) which “give rise to irresponsible emotions from everything in their environments.” (Roy, 1971, p. 90) I believe Guo treated poetry at that time as solely expression of feelings, and he considered unnecessary to craft literary works with beautiful words, the idea of which draws affinity of Dadaism, as suggested by Tristan Tzara in 1918 dada Manifesto, that “the work of creators, coming from a real need of the author’s, and written for himself” can also be literature. In other words, from both Dadaists and Guo’s perspective, art needs not to abide by its old form but the natural feelings and creation.

From the frequent use of interjections *Ah* (呀) at the end of most of the sentences, together with numerous exclamation marks, we as readers can feel the jubilation the moment when he wrote this poem. All these infer that Guo underscored the importance of instantaneous emotions when it comes to writing poetry. Such a use of interjection was unprecedented when compared to classic Chinese poetry which follows metrical rules and structures. The exclamation resembles more like colloquial Chinese speaking naturally to someone else how he feels directly.

When we read another poem “Rebirth of the Goddesses” (女神之再生) in *The Goddesses*, we can see that it begins with the quotation of Goethe’s *Faust* followed by the setting of the poetic story with the seeming dialogues engaged by the three Goddesses, Chuan-Hsu, Kung-Kung and other characters. Readers might probably consider it as a drama genre, but I shall argue such as Guo’s attempts in blurring the genre between drama and poetry based on the content and form of the work. First, when we read the extract of the poem concerning the conversation between the three Goddesses:

女神之一

我要去创造些新的光明，
不能再在这壁龛之中做神。

女神之二

我要去创造些新的温热，
好同你新造的光明相结。

女神之三

姊妹们，新造的葡萄酒浆
不能盛在那旧了的皮囊。
为容受你们的新热、新光，
我要去创造个新鲜的太阳！

FIRST GODDESS:

I will go forth and create new
light,

No longer will I remain a mere
goddness in a niche.

SECOND GODDESS:

I will go forth and create new
warmth
to compound with your newly
created light.

THIRD GODDESS

Sister goddesses, new wine may
not be contained in old skins.

I will go forth and create a new
sun

To contain your new light and
new heat.

The reason why *Rebirth of the Goddesses* cannot be categorized into the genre of drama like Shakespearean play is first the use of vernacular language in Guo's works. Guo did not employ any metrical or rhythmic rule, but he follows his old thoughts and imagination when he wrote this piece. Guo once described his experience of writing poetry, as quoted by Roy:

From 1918 to 1919 I was frequently attacked by such compulsions [of sudden inspirations]. Whenever they came I would begin to write poetry like one possessed, and sometimes I could not write fast enough to keep up with my inspiration. (Roy, 1971, p. 84)

This elucidates why Guo did not apply those literary devices into his work. But *Rebirth of the Goddesses* cannot be sorted as western modern drama either, for the dialogues the characters engaged are not everyday conversations but something abstract such as the goddesses' intention to create respectively new light, warmth and a new sun. In terms of the length and the order of each line for the Chinese original version, it resembles more the genre of poetry. It is thus justified to say that Guo indeed created a new genre by combining the elements of drama and poetry together just as Dadaist Hugo Ball's attempt to blur the genre between music score sheets and poetry.¹⁰

However, when we read the poem "Ennui"¹¹ written by Japanese poet Takahashi Shinkichi, we can identify Dada features:

dish dish dish dish dish dish dish dish dish dish dish dish dish dish dish
ennui

passion of an earthworm creeping on the brow

Do not wipe dishes
with the rice-colored apron.

¹⁰ For more detail, see "gadji beri bimba" on P. 5 of this paper

¹¹ The poem was translated by Ko Won, *Buddhist Elements in Dada*. This paper only shows part of the poem.

Takahashi Shinkichi analyzed his works psychologically without further comparing the European dada poems with his works. Others concentrated on individual works such as Tomoyoshi Murayama (村山知義) and Katsue Kitasono. Almost no articles or books mentioned the effect of Dada on China from the late 1910s to the late 1920s, and few articles and journals compare and contrast works from various countries. Thus, first I employed the idea of Dada as the case to demonstrate how variously Western avant-garde ideas have close affinity with that of the two Asian countries to fill this research gap. Second, most scholars saw Guo as either a romanticist or a Marxist without taking into account the cultural tradition, overall historical condition and national status of China together. For instance, literary critic Li argued at the very first beginning of his introduction of Guo that *The Goddesses* was read generally as “Chinese Modern Romanticism” (Li, 2005, p. 45) on the ground of pantheism depicted within the poetry without further considering its form and sound. Another scholar Mi Jiayan focuses on the creation of the individual self and the reconstruction of national identity of Guo’s works through merely mentioning the diction but without delving into greater details of the motivation of Guo’s writing, as well as his variety of writing styles. McDougall attempted to categorize Guo as an expressionist in her book *The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into Modern China*, but no scholars looked at any Chinese writers from a Dadaist perspective possibly because many see Dadaism as mere nihilism but never outline some distinguishing features in Dada poetry. Even when McDougall wrote the sub-topic Dadaism in the chapter *Avant-garde Literary Theories*, she confessed the difficulties of collecting information and had to rely on “Japanese account of a recent German publication by one of the original Dadaists.” (McDougall, 1971, p. 209-210) According to McDougall, Japan first summarized Richard Hülsenbeck’s *Geschichte des Dadaismus* (1920) and the summary was then published in Japan in February 1922. Two months later Chinese translation version appeared, but “ends with the rather scornful comment that dada as a movement is no more than dada the word – a mere childish expression.” (McDougall, 1971, p. 210) However, I would like to argue that it is not fair to compare China with Japan and European countries at a particular time but we should also look back to their respective history. While different novel ideas and new forms of work had been introduced since Renaissance in the 15th century ranging from romanticism at the turn of 19th century to symbolism, Europe had undergone the process of modernization for a long time. If we follow Marshall Berman’s three stages of modernity, the revolutionary wave of literary works had been lasting for more than a hundred and twenty years until the end of the First World War. (Berman, 1982: p.16-17) Similarly, Japan had commenced to apprehend Western ideas since the Meiji Reform in 1868 during which lots of translation of foreign works were introduced to the country and till the end of the First World War such had been remaining for about fifty years. However, the idea of transformation of local literary works only began in China in 1919 followed by the New Cultural Movement. We can see a tremendous time lag in the process of modernization between China and Europe, and even between China and Japan. Therefore, while from the eye of a Western scholar or a Chinese scholar heavily influenced by European ideas, they might regard Chinese work as those incorporated with Gothic, or romanticism, from a Chinese perspective in the late 1910s, they see it as avant-garde artwork because, take poetry as an example, the form, rhythm and sound is completely different from before. The attempt to write poetry in vernacular Chinese was indeed a great breakthrough in Chinese literary field in the world war period.

Another possible reason that explains the discrepancy in Dada movement across the two nations might attribute to the traditional ideological difference as well. Chinese poets are more inclined to associate nature with their career prospect and nation in chaos while their Japanese counterparts seemed to see art as imitation of nature, or at least it did in the case of Takahashi Shinkichi, as argued by Ueda. (Ueda, 1983, p. 381) He further implied that pre-modern Japanese Haiku or Tanka poets wrote poetry for expressionistic purpose, and thus Western ideas might more easily exert influence upon Japanese literature. However, traced back to before 20th century or even to the era of the previous dynasties, we see officialdom writing could almost be inseparable from literary works, and even nowadays letters between emperor and officials or writings about army deployment and war strategies are highly regarded as literary works in China. To name a few, works include Zhuge Liang (諸葛亮)'s Petition on Taking the Field (前出師表) and The Art of War (孫子兵法). Hence the idea of patriotism might still deeply embed in most of Chinese literati's works, which further resulted in the selective appropriation of Western ideas by them to save the nation from falling into a colony of other world powers.

Based on the above arguments, I would suggest also taking into account "the rate of modernization" to analyze whether the work is an avant-garde artwork. If we employ Berman's three stages of modernity to the situation in China, the first stage when Chinese people began to experience the modernity should be after the Opium War (1840-1842) as gradually "Chinese scholars and officials recognized a need to master West scientific and industrial techniques," (McDougall, 1971, p. 1) thus lots of translation of Western texts and works followed. (Wong, 1999, p. 22) Followed by the defeat by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War, Chinese literati began to look for deeper literary reform. (Wong, 1999, p. 23) As Karen L. Thornber pointed out, "hundreds of thousands of educated Chinese streamed to Japan's cities" (Thornber, 2012, p. 99) to learn "engineering, medicine, science, and technology, for political reasons or to study the arts" (Thornber, 2012, p. 99). The literary movement in 1919 formally began the second stage of Chinese modernization in the form of revolution.

After all, due to time limitation, I can merely verify some affinity of Dada poetic features exhibited in Guo's *The Goddesses*. Thus, more investigation about the profound differences in the spread of avant-garde movement across Japan and China needs to be carried out before the arguments discussed just above could be solid and supportive. I will further delve into parallel studies among Chinese literary artists in the Creation Society, Japanese Dadaists and European Dadaist from the pre-first world war period to the post second world war in the late 1950s by taking a mixed mode of cultural and historical approach in the hope to provide some insights to appreciate Chinese avant-garde artists from a more open perspective, but not in a more constrained Westerners perspective.

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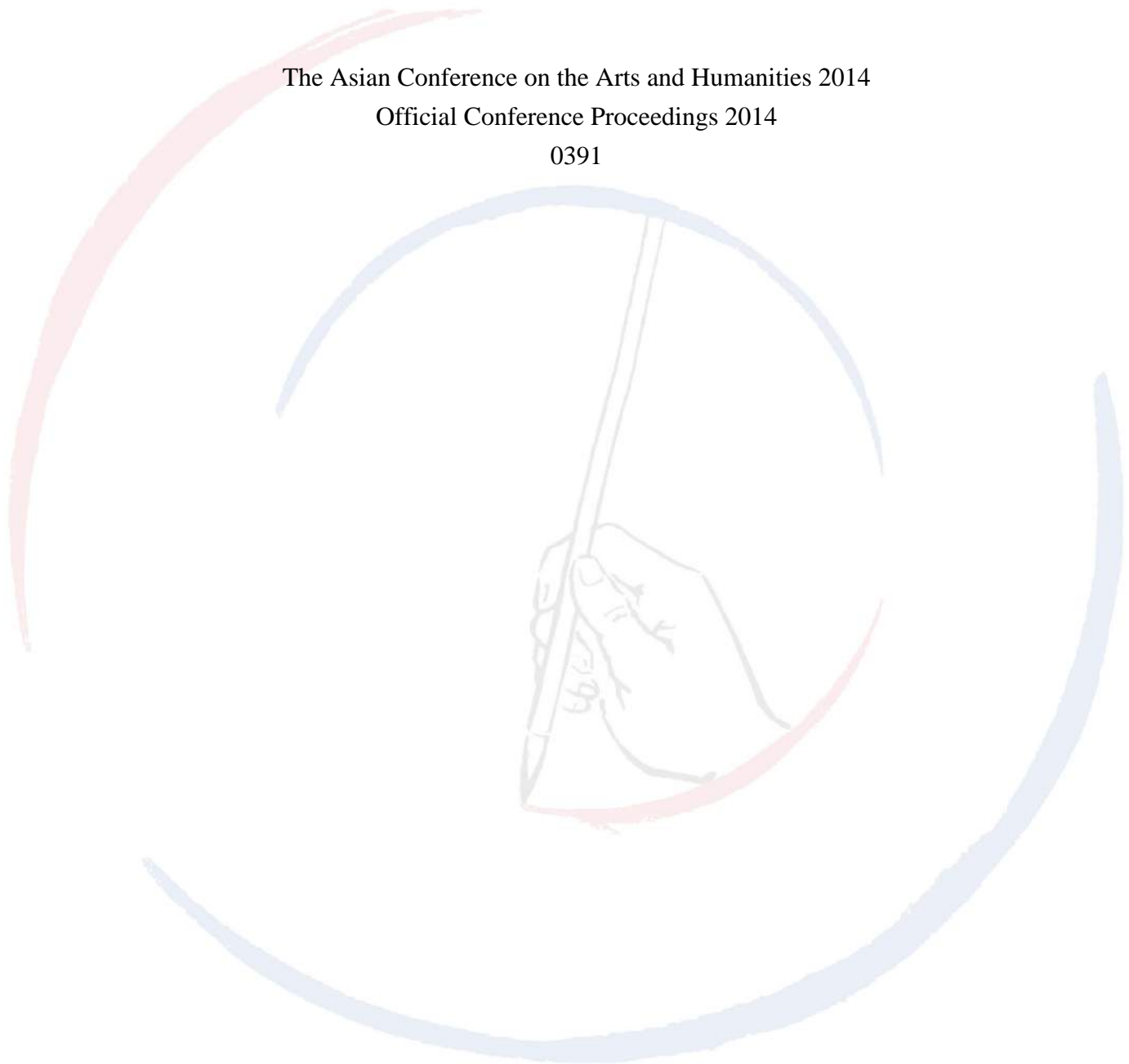
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***The Influence of Popular Comics on the Drawing of Taiwanese Students,
in Particular with Art and Design Related Students***

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1. Introduction

In recent years, the social image of comics has gradually improved, which is no longer the same as the neglected way it used to be. The broadcasting of the Internet and media has boosted comics to become an indispensable role in the evolution of mass or popular culture. According to the 2010 Book Publishing Industry Report released by the Government Information Office, Executive Yuan, a total of 28,084 categories of new books were published in 2010. Among them, the number of categories of newly published textbooks accounted the highest at 17.0%, followed by comic books at 16.8% and novels at 16.5%. As to the number of new books being sold, comic books accounted the highest at 23.3%. This figure shows that the comics publishing industry enjoyed a unique performance in the overall book publishing industry. The major group of comic readers age from 12 to 15. However, the age groups of comic readers are expanding (GIO of Executive Yuan, 2010). Therefore, in addition to textbooks, comic books are important extracurricular readings for students before they begin studies at university.

Drawing learners of the younger generations, particularly art and design related college and university students, will become crucial talents in the design as well as cultural and creative industries in Taiwan. Those students more or less have had the experience in reading comics. Besides, they have been surfing in the works such as comics, TV cartoons, animations, etc. since their childhood, which are all presented in the form of drawing. These popular drawing forms have carved an unforgettable part in their past. Japanese comics have imposed profound influence on Taiwanese adolescents. Many Japanese comic books targeted at young boys and girls, also known as shōnen manga and shōjo manga, are favored by the majority of Taiwanese adolescents. The experience in reading these comic books has created some impact to a certain degree on younger drawing learners planning to engage in the art and design industry. As a result, this study intends to further explore the influence of popular comics on the drawing of art and design related students in Taiwan. The purposes of this study are as follows.

1. Discussing the influence of the forms of comics on the drawing styles of art and design related university students.
2. Exploring drawing learners' preferences for comic styles.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Development of Comic in Taiwan

Stories told through pictures are generally understood as comic. However, the special

comic form developed in Japan is called “manga”. Taiwanese comics are deeply affected by Japanese comics. During the Martial Law period, the development of comics in Taiwan was influenced by the government’s promulgation of the “Guidance Regulations for Editing and Printing Comic Strips” which established the system to review the content and themes of comics produced in Taiwan and prohibit the import of Japanese comics (Chen, 2006). This system consequently led to pirated editions of comics in Taiwan’s market. Such limitation forced some comic creators at that time to learn and familiarize with the drawing techniques by imitating Japanese comics. Therefore, the comic style during the said period was profoundly affected by Japanese comic styles.

After the Martial Law was lifted, the censorship system was abolished. The themes of comics were no longer strictly confined. The development of local comic creators became alive during the peak when Japanese comic works were crazily pirated. The phenomenon of piracy wasn’t gradually stopped until the new copyright law was implemented. The comic publishers in Taiwan recruited local talents through competitions and further signed copyright contracts with Japanese publishers so as to produce comic books featuring both local and Japanese characteristics popular among readers. Until this period, there had been many local comic creators, such as Uen Chen, A Twei and Ren-Chieh Mai, active in the international stage. The development of comic market in Taiwan was faced with a rapid recession because East Asia was engulfed in the financial crisis (Su, 2006).

In recent years, Taiwan’s government has gradually paid more attention to the cultural and creative industry (Yeh, 2007). For cultivating talents engaged in the comic industry, related competitions have been held to unearth potential newcomers. In addition, these newcomers have been guided to publish their works or have further study abroad in order to foster another rise of the comic industry. The new path being developed by younger Taiwanese comic creators is now booming. Meanwhile, it is internationally affirmed. The comic industry has come to light again through news reports in Taiwan. Apart from traditional printed versions, Taiwan’s comic industry is actively seeking Internet channels that used to conflict with copyrighted editions but now features high circulation to serve as optional platforms to release local comic works (Liu, 2011). The prosperously developed Internet has become a platform for amateurs to release their works. The graphic-text blogger, Wan Wan, became famous overnight because she depicts work and daily lives via comics (Hong & Chao, 2008; Chen, 2007). Since then, there have been more and more graphic-text bloggers engaged in running personal journals in the form of comics known to the public.

By catching the rise of the development of local and original comics in Taiwan, the Academia Sinica Digital Archives team published the *Creative Comic Collection* (Hsia, 2012) by transforming stiff digital archives into reader-friendly comics. The participants of this program are comic creators of the younger generations in Taiwan. Through both traditional printed versions as well as online digital versions, the works produced by these comic creators have embraced diverse directions of development instead of only having the old-fashioned way of publication. Such action has turned the crisis brought by the Internet world into an opportunity. The Internet has also become one of the platforms for the comic creators to release their new works.

In recent years, the idol dramas produced in Taiwan have gradually sprung up, creating an environment for the entertainment and media industries to reach out its hand to the comic circle. Many Taiwanese comic creators have been invited to make contributions to the industries. Being boosted by the plots of local idol dramas and stars, the sales of adapted comics double that of literary works produced by writers. Adapted comics have sometimes ranked the monthly best-selling books. Comics and dramas are complementary to each other. Though such combination didn't commence soon, it indeed paves another path for junior comic creators in Taiwan (Chou, 2011; Chen, 2006).

The early development of Taiwanese comics was generally influenced by Japan. It has now stepped forward its own direction and become a part in developing the cultural and creative industries. The platforms for the younger generations to release their comic works are no longer confined to traditional printed forms. The rise of the Internet has provided new platforms for comic creators. Until now, graphic-text journals have been popular among readers. In recent years, the comics adapted from Taiwan's original idol dramas have been very popular to readers. It is also common to see Taiwan's local comics being adapted to dramas. Taiwan's comics have come out of the traditional creative forms and publication platforms. They have presented diverse development possibilities.

2.2 Special Characteristics and Styles of Comic

Comic creators' preferences and personal styles can determine comic presentations. Their works can be shown with simple lines or complicated details. For example, Hsing-Chin Liu's *Brother A-San*, You-Hsiang Ao's *Messy Temple*, De-Yong Chu's *Pink Ladies* and Wan Wan's *Don't Wanna Go To Work* use simple lines to present

humor and fun and become a fad. These comics featuring simplicity emphasize smooth lines and changes of thickness of strokes. By combining laughable plots, they soon catch the attention of many readers. Fujio F. Fujiko's *Doraemon* and Charles M. Schulz's *Peanuts* are also attractive and have become famous in the world because of their simple style. In addition, Qing-Hui Lin's *An Appointment of the Glass Shoes*, Su-Lan You's *The Fire King* and Mino Obana's *Kodocha* use complicated details and tones to present light and shadow. This type of comics is favored to present the genre of shōjo manga in Japan. Sparkling innocent eyes with fancy colors intrigue female teenagers into the plots so that they can't stop reading one after another. There are more comics categorized between simple and detailed styles. As shown in Figure 1, Sian-Zong Zhou's *Origami Fighters*, Osamu Tezuka's *Black Jack*, Osamu Akimoto's *Kochikame*, and *Superman* and *Batman* published by DC Comics are several examples. Among them, the comics having superheroes are quite popular to Americans. Early comics used color blocks to tell the stories of heroes who uphold justice and head off disasters. Each type of comics has its own supporters who treat it as a model to imitate and try to learn related drawing skills.

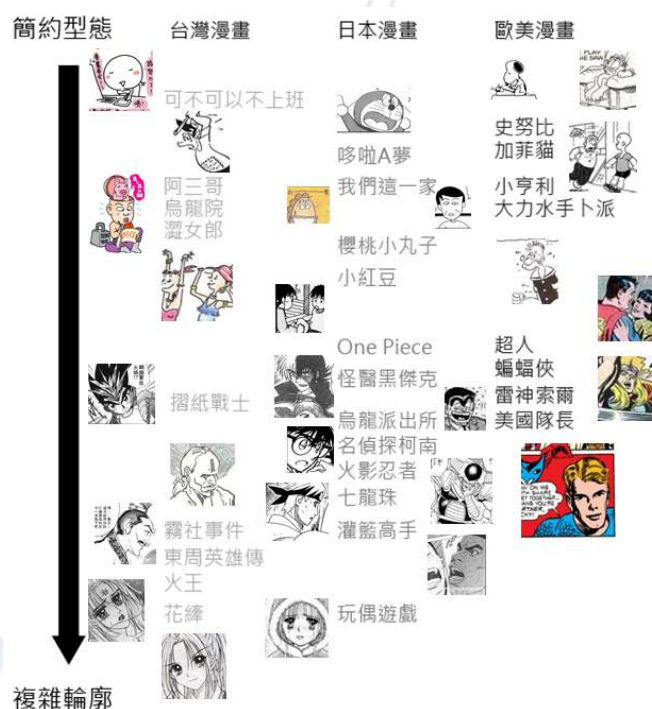


Figure 1. Comics from the simple style to complicated style

The history of comics shows that the themes and drawing styles have gradually become diverse as the circulation and popularity are increasing. Classifications of comic books differ from before. The style of comics is often affected by skills, background and ways of learning which a comic artist has. Taiwan has been

profoundly influenced by Japan in regard to comics. Japanese comics are by age categorized into shōjo manga, shōnen manga, seinen manga and adult comics. Shōjo manga focuses on depicting feelings and the plots mostly are related to romances. Shōnen manga is targeted at adolescents and depicts themes such as friendship, hardworking and victory. It aims at presenting encouragement, freshness and speed. The above two types of comics currently are the most popular extracurricular readings for junior and senior high school students (GIO, Executive Yuan, 2010). Therefore, these two types of comics have also created impact on young drawing learners to a certain degree in Taiwan. In this study, the comics are categorized into seven styles based on their drawing, including simple style, collage style, realistic style, shōjo splendid style, shōjo esthetic style, shōnen exaggerating style and shōnen plain style. Among those styles, shōjo splendid style, shōjo esthetic style, shōnen exaggerating style and shōnen plain style are classified according to the characteristics of Japanese comics. The characteristics of the comic drawing styles and examples are explained as follows.

The simple style implies straight and terse drawing with fluent and sketchy lines. More blank space is left on drawings, which is similar to “simple drawing”. A number of leading European, American and Japanese comics characterize as a simple style. For example, Osamu Tezuka, who won the title of “the father of manga” in Japan, presents a standard simple drawing style with round lines. In addition, *Doraemon* (as shown in Figure 2), a serial comic since 1969, has been accompanied many people in their childhood. Its round lines are similar to those drawn by Osamu Tezuka. The scenes and images project a sense of harmony. The friendly drawing style easily brings readers into the scenarios of the story in which readers seem to share everything with the cartoon characters to have these magic tools for a start of fantastic and childlike journey. Chih-Chung Tsai, a renowned local comic artist, also creates works in a simple style. In his works, only important parts are outlined while minor details are often omitted or left unfocused. The overall scenes allow readers to have more space breathing and thinking. Comics in a simple style may seem easy but actually require brilliant drawing skills to present vivid content through simple lines. Another drawing style presents an obvious touch of color blocking on the scenes or images. Such collage style illustrates concise lines and simple color blocks. Many American superhero comics such as *Batman*, *Superman* and *Spiderman* apply such fashion. In Bob Kane’s *Batman* (Figure 3), neither complicated gradient colors nor dots are used except clear lines and color blocks. Such method can present harmonious and vigorous images. Joe Shuster, another American comic artist creating superhero comics, uses more exquisite lines to separate color blocks. Comic works in

such collage style apply different color blocks with clear lines to show breathtaking episodes where superheroes finally beat bad guys.



Figure 2.
Doraemon
created by
Fujiko F. Fujio

Figure 3. *Batman* created
by Bob Kane

Figure 4. *Gon* created by
Tanaka Masashi

Producing a comic work requires a variety of drawing skills. Among them, sketching is particularly emphasized to present a realistic style. In such comic works, the appearances of characters, backgrounds and accessories are in close proportion to those in our real lives. Shadow and light are presented in a detailed and delicate manner. For example, in *Gon* (Figure 4) created by Tanaka Masashi, a Japanese comic artist, the skin of the dinosaur, scales of fish and fur of bear are all pictured in a lifelike way. The trees in the background are close to the way they are in reality. The struggles of the fish being caught are vividly sketched. The texture of materials and dynamic scenes in the comic work simulate our real world. This is a classic comic work featuring a realistic style. Comic artists creating a realistic style usually have excellent abilities in drawing skills. Readers can enjoy a visual feast through true-to-life works.

Shōjo manga lays stress on depicting feelings. Romance is often adopted as a theme to pave plots. The leading characters of comic works are usually in their adolescence. The shōjo splendid style conveys gorgeous and complicated images. Either characters

or backgrounds are drawn with fine lines and detailed accessories. More light and light reflections are shown on the scenes to display a grand atmosphere. Comic artists such as CLAMP, Kaori Yuki and Yumi Tamura are famous for their splendid style. CLAMP (Figure 5), a Japanese comic group, successfully creates its own unique drawing skills. Girls with big crystal eyes gracefully appear throughout plots. CLAMP introduces dotting skills into shōjo manga. The light and shadow formed by dots vividly delivers scenes in a natural way. In CLAMP's works, each character's hair and gloss of skin are exquisitely pictured. The leaves, tiles and columns in those scenes are added with clear light reflections. Even the light reflections of ear rings are not overlooked. As a result, the scenes become splendid and rich. On the other hand, the shōjo esthetic style comes between the simple and the shōjo splendid styles. Though characters are depicted in delicate models and with detailed accessories, the scenes present a sense of overall freshness and clearness. Meanwhile, fewer complicated lines allow those scenes to give readers a break. Many shōjo manga works are categorized into such a style. For instance, Kaimu Tachibana (Figure 6), a Japanese comic artist, creates scenes in which the characters are depicted with fine lines while the backgrounds are treated in a simpler way by leaving out complicated lines. Therefore, the focus of a scene is more clearly highlighted.



Figure 5. CLAMP
by Kaimu Tachibana



Figure 6. *Ashita No Tamago* created
by Kaimu Tachibana

Japanese shōnen manga adopts themes such as adventures, vitality, competition, victory and friendship which the adolescents are interested in to form plots. Shōnen exaggerating style usually creates characters in a more exaggerated manner. The proportion of figures is often overdrawn. Most female characters have very curvy and sexy figures. The scenes convey detailed decorations. Comic works such as *One Piece* and *Yu-Gi-Oh!* (literally *Game King*) have exaggerated figures. In *One Piece* (Figure 7), the leading character, Monkey D. Luffy, is a young boy who is determined to become the next Pirate King and sets out an adventure on the sea with his talented

crew. The characters in this manga series have their unique features and apply their special gifts through gracefully-shaped bodies. Compared with the shōnen exaggerating style, the shōnen plain style seems quite modest. This austere style delivers clear lines and puts less focus on clothing and ornaments. The figures are generally in proportion to those in our real lives. *Kochikame*, *Pokémon* and *Digital Monsters* are several works illustrating plain lines without exaggerated figures. The world most long-live serialized shōnen manga, *Kochikame* (Figure 8), describes episodes and anecdotes happening around a police station in view of the vivid character Kankichi Ryotsu, who is also a trouble and joke maker. The figures in the comic series are in close proportion to reality. This comic tells stories by lively projecting the leading character's lust for money throughout the scenes without adding exaggerated models or gorgeous ornaments.



Figure 7. *One Piece* created by Eiichiro Oda



Figure 8. *Kochikame* created

by Osamu Akimoto

3. Research Method

The freshmen, who took the drawing lesson for the first time, of the Information Communication Department of Yuan Ze University were invited as the subjects for this study. A total of 73 students were tested. They were given the “Test of Drawing Learner’s Sketch” and the “Questionnaire of Influence of Comics on Drawing Learners and Their Style Preferences”.

Test of Drawing Learner’s Sketch

This test aims at exploring if the works created by the drawing learners are affected by comic drawings. Item a. is targeted at exploring learners’ original drawing styles by sketching models. Item b. requests learners to draw the models by memory. These two items help to explore if learners would draw the models in a comic style while they have nothing to imitate but by memory. The students finished the above two items within a short period of time so as to reflect their intuitive works without too much thinking. After completing the test, three drawing experts reviewed if the works were affected by the styles of the comics. The items in the “Test of Drawing Learners’

Sketch” are as follows:

- a. Please sketch the models you see and complete your work in 15 minutes.
- b. Please carefully observe the models in front of you. Then, the models will leave. Please sketch the models by memory within 15 minutes.

Questionnaire of Influence of Comics on Drawing Learners and Their Style Preferences

The questionnaire is designed to explore the influence of comics on drawing learners and their style preferences. The questions are divided into two parts, including questions concerning the influence of comics on drawing learners and the questions regarding drawing learners’ comic style preferences. For discovering comic style preferences, seven common comic styles are categorized by this study after reviewing related literature. The participants of the test are requested to choose the comic styles they like.

4. Data Analysis

Test of Drawing Learners’ Sketch

After the examination and classification of the drawing experts, the results of the sketch test on the 73 students show that 14 students agreed that they were affected by comics, as shown in Figure 9, while 7 students agreed that they were not affected by comics, as shown in Figure 10. However, after the examination, the experts point out that those who didn’t think they were influenced had actually got affected. On the other hand, 3 students who thought they were affected by comics weren’t considered being influenced by comics after the experts’ review. Based on the above results, approximately one third of the test participants revealed the traces of being influenced by comics.

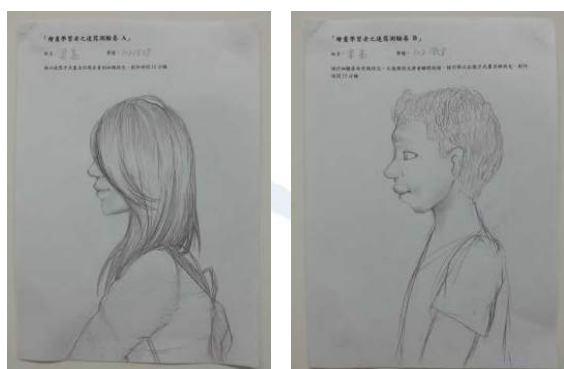


Figure 9. The example of student who thought her drawings were affected by comic. The drawings were also examined by the experts point out that the drawings were influenced by comics.

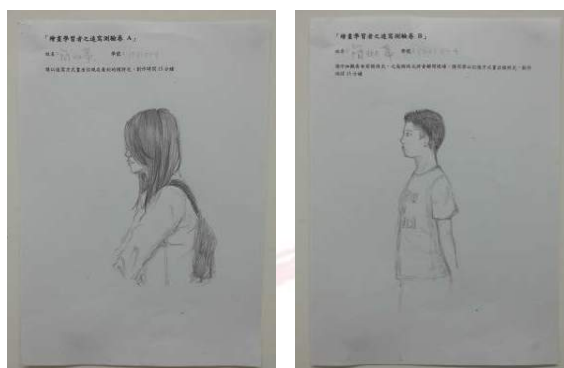


Figure 10. The example of student who thought her drawings weren't affected by comic, but after the drawings was examined by the experts believed that the drawings were influenced by comics.

Questionnaire of Influence of Comics on Drawing Learners and Their Style Preferences

A total of 73 valid questionnaires were collected. The analysis of the results obtained from these samples shows that female participants account for 71.2% while males account for 28.8%. The students who have learned traditional drawing for one to two years account the most at 49.3% followed by the inexperienced at 24.7%, 3-4 years at 9.6%, 5-10 years at 6.9%, 4-5 years at 5.5% and one month to half a year at 4.1%. As to computer graphics, the students having learned for 1~2 years account the most at 53.4%, followed by inexperienced at 39.7%, 3~4 years at 5.5% and one month to half a year at 1.4%. According to the above figures, most test participants received training of traditional drawing or computer graphics before their study at university. In addition, there are more female students in the department.

Table 1. Demographic Analysis by Variable 1

Variable	Item	Number	Percentage %
Sex	Female	52	71.2
	Male	21	28.8
Length of learning traditional drawing	1~2 years	36	49.3
	Non	18	24.7
	3~4 years	7	9.6
	5~10 years	5	6.9
	4~5 years	4	5.5
	1 month ~ half a year	3	4.1

Length of learning computer graphics	1~ 2 years	39	53.4
	Non	29	39.7
	3~4 years	4	5.5
	1 month ~ half a year	1	1.4

Most test participants have started reading comics since elementary school, accounting for 45.2%, followed by junior high school at 35.6%, senior high school at 9.6% and kindergarten at 6.9%. The number of test participants who started reading comics at university is the lowest at 2.7%. As to the reason for choosing favorite comics, 36.4% of the students select “plots”, followed by “drawing style” at 31.2 %, “being introduced by classmates or friends” at 17.5%, and “affected by adapted film or novel” at 14.9%. The above results show that the students started reading comics at a very early stage when less stress from study and exams was imposed on them. They also have their own opinions in choosing favorite comics. They tend to choose the comics they like based on plots and drawing styles.

Table 2. Demographic Analysis by Variable 2

Variable	Item	Number	Percentage %
Stage of reading comics	Elementary school	33	45.2
	Junior high school	26	35.6
	Senior high school	7	9.6
	Kindergarten	5	6.9
	University	2	2.7
Reason for choosing favorite comics	Plots	56	36.4
	Drawing style	48	31.2
	Being introduced by classmates or friends	27	17.5
	Affected by adapted films or novels	23	14.9

Among the test participants, 47.9% of them have ever imitated the drawing styles of the comics they like while 52.1% of them have never done this before. In addition, 28.8% of the participants have particularly allotted time drawing comics while 71.2% of them haven't. 30.3% of the participants improved on drawing comics by way of constant practice, followed by 23.7% being affected by peers, 18.4% reading magazines instructing how to draw comics, 9.2% contacting online information and discussion, 7.9% participating in Dōjinshi fair (CWT), as well as 5.3% attending fine arts programs and 5.3% being affected by other related literary works. The above figures explain that nearly half of the students have imitated the drawing styles in the comics they like. However, most of them didn't think that they particularly allotted time drawing comics, and they only happened to try to imitate the drawing styles of the comics they like. One thing worth noticing is that approximately one third of the students would particularly allot time drawing comics and actively do constant practice, read related information or share learning experience with classmates and friends so as to improve comic drawing skills.

Table 3. Demographic Analysis by Variable 3

Variable	Item	Number	Percentage %
Have you ever imitated the drawing style in the comics you like?	No	38	52.1
	Yes	35	47.9
Have you particularly allotted time drawing comics?	No	52	71.2
	Yes	21	28.8
What's your way to improve on drawing comics?	Constant practice	23	30.3
	Affected by peers	18	23.7
	Magazines instructing how to draw comics	14	18.4
	Online information and discussion	7	9.2
	Participate in Dōjinshi Fair (CWT)	6	7.9
	Attending fine arts programs	5	5.3

Fine arts programs	4	5.3
Other related literary works	4	5.3

Most test participants (80.8%) thought that they could identify the styles of different comic artists. Only 19.2% didn't think they could. According to the test results obtained by the study, the shōnen exaggerating style is favored by 27.1% of the test participants, followed by the simple style at 21.1%, shōjo esthetic style at 15.1%, shōnen plain style at 12.1%, collage style at 10.8%, realistic style at 7.8% and shōjo splendid style at 6%. Therefore, most students considered that they could tell different comic drawing styles. The table showing the students' favorite styles illustrates that there are supporters for each style. However, the shōnen exaggerating and simple styles were favored by more supporters. Such result explains that exaggerated characters or proportions are an important characteristic which attracts students. The simple style with smooth lines often applied in short comics is another comic fashion preferred by the students.

Table 4. Demographic Analysis by Variable 4

Variable	Item	Number	Percentage %
Can you identify the styles of different comic artists?	Yes	59	80.8
	No	14	19.2
What's your favorite comic style?	Shōnen exaggerating style	45	27.1
	Simple style	35	21.1
	Shōjo esthetic style	25	15.1
	Shōnen plain style	20	12.1
	Collage style	18	10.8
	Realistic style	13	7.8
	Shōjo splendid style	10	6

5. Conclusions

The early development of Taiwan's comics was mainly affected by Japan. However, the comic industry has gradually flourished in its own way and become a part of the cultural and creative industry in Taiwan. The study of the influence of comics on young drawing learners, particularly art and design related students, shows that the students started reading comics at an early stage. They started reading comics at elementary or junior high school when there was less stress from study and exams. They have their own opinions in choosing comics. Their choices were based on plots and drawing styles. The external factors, such as the introduction by classmates or friends and adapted films or novels, impose less effect on their choices. In addition, most students thought they did not particularly allot time drawing comics. They only happened to try to imitate the drawing styles of the comics they like. One thing worth noticing is that approximately one third of the students would particularly allot time drawing comics. Constant practice and mutual effect of peers are the factors to stimulate their interests in drawing comics. In terms of preferences of comic styles, there were supporters for each style. However, the shōnen exaggerating style and simple style were favored by more students. This can explain that exaggerative comic characters or proportions are an important feature to attract students. The simple style often adopted in short comics is also favored by students because simple and smooth lines are easy for them to learn. It is suggested that researchers carrying out follow-up studies can select students who are highly affected by comics for further interviews so as to further explore the effect of comics on their drawing styles.

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The influence of micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement on advertising involvement and advertising effects

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Abstract

In the recent years, because of there are so many users using the mobile device, such as smart-phone and tablet. That is the reason why the advertiser supposes to find the new way for approach the consumers. Micro-film is one of the new type of advertisement, first of micro-film was came from China in 2010. That is similar like movie, because of it has a complete story and it also mention of the brand or product inside the micro-film. But a micro-film only 5-30 minutes, that is suit for those users who are pass the time. This was research related compare with the micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement on advertising Involvement and advertising effects. The purpose of this study was research the consumers between of the TV advertisement and micro-film advertisement which get the more influence to them about their advertising Involvement and advertising effects.

The data of this study was collected from consumers who were watching to the TV advertisement and micro-film advertisement by using the on-line survey method. They were 50 subjects participated in this study. The result of this study showed that the factors of influence user's advertising Involvement comprise: value, need, interest. The factors of influence consumers's advertising effects comprise: advertising attitude, brand attitude, purchase intention. This study also indicated that the micro-film defeat the TV advertisement, the consumers will get more influence in advertising Involvement and the advertising attitude.

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1. Introduction

In the recent years, the users of Taiwanese rely on internet better than watch TV. According to Google research in Taiwan, 97% of the users using the internet per day, and only 76% of the users watching TV per day, among the age of the users between 18-40. Therefore, the advertiser finds another way by internet to reach the consumers. One of new type of advertising is appearing to the market, it is not a really clear definition and it is like a film and a full story, but it is very short time between 5-15 minutes. The special point is that actually is an advertisement, the advertiser put in the information of brand or product to the film, the purpose like to attract the consumers to pay attention to the brand or product and take the action to purchase it.

This is new style of advertising is call micro-film. It is appear from China in 2010. A few years later, most of micro-film would be appear already. Because of the micro-film normally have a few of minutes, so it just needs a less expenses and less time to complete a micro-film. Therefore, no much of the good quality's micro-film appearing to the consumers. What is the factor will be influence consumers on the advertising? How to make an advertisement will be attract the consumers? There is value topic to discuss.

This is a study about the influence of micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement on advertising Involvement and advertising effects. The purpose of this study talks about the advertising Involvement and advertising effects, compare with the micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement, which one the advertising Involvement and advertising effects is better.

Therefore, the current research intends to address 2 main questions:

1. The influence of the advertising Involvement on micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement.
2. The influence of the advertising effects on micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement.

2. Literature Review

This is chapter of literature review and it is include of the definition of micro-film and TV advertising, advertising involvement and advertising effects.

2.1 The Definition of micro-film and TV advertising

Advertising actually is a paid form of non-personal communication of ideas and information related products in the media with the objective of create a brand image for the advertiser (Kotler and Armstrong, 2010). For a long time, television, radio, newspapers, and magazines as dominate advertising media. But now, the online advertising is replacing the driving force in many advertising initiatives and efforts (Kotler and Armstrong, 2010). That is because the internet widely used by the users, so the Online advertising is widely used by most of companies and advertisers, the reason was increasing the percentage to reach the consumer for promote their products and services right now (Kaye and Medoff, 2001). In addition, the objective of advertising is creating for awareness of a company, a brand, a website, or an event, the purpose is stimulate sales and increase profits.

This is study talk about the micro-film and the TV advertisement. It also can be online advertising VS traditional advertising. The difference of the main platform, the television is main platform of TV advertising. By the way, as long as online device available, it could be watch micro-film.

Chen (2012) indicated the micro-film like a movie, a full story within 5-30 minutes, the topic of micro-film is wide. And it just needs a small cost to take a micro-film. The users can watch it while they want pass the time. Moreover, Hsu (2013) also indicated who analysis the cases of micro-film in the Taiwan, normally can divide three of type: (1) Business of Micro-film, (2) Public nature of Micro-film, (3) Entertainment of Micro-film.

2.2 Advertising Involvement

Most of research on consumer behavior and advertising was doing by researcher. That is paying an increasing amount of attention to the 'involvement' construct. The authors proposed the measurement to examine the consumer involvement, Laurent and Kapferer (1985) proposed the four dimensions to examine the consumer involvement. They posited involved perceived importance, decision risk, sign value, and the pleasure component. The name this scale is Consumer Involvement Profile, normally that we called CIP. By the way, the Zaichkowsky in 1985 also proposed the scale of PII, the Personal Involvement Inventory can be examine the involvement with products, involvement with advertisements and involvement with purchase decisions. It was also point out the influence consumer involvement including:

personal (needs, interests, values, aims, etc. of the subject), situational (it could be talk about the time left to make a decision for the product to purchase), and stimulus-related antecedents (the physical features of a product, like the advertisement, etc.).

The consumer involvement will be influenced the consumer advertising effects (Bowen and Chaffee, 1974). While the consumers receiving an advertisement information, they will think about the product depend their needs and value, and finally making a decision on purchase.

Most of the researchers seek to measure involvement with products, but the researcher like Wells in 1986 do the involvement with advertisements and Lloyd in 1987 do the involvement with TV programs, the ranking of products (Sheth and Venkatesen, 1968), that divided single-item scales and multi-term inventories, that meet psychometric standards (Zaichkowsky, 1985; Laurent and Kapferer, 1985).

According to the literature review of consumer involvement, we decided to measure advertising involvement by research result of Zaichkowsky in 1985. The result can be through needs, values, and interests to measure the advertising involvement.

2.3 Advertising Effects

According to the research about the model for predictive measurements of advertising effectiveness, Lavidge and Steiner (1961) proposed the six steps outlined, for the beginning with "aware, it indicated 3 major functions of advertising. That was (1) The first of two were awareness and knowledge, it was related to information or ideas. (2) The second of two steps liking and preference, it have to do with favorable attitudes or feelings toward the product. (3) The last two steps, conviction and purchase are to produce action-the acquisition of the product. These 3 of advertising functions are directly influence to a classic psychological model which can divides behavior to 3 components or dimensions, there are including: (1) The cognitive component-the intellectual, mental, or rational states. (2) The affective component-the emotional or feeling states. (3) The conative or motivational component-the striving states, relating to the tendency to treat objects as positive or negative goals.

Advertising is more concern by advertiser, because of the advertising will influence the attitude of consumers. Luts, MacKenzie, and Belch (1986) Proposed advertising will influence consumer by attitudes towards the advertising, attitude towards brand

and purchase intention. The attitude toward the advertising is consumer after watching advertisement and general the level of preference to the advertisement. It also can through the cognitive and emotional to measure it. The attitude toward the brand is consumer after watching advertisement and general the level of preference to the brand which inside the advertisement. The purchase intention can be talk as the willingness of consumers to buy a specific brand advertising products.

According to the literature review, we decided to measure the advertising effects by Luts, MacKenzie, and Belch (1986) was proposed of the attitudes towards the advertising, attitude towards brand and purchase intention.

3. Research Methodology

This chapter provides a theoretical framework based on the literature review provided in chapter 2. Firstly describes the Advertising Involvement measurements of research constructs, including the needs, values, and interests. And the Advertising Effects measurements of research constructs, including the advertising attitude, brand attitude, and purchase intention. Quantitative methodology was chosen in order to explore and describe the factor influence the advertising Involvement and advertising effects of the consumer while watching the micro-film and the TV advertising. Besides, it is through the surveys to collect the data. The chapter divided by three categories included the research design, the research sample, and data collection.

3.1 Research survey Design

We conducted a survey to examine the influence of micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement on advertising Involvement and advertising effects. Our sampling frame was used among consumers in Taiwan. The selection of sampling in the sampling frame was random in order to ensure that each element had an equal chance of being selected. The survey design depend the literature review, these are three part. There are 8 questions taking as advertising involvement, 20 questions as advertising effects, and the basic information. There were two samples of advertising, the consumers watch the advertising and fill up the survey just depend the feeling after watching the micro-film and the TV advertising. A questionnaire was administered in which respondents were be taking to indicate for the questionnaire how much they agree with the statements give, we were using a 5-point interval-scale, where it 5 = Strongly Agree, 4 = Agree, 3 = Neutral, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree.

3.2 Research Sample

In order to compare with the micro-film and the TV advertising, so this study included two research samples. These samples of research were coming from City Bank. The researcher finds the brand which taking the micro-film and the TV advertising. There are two type of the sample are similar, but the micro-film about 9 minutes and the TV advertising about 40 seconds. There are two advertising talk about the function of the City Bank credit card.

4. Results

The research is using survey to collect the data. It will divide micro-film and TV advertising as the sample. In this study, the respondents came from age within 21-40. There are 50 sampling in the sampling frame, of these, 25 were female and 25 were male. The respondents of the education background, 32 come from bachelor degree and 18 come from master degree.

This study has a reliability test to measure the internal consistency of the variables in a summated scale. The result show as Table 1 and indicate that the measures are consistent in values as each concept has a threshold value of 0.7 and above (Hair et al., 2006). These consistent values underline common responses toward how advertising involvement and advertising effects.

Table 1
Reliability Test of the Model

Variables	Cronbach's Alpha
Advertising Involvement	0.87
Attitude toward the advertisement	0.87
Attitude toward the brand	0.91
Purchase intention	0.89

In order to examine the influence of micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement on advertising Involvement and advertising effects, we conducted an independent samples t-test to examine the difference between the micro-film advertisement and TV advertisement by advertising Involvement and advertising effects. The result showed as table 2. Among of the data indicated the influence of micro-film was better than TV advertising. In addition, the significant was appeared in the advertising involvement and the attitude toward the advertising.

Table 2

Dimensions of independent samples t-test

	Advertisin g Involvem ent	Attitude toward the advertisement	Attitude toward the brand	Purchase intention
	M	M	M	M
Micro-film	3.94*	4.15**	3.58	3.55
TV advertisement	3.59	3.54	3.31	3.33

significant : * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

The regression analysis about advertising involvement of this study, the result showed as table 3. Among of the data indicated the micro-film on advertising involvement, $R^2=0.100$ and $Beta=0.316$, the significant was appeared on the advertising involvement.

Table 3
Independent variables (X) Micro-film of regression Analysis
Towards advertising involvement

	Advertising Involvement	
	Beta	P
Micro-film	.316	.026*
R^2	.100	
N	50	

significant : * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

The regression analysis about advertising effects of this study, the result showed as table 4. Among of the data indicated the micro-film on advertising effects, the attitude toward adverting $R^2=0.221$ and $Beta=0.470$, the attitude toward brand $R^2=0.037$ and $Beta=0.192$, purchase intention $R^2=0.023$ and $Beta=0.151$. In addition, the significant was appeared on the attitude toward the adverting.

Table 4
Independent variables (X) Micro-film of regression Analysis
Towards advertising effects

	Attitude toward the advertisement		Attitude toward the brand		Purchase intention	
	Beta	P	Beta	P	Beta	P
Micro-film	.470	.001***	.192	.182	.151	.296
R ²	.221		.037		.023	
N	50		50		50	

significant : * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

5. Conclusion

According to the research results, the measurement of advertising involvement can be included demands, values, and interest, it was verified the research result as the Zaichkowsky in 1994. The measurement of adverting effects can be included attitude toward the advertising, attitude toward the brand, and purchase intention, it was also verified the research results as the Lutz et al. in 1986.

The successful advertising can bring profit to the advertiser. It is also bring the information to the consumers. So s good advertising is important to the advertising and consumers. When the advertiser to make an advertisement should depend what the consumers really need.

Our findings show that micro-film do generate a significant influence on advertising involvement and attitude toward the advertising as well as TV advertising. Compare with the micro-film and TV advertising, after the consumer watching micro-film, the advertising attitude much better than watching TV advertising. We predicted the reason why the result show as this, the micro-film is a full story movie, the advertising information deliver to consumers by a story. It is a 9 minute of a micro-film, but the TV advertising only less than one minute, it just purely to deliver the advertising information. The advertising deliver with a story will be increase the advertising involvement and attitude toward the adverting of the consumers.

This research only focus on Taiwan respondents, the basically result from the 50 respondents. For the reason of the time limited and number of sampling, it couldn't be a well contribution. Further research can be use interview or focus group to examine what the exactly reason to influence respondents.

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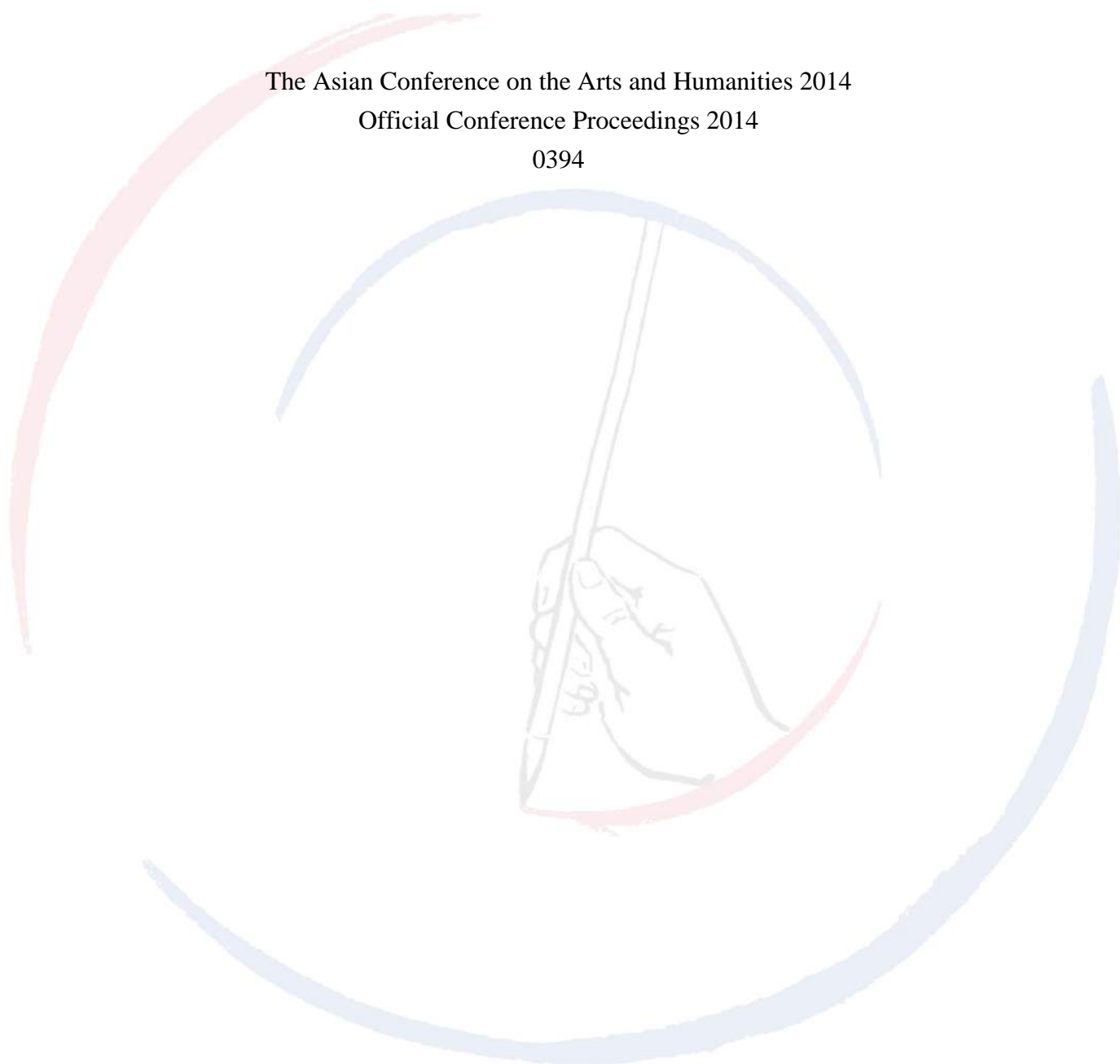
Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling: Locating the Individual

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Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling: Locating the Individual

In July 2013, Japan and the United Kingdom signed two bilateral treaties concerning joint military research, development production of defense equipment and the security of information. In the wake of these agreements British Foreign Secretary William Hague claimed that “the UK-Japan relationship is going from strength to strength (Foreign Secretary strengthens UK ties in Japan, 2013)”. However, to take a step back, the formal origins of modern Anglo-Japanese relations remain a relatively neglected part of the historical narrative. The Anglo-Japanese Convention marks this starting point. This convention, negotiated by Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling and signed in October 1854, was the first modern treaty agreement between Great Britain and Japan. Stirling’s aims in Japan differed from those of politicians, merchants and the wider British community in London, China and Hong Kong. However, this event has been continually regulated to the periphery of scholarship concerning nineteenth century Japan. The most detailed English language works were written over sixty years ago, and while there are more recent works by Japanese scholars little progress towards a greater understanding has been made. As the United Kingdom and Japan move towards closer bilateral cooperation on an international stage, the origins of modern Anglo-Japanese relations are in need of a reevaluation. An evident starting point in rectifying this gap in contemporary scholarship is with an analysis of Stirling himself: the individual, his motives, his methods, and his deviations from the standard policy of the British community in East Asia.

Japan and Great Britain in Nineteenth Century

At the time of Stirling’s visit to Nagasaki “Japan was still a closed door to European influence” (Freemantle, 1904, p. 106). The system of governance established by the ruling Tokugawa *Bakufu* in 1603 was a political compromise, a series of checks and balances between the Tokugawa and local sources of authority (Cullen, 2003). The *shōgun* was essentially the most powerful of a class of hereditary feudal rulers, supported by a council of ministers, but by the nineteenth century centralized authority had significantly eroded (Cullen, 2003). The Tokugawa *Bakufu* also regulated contact between Japan and foreign nations, and from the 1630s adopted what has been termed, rather misleadingly, an isolationist policy, limiting relations to a handful of countries. The *Bakufu*’s aim in doing so was a constructive effort to create a regional system centered on Japan, giving legitimacy to the Tokugawa Shōgunate (Kazui & Videen, 1982). Trade with the Netherlands and Chinese merchants was conducted at Nagasaki, administered by the *bugyō* appointed by the

Bakufu (Cullen, 2003). The Ryūkyū Islands, manipulated for both political legitimacy and as a means to maintain trade with China, were dominated by the Satsuma domain in southern Japan (Walker, 2002). Commercial and diplomatic relations with Korea were similarly carried out through Tsushima (Elisonas, 1991).

Western presence in East Asian waters was growing towards the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century resulting in increasing challenges to Japan's foreign policy. Russian territory in the east continued to grow closer to Japan and by the late eighteenth century several attempts to open relations with Japan had been made, followed by Russian attacks on Japanese settlements on Sakhalin in 1806 (Cullen, 2003). Expansion into the Kuril Islands, and the relocation of the Russian naval center to Petropavlovsk in 1850 brought increased numbers of Russian ships in and around Japanese waters (Eckel, 1944). Dutch negotiations were concerned with improving the existing conditions under which they were permitted to trade with Japan (Chaiklin, 2010). French vessels were also active in the area, and attempted to open trade with Japan in 1846 (Beasley, 1951). American presence in the region was also increasing during the early nineteenth century, prompting several attempts to open relations in 1837, 1846, and 1849 (Beasley, 1951; Kato, 2000; Osborn, 1865). This culminated in the well-known Perry Expedition in 1853 and the signing of the Convention of Kanagawa in 1854 (Treaty of Kanagawa, 1854). British ships first appeared around Japan in the late eighteenth century. British warships were active in the area during the years 1796 and 1797 and visited Nagasaki in 1808 (Cullen, 2003; Kato, 2000). Sir Stamford Raffles sent three ships to Nagasaki over 1813 and 1814, but with little success (Beasley, 1989; Tronson, 1859). In 1845 H.M.S. *Samarang* entered Nagasaki and was permitted to conduct surveys and procure supplies (Tronson, 1859). The presence of British vessels around Japan was the result of increasing British commercial interests in East Asia.

British expansion into the non-European world during the nineteenth century was motivated by commercial interests and driven by improving industrial technologies. The trade of East Asia was of particular interest, where the Royal Navy became an indispensable part of the British policy to "facilitate trade and develop markets by opening regions to outside contact" (Lynn, 1999, p. 109). Since the late eighteenth century, China had figured prominently as the main focus of British commerce in the region, and the British Government's involvement in the region grew rapidly after 1830 as it became an integral part of British imperialism in East Asia (Lynn, 1999; Osterhammel, 1999). Supporting the commercial network in the region, the British

navy became “the guardian of seaborne commerce” and “servant of official policy” (Gough, 1999, p. 337). At this point, relations with Japan were still considered a part of relations with China rather than a separate issue, and were therefore repeatedly subordinated to the more lucrative China trade and its attendant problems (Beasley, 1951; Kato, 2000). To politicians in England and merchants preoccupied in China, establishing commercial intercourse with Japan was a desirable but not a vital venture (Beasley, 1989).

British interest in opening relations with Japan grew slowly. Writing in 1834 Lord Clarendon, then foreign secretary, instructed the British superintendent of trade to expand British commerce into Japan if the opportunity arose (Beasley, 1989). However, very little progress was made until Sir Francis Davis was appointed governor of Hong Kong the following decade. Davis considered a commercial treaty with Japan second in importance only to China and drafted plans which were provisionally approved by the Foreign Office (Beasley, 1951, 1989). Despite this, a combination of Davis’ belief that a show of military force was essential and the absence of such a force at the necessary time prevented him from acting (Beasley, 1951, 1989). His replacement with Sir George Bonham in 1848 removed the main impetus of British attempts to establish relations with Japan and with Bonham showing little interest, British plans lost momentum (Beasley, 1951). This inactivity seemed perpetual until news of the United States’ expedition to Japan was received. Bonham was instructed in 1852 to gather information regarding the expedition in preparation for a British mission at an indefinite time in the future (Ishii, 1972). When Sir John Bowring replaced Bonham in 1854 British plans regained some of their former momentum, though the official instructions to seek commercial relations with Japan if the opportunity arose remained unchanged (*Hansard*, 23 June 1854, col. 614; Ishii, 1972). Despite this, Bowring’s plans to visit Japan were repeatedly postponed. In the April of 1854, Bowring though ready to sail to Japan was lacking the naval escort he thought necessary, as did Davis in 1845 (Ishii, 1972). This was resolved in May when Stirling offered to supply a naval escort, only to have the plans postponed again to facilitate French participation (Ishii, 1972). In China the Taiping Rebellion and the growth in piracy also resulted in an increased demand on the East Indies and China squadron to protect the property, commercial interests and lives of British nationals in the treaty ports (Beasley, 1951; “China”, 1854). However, the most decisive factor in the postponement of Bowring’s plans was the outbreak of the Crimean War.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, imperial rivalry between Great Britain and Russia created significant international tension, which was especially volatile in the Mediterranean, the Middle East and India (Edgerton, 1999). Following the outbreak of hostilities between Russia and the Ottoman Empire the previous year Great Britain and France declared war on Russia in March 1854 and by May the war had spread to the Far East (Eckel, 1944; Edgerton, 1999). Though events in Europe have tended to eclipse other issues, this conflict had important ramifications for Anglo-Japanese relations in general, and for Stirling in particular. The standing instructions for Stirling's post emphasized the China coast and the orders received from the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade reiterated this at the outbreak of war, directing Stirling to protect British shipping and interests from the Russian fleet and, if possible, to attack or capture the Russian fleet (Beasley, 1951; Ishii, 1972). Once again the envisioned attempt to open relations with Japan was subordinated to British interests in China, and Bowring's plans were delayed. However, this conflict also provided Stirling with cause to visit Japan and set in motion the chain of events which led to the negotiation of the Anglo-Japanese Convention.

Stirling: The Individual

Stirling, a career sailor, entered the Royal Navy at the age of twelve, and served in the Americas, Europe, Australia, Asia and Great Britain (Crowley, 1967). In 1828, after much lobbying, he gained the support necessary to establish a settlement on the west coast of Australia. From 1829 to 1832 and again from 1834 to 1838, he administered the British settlement on the Swan River (Crowley, 1967). During this period Stirling was recognised for his amicable personality but also criticized for inept administration, reflections of both which can be seen in his command in East Asia during the Crimean War (Crowley, 1967). Stirling resigned his position as governor in 1837, following increasingly strained relations with the local settlers (Crowley, 1967). Promoted to Rear-Admiral in 1851, he was stationed as Commander in Chief on the East Indies and China Station in 1854 where he was able to visit Japan and negotiate a treaty (*Stirling, James, Admiral*, 1865). Stirling's conduct in Japan and the resulting convention received the approval of the British Government and some limited public support. *The Times* praised Stirling for his prudence, ability and dexterity in seizing the advantageous moment ("China", 1854). Clarendon was of the opinion that Stirling's actions in Japan were deserving of entire approbation (*Mr. Hammond to the Secretary of the Admiralty*, 1856). In the House of Commons Sir James Graham, the First Lord of the Admiralty, also praised Stirling's conduct, saying that the "gallant Admiral, on a distant station... in a most

unassuming manner, but, at the same time, with great boldness of execution, had secured a very important advantage” (*Hansard*, 16 February 1855, col. 1493). As late as 1856, the year that Stirling was recalled, the sentiment that Stirling deserved the entire approbation of the government was repeated by *The Times* and Clarendon (*Mr. Hammond to the Secretary of the Admiralty*, 1856; “The Late Negotiations with Japan”, 1856). Stirling similarly thought that his actions had positive results. He argued that because of Britain’s great maritime strength his treaty was more effective practically than those with other powers (*Stirling to Graham*, 1854). He also believed that he had secured a “proper base” for future negotiations (*Stirling to Graham*, 1854).

These positive evaluations and Stirling’s optimistic outlook contrast sharply with the opinions held by politicians and merchants in East Asia, and those who served under his command. Bowring, who had the appropriate authority to negotiate a treaty with Japan, was critical of Stirling, writing that the whole affair was “botched and bungled” (cited in Beasley, 1951, p. 149). *The China Mail*, representing mercantile interests, was similarly hostile to Stirling’s actions, and published an article criticizing the admiral for having “achieved nothing creditable to the arms of his country and something rather discreditable to his own diplomacy” (cited in Beasley, 1951, p. 145). In his memoir, then midshipman Edmund Freemantle (1904) wrote that although Stirling was very kind personally, “his conduct was most extraordinary”, showing “lamentable weakness and indecision” (p. 80). Freemantle’s main criticism concerned the inaction of the admiral in pursuing the war against Russia in the east. Stirling, he asserts, made a brave show, but was otherwise not in any hurry to engage the Russian fleet (Freemantle, 1904). Stirling’s lack of belligerency was also commented on by Bernard Whittingham (1856), a guest aboard HMS *Sibylle*, who claimed that Stirling told him that “he had no idea of attacking any of the Russian ports in the East” (p. 2). Captain Sherard Osborn (1865), accompanying Britain’s formal diplomatic mission to Japan in 1858, was highly critical of Stirling’s actions, preferring to “ignore the folly of those who... had lost the birthright their ancestors had won for them”, rather than acknowledge Stirling’s treaty (pp. 305-306). The main point of difference between Stirling’s perspective and those of his detractors was the original motivation which brought Stirling to Japan.

Stirling: Motives

The Crimean War delayed Bowring’s planned mission, but it also gave Stirling relatively free reign in the movements of the China squadron, and cause to visit

Japan. The convention Stirling arranged was essentially a by-product of military necessity as his most pressing concern was the threat Russia posed to Britain's position in China and how best to neutralize it (Beasley, 1989; Ion, 2003; Yasuoka, 1978). Stirling's orders to "pursue, capture, and destroy" the Russian squadron in the region brought Stirling to Japan in 1854 (*Hansard*, 8 February 1856, col. 453; "House of Lords", 1856). That there was a Russian fleet active in East Asian waters was common knowledge, appearing both in public newspapers and in private accounts (*Hansard*, 18 May 1854, c. 536; "Russian Fleet in the Eastern Seas", 1854; Whittingham, 1856). In a letter to the Admiralty, Stirling wrote that:

The reasons which induced me to pay a visit to Japan... were... the chance it offered of finding the Russians... and... the opportunity it gave me of making such arrangements as should prevent the enemy from making use of the ports and resources of Japan for the purposes of equipping and recruiting cruisers, and of harbouring their prizes (*Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling to the Secretary of the Admiralty*, 1854).

While previous British plans up to this point had considered trade the main object of relations with Japan, Stirling was more concerned with the islands' strategic use. He wanted to know the "views and intentions of the Japanese Government" in the context of the Crimean War, and especially its policy in admitting foreign ships into Japanese ports as he believed that Japan's "neutrality and friendship at all times are matters of vital importance to British interests in the adjacent seas" (*Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling to the Governor of Nagasaki*, 1854; *Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling to the Secretary of the Admiralty*, 1854). Stirling wrote to Graham that Japan was "far more important in a political than a commercial sense" to Graham agreed, emphasizing the "great importance of having a naval station so close to the Russian settlement at the mouth of the Amour [sic]" (*Hansard*, 16 February 1855, c. 1492; *Stirling to Graham*, 1854). Thus, Stirling arrived in Japan with the aims of preventing Russian intercourse with Japan during the course of the war, and to establish cordial relations between Japan and Great Britain. This was the substance of Stirling's communications to the *bugyō* at Nagasaki. In the letter he sent ashore upon his arrival he indicated that the British squadron "will have frequent occasion to visit the coasts and ports of Japan, in order to prevent the Russian ships of war and their prizes from making use of those ports, to the detriment of the interests of Great Britain and her allies" (*Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling to the Governor of Nagasaki*, 1854, September 7).

Stirling's objective stands in contrast to the aims of the standard British policy to expand British trade into Japan if it was feasible (Beasley, 1989; *Davis to Aberdeen, separate and secret*, 1845). Even those serving under his command believed that their object in Japan was "to form a treaty of trade and friendship" (Tronson, 1859, p. 8). Stirling, however, planned to reject all reference to commerce as foreign to his business (*Stirling to Graham*, 1854). At no point did he attempt to secure commercial advantages in his negotiations, much to the disappointment of those more interested in trade than the war against Russia (Beasley, 1951; Fox, 1941). Initially only interested in an indication of Japan's position in the current conflict and without proper authorization from the British Government, Stirling seized the opportunity created by circumstance and mistranslation to sign a diplomatic treaty (Beasley, 1851; *Stirling to Graham*, 1854). Stirling acknowledged this, deliberately pointing it out in his letter to the Admiralty:

I venture to point out that in no part of the negotiation did I pretend to have been sent by Her Majesty's Government in any other capacity other than that of the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's ships and vessels on this station (*Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling to the Secretary of the Admiralty*, 1854).

That Stirling believed he was acting in his capacity as a naval officer is evidenced by his aim to limit his attention to the military issue involving Japan (*Stirling to Graham*, 1854). Stirling was content with continued refusal to trade and merely negotiated for supplies (Alcock, 1863). He conceded that he "pertinaciously neglected every opportunity to open Trade", and that his treaty made "no sort of provision for commercial intercourse", arguing instead that the amity and friendship of Japan during the war was more important than expanding the British commercial network (*Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling to the Secretary of the Admiralty*, 1854). The port regulations Stirling unquestionably accepted are indicative of his intent to forego any commercial objectives: the fifth regulation prohibited communication with merchant ships and any for commercial interaction (*Standing Port Regulations*, 1854). The only article of Stirling's convention which resembles the commercial aims of the wider British community was its most-favored nation clause (*Convention for regulating the admission of British ships into the ports of Japan*, 1854). This was clarified in an exposition the following year to grant Britain the right to appoint consuls, to conduct trade, and access to ports opened in the future to other nations (*Exposition*, 1855).

Stirling: Methods

The general impression among British political and mercantile circles in the nineteenth century was that a sizable force was a necessary component to any negotiations with a non-European nation. Davis, in his original plans, believed that an imposing naval mission was necessary and this opinion was held by his successors. Representatives of other Western powers thought similarly. Perry in the previous year had sailed directly into Uraga Bay, close to the *shōgunal* capital, and the Russian admiral Putyatin, after delays at Nagasaki had sailed towards Edo (Whittingham, 1856). Stirling, however, behaved differently. John Tronson (1859), serving in the China squadron, recollected that, “as we had an object to gain in visiting Japan, it behoved us to create a good opinion as to ourselves and our institutions” (p. 3). As such, Stirling’s orders for the force under his command were civility to the people and obedience to their laws (*Stirling to Graham*, 1854; Tronson, 1859). The Dutch Japanologist, Phillip Von Siebold, had advised western nations “to be most cautious, conciliatory, and yielding and that eventually everything required would be gained” (Whittingham, 1856, p. 203). While others argued against the approach of “unlimited submission and conciliation” and the “futility of such unresisting submission to wrong and injury”, this was the path that Stirling chose (Alcock, 1863, pp. 88-89). Primarily interested in a military issue, he was prepared to subordinate other interests to his goal. This conduct drew criticism. Whittingham (1856) claimed that Stirling’s amicable personality was exploited by the Japanese diplomats he negotiated with, leading to the limited concessions he secured. Whittingham (1856) also complained that Stirling “lost the prestige attending the first appearance of a British squadron in Japanese waters” (pp. 212-213). After a wait of twenty days, Stirling threatened to proceed to Edo, only to have his threat counteracted by a slight relaxation of the restrictive port regulations of Nagasaki (*Minute of a communication between the Governor of Nagasaki and Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling, on the 28th September, 1854; Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling to the Governor of Nagasaki, 1854, September 27; Tronson, 1859*). Stirling was ultimately delayed at Nagasaki for over a month (“A Visit to Japan”, 1855; Tronson, 1859; Whittingham, 1856). Whittingham (1856), ever critical of Stirling’s conduct, wrote that the admiral’s actions were “a species of diplomacy quite novel, and which for the credit of the country should never be permitted to be repeated” (213). Stirling’s conduct during his negotiations conformed to his original intentions of focusing solely on securing an understanding of Japan’s position during the Crimean War.

Issues of, in Stirling's words, "imperfect interpretation" also played a critical role in the outcome of his negotiations (cited in Beasley, 1951, p. 122). Not having diplomatic powers, Stirling was unable to employ the consular interpreters and was therefore forced to locate an interpreter elsewhere (Beasley, 1951). Eventually, Otokichi, an employee of a Shanghai merchant company, accompanied Stirling's squadron (Tronson, 1859). Otokichi's understanding of both the diplomatic language used by the British and the complicated writing of the Japanese officials was less than perfect, and the interpretation dissolved into a combination of verbal exchanges and written letters translated back and forth between the English, Dutch and Japanese with the aid of the head of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki (Beasley, 1950, 1951). Errors made in the translation of Stirling's first communication to the Japanese set the path for the remainder of the negotiations and instructions received from Edo assumed that Stirling's demands would resemble those made by the United States (Beasley, 1950). The misinterpretations arising from this flawed communication caused Stirling to note that "at the suggestion of the Japanese Government the negotiation ultimately took a more extensive and important character than that which I had originally contemplated" (*Rear Admiral Sir James Stirling to the Secretary of the Admiralty*, 1854). Stirling, unable to convey his original intentions clearly, settled for an agreement that nevertheless solved his immediate military problems.

Conclusion

British plans for establishing relations with Japan were contingent upon the situation in China. Preoccupations in China cause repeated attempts to establish relations with Japan to stall and therefore not until the Crimean War was a treaty between Great Britain and Japan was successfully concluded.

Stirling, during his operations against the Russian fleet in the area, found himself in a position to negotiate this treaty. Though his actions and the resulting convention were not a part of his jurisdiction, nor was his action officially ordered, he was, nevertheless, praised for his conduct. He earned the approbation of public papers and the British Government for establishing official relations with Japan. However, he also received heavy criticism from those who believed he had failed in his primary duty of locating and engaging the Russian fleet, and also by those who believed that the limited concessions he secured represented diplomatic failure rather than success.

Stirling's treaty and his presence in Japan stemmed from military necessity. The Russian fleet known to have been in the vicinity of Japan represented a significant threat to British interests in China and a solution was needed. Stirling's solution to this problem was an undertaking to obtain confirmation of the views and intentions of the Japanese Government in the context of the Crimean War. He wanted to know which ports British and Russian ships could enter and under what conditions. Establishing commercial relations was outside of both his authority and his immediate needs.

Despite the apparently pressing nature of a question arising out of war, Stirling exhibited remarkable patience in his negotiations with the Japanese, more so than his contemporaries. Though accompanied by a sizable squadron, Stirling was not particularly forceful, conceding to most of the Japanese demands in order to accomplish his military goal. That the negotiations ultimately resulted in a more wide ranging treaty than the simple confirmation originally intended was more of a result of circumstance than predetermined action.

A range of questions still remains. Undoubtedly Stirling's actions had an impact on later British plans to establish proper diplomatic and commercial relations with Japan, but just how significant was this? How did it affect ideas of commerce and diplomacy in the region? The consequences of Stirling's actions were not limited solely to British policy. In what way did the dominant military position that Stirling could assume through the use of Japanese ports affect the conduct of the Crimean War, despite the limited amount of combat in Asia. How did the presence of British ships in Japan help to construct the British perception of the Japanese populace, and as well as the Japanese perception of the British? All these questions point the way towards further research concerning the events of 1854 and their consequences.

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Improving Foundation Program Students' Paraphrasing Skills

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Abstract

The Foundation Program English Language (FPEL) at Sultan Qaboos University (SQU) implements an outcome-oriented curriculum which is built on a set of skills and competences that students should develop by the end of the course. The curriculum emphasizes the importance of writing skills development in general, and paraphrasing skills, in particular. Despite a strong emphasis on writing skills development in the FPEL curriculum and abundant support provided outside the classroom, FPEL students' writing marks remain low mostly because of their unsuccessful paraphrasing attempts. This fact gives rise to a set of questions: Why do students produce incomprehensible paraphrases? Do they need more knowledge of grammar or vocabulary to produce better writing? Or maybe both? Which paraphrasing strategies do students employ? What challenges do students face when they paraphrase? What do students expect from their English writing course books? What kind of additional support do students expect to get from their writing teachers to help them become better writers? The collection of answers to these questions can provide clues or directions for writing teachers to help students paraphrase better.

In this paper, the researcher shares the results of a study that aimed at identifying common types of collocational errors which make students' paraphrases deviant and non-natural. The author focuses on two collocational patterns and collocational types that seem to be the most challenging for higher-level FPEL students. Finally, the researcher discusses the implications of the study for writing teachers.

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Rationale:

The Foundation Program English Language (FPEL) at the SQU Language Center implements an outcome-oriented curriculum which is built on a set of skills and competences that students should develop by the end of the course. English courses are skills-based and students' progress is monitored through a combination of continuous and summative assessment measures. The FPEL curriculum highlights the importance of writing skills development since in higher level FPEL courses, students are required to write a research-based report that involves extensive paraphrasing.

FPEL students have a wide array of opportunities to improve their writing skills independently. They have access to the Writing Center which has experienced writing tutors who are willing to attend to students' writing needs and computer laboratories equipped with special language learning software to offer students opportunities for further practice. Students can also visit their teachers in their offices and seek help from them. Despite a strong emphasis on writing skills development in the FPEL curriculum and abundant support provided outside the classroom, FPEL students' writing marks are usually low most probably because of their weak paraphrasing skills.

A number of questions arise from this fact: Why do students produce incomprehensible paraphrases? Do they need more knowledge of grammar or vocabulary to produce better writing? Or maybe both? Which paraphrasing strategies do students employ? What challenges do students face when they paraphrase? What do students expect from their English writing course books? What kind of additional support do students expect to get from their writing teachers to help them become better writers? The collection of answers to these questions can provide clues or directions for better writing practices.

Improving Foundation Program Students' Paraphrasing Skills, which was a two-semester-long action research project, was an attempt to answer some of these questions. The study started off with an overall aim to look into possible ways of improving students' paraphrasing skills while the narrow purpose of the study was to examine how explicit teaching of collocations could affect students' paraphrases.

Hence, the following research questions were formulated and relevant literature was reviewed:

- Why do students produce non-native like paraphrases?
- What are the major challenges that students face when paraphrasing?
- How does students' awareness of collocational patterns affect their competence as target language writers and paraphrasers?

Literature Review:

Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2009) defines paraphrasing as restating a text, passage or work by giving the meaning in a different form and a number of theories with regards to the skill of paraphrasing have been suggested by researchers in the field. Although the skill of paraphrasing was traditionally considered as a student study skill (Anderson and Armbruster, 1984, as cited in Fisk and Hurst, 2003), it has become more widely known as a useful skill to avoid plagiarism, enhance reading comprehension and improve writing skills. However, only recently has research accentuated the importance of lexical choice in producing paraphrases. According to

Meteer and Shaked (1988), paraphrasing is viewed in the context of natural language interfaces. To be specific, paraphrasing provides an excellent context to explore interesting issues in both natural language understanding, its production and paraphrasing itself. Since paraphrasing is the task of restating the meaning of a text in a different form, it is crucial for the paraphraser to be equipped with a set of essential paraphrasing strategies or techniques, such as clarifying the original text, playing with different structures and, choosing more precise lexical items. It is worth pointing out that interacting with the text is of great importance here to avoid any ambiguity in order to produce a precise paraphrase. Meteer and Shaked (1988) consider ambiguity as one of the most difficult problems to identify and correct. They have identified three kinds of ambiguity: *lexical* when a lexical item can refer to more than one thing, *structural* which is caused when there are multiple parts in a sentence and *contextual* when the query is underspecified (Meteer and Shaked, 1988). Therefore, to generate precise paraphrases, the paraphraser is expected to appreciate ambiguities and vagueness at lexical, structural, and contextual levels. If this is the case, how can the paraphraser attain the skill of paraphrasing? Of crucial importance here is the paraphraser's awareness of the conceptual denotation of a word or phrase (e.g., "clerical employee") with its general denotation (Meteer and Shaked, 1988). This can be achieved by teaching common collocational patterns explicitly which gives rise to an important question about the role and place of collocations in teaching English.

For many years vocabulary teaching was neglected based on the assumption that vocabulary could be left to take care of itself until the 1990s when interest in vocabulary teaching and research increased with the advent of Paul Nation's (1990) *Teaching and Learning Vocabulary* which provided a comprehensive review of research on vocabulary. Later, in 1991, Michael Lewis developed an approach to language teaching, the Lexical Approach, which moved vocabulary to the forefront of language teaching. His two books, *The Lexical Approach* (Lewis, 1993) and *Implementing the Lexical Approach* (Lewis, 1997), focused on a key element in the approach since vocabulary acquisition implies more than the meaning(s) of words in isolation; it also involves knowing the words that tend to co-occur with it. These patterns are known as collocations (*Implementing the Lexical Approach: Putting Theory into Practice*, 1997). Similarly, *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (2002) defines collocations as two or more words that co-occur with very high frequency and are important in vocabulary learning. Based on the strength of their use, collocations are divided into three groups (Lewis, 1997):

- 1) *Weak* collocations which are words that collocate with a greater frequency. For example, a lot of things can be big or small, good or bad.
- 2) *Medium strength* collocations which are words that co-occur with a greater frequency than weak collocations. For example, we usually say, *commit an error*, *work out a plan* or *hold a meeting*.
- 3) *Strong* or *very strong* collocations which are words that co-occur with a greater frequency than medium strength collocations. For instance, we usually say *strong tea* which doesn't necessarily mean other things cannot be strong.

Based on the elements they consist of, collocations are divided into seven patterns identified by McCarthy and O' Dell (2005). Table 1 below details the mentioned patterns:

Table 1: McCarthy and O' Dell's Categorization of Collocational Patterns (2005)

Collocational Patterns	Examples
1) verb + noun (object)	to commit an error, to carry out research, etc.
2) noun + verb	birds twitter, light gleams, etc.
3) adjective + noun	reasonable prices, heavy traffic, etc.
4) verb + adverb	to bend slightly, to identify accurately, etc.
5) adverb + adjective	completely ignorant, politically illiterate, etc.
6) noun + noun	a light source, traffic density, etc.
7) verb + preposition	to choose between two rooms, to depend on family, etc.

This increased interest in vocabulary was in relation to reading skills until the advent of corpus technology which demonstrated great potential for second language (L2) writing instruction by integrating vocabulary, grammar, and discourse patterns of given types of writing into the teaching of L2 writing (Gledhill, 2000; Hyland, 2002; Jabbour, 1997, 2001; Tribble, 1999, 2002, as cited in Yoon, 2008). A number of studies have emphasized that the corpus approach can enhance learners' awareness of lexico-grammatical patterning of texts and academic written discourse to help students develop competence as writers within specific academic domains (Tribble, 2002, in Yoon, 2008). Yoon and Hirvela (2004) found that corpus use helped the students learn common usage patterns of words, which resulted in increased confidence about L2 writing (Yoon, 2008).

However, there is a need for further research that explores how the use of right collocation affects students' L2 writing behavior and process. Furthermore, much needs to be done to investigate how the correct lexical choice affects students' L2 writing experiences as a whole. Also, more research is needed to investigate students' individual experiences in generating paraphrases since little research has addressed this issue. Lastly, even though some scholars have emphasized the usefulness of teaching collocations in L2 by claiming that the selection of collocational patterns is an important issue in teaching collocations in L2 writing pedagogy (Yoon, 2008), very few attempts have been made to integrate explicit teaching of collations in writing classes with regards to paraphrasing skills.

This study attempts to address several issues in research literature by examining the paraphrasing process in relation to correct lexical choice over time, investigating how the use of collocations affects the way students deal with linguistic issues in writing and the ways they approach paraphrasing.

Methodology:

This study was initiated in September of 2012 and concluded in June 2013. It was constructed within the framework of action research paradigm. The choice of the framework was driven by the relevant strategy of investigation determined by the research questions. Pine (2009) describes action research as a paradigm not a method because "as a paradigm, action research is a conceptual, social, philosophical, and

cultural framework for doing research, which embraces a wide variety of research methodologies and forms of inquiry” (Pine, 2009, pp. 29-30). This research paradigm reflects the principle that reality is built through individual or collective conceptualizations and definitions of a particular situation requiring a wide range of research methodologies (Pine, 2009). Action research investigates a problem systematically and recursively in order to take action to solve it. What is more, Carr & Kemmis (1986, as cited in Pine, 2009) assert that this type of research aims at improving practice, the understanding of practice by its practitioners, and the situations in which practice takes place. This type of research is recursive because teacher-researchers frequently work simultaneously within several research steps and come back to readdress issues and modify research questions based on reflection for, reflection in, and reflection on action. This reflective process is essential in education since action research formulates realistic hypotheses about teaching, learning, and curriculum from reflection on and study of teaching, learning, and curriculum to improve teaching, learning, and curriculum. The teacher is the agent and source of educational reform and not the objects of reform. Through the process of action inquiry the teacher conceptualizes and creates knowledge, interacts around knowledge, transforms knowledge, and applies knowledge (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, as cited in Pine, 2009). However, it should be noted that knowledge is contextual because it is specific to the context, namely school, the classroom, teachers, and students. In this specific context, the classroom becomes a site where new meanings and understanding are shaped and shared with an overall aim to improve practice.

Even though the researcher may set the focus for his/her investigation, he/she needs to formulate questions that will lead to detailed exploration and emergence of different variables during investigation, which might not have been previously considered. Johnson (1993) states that teachers' action research questions arise from problematic areas and discrepancies between what is intended and what actually happens. Thus, the choice of the framework was driven by the research questions which arose from problematic areas and led to an exploratory study that emerged from the need to explore the relationship between the lexical choice and paraphrases. Also, there was a further need to uncover the reason/s why students tend to produce deviant paraphrases. In other words, the research questions are to bring into focus issues that can be hidden in the current reality.

There is some concern about the validity and trustworthiness of action research (Johnson, 1993, as cited in Pine, 2009) and therefore, this study followed the four ways of increasing validity suggested by Feldman (2003, as cited in Pine, 2009). To be specific, the validity and the reliability of the research findings were ensured by clear, careful and detailed description of data collection, clear and detailed description of constructed representation, clear and justifiable demonstration of why that particular way to represent the same study has been chosen over the others and providing evidence of the value of any changes in one's ways of being a teacher-educator. Furthermore, the researcher employed a variety of data sources, namely unstructured in-class discussions, guided student discussions, student individual reflections and student paraphrases. The study set off with unstructured in-class discussions guided by the research questions, which aimed at getting clear ideas about the phenomena in question. These discussions were unstructured to offer opportunities for flexibility, spontaneity and responsiveness to individual differences and situational changes (Al-Zefeiti, 2010). Guided reflection questions were

developed from the discussion results for further data collection. With a fairly representative sample in this specific context, the study yielded tangible and trustworthy results.

The research participants:

The research participants or informants were 43 FPEL 0560 and 0603 Science and Medical students. It is worth mentioning that these students have relatively good knowledge of grammar and their speech and writing are quite coherent. Since no records of previously done research were found in the Language Center, the informants' contribution was indispensable in this respect. Their constructions were important in learning about the techniques students used to paraphrase while working on their 500-word reports as well as learn about the challenges they faced when paraphrasing.

Research Setting and Method:

As mentioned earlier, higher-level FPEL writing courses, like FPEL 0560/0603 Science and Medicine courses require extensive paraphrasing. Students are engaged in report writing by researching a topic and paraphrasing relevant information from at least three sources. Therefore, in their writing courses, students are taught a wide range of paraphrasing strategies to avoid plagiarism. Students' writings are assessed based on four criteria: Task achievement, Coherence, Grammar and Vocabulary. The Language Center has a strict policy to fight plagiarism which is viewed as a major crime. The plagiarism check is carried out through anti-plagiarism software available at www.turnitin.com and students get penalized if their plagiarism rate generated by the software exceeds 15 %.

This two-semester-long action research began as an attempt to find out where higher-level students showed weakness in their paraphrasing attempts. At the beginning of two consecutive semesters, the two groups of students who participated in the study embarked on their 500-word report project, and throughout the coursework they were introduced to a set of essential paraphrasing strategies. On a weekly basis, the students were encouraged to share their paraphrasing experiences after practicing a specific paraphrasing strategy. The students' drafts were collected and sufficient feedback was provided to improve their paraphrases. After the submission of their final drafts, the students were asked to respond to a set of guided questions by reflecting on the whole report writing process in general and paraphrasing, in particular. All the questions were built around the usefulness of certain strategies, their compatibility with their learning style/s and challenges they faced when paraphrasing.

On a regular basis, students' paraphrases were marked and their errors were collected and stored in a table. When the number of errors reached 100, the errors were divided into grammatical and vocabulary subgroups. Vocabulary errors, to be more specific, "wrong word combinations" as labeled by the students, outnumbered grammatical ones, which was a clear indication that most students had difficulty with right word choice, to be more exact, with choice of the right collocate. The next step undertaken was to identify common types of collocations that students had difficulty with and help them bring the number of errors down to minimum. All the collected errors were

grouped into seven categories suggested by McCarthy and O' Dell (2005) discussed earlier in this paper.

Findings:

In this context, there was a fairly representative sample of the views of 43 students enrolled in FPEL 0560/ 0603 Science and Medicine Writing Courses. As mentioned earlier, these are intermediate and upper-intermediate level students who have relatively good knowledge of grammar and writing skills.

The thorough analysis of student errors revealed that there were two collocational patters, namely *verb + noun* and *adjective + noun* collocations that most students had difficulty with. Hence, it can be concluded that these collocational patterns seemed to be the most challenging. It should be pointed out that the findings regarding the other five collocational patters were inconclusive in regard to challenge. The errors were spread across the spectrum and students' reflections were not in-depth enough which could indicate that there was no shared opinion about the level of challenge for the rest of the patterns. This may account for the fact that most FPEL students focus more on *verb + noun* and *adjective + noun* patterns when paraphrasing, or they could have difficulty identifying other collocational patterns or parts of speech.

There was a further need to investigate these two categories in terms of their strength based on the claim in research that collocational relationships are not equally powerful in both directions. For example, in *heavy rain/traffic*, *rain* and *traffic* mostly collocate with *heavy*, whereas *heavy* can collocate with *man, bag, suitcase*, etc.

There was a clear trend for *strong* and *medium strength* collocations, such as *develop behaviour, common disease/condition, face a problem* or *treat the patient* for most students to outnumber weak collocations and consequently, be identified as the most problematic collocations. This finding could tie in with a view shared by some students that some verbs and adjectives are very confusing because they have many shades of meaning. The students would pick up rather strange adjectives when using the paraphrasing strategy of substituting the words with synonyms which led to non-native like language use like *do behaviour, popular disease, meet a problem, or conserve the patient*. This finding is in line with the claim by Decarrico (in Celce-Murcia, 2001) that lack of knowledge of collocational patterns as part of L2 vocabulary knowledge will result in irregularities which will make learners' speech and writing deviant or funny in a way and as decided non-native.

Quite a few student errors, such as *close the computer, close the lights* or *sit at home*, were related to students' first language (L1) transfer. This is in line with research that L2 acquisition is strongly affected by learners' L1 (Ellis, 1997). Moreover, Gass and Selinker (1983) claim that learners use the knowledge of their L1 and other languages known to them. Learners may make negative transfer from their L1 by saying *enter the Internet* instead of *go online* or by saying *go to guest* instead of *be somebody's guest*.

Another interesting finding was a group of errors which were the result of overgeneralization of collocational rules. In other words, students tend to

overgeneralize rules of collocations. For example, they might think that *a popular book* is the same as *a popular disease* rather than *a common disease*.

Finally, there was some indication that usually collocations are ignored, apparently, because the course book does not include any exercises and paraphrasing activities to practice collocations. Students may not recognize collocations in the text, strong ones in particular, which could impede their understanding of the text and lead to deviant paraphrases.

In this specific context, the major outcome for the teacher and indirectly for students was a greater awareness of what it means to produce a wide range of collocations. After being explicitly taught some medium strength and strong collocations related to their research topic and the seven collocational patterns, the students significantly improved the quality of their paraphrases by making them more natural. In other words, their skill of choosing the right word improved significantly. It was obvious that explicit teaching of collocational patterns and types accelerated the development of right word combination competence and made students' writing more precise. This may be attributed to the fact that most common words in English have a wide range of meanings, and it is the context that determines the precise meaning of the word. Thus, if students use the right collocation, they will express themselves more clearly. For example, *a good student* is definitely different from *an outstanding student*, even though both of them are correct in terms of grammar (Decarrico, in Celce-Murcia, 2001).

Overall, the students' awareness of collocational patterns and level of strength is likely attributable to their writing competence. The students gained confidence throughout the course, and soon they could use good collocational patterns in their writing.

Conclusion:

Why do students produce incomprehensible paraphrases? Do they need more knowledge of structure or vocabulary to produce better writing? Or maybe both? Which paraphrasing strategies do students employ? What challenges do they face when they paraphrase texts? What kind of support do students expect to get from their writing teachers to help them become better writers? The researcher tried to answer some of these questions by discussing the results of the study. Although the majority of FPEL 0560 and 0603 students have good knowledge of English grammar and vocabulary, the findings revealed that they seem to have difficulty with two collocational patterns and types, namely *verb + noun* and *adjective + noun* medium strength and strong collocations. This seems to be, to some extent, due to the lack of collocational knowledge among FPEL 0560 and 0603 students, and to a large extent, the inadequate emphasis given to collocational patterns in their textbooks, and the type of instructions they receive: explicit or implicit.

How students' errors are treated is key, and students need to be shown why they are making errors and what they can do about it. Teachers need to be ready to teach the types of collocation with which the learners have the greatest difficulties, especially those which are a source of L1 interference, and those which have restricted use.

In sum, the more proficient students become in English, the more they are willing to produce natural English. Since not a single piece of natural language is completely free of collocations, it is essential that students become aware of this. So how can teachers help students generate more natural English? By teaching **the right collocation!!!**

Recommendations:

Based on the findings discussed above, some recommendations can be made. First, more needs analysis instruments are required to help teachers and programs attend to student needs. Second, systematic awareness-raising on the part of the teacher is necessary to encourage student to identify and use a range of collocational patterns. Thirdly, a list of collocations based on the academic word list needs to be created for a vocabulary bank (i.e. on Moodle, in the writing book, etc...) which FPEL teachers can use for explicit teaching of collocations. Finally, FPEL writing courses should design and develop more tasks and activities that target medium-strength and strong collocation types and basic collocational patterns to help students produce more meaningful paraphrases.

How long would it take a learner to come to appreciate that a '*heavy rain*' is more natural than a '*strong rain*'. Once students start to get into collocations in English, the sheer overwhelming scale of learning English as a non-native speaker becomes more marked. By raising students' awareness of collocations, teachers can help them produce more meaningful paraphrases and proficient users of the language.

Final Note:

Since this action research is the first in its kind conducted in Oman, it can serve as a starting point for possible direction in future research. Consequently, further research is needed to make more conclusive claims and establish a solid framework for incorporating collocations into the writing courses.

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*The Old and New Malaya of Colonial Days
and Its Continuity into Modern Day Malaysia*

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Abstract:

The term “Old Malaya” refers to the Malay states of the eastern coast of the Peninsular (Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu) and the “New Malaya” to the states on the west coast (Perak, Negeri Sembilan, Selangor and Pahang). The British concentrated their economic growth on the west coast, thereby giving rise to a dual economy. On the west coast, the British were profit driven with special focus on mining and plantation sectors which reaped great economic growth. Similar policy was carried out by the post-independence government which focussed more on the west coast states. This had serious implications and caused the east coast states to be underdeveloped. It is only very recently (2007) that the government planned to create the East Coast Economic Region (ECER) and Northern Corridor Economic Region (NCER) with major projects to improve the economic condition of the east coast states. The unequal development extended beyond regional inequalities, again as in the case of colonial rule. For instance, the Indians were marginalised both during the colonial era as well as in post-independent Malaya/Malaysia. The marginalisation of the Indians when plantations were bought over by government owned companies led to uneven development in post independent Malaya. This paper intends to explore the uneven development of Malaya in the 19th and early 20th century, a situation which continued to exist in post-independent Malaya.

Introduction

It is pertinent to first understand the term Malaya as used in colonial times in both its geographical and political context before attempting to understand Old and New Malaya. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the term Malaya was used to denote the Malay Peninsula and the adjunct islands of Penang and Singapore. Until 1945 there were three political entities in Malaya:

- (a) The British colony of the Straits Settlements (known for short as the “SS”) which included Penang (including the mainland territory of Province Wellesley) Malacca and Singapore. These territories were united in 1826 and Singapore became the capital in 1832.
- (b) The Federated Malay States (the “FMS”) of central Malaya comprising the states of Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang. The federation was formed in 1896 with Kuala Lumpur as its capital.
- (c) The Unfederated Malay States (the “UMS”) of Johor, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu.

The nine Malay states of the FMS and UMS became British Protectorates at various times between 1874 and 1914. Malaya as a political entity came into being with the inauguration of the Federation of Malaya in 1948.

Old and New Malaya

The terms “Old Malaya” and “New Malaya” were first used by C.A. Vlieland (the Superintendent of the 1931 Census in Malaya) in “The 1947 Census of Malaya”, *Pacific Affairs*, XXII, 1 March 1949. The British concentrated their economic growth on the west coast, thereby creating the conditions for the creation of a dual economy. The question to be raised is: what led to such a development? The answer could be found by tracing the economic development of the Malay states under British rule.

Economic Growth under the Residential System

British intervention in Perak under the Pangkor Agreement of 1874 saw the appointment of an official Resident and higher economic growth in Perak due to security, efficient administration and capital flow. Various steps were taken to encourage mining and agriculture. British policy on the whole could be classified as *laissez-faire*, which meant that they did not interfere in the affairs of the Europeans and the Chinese immigrants who were involved in the mining sector. If there was intervention, it was only to protect business interest.¹ The principal source of revenue for the four Malay states, which were to come within British protection, was the export duty on tin. The next source was the duty imposed on imported opium, and the third on the import duties on spirits and the exclusive right to manufacture them for native consumption.² The Government also acquired revenue from land in the form of quit rent and premium payments as well as by providing postal, telegraphic and railway services. Between 1875 -1896, tin was the main revenue earner (\$25,989,664), followed by railway services (\$6,726,48); land (\$3,528,600); and postal and telegraph (\$624,459) services.³ In terms of states, Perak was the top revenue earner, followed by Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang.

Economic Growth under the Federation, 1896

The inefficiency of the Residential system led to the need to amalgamate the four Malay States (Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang) under one central administration, with a federal executive, a Resident-General, as the head. The creation of a Federation led to standardisation and uniformity in land and mining law and other

aspects of administration from 1896 -1909. A tremendous growth was subsequently evident in the mining and agriculture sectors. The development of agriculture and mining was boosted through liberal land concessions; as well as special land regulations introduced after 1900. By the 1906 land terms, quit rent on agricultural land exceeding 10 acres was fixed at \$1 per acre per annum, rising to \$3- \$4 according to its classification.⁴ Through the application of the *lalang* clause the state confiscated large tracts of abandoned land belonging to Chinese shifting cultivators.⁵ The Government too established a Planters' Loan Fund which made large loans available cheaply and easily. The British administration also created a conducive environment that encouraged both agriculture as well as mining. Efforts were made to encourage infrastructure development in areas such as drainage, roads, railways and bridges with a view to boosting the plantation and mining economies.

It is also interesting to note that from the late 19th and early 20th century more European estates and mines were opened in the Malay States, and with that both planters as well as miners played a vital role in promoting investments, and had a bigger say in government policy.⁶

Factors Which Led to the Creation of Old Malaya and New Malaya

Commercial Crops Concentrated in the Straits Settlements and Western Malay States
Prior to intervention, commercial crops were cultivated in the Straits Settlements and the Malay states. The earliest examples of plantation agriculture include pepper which was first grown in Kedah in the seventeenth century and then introduced into Johore in the 1840s, followed by nutmeg and cloves. Sugar estates were started by the Chinese in Province Wellesley and Malacca at the beginning of the nineteenth century. European planters on the other hand prefer to grow crops that were less demanding on both labour and soil, crops like tea, cinchona, gambier, pepper and coffee. Coffee was one crop which attracted European capital in the late nineteenth century.

Sugar –cane

The earliest commercial crops known to have been cultivated in the Straits Settlements and later in the state of Johor and elsewhere in peninsula included sugar-cane, coffee, cotton and nutmeg. According to P. P. Courtenay, the pioneers of the sugar industry were the Chinese who reportedly started planting sugar cane in Province Wellesley shortly before 1800. However, the industry remained dominant until 1840.⁷ Between 1870 and 1900, sugar growing in southern Province Wellesley developed into a highly capitalized, European-controlled enterprise. Towards the end of the century the industry, at its peak had spread into the Krian district of neighbouring Perak. Between 1900 and 1914, the sugar industry of north-west Malaya declined to extinction.⁸

Coffee

Coffee was another important agricultural product cultivated in the Malay states and it was the only agricultural enterprise to be almost wholly European controlled after 1880.⁹ European coffee planters from Ceylon were attracted to Malaya when their estates were seized by the virulent fungus *Hemileia Vastatrix* in the early 1870s. By 1896, there were over 35,000 acres of European coffee planted in Perak with attractive land terms offered to planters. There were also considerable acreage in Selangor and Negeri Sembilan. The plantations of Selangor were concentrated to the north and north-east of Kuala Lumpur especially in the valleys of the Gombak and

Setapak rivers. This concentration was due to the need for accessibility at a time when suitable roads were few in number, and also the fact that many of the estate pioneers were involved in road and railway contracting in Kuala Lumpur.¹⁰

Table 1 shows the export of coffee from the Federated Malay States (F. M. S.) from 1898 to 1900.

Table 1: Coffee Exports from the Federated Malay States (F. M. S.)

	1898	1899	1900
	Pikuls	Pikuls	Pikuls
Selangor	22,948	26,407	34,295
Negeri Sembilan	3,163	4,541	6,199
Perak	2,837	932	4,269
<i>Total</i>	28,948	31,880	44,763

Source: Chai Hon-chan, *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 151.

A sharp fall in world coffee prices occurred after the peak season of 1894-5 due to Brazilian overproduction. By the time they began to recover after 1903, the industry had suffered other heavy blows. *Hemileia vastatrix* appeared in Selangor in 1894; and a caterpillar onslaught followed in 1899.¹¹ This reduced the attractiveness of coffee growing in Malaya and shifted planters' interests to rubber for which a demand was beginning to emerge.¹²

Although short-lived as an export crop, coffee served as an important pioneer crop. For the first time (with the exception of the Province Wellesley sugar area), European capital was invested in agricultural development in Malaya. Land was cleared and minor roads constructed. Government policy was formulated to attract big time European planters. Land terms were easy and planting loans available. Channels were developed for the introduction of Tamil labour to work in the estates. With the advent of rubber after 1895, full advantage was taken of these earlier developments.¹³ There is no doubt that the failure of coffee led to a policy of encouraging agriculture in Malaya.

Rubber

By the late 1890s rubber had been planted on an experimental basis in various parts of Perak. In 1905, 104 tons were exported from the F. M. S. The expansion of motor car and electrical industries caused the rise in world demand for rubber. New land regulations in the F.M.S. introduced low quit rents for land granted for rubber planting. These two factors stimulated interest in the cultivation of rubber. During the rubber boom of 1905-1908, virtually every estate introduced rubber on newly cleared fields, and in 1908 the crop was planted in every state, though especially in those of the west coast.¹⁴ Table 2 shows the acreage under rubber cultivation in the F. M. S. from 1907 to 1909.

Table 2: Acres under Rubber Cultivation in the F. M. S

	1907	1908	1909

Perak	46,167	56,706	68,278
Selangor	61,552	82,246	93,853
Negeri Sembilan	17,656	27,305	31,945
Pahang	860	1,791	2,877
<i>Total</i>	126,235	168,048	196,953

Source: Chai Hon-chan, *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909* , p. 155.

From core areas associated with the location of the coffee estates, rubber spread onto unoccupied land within economic reach of the lines of communication developed to serve the tin fields. The Klang Valley with its road and rail links from Kuala Lumpur to Port Swettenham was the first major axis of development in Selangor, and away from this axis rubber planting was tied to the coastal roads out of Klang and to the north-south transport lines along the foothills from Kuala Lumpur. In Perak planting was similarly related to the transport axis through Batang Padang, Batu Gajah and Ipoh. Comparable development occurred along the roads and railways in Negeri Sembilan. In 1906, 80% of the total area planted with rubber was in these three western states and the spread of planting into the other states of the peninsula was closely related to the extension of the road and rail network in subsequent years.¹⁵

It is clear the development of commercial agriculture in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States had created a new Malaya and ignored the east coast.

Development of Tin Mining in the Western Malay States

The tin industry has played a major part in the historical development of the Malay States. However, the transformation of the industry from a primitive and limited business into a highly capitalized and mechanized enterprise began in the nineteenth century in response to new demands generated by the Industrial Revolution in Europe.¹⁶ This affected the Malay States and by the mid-1860s Straits tin was superseding both Bangka and Cornish tin and had regained its natural position as the premier tin export of Southeast Asia and the world.¹⁷

The growing demand for tin and rising prices stimulated the search for new deposits and it leading to the discovery of several rich new fields between 1820 and 1879. When tin was discovered in Larut in the 1840s, Chinese labourers were imported to work the mines and soon they assumed virtual control of tin production. By the middle of the century, hundreds of Chinese were braving diseases and the unknown terrors of the Malayan jungle to look for tin in the interior of Perak and Selangor. Taiping and Kuala Lumpur became centres of intensive mining activities.¹⁸

Until 1880s tin production in Malaya was purely a Chinese monopoly. The earliest Europeans to break this monopoly were the French who in 1882 started operations in Kinta. Then the Australian and British miners tried to do the same. Between 1892 and 1908, eleven western companies were floated.¹⁹ European companies which started before 1910 were not successful because they were burdened with the cost of hiring European staff, expensive equipment and heavy payments to promoters.²⁰

The majority of European mines were opened between 1911 and 1929 and firms like Guthrie, Sime Darby, and Harrisons & Crosfield, which had preponderant interests in the plantations became managing agents of most European mines. Chinese mines were responsible for the bulk of Malayan's tin export until 1929 and the smelting industry was monopolized by an European firm from a very early stage of the tin industry.²¹ Comparative output of tin and the revenue from duty on tin are shown on Table 3 and Table 4 respectively.

Table 3: Comparative Output of Tin

Year	World Production in tons	Malayan Production in tons	Malayan percentage
1898	78,600	41,167	52.3
1899	76,100	38,960	51.1
1900	85,400	43,111	50.4
1901	92,900	47,475	51.1
1902	88,700	47,258	53.2
1903	93,900	50,842	54.1
1904	95,600	51,733	54.1
1905	98,900	50,991	51.5
1906	102,500	48,672	47.4
1907	101,600	48,474	46.7
1908	108,700	50,868	43.9
1909	115,400	50,754	39.4

Source: Chai Hon-chan, *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909*, p. 176.

Table 4: Total Revenue of the F. M. S. and Receipts from the Export Duty on Tin

Year	Revenue (\$)	Duty on Tin (\$)	Percentage of Tin Duty to Revenue
1898	9,364,467	3,210,699	34.2
1899	13,486,410	6,181,542	45.8
1900	15,609,807	7,050,382	45.1
1901	17,541,507	6,968,183	39.7
1902	20,550,543	8,438,775	41.0
1903	22,672,567	9,590,505	42.3
1904	22,255,269	8,814,688	39.6
1905	23,964,593	9,249,627	38.5
1906	27,223,476	10,036,798	36.8
1907	28,793,745	9,395,825	32.6
1908	24,623,325	7,285,864	29.5
1909	25,246,863	7,155,124	28.3

Source: Chai Hon-chan, *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909*, p. 176.

It is clear that the development of tin mining did lead to uneven development between the west and the east coast Malay states.

Uneven Development of Infrastructure in favour of the Western Malay States

With British intervention, the need to build roads and railway was necessary to encourage the rubber and tin industries. It was believed that improvements in transport and communications would encourage the flow of capital and labour which were considered necessary for economic development.²² This naturally meant that infrastructure development, following closely on the heels of economic development, was more evident in the west coast states as compared to the east coast.

Railways

The major railway network linking almost all the principal towns and ports of the country and running through most of the major rubber growing and tin mining districts was completed by 1931. There were four phases of growth in the Malayan railway system up to 1931. Phase 1 was between 1885 and 1899, when all the major tin mining towns and districts on the central west coast of Malaya, namely Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan, were linked up with their respective ports. The primary object of capital formation in the railway sector in phase 1 was to facilitate the export of tin-ore and the import of mining equipment, foodstuff and other goods required by the tin mining industry.²³

Phase 2 was between 1899 and 1904, when all the mining centers in Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan were linked up longitudinally. The linkage was made complete in 1904 by a direct line from Prai running through the major mining towns and districts right up to Malacca.²⁴

Phase 3 was from 1904 to 1909 when the Johore line linking Tampin to Gemas (1906), Gemas to Segamat (1908) and Segamat to Johore Bahru (1909) was completed. Three British Settlements were more or less linked up. The stretches of water separating Singapore and Penang islands from the mainland were bridged by railway ferries and coasters.²⁵

During phase 2, rubber planting was already in full swing in Malaya and most of the rubber estates were located along the railway lines as the railway was the only modern transport available. When the railway network extended southwards to Johore in phase 3, rubber followed, and with rubber the Johore economy rose to a level of development that left many other Malayan States far behind.²⁶

Phase 4 was between 1910 and 1931 when Prai via Bukit Mertajam was joined to Padang Besar, running through Kedah and Perlis, and Gemas was joined to Sungei Golok and Tumpat, leaving Trengganu to be the only state without any railway link. The East Coast line, that is, the line running from Gemas to Tumpat, was completed only in 1931. The Prai-Padang Besar line that was completed in 1918 gave Kedah a great time advantage, enhanced by its geographical proximity to Penang and Province Wellesly.²⁷

Roads

When the first British Residents were appointed in Perak and Selangor in 1874, there were only two short stretches of cart roads in existence. The rest of the country was largely impenetrable jungle, and the only highways were the rivers. Therefore the first efforts at road construction were to join the mining centers with the rivers, and through the rivers to the sea-coast and from the sea-coast to the ports of Penang and Singapore.²⁸

With the building of railways, the new road construction pattern was shifted to link mining centers with the railway lines instead of the rivers. With the rapid growth of the tin industry, existing townships expanded in size and new ones sprang up. More investment was made in road construction. By 1885, Selangor had a cart road linking with Perak and Negeri Sembilan. This road is the forerunner of the present main trunk road joining Singapore with the various West-Coast towns.²⁹

The increasing use of motor vehicles after 1902 accelerated the road development plan. Since most of the main roads were constructed parallel to the railway lines, the increasing use of motor vehicles soon robbed the railways of their former traffic. By 1911, Prai was linked to Malacca. In the same period a road traversed the Peninsula horizontally linking Kuala Lumpur with Kuantan. By 1928, a road northwards via Alor Setar was extended to Kangar. Although by 1928 there was a road running from Singapore to Perlis, and a well-developed road network in most of the West Coast States, Trengganu was still left without a road, and Kelantan had just a few roads. Perlis was still underdeveloped and had to loan money from the Straits Settlements to build her only trunk road since road construction was left to the individual states. There is no doubt that the underdeveloped states (east coast) lagged behind compared to the developed ones in the provision of road facilities as in the supply of so many other types of social and economic infrastructure.³⁰

The decade after 1928 saw the further expansion of the road network. Road development took place mainly in the East Coast states and in Johore, chiefly in areas not served by the railways. In the east, a coastal road was constructed linking Kota Bharu to Kuala Trengganu, and from Kuala Trengganu to Chukai. In Pahang, a new coastal road was constructed to link Kuantan to Pekan, and from Pekan to Nenas. However there was still no road link between Pahang and neighbouring Trengganu.³¹

The development of railways and roads clearly indicate that the focus of development was on the west coast of the Peninsular.

Impact of Economic Expansion on the East Coast States

As explained, since most of the major agricultural and tin mining activities were actively carried out in the west coast states, railway lines and roads that served the tin mines and rubber estates were mainly located on the west coast. The east coast states like Kelantan and Trengganu were lacking in railway lines and roads for quite some time after the network of railway and roads in the west coast were almost completed. Most of the banks and commercial companies were not established in the east coast states due to lack of infrastructure. According to Allen and Donnithorne, when the rubber planters arrived, the location of their estates was determined mainly by the existing road system. Therefore the west coast was the scene of the outstanding economic developments after the turn of the century and attracted most of the

immigrants, Chinese and Indian. In contrast, the states of Pahang, Kelantan and Trengganu remained comparatively backward.³² This accentuated a dual economy whereby the west coast states enjoyed far more economic development than the east coast. Table 5 gives an idea of the dual economy.

Table 5: Percentages of Economically Active Persons in Each Main Industrial Sector in Each State, 1957

State		Industrial Sector			
		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
Group A States	Penang	31.7	16.4	51.8	100.0
	Selangor	48.7	15.1	36.3	100.0
	Malacca	53.1	13.5	33.4	100.0
	Perak	62.9	9.5	27.6	100.0
	Johore	66.6	7.5	25.9	100.0
	Negeri Sembilan	66.7	7.8	25.5	100.0
Group B States	Trengganu	71.3	11.1	17.6	100.0
	Pahang	72.6	6.6	20.8	100.0
	Kedah	77.6	7.0	15.4	100.0
	Kelantan	76.8	5.6	17.7	100.0
	Perlis	81.9	4.1	14.1	100.0
ALL STATES		62.9	9.8	27.3	100.0

Source: Lim Chong-yah, *Economic Development of Modern Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 203.

The above table distinguishes the primary sector (agriculture, forestry, hunting, fishing and mining) from the secondary sector (manufactures, building and construction, etc) and the tertiary sector (mainly services).³³

It shows that the secondary and tertiary sectors were relatively more developed in Penang, Selangor and Malacca. Each of these three states had an important port, and entrepot trade had contributed to the importance of the tertiary sector. In contrast, the east coast states like Trengganu, Kelantan and Pahang had a higher percentage of primary sector labour. They had remained essentially padi-growing and fishing states.

The Relevance of Old Malaya and New Malaya in Contemporary Malaysia

The scenario which was created by the colonial masters did not change much after independence. Although the colonial and independent government implemented economic programmes such as Draft Development Plan 1950-55; First Malaya Plan 1956-60; Second Malaya Plan 1961-65 (identified with what later came to be known as the old economic policy) and Malaysian Plans from 1966- 2010 (under the New Economic Policy), the East coast Malay states continued to lag behind the west coast states in terms of economic progress. This led the government to introduce what is known as the East Coast Economic Region (ECER) and Northern Corridor Economic Region (NCER) project in 2007 to improve the economic condition of the east coast states.

The East Coast Economic Region (ECER) covers the states of Kelantan, Terengganu, Pahang and the district of Mersing in the state of Johor and focuses on four thrust areas - tourism, oil, gas and petrochemical manufacturing, agriculture and education.³⁴ With an area measuring more than 66,000 sq km, ECER covers more than half of Peninsular Malaysia. A Master Plan was developed to be the basis for guiding the development of this region until 2020 when it will be transformed into a major international and local tourism destination, an exporter of resource based and manufactured products, a vibrant trading centre, and an infrastructure and logistics hub. The main objective of the ECER Master Plan is to accelerate the growth of the East Coast Economic Region in a viable, equitable and sustainable manner.³⁵

The Northern Corridor Economic Region (NCER) covers the northern northern states of Perlis, Kedah, Pulau Pinang and northern Perak (districts of Hulu Perak, Kerian, Kuala Kangsar and Larut Matang-Selama) covering an area of 17,816 sq km.³⁶ It focuses on accelerating economic growth and elevating income levels in northern Peninsular Malaysia with the objective of transforming it into a world-class economic region by the year 2025. It leverages on the existing economic achievements of the region in electronics, tourism and agriculture, as well as its strategic location bordering Thailand and facing the Malacca Straits. Leveraging on the strengths of the region, four key thrust areas have been identified, namely agriculture, manufacturing, tourism and logistics.³⁷

When the ECER was launched, it was admitted by the Prime Minister that after 50 years of independence, the rates of growth have been uneven. Certain areas have enjoyed growth and development at a faster pace than others and there is thus a need to close these regional gaps.³⁸ This is a clear indication that the post independent government had all along been pursuing a policy which neglected the east coast. In other words, Old Malaya continued to persist long after the country attained its independence in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Reasons For Uneven Development After Independence

Recent findings claim that Kelantan and Sabah are the poorest states in the Peninsula and West Malaysia respectively.³⁹ Kelantan's mean monthly household income was found to be the lowest in the country at RM 2,536 compared to RM 4,025 for the whole country.⁴⁰ This poses a serious question, as to what caused such a situation to occur even after Malaya got its independence. There are a few reasons why this situation persisted. The discussion below will address these issues.

Foreign Advisers Behind Malaya and Malaysian Plans

Immediately after independence, the British introduced economic policy known as Malaya Plans (1955-60; Second Malaya Plans (1961-65) and later Malaysian Plans from 1965 onwards. The Malaya Plans and the first three Malaysian Plans that followed were said to be masterminded by foreign expertise from the United States.⁴¹ The earliest Malaysian Plan was drafted with the advise of Prof. Warren Hansbarger from USA; the second plan with the help of Prof. V.M. Bennett, Dr. D. Snodgrass and Prof. H.J. Bruton, also from the USA. The third plan had the advise of Prof. B. Higgins, also from USA. Therefore it was no surprise that the early Malaysia Plans

were largely aimed at safeguarding foreign interests concentrated on the west coast states, rather than solving the imbalances engendered by the colonial economy.

Early Malaya and Malaysian Plans Fail To Address Core Issues

Malaysian Plans, be they from the earlier years of independence or more recent ones, have failed to focus on the core matters which cause poverty. Emphasis was mainly on the need to introduce capital and technology, thereby ignoring the real problem of poverty in the rural sector. There has been a tendency to divide modern from traditional sectors when in reality both sectors had strong structural links with one another. This was obvious during British rule when the traditional sector was the supplier of raw materials to the British industry. This led to the transition from subsistence to commercial economy.⁴²

The flaw was evidenced in the Second Malaysian Plan when it identified poverty among the farmers to uneconomic use of land and continued use of traditional techniques/methods to cultivate the crops. The real reason for the poverty was due to the exploitation by middle-men; and land ownership by capitalists who exploited farmers working for them.⁴³ It has to be noted that rural impoverishment could be traced to colonial rule and the solution needed to be seen in the broader context.

Post Colonial Centralism

The lopsided development of the country is but a reflection of a larger tendency towards centralism that sought power and authority for a dominant group of power wielders over the rest of society that included minority groups (be they fringe political opponents or ethnic minorities). According to recent studies, post colonial centralism reared its head after 13 May 1969 (race riot), whereby the National Front (coalition government) strengthened its powers and exercised complete control over the executive and other branches of governance as well.⁴⁴ It saw UMNO, the dominant party within the coalition controlling the direction of politics in the country. The concept of “kerajaan berparti” (government with the party) tied the government structure tightly to the party apparatus.⁴⁵ The Petroleum Development Act (1974) and the Industrial Coordination Act (1975) were clear examples how the government managed to exploit its political power to shape economic development.⁴⁶ It is not far fetched to claim that from the 1970s onwards, the central government seriously attempted to transform the colonial economy into a national economy.⁴⁷ But this led to the “Malay first” policies which became obvious in the Mahathir era (1981-2003).

The centralism didn't allow room for open discussion on issues relating to exploitation and class injustices. Many decisions were made by UMNO/Prime Minister without having to raise the related issues in Parliament. One good example is the announcement by the government in 2013 that RM 30 billion will be allocated for programmes that empower the “bumiputeras” or natives of the land. This led to grouses among the public and the writer too has aired his displeasure to the media. To quote the author:

“It is indeed a pity that the government has rushed into the Bumiputra Economic Empowerment Plan (BEEP) lending credence to the perception that it is an UMNO agenda linked not with poverty, but with increasing lust and greed. The policy was

also a way of thanking the Malay and Bumiputra communities who had “supported, given their mandate and trust to Barisan Nasional at the 13th General Election to continue the leadership of the nation”, resulting in BN’s ability to increase its parliamentary seat from 79 to 88.

It is sad that an important policy such as the BEEP, is going to end up like the NEP, which has been hijacked to empower the richest bumiputras. Unfortunately these policies are never endorsed by the elected representatives. And yet we learn in our text books that one of the functions of a parliament is to scrutinize government policies and debate the major issues of the day.

It is clear that in Malaysia, like in many other third world countries, Parliament is handicapped, unable to discuss policies, or hold the government to account. With Najib’s short sighted policies in place, the country may never attain Vision 2020. Maybe the only way out for Malaysia’s ailing economy is to strictly implement the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement. This may be the only way out, if our economy is not to be brought to its knees”.⁴⁸

Government Plans Are Exclusive

The various Malaysia Plans have failed to include the people of all races in need of assistance. Studies done by Rusalina Idrus, Zawawi Ibrahim and Andrew Aeria prove that the Bumiputeras of Sabah and Sarawak; Indians and ethnic groups in Sabah and Sarawak and the aboriginies of Peninsular Malaysia (orang Asli) were excluded from poverty eradication programmes.⁴⁹ Although affirmative action policy of the government aim to reduce poverty, it sadly ended up being exploited by the rich.⁵⁰

Spatial disparities had worsened after the NEP was implemented because the preferences designed to encourage Bumiputera entrepreneurship were disproportionately utilized by members of the targeted group in urban and prosperous rural areas.⁵¹ According to Gomez,

“There is a clear proof that government economic policies fail to make facilities accessible to the most in need. There seems to be strong intra-Bumiputera wealth and income disparities. The poor access of those in most need of government support is reflected in a clear spatial divide that has emerged, with poverty most severe in the Bumiputera heartland states in the peninsula, particularly in Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah and Perlis. The widening disparity between the East and West Malaysia is another obvious failure, evidenced by poverty among non Malay Bumiputeras in Sabah and Sarawak and by the fact that Sabah is the poorest in the country”.⁵²

The disparity led to protest by minority groups, especially the poor Indians and the orang Asli. This message was conveyed by the Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF) movement in 2007 which brought the plight of the poor Indians to public scrutiny, and proved that hard-core poverty is an issue that transcends ethnicity.⁵³ HINDRAF made the government realize the rights of the marginalized segments of society to be treated as a part of the nation.

Marginilization of the Indians in the Post Independence Era

Similar to what the east coast states of Malaya witnessed during the colonial period, the Indians too were a neglected lot under British rule, Japanese occupation and after independence. During colonial rule, Indians were an asset for the British in the plantation sector (especially in the rubber industry as well as building of roads and railways). Although there were specific programmes for the socio-economic upliftment of the Malays and the Chinese, sadly the same did not apply to the Indians who had a difficult time in the estates. Although the MIC was a partner within the ruling coalition, it was not in a position to demand anything significant from the government for the socio-economic upliftment of the Indian community. Their grouses led to the eventual emergence of HINDRAF as a result of which confrontation, the National Front lost many seats in the 2008 general elections. That the Indians were marginalised both by the British and the government in power after independence was admitted by the current Prime Minister in 2013. This admission was reflected in the formulation of various government programmes such as infrastructure development of Tamil schools for which RM 540 million was allocated in 2009; building of seven new Tamil schools; establishing the 'Action Plan for Tamil Schools Unit' under the Prime Minister's Department to monitor Tamil school issues and chart a blueprint for the future of these schools; provision of free primary and secondary school education in government schools since 2012; allocation of 1,000 additional seats for Indian students in government matriculation colleges, thereby bringing the total to about 1,500; introducing an annual quota of 10 percent of places in government polytechnics for Indian students; allocating RM50 million for skills training programs aimed at Indian youths from plantation background; reserving RM 150 million to be given out in loans for small and medium enterprises owned by Indian; allocating RM 100 million under Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia to be dispensed as micro-credit for Indian women; providing RM8 million in funding to transform existing Indian sundry shops and automotive workshop; and establishing the Special Secretariat for the Empowerment of Indian Entrepreneurs to help Indian businesses to obtain financing and advisory services.⁵⁴ Another admission was that it took 35 years for two Indians to be granted full ministerial posts in the Cabinet (the last was during Tun Razak's premiership) and promoting many Indian Malaysians to senior positions in government.

This proves that the Independent government of Malaya/Malaysia followed on the footsteps of the colonial masters in pursuing policy which failed to draw the Indians into the mainstream development of the nation.

CONCLUSION

It is evident that British economic expansion in Malaya had brought outstanding economic development to most parts of the west coast. However, the development along the east coast was neglected. This led to the phenomenon best described as a dual economy expressed sometimes in terms of Old Malaya and New Malaya. Such division was due to the deliberate policy pursued by the British by making sure the east coast continued to remain as the rice bowl of the country; expected to feed the population of west coast. No attempt was made to develop the East coast by creating economic opportunities and investing in the agricultural and mining sector. If at all there were attempts by investors to invest in the state, they were beset with obstacles. This was evident in the case of Robert W. Duff an investor who was denied opportunity to make inroads in the state of Kelantan in the agriculture, mining and

transport sectors. After independence, the concentration of economic activities on the west coast of the peninsula, as well as the accumulation of wealth in urban localities resulted in unequal development. Although the government tried to overcome this imbalance through various attempts, the imbalance continued to persist. Some states such as Kelantan, Sabah and Sarawak were left behind. This also led to poor national integration. The attempts by the present government to develop the east coast through corridors like ECER and NCER are an indirect admission of unwholesome development since Independence. A similar faith befall the minorities and one of them is the Indian community whom the government tried to bring into mainstream development after the HINDRAF uprising of 2007. It is crystal clear that the dichotomy of Old and New Malaya continued well into modern Malaysia even after independence and way into the 21 century.

¹ This could be seen in the case of the Federated Malay States (Perak, Selangor,

² F. A. Swettenham, "British Rule in Malaya", in P.H. Kratoska (ed)., *Honourable Intentions: Talks on the British Empire in South-East Asia Delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute, 1874-1928*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp.183-189.

³ Sadka, *The Protected Malay States*, pp. 410-413.

⁴ Lim Teck Ghee, *Peasants and their Agricultural Economy in Colonial Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 95.

⁵ J.C.Jackson, *Planters and Speculators*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1968, p. 235.

⁶ J.G.Butcher, *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941, The Social History of the European Community in Colonial South –East Asia*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp.14-18.

⁷ P. P. Courtenay, *A Geography of Trade and Development in Malaya*, London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1972, p. 103.

⁸ Ibid., p. 98.

⁹ D. J. M. Tate, *The Making of Modern South-East Asia, Vol. 2: The Western Impact*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1979, p. 173.

¹⁰ Courtenay, *A Geography of Trade*, p. 98.

¹¹ Tate, *The Making of Modern South-East Asia*, p. 202.

¹² Courtenay, *A Geography of Trade*, p. 99.

¹³ Ibid.

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- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Tate, *The Making of Modern South-East Asia*, p. 185.
- ¹⁷ The reasons for the re-emergence of Straits tin lay primarily in Bangka's inability to cope with the rising demand for the metal from European consumers. At the same period the British market was also opening up, for the first time. In 1842 the British Parliament reduced tariffs on tin imports and preference was given to those imported tin from British territories. See Ibid., p. 223 n. 1.
- ¹⁸ Chai Hon-chan, *The Development of British Malaya 1896-1909*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 163.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 169.
- ²⁰ Ibid., pp. 164-165.
- ²¹ Ibid., pp. 169-170.
- ²² Amarjit Kaur, *Bridge and Barrier*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1985, p.8.
- ²³ Lim Chong-yah, *Economic Development of Modern Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 272-273.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 273.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid., pp. 273-274.
- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 276.
- ²⁹ Ibid., pp. 276-277.
- ³⁰ Ibid., pp. 277-278.
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 278.
- ³² Allen and Donnithorne, *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya*, p. 43.
- ³³ Lim Chong-yah, *Economic Development of Modern Malaya*, pp. 201, 203.
- ³⁴ *Tenth Malaysian Plan*, Kuala Lumpur, Government Printers, 2011, pp. 118-119.

³⁵ <http://www.ecerdc.com.my>

³⁶ <http://www.koridorutara.com.my>

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Statement by Prime Minister Datuk Seri Abdullah Badawi during the launch of ECER.. <http://www.ecerdc.com.my>

³⁹ Maznah Mohamad, “The New Economic Policy and Poverty at the Margins: Family Dislocation, Dispossession and Dystopia in Kelantan” in Edmund Terence Gomez and Johan Saravanamuttu, ed., *The New Economic Policy in Malaysia: Affirmative Action, Ethnic Inequalities and Social Justice*, Singapore, National University of Singapore, 2013, p. 62.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 241 quoting Ragayah Haji Mat Zin, “Income Inequality in Malaysia” *Asian Economic Policy Review*, 3 (3), 2008, pp. 114-132.

⁴¹ Shamsul Amri Baharuddin, “Perancangan Pembangunan Negara Selepas Merdeka 1957-1975: Tinjauan Sejarah Perkembangan Sosio-Ekonomi Malaysia”, *Sejarah Proses dan Pembangunan*, Kuala Lumpur, Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1979, p. 345.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 346.

⁴⁴ Ooi Kee Beng, “The New Economic Policy and the Centralisation of Power”, in Edmund Terence Gomez and Johan Saravanamuttu, ed., *The New Economic Policy in Malaysia*, Singapore, National University of Singapore, 2013, p. 321.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 322.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 324.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *The Sun*, 13 September 2013. Only a part of the original write-up was published by the *Sun*.

⁴⁹ Edmund Terence Gomez, Johan Saravanamuttu and Maznah Mohamad, “Malaysia’s New Economic Policy: Resolving Horizontal Inequalities, Creating Inequities?”, in Edmund Terence Gomez and Johan Saravanamuttu, ed., *The New Economic Policy in Malaysia*, Singapore, National University of Singapore, 2013, p.17.

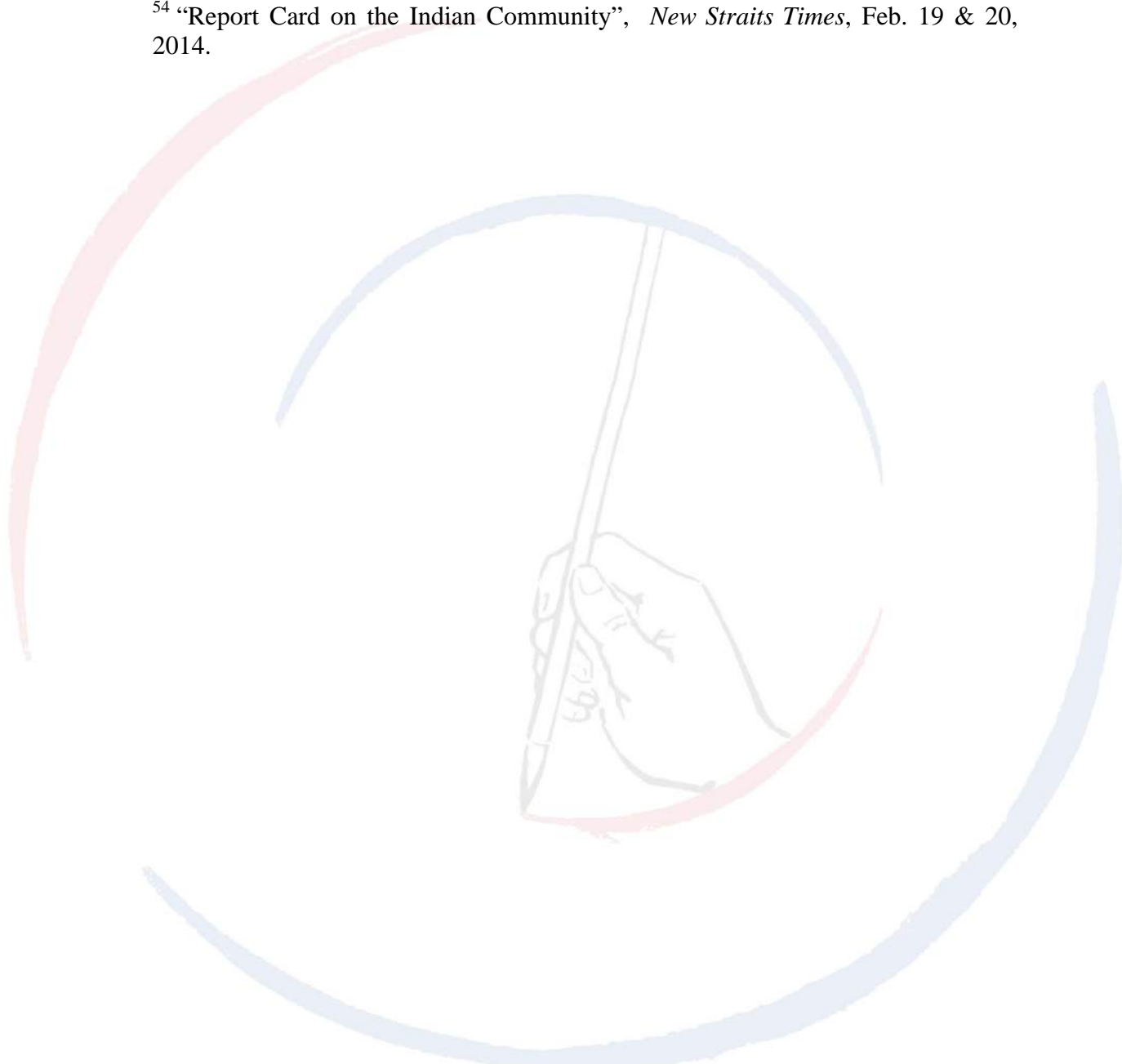
⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵² Ibid., p. 17.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 15.

⁵⁴ “Report Card on the Indian Community”, *New Straits Times*, Feb. 19 & 20, 2014.



Languaging and Ethnifying in Cyberspace: A Philippine Experience

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Abstract

The migration of Ilocanos (an ethnolinguistic group in northern Philippines) in Pangasinan province in the 19th century Philippines has led a notable change to the linguistic condition of the province. While Pangasinan has a distinct native language on its own, it is being heterogenized over the years by circumstances being brought by globalization phenomena such as that of the migration of the Ilocanos. To date, the province is not only composed of native Pangasinenses whose native language is also called Pangasinan but is also composed of native Pangasinenses who are Ilocano native speakers. These are those, including myself, who were born, have been living, or had lived in Pangasinan but acquired not the native language of the province, primarily because they were born with Ilocano parent/s and have been living in an Ilocano-dominant family or community. In turn, as Pangasinan is composed now of different languages, thus, along with it, the issue of ethnic identity of its people becomes complex. Using select message threads/discussion boards in the social networking site Facebook as data, and drawing on Norton's idea that "[e]very time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space" (2010, 350), I explore, through a descriptive-qualitative analysis, how Ilocano native speakers in Pangasinan, state or declare and importantly, negotiate their ethnic identity in these domains.

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Introduction

People in Pangasinan, Philippines are generally called Pangasinenses. While there are some Ilocano native speakers in the province who avoid such label, some Ilocano native speakers, however, count themselves as Pangasinenses. My interest in this study concerns with the issue of how Ilocanos in Pangasinan express themselves in language when interacting with the Pangasinan native speakers. Since Ilocanos migrated only to Pangasinan, it will be interesting to explore how they engage in discursive practices. Thus, to know how the Ilocano native speakers in Pangasinan state or declare, or negotiate their ethnic identity in certain contexts, I decided to pursue this study. In this study I am most interested to explore Ilocano native speakers in Pangasinan's language and ethnic identity construction as evident in discourses present in the social networking site Facebook. Thus, I address this problem: How do Ilocano native speakers in Pangasinan (INSPs) negotiate their ethnic identity in on-line texts? Also, I address the following secondary problems: Which ethnic identity do INSPs declare? What factors lead INSPs to declare this ethnic identity?

Framework

Informed by the literature on *linguaging* and *ethnifying* and related concepts such as *language identity*, *ethnicity* and *ethnic identity*, and *negotiation of identity*, I approached and analyzed my data.

Garcia (2011, p. 519) states, "It is through linguaging and ethnifying that people perform their identifying." Quoting from separate works of Elana Shohamy and Victor Yngve, Garcia adds that linguaging concerns with the 'discursive practices of people' and ethnifying concerns with the process of relating to and making known an 'identity' through specific 'ethnic practices,' which includes linguaging.

Coulmas (2005, p. 173), states "as we speak, we reveal who we are, where we grew up, our gender, our station in life, our age, and the group we want to belong to". Therefore, through linguaging, identity is manifested. However, in this day and age of multilingualism, we must not look solely at the case of a homogeneous society. The issue of linguistic identity is so complex that individuals' identities are no longer attributed to their mother tongue alone, but also to other languages they use to communicate. By using a different language, apart from their mother tongue, the speakers show different linguistic identities. As Coulmas (2005, p. 173) further points out, "linguistic identity is not an inescapable fate imposed upon us but, to some extent at least, a social construct, a matter of choice." With this, speakers therefore can assume not only one identity but also multiple identities.

A change of linguistic identity involves the speakers' associations in the community where they belong or even to the larger society their community is a part of. Tabouret-Keller (1997, p. 316) explains,

We are identified, and identify ourselves, within the large space of the society of our time, within the different groups – institutional, professional, friends, etc. – we belong to, within the surroundings of

our home, our office, our car, our out-of-door outfits, our in-door outfits, etc.

Again, this shows that language identity is dynamic. Ethnicity is the immediate variable associated with ethnic identity. Barker (2003, p. 277) regards ethnicity as a “concept [that] refers to the formation and maintenance of cultural boundaries and has the advantages of stressing history, culture and language.” Simply, it engages the construction of boundaries involving people who are believed to share same values, practices, language, etc. Stuart Hall in Barker and Galasiński (2001, p. 123) articulates:

The term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual.

However, Barker and Galasiński (2001) stress an anti-essentialist view of ethnicity. They say that “to be a person is a social and cultural construction ‘all the way down’” (Barker & Galasiński, 2001, p. 123). By this, they underpin the idea that to be someone is determined by any given time and place, invoking the malleability of ethnicity as a construct. In addition, Woodward (2000, p. 22) adds that along with “class, gender and place, ethnicity is an important dimension of identity.” In other words, ethnicity clearly has a strong influence in an individual’s assertion of identity.

Drawing on the concept of ethnicity, Barker and Galasiński point out that “ethnic identity is not a fixed universal essence, but an ordered way of speaking about persons... ..identifications can be multiple and need not involve the repudiation of all other positions. People are composed of not one, but several, sometimes contradictory identities, enabling subjects to assume a variety of shifting identities at different times and places” (2001, p. 125). Anthony Giddens (1991 in Woodward, 2004, p. 24) adds that “in a rapidly globalized culture,” as where we are now, “identities become both more uncertain and more diverse.” He means that as compared to the usual societies in the past where question of identity seemed to be an easy problem to solve, our situation now is more complex as being complicated by globalization phenomena such as technological advancements, migration, etc. As a result, what we have now are multilingual societies with their citizens struggling to construct/reconstruct their ethnic identities. Migration for example, displaces them from their ethnic environment. And since they are displaced say in a ‘foreign’ land, although they have their own language, they are forced to learn the language of their adopted home in order to communicate with others. This all the more makes their ethnic identities or their acts of ethnifying problematic. In addition, this supports the idea of Barker (2003, p. 277) on ethnicity, race and nationality, that they are only “contingent cultural categories rather than universal biological ‘facts.’” Ethnic identity then is not fixed.

Finally, Norton (2010) emphasizes the relevance of poststructuralist concept of language as discourse in making clear the correlation of ‘language and identity.’ Citing Bourdieu, he says that the worth of words (language) is not realized once it is

taken away from the one who speaks them and the one who speaks them is not “understood apart from larger networks of social relationships.” Drawing on this theorizing of Bourdieu on the relation of the two concepts, Norton (2010, p. 350) states further that:

Every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space. Our gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation among other characteristics, are all implicated in this negotiation of identity.

Moreover, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) borrow and utilize the “positioning theory” in their own theorizing of the concept of negotiation of identities. They claim that albeit one can position himself by his own desire and will in a discursive situation, one sometimes finds himself challenged by other people/speaker(s) pushing him to a certain degree of pressure caused by his own assertion of a certain identity and by other people’s efforts to impose on him a different identity; what takes place is what Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004, p. 20) call an “interplay between reflective positioning, i.e. self-representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to position or reposition particular individuals or groups.”

Methodology

Subjected to a content analysis, the data for this study are extracted entries from discussion boards in Facebook. Below is a list showing the links to the on-line texts analyzed:

a. Province of Pangasinan

(www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=473356135254&id=212337275254)

b. I’M FROM PANGASINAN

(www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=168308733201806=121718977860782)

(www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=172579392773290&id=121718977860782)

Identity Formation as a Struggle in Facebook

Facebook is one domain where Ilocano native speakers in Pangasinan discuss issues about their ethnicity. Aside from adding friends and communicating with them, they can join fan pages or groups of certain interests. One example of a common-interest group is **I’M FROM PANGASINAN** (Figure 1) created on May 23, 2010, which to date, has nearly 7000 likers or members.



Figure 1

This online group is created to promote the native products and tourist attractions of Pangasinan. This becomes a place for Pangasinan online users to discuss various topics concerning their hometown. See Figure 2 below:



Figure 2

On November 25, 2010, Facebook user **Maverick Fernandez** posted a message on the wall of **I'M FROM PANGASINAN**. The post reads, “*bawal so mansalita dya ya ilocano.. dapat salitan Pangasinan!!!!!!!!!!!!!!*” (Speaking Ilocano is prohibited here... it should be Pangasinan language!!!!!!!!!!!!!!). With this post, one can deduce that the user is obviously a Pangasinan speaker. With this post, he attempts to set a rule that since the group’s name is **I'M FROM PANGASINAN** he thinks that members should speak the native language of the province which is Pangasinan. Another member of

the group, **Nazty Dela Rama**, seconded the post saying “*kato lanti! Taga Pangasinan tayud diya man Ilokano kayo lasi...*” (I agree! We’re from Pangasinan and yet you speak Ilokano...). This remark emphasizes the rule Fernandez tries to set, equating also that the province is a Pangasinan-native province. Knowing the fact, however, that Pangasinan is not entirely a Pangasinan-speaking province, other users commented to these posts of Fernandez and Dela Rama. **Angela Joyce Sanchez Tadeo** replied “*ngek panu un. my mga ilokano din naming taga pangasinan.. too bad..*” (How is that? There are Ilocanos who are from Pangasinan... Too bad...). This response is milder compared to the latter responses. Another Facebook user **Tom Bonode** for example, is furious. Disturbed with the post, Bonode hit back at Fernandez’s post through these posts:

(1) too bad. (2) Not all from Pangasinan are pangalatocs so to speak.. (3) pangasinan is a place of many ethnic groups... (4) better know the history and characteristic of the province... (5) some residents and natives of the old municipalities there are purely ILOCANO speaking... (6) don’t tell me that if somebody from that province speaks ILOCANO, he is not from PANGASINAN.... (7) to MR. MAVERICK FERNANDEZ- PLEASE DON’T BE HYPOCRITE, BETTER KNOW YOUR PROVINCE VERY WELL MY FRIEND, HAVEN’T YOU BEEN TO OTHER MUNICIPALITIES OF PANGASINAN? IF NOT YET, THEN BETTER START VISITING OTHER TOWNS OF PANGASINAN. (8) AND I MEAN “NOW”. (9) thank you and God Bless Pangasinan.

...

(1) The same is true here in Mindanao, not all people living here are Muslims, my roots are from Burgos, Pangasinan... (2) but still we are all Mindanaoans here... (3) we respect each other here although we came from different ethnic groups or tribes... (4) I hope you people there in PANGASINAN will give due RESPECT to other ethnic people in your province, will you MR. MAVERICK FERNANDEZ?

In his first post, we see how particular and enlightened he is to the current linguistic profile of Pangasinan saying blatantly that not all people who come from Pangasinan are Pangasinan native speakers. In sentences (5) and (6), Bonode states that there are towns that speak Ilocano and not Pangasinan and it does not follow that anyone who hails from the province and speaks Ilocano is not from Pangasinan. And in the succeeding sentences written in all caps, Bonode challenges Fernandez to “know” his province and start “visiting other towns of Pangasinan”, towns which he refers to be Ilocano towns.

Based on the reaction of Bonode, we feel how sensitive he is when it comes to issues on ethnicity. We can surmise that the reason why Bonode reacted this way is because he feels that the INSPs are discriminated. We strongly sense that he feels for the Ilocanos of Pangasinan. He associates with them. Bonode reacted such because he himself asserts his being an INSP. In his second post, he mentions that while he is now based in Mindanao, he still traces his roots in Burgos, which is an Ilocano town in western Pangasinan. He acknowledges his Ilocano roots and at the same time his Pangasinan roots. And through his reaction to Fernandez’s post, we can infer that in engaging in the discourse, Bonode wants others like Fernandez to know of the

linguistic circumstances of Pangasinan to make them understand that Ilocanos in Pangasinan are also Pangasinenses.

A repost of Tom Bonode's response to Maverick Fernandez was made on December 13, 2010. This repost drew more comments from Facebook users. See Figure 3 below:



I'M FROM PANGASINAN · 6,931 like this
December 13, 2010 at 1:35pm · 

REPOST: excerpts from tom bonode "not all from pangasinan are pangalatocs so to speak. . . pangasinan is a place of many ethnic groups. . some residents and natives of the old municipalities there a...re purely ILOCANO speaking. . . don't tell me that if somebody from that province speaks ILOCANO, he is not from PANGASINAN?, we respect each other here although we came from different ethnic groups or tribes"

Like · Comment · Share

 38 people like this.

 **Albert De Guzman Sangalang** tumpak...
December 13, 2010 at 1:36pm · Like

 **Es Basilio Garcia** TUMPAK IBAT IBAT LINGUAHE NATIN,KAGAYA KO PURE PANGASINENSE.ANTAK MET SO MANILOKANO.DAISET LABAT BALET..LOLZ
December 13, 2010 at 1:43pm · Like

 **Joseph Gubatan Torralba** Duga tan..hehe..nag mayat...
December 13, 2010 at 1:47pm via mobile · Like

 **Leah Punsalan Gabriel** korek.usto ata.duga tan.hehe
December 13, 2010 at 1:49pm via mobile · Like

 **Merlinda Narra Migano** anggano siak makapansalitaak met na pangasinan, tan ilocano! naon oneg pay ti ilocanok ngen dad duma nga taga ilocos hehehe
December 13, 2010 at 1:52pm · Like

 **Lea Columbres** naiyanak ak baguio ggayem ko balet nen 9 ak imalis kmi ed san fabian so i can speak both!!!!
December 13, 2010 at 2:03pm via mobile · Like

 **Lary Santiago** just funny!makapalek awa?ilo ko tan pan ga si nan..no ilopan yaong..no pan ilo bulawit..awa jejeje
December 13, 2010 at 2:24pm via mobile · Like

 **Lary Santiago** @lerma akin tiknolan mo ak bokol ako tuloy kc intiknol mo may bulawit hahaha...Upang karin pala.
December 13, 2010 at 2:40pm via mobile · Like

 **Lary Santiago** @lerma aray!hehehe!akin ambegul kuan mo ey?eh alma matter mo..iner kayod sn fabian migz?
December 13, 2010 at 3:01pm via mobile · Like

 **Lary Santiago** hahaha!natan la siguro maong nid baguio siguro?
December 13, 2010 at 3:11pm via mobile · Like

 **Lary Santiago** hahaha!natan la siguro maong nid baguio ah migz?
December 13, 2010 at 3:12pm via mobile · Like



Figure 3

We see in the thread how Facebook users talk about Pangasinan as a seat of different ethnic groups particularly of the Pangasinan and Ilocano speakers. It is also interesting how each of the users who posted their comments in the thread asserts their ethnic identities through the languages they speak. Some of these users are identified INSPs who directly agreed to Tom Bonode's earlier post. **Marissa Sapico** comments, "*I really agree, coz i am from Pangasinan...Ilocano ako...and I am proud of it...*" (I really agree, because I am from Pangasinan... I am Ilocano... and I am proud of it...), to which another user **Malou Antipuesto Valdez** seconds. This remark by Sapico is an assertion of her ethnic identity. It is notable that her assertion is not necessarily based on residence or place of birth but on the mother tongue. She mentions that she is from Pangasinan but declares that she is Ilocano rather than Pangasinan. With this, it is the native language that greatly influences the ethnic identity of the individual. Another INSP, **Alex Serrano** likewise relates to the previous comments. He shares, "i'm from pangasinan but i purely speaking Ilokano i don't know how to speak pangalatok but i can understand" (I'm from Pangasinan but I purely speak Ilocano; I don't know how to speak Pangalatok but I can understand). What is interesting in this comment by Serrano is that upon saying he is from Pangasinan he immediately qualifies that while he is indeed from the province, he "purely" speaks Ilocano, not Pangasinan. Moreover, **Shyle Migano Ventanilla** posts her own comment. She says, "*Uray siak taga pangasinan ak ilocano is my dialect, balet daiset labat so amtak ya pangasinense, makatalos balet ag makasalitan maong hahaha... proud to be born in PANGASINAN!!! i miss Pangasinan so much!*" (Even though I am from Pangasinan Ilocano is my dialect but I only know little Pangasinense, I understand but I can't speak well hahaha... Proud to be born in PANGASINAN!!! I miss Pangasinan so much!). Here, Ventanilla also shares the fact that she is from the province but Pangasinan is not her language but Ilocano. She also expresses how "proud" she is to have been born in the province and to say this is to express love and honor to her roots.

It is expected already for INSPs in the message board to recognize that they are from Pangasinan but assert more their Ilocano identity because of having Ilocano as their native language. It is clear therefore that more than any aspect of their ethnicity, mother tongue is the primary factor that influences them to assert their Ilocano ethnic identity. However it is also important to pursue the idea that INSPs assert also their

Pangasinan ethnic identity. Sapico, Serrano and Ventanilla claim they are all from Pangasinan. The mere fact that they recognize they come from Pangasinan signals their association with the people of Pangasinan in general, regardless of the language they speak. Further, Serrano and Ventanilla both express that although they cannot speak Pangasinan well, they are able to comprehend the language. Ventanilla even code switches from Ilocano to Pangasinan saying, “...*balet daiset labat so amtak ya pangasinense, makatalos balet ag makasalitan maong...*” (...but I only know little Pangasinan, I understand but I can’t speak well...). This deliberate mention of Serrano and Ventanilla that they can understand well and can even speak a little Pangasinan is an indication that they also associate themselves with the Pangasinan native speakers, more especially on the part of Ventanilla who even shifted from Ilocano to Pangasinan. In this way, these INSPs try to negotiate yet again their ethnic identity with the Pangasinan native speakers. While they consider themselves Ilocanos because of their mother tongue and perhaps because of direct Ilocano lineage, they still count themselves in as Pangasinenses because they were born or have lived in the province and to a certain degree know the Pangasinan language and culture.

The threads which contain exchanges of response between and among users about their language and ethnicity, is a clear evidence that indeed, “language is a place of struggle.” We see how people use language to create meanings and representations not only for themselves but also for others. People, such as Tom Bonode who reacted furiously on other people’s attempt to discriminate Ilocano-speaking Pangasinenses, use language to counter others on their misinformed notions. They oppose how others misrepresent them. They struggle to give a more precise representation of themselves through their participation in on-line group discussions such as this Facebook group.



Figure 4



Rod Dee ▶ Province of Pangasinan

September 21, 2010 at 11:35pm · 🌐

No Pangasinense tayo, akin ya puro English tan Tagalog ey so salitaan diya? Bilayen tayon naynay so Pangasinan. Kumon ta agtayo lilingwanan so mansalita'y Pangasinan. Abayag kami lang man-aayam diya ed biyek-taew - 30 taon la - anggad natan anta mi ni'y man Pangasinan - tan talagan iyalager mi'y pagka-Pangasinan mi....Masantos ya labi ed sikayon amin, Agagik.....:)

Like · Comment

👍 2 people like this.



Bernz Biz on agtayo lingwanan so mansalita na pangasinan... anggano siak abayag akla diya antak ni so mansalita na pangasinan... inarok so lugar q dagupan city tan la union....

September 22, 2010 at 9:34am · Like



Rod Dee ha ha ha - makapalikket no walay nakakatungtong ed pangasinan - tan anggano la bali-baliktad so spelling et sige labat...mansalita tayo ng Pangasinan ta Pangasinense tayo lanti...siconon no taga Pangasinan kayo - gali la - ibaan yo kami ta i-anunsyo tayo ed saray kaka-abay tayo tan ka-aro tayo ya man membro ra ed sayan website.....salamat....

September 22, 2010 at 5:34pm · Like



Bernz Biz ay on kaaro pasensiya la ta balibaliktad lay spelling q ed pangasinan pero carry lng natalusan dala awa? hahaha!!!
September 22, 2010 at 5:59pm · Like

Rod Dee say duaran akulaw ya manchichismisan ed pangasinan tan makapantalusan ta met ni manaya - siguro ararayay kaaro tayod diya meneng meneng tan man-nununot tan tepet tepet ira no antoy pan tutungtongan tan duwa ha ha ha. andi bali aro ta marakep met yay tungtungan ta - ta pangasinan lanti. he he he
September 22, 2010 at 6:07pm · Like

Bernz Biz tua tay ibabagam kaaro hahaha!!! pulyanan mo ra ompano naani dakel lay too ya man msg dia... ay maong awa ompano masamit so pakikaaro tau ed sikara... hehehe!!!
September 22, 2010 at 7:46pm · Like

Mona Magalong Resuello Tugtuwa tay ibabaga yo kuya! Bilib ak ed sika yo - ta agkayo makakalingwan ed lugar ya nanlapuan yo! Ang gano aktakayo kabat- kumon et aligen kau ray kakabaleyan tau ditan ed kulaan yo !!
September 25, 2010 at 7:57pm · Like

Tom Tengco I cant talk str8 pangasenense coz i was born an ilocano. But it doesnt mean that i dont love Pangasinan. Originally am from Laoac migrated to Los Baños, Laguna but for the meantime am here in Africa. Kakabsat, manbakil so dilak ya mansalita'y pangasenense. I've tried huh! Baro ak dtoy nga page, pagpasensyaan dak laengen. Hehehe. Proud Pangasenense.
October 8, 2010 at 2:32am · Like

Kat Malicdem Bautista Kabaleyan kura taga Pangasinan masantos ya labi sikayo... Kuya atse, maong ta makakapansalita kayo na direktso ya salitaan inaaro tayo. Duga tay ibabagayu anganu wala tayod byek na taew agtayu nalingwanan so salita dapat talaga agatan naikal ed pusot isip tayo nu iner tayo nanlapo ya lugar.angan iner so laen tayo bitbit tayo tan aroen so lingwahe tayo... Duga kuya atse?
October 10, 2010 at 11:12pm · Like

Rod Dee masantos ya labi ed sicayon amin - agagik.
mona - no mantitipon kamin san-a-agi - pangalatok/ilocano sa salitaan mi. no katipon mi ray taga-pangasinan - untan met - pangalatok/ilocano so salitaan mi. marakep so mansalita'y pangasinan. say pangasinan ko - mas antak ni nen tagalog. say tagalog ko amay inaral ko'd escuela nen estudyante ak ni... sicaton agko nalingwanan - ang-gano ararayay agagik diya - maong kami nin man-pangasinan.

tom - i am as much a straight english talker as any aussie around me here. i work in state government and our division alone is a melting pot of races - which makes english the formal means of communication of course. no matter who fronts up to me - you can be rest assured that i am not shy and i express myself very well - in english. no ilocano ti sao - nala-ing ak met. ti tatang ken nanang ko - puro da nga ilocano. naka-gatang da ti balay ken bassit nga tal-talon idiyay pangasinan isu nga na-ikamang kami idiyay ken idiyay a metten naiyanak ken naka-adal agin-gana't inyumay mi ditoy australia....

katherine - salamat ading - ed mensahem. sige labat - mansalita tayo'y pangasinan - tan ilocano - tapno dagitoy sumaruno nga henerasyon kenya tayo ket saan nga mapukaw daytoy sao tayo.... saray uogogaw natan - tagalog met lay salitaan da - et makapa nang-nangis ta naling-wanan dalay salita tayo...

GOD bless ed sicayon amin....
October 22, 2010 at 9:59pm · Like

Rod Dee salamat ed si Elsie tan si Floro...kumusta kayo met la agagik. sige sirin - let's keep in touch (ay - english manaya man - ha ha ha)....
October 23, 2010 at 10:20am · Like

Figure 5

Another INSP who clearly asserts both his Ilocano and Pangasinan ethnic identities is Facebook user **Rod Dee** through the wall of Facebook organization **Province of Pangasinan** (Figure 4). We see in the above message board (Figure 5) exchanges of responses between Dee and other Facebook users. Rod Dee's posts read:

- (1) No Pangasinense tayo, akin ya puro English tan Tagalog ey so salitaan diya?
- (2) Bilayen tayon naynay so Pangasinan.
- (3) Kumon ta agtayo lilingwanan so mansalita'y Pangasinan.
- (4) Abayag kami lang man-aayam diya ed biyek-taew – 30 taon la – anggad natan anta mi

ni'y man Pangasinan – tan talagan iyalager mi'y pagka-Pangasinan mi... (5) Masantos ya labi ed sikayon amin, Agagik.....:)

[(1) If we are Pangasinenses, why is our discussion here in English and Tagalog? (2) Let us make Pangasinan always alive. (3) Let us not forget to speak Pangasinan. (4) We've been living abroad for a long time – 30 years already – we still know how to speak Pangasinan until now – and we stand up for being Pangasinenses. (5) Good evening to you my brothers and sisters.]

Reading the post, one strongly feels the concern of Dee toward the non-use of Pangasinan language in the group Province of Pangasinan. Writing in Pangasinan, Dee appeals for the continuous use of the language and the strong assertion of Pangasinan ethnic identity. Dee is proclaiming his Pangasinan ethnic identity. In his succeeding posts however, we learn that Dee also asserts his Ilocano identity.

As the thread progresses, we read the comment of **Tom Tengco**, another INSP, to the post of Dee. Tengco's comment reads:

(1) I can't talk str8 pangasenense coz i was born an ilocano. (2) But it doesn't mean that i don't love Pangasinan. (3) Originally am from Laoac migrated to Los Banos, Laguna but for the meantime am here in Africa. (4) Kakabsat, manbakil so dilak ya mansalita'y pangasenense. (5) I've tried huh! (6) Baro ak dtoy nga page, pagpasensyaan dak laengen. Hehehe. (7) Proud Pangasenense.

[(1) I can't talk straight Pangasinense because I was born an Ilocano. (2) But it doesn't mean that I don't love Pangasinan. (3) Originally I am from Laoac, migrated to Los Banos, Laguna but for the meantime I am here in Africa. (4) Brothers and sisters, my tongue stammers when I speak Pangasinan. (5) I've tried huh! (6) I'm new in this page, pardon me. Hehehe. (7) Proud Pangasinense.]

Like the other INSPs, Tengco cites his Ilocano identity. Although he comes from Pangasinan, he was born an Ilocano, not to mention that Laoac is an identified Ilocano town in the province. This explains why he is not fluent in Pangasinan language. However, in sentence (2), Tengco maintains he loves Pangasinan. In fact, in sentence (4) he speaks in Pangasinan saying, “*Kakabsat, manbakil so dilak ya mansalita'y pangasenense*”. But his Ilocano background still shows. Instead of using the Pangasinan word “Agagi” (Brothers and sisters), Tengco used the Ilocano equivalent “Kakabsat”. Nevertheless, as he continues in sentence (5), he tried. And this gesture means he associates also with the Pangasinan native speakers. This becomes more apparent in the last line. He expresses that he is a “*proud Pangasinense*”. As an INSP, it becomes inevitable for Tengco to recognize that while he was born Ilocano, he still comes from Pangasinan.

In response to previous comments in the message board including that of Tengco above, Dee has this to say:

(1) mona - no mantitipon kamin san-a-agi- pangalatok/ilocano so salitaan mi. (2) no katipon mi ray taga-pangasinan – untan met – pangalatok/ilocano so salitaan mi. (3) marakep so mansalita’y pangasinan. (4) say pangasinan ko – mas antak ni nen tagalog. (5) say tagalog ko amay inaral ko’d escuela nen estudyante ak ni... (6) sicaton agko nalingwanan – ang-gano ararayay agagik diya – maong kami nin man-pangasinan.

[(1) Mona – If our siblings gather, we speak Pangasinan/Ilocano. (2) If we gather with people from Pangasinan, we also speak Pangasinan/Ilocano. (3) It is nice to speak Pangasinan. (4) I know my Pangasinan better than Tagalog. (5) My Tagalog is the one I learned in school when I was still a student... (6) That’s why I can’t forget, even my siblings, we are still good in Pangasinan.]

(7) tom – i am as much a straight english talker as any aussie around me here, I work in state government and our division alone is a melting pot of races – which makes english the formal means of communication of course. (8) no matter who fronts up to me – you can be rest assured that i am not shy and i express myself very well – in english. (9) no ilocano ti sao – nala-ing ak met. (10) ti tatang ken nanang ko – puro da nga ilocano, nakagatang da ti balay ken bassit nga tal-talon idiyay pangasinan isu nga na-ikamang kami ken idiyay a metten naiyanak ken naka-adal agin-gana’t inyumay ni ditoy australia...

[(7) Tom – I am as much a straight English talker as any Aussie around me here, I work in state government and our division alone is a melting pot of races – which makes English the formal means of communication of course. (8) No matter who fronts up to me, you can be rest assured that I am not shy and I express myself very well in English. (9) If the language is Ilocano, I am also good. (10) My father and my mother are pure Ilocanos, they were able to purchase a house and a small farm in Pangasinan so we settled there and it is where we were born and educated until we got here in Australia...]

(11) katherine – salamat ading – ed mensahem. (12) sige labat – mansalita tayo’y pangasinan – tan ilocano – tapno dagitoy sumaruno nga henerasyon kenya tayo ket saan nga mapukaw daytoy sao tayo... (13) saray uogaw natan – tagalog met lay salitaan da – et makapa nang-nangis ta naling-wanan dalay salita tayo...

[(11) Katherine – Thank you for your message. (12) Go on, let’s speak Pangasinan and Ilocano so that these languages of ours will not be lost in the generation next to us... (13) Children today now speak Tagalog and it is so sad that they may eventually forget our language.]

God bless ed sicayon amin...

[God bless to all of you...]

In the comment, we learn that Dee is in fact an INSP himself and we see how he asserts his Ilocano and Pangasinan ethnic identities. In the first paragraph, Dee expresses how speaking Pangasinan and Ilocano has been an essential part of his life and of his family. He and his siblings use these languages to converse with one another. Dee also states he is more proficient in Pangasinan than in Tagalog and that he will never forget Pangasinan. In the second paragraph, Dee talks more of his being an Ilocano and his proficiency in the language. In sentences (9) and (10) Dee says, “*no ilocano ti sao – nala-ing ak met. ti tatang ken nanang ko – puro da nga ilocano, nakagatang da ti balay ken bassit nga tal-talon idiyay pangasinan isu nga nakamang kami ken idiyay a metten naiyanak ken naka-adal agin-gana’t inyumay ni ditoy australia...*” Writing in Ilocano, Dee reveals here his Ilocano lineage. Although he was born in Pangasinan, he was born with both Ilocano parents. This explains why he speaks Ilocano well. However, what is also interesting here is the fact that while he has a direct Ilocano background through his parents, he manifests a good proficiency in the Pangasinan language. Interestingly in the next paragraph, Dee displays his grasp of both Ilocano and Pangasinan language. In sentence (12) he states, “*sige labat – mansalita tayo’y pangasinan – tan ilocano – tapno dagitoy sumaruno nga henerasyon kenya tayo ket saan nga mapukaw daytoy sao tayo...*” Notice the language shift that happens in the sentence. From Pangasinan, “*sige labat – mansalita tayo’y pangasinan – tan ilocano...*” Dee shifts to Ilocano, “*...tapno dagitoy sumaruno nga henerasyon kenya tayo ket saan nga mapukaw daytoy sao tayo...*” In sentence (13), Dee shifts again to Pangasinan. This shift may be an unconscious initiative on the part of Dee. However, the shift may translate Dee’s conscious effort to associate with both the Ilocanos and the Pangasinenses and thus, project both his Ilocano and Pangasinan ethnic identity. This is one strategy we see among INSPs to not only assert two ethnic identities but actually negotiate either of the two identities where necessary. When Dee for example comments to a post written in Pangasinan, he uses Pangasinan and when he comments to a post written in Ilocano, he uses Ilocano (see sample above).

The first and third paragraphs are responses to the comments by **Mona Magalong Resuello** and **Kat Malicdem Bautista** respectively who are both Pangasinan speakers. The second paragraph is a response to Tom Tengco who is an identified Ilocano speaker. This effort to use both languages is an indication that Dee consciously asserts his two ethnic identities. Lastly, sentence (13) is notable here. Dee states in Pangasinan, “*saray uogaw natan – tagalog met lay salitaan da – et makapa nang-nangis ta naling-wanan dalay salita tayo...*” Dee expresses his concern over the decline of native language use among children today. One may ask, however, which language does Dee feel children today are already forgetting. On the one hand, Dee immediately refers to the Pangasinan language; after all, he is speaking in the language. On the other, it is clear that Dee refers not only to Pangasinan but also Ilocano. Code-switching from Pangasinan to Ilocano, Dee states in sentence (12), “*...mansalita tayo’y pangasinan – tan ilocano – tapno dagitoy sumaruno nga henerasyon kenya tayo ket saan nga mapukaw daytoy sao tayo...*” This suggests that Dee is not only concerned with the decline of Pangasinan language but also the Ilocano language. This clearly suggests that it is both languages that greatly influence Dee’s projection of ethnic identity.

Conclusion

The discussions above show how ethnic identity formation can be so convoluted that it is very inevitable for the INSPs to negotiate ethnic identities. Negotiation plays a major role in INSPs' attempt to construct an ethnic identity. It is very apparent that almost all INSPs in this study adhere to their immediate ethnic identity which is Ilocano whether directly or indirectly. This, after all, is because Ilocano is their innate identity.

Language is one big factor in this ethnic identity formation. As Coulmas (2005) argues, as we use language in conversing with others, all sorts of identities including ethnic identity manifest. Language use clearly signifies ethnic association. "The way one speaks is a prime indicator of the degree of solidarity sought and achieved" (Boylan in Hua and Chen, 2010, p. 1416). Although Pangasinan is not the INSPs' native language, their mere use of the language signals their wish to associate with the identity the language represents. Proficiency in the language is especially important just like in the case of Facebook user Rod Dee who displays a good grasp of both the Pangasinan and Ilocano languages. However, low proficiency in the language does not hinder one to establish membership. Code-switching, in particular, helps INSPs in their ethnic identity formation. One motivation which leads a person to code-switch is "to signal the speaker's ethnic identity and solidarity with the addressee" (Holmes as cited in Esteron, 2007, p. 12). Code-switching does not only manifest language capacity and identity, but also ethnic identity. Facebook user Tom Tengco's remark (*Kakabsat, manbakil so dilak ya mansalita'y pangasenense.*) for example illustrates the point. His attempt to maintain an utterance in Pangasinan language, although his use of the word "Kakabsat" still projects his Ilocano identity, exhibits his intention to be identified with the Pangasinenses. This choice of words allows for a conscious identification with the ethnic group these words represent.

Aside from language, birthplace/residence can also influence INSPs to form their Pangasinan ethnic identity. Facebook users Marissa Sapico, Alex Serrano and Shyle Migano Ventanilla, for instance recognize that they all come from Pangasinan. Despite asserting their being Ilocanos, their recognition of their hometown/province signals their association with the Pangasinenses.

Moreover, it was revealed how INSPs perceive Ilocano, their native language, vis-à-vis the native language of the province which is Pangasinan. In fact among the Facebook users, they even show how they counter other Facebook users who try to put them aside.

On-line discourse serves as a venue for people to shape their identities. In discourses like this, we see how people place themselves in a position where they either affirm or refuse an identity. As Jaworski and Coupland (1999, p. 3) states, "discourse is an inescapably important concept for understanding society and human responses to it, as well as for understanding language itself." Language is central to discourse because it is through one's use of language that helps him or her to form ethnic identity. Language does not only serve as a tool for communication but it also functions as a tool for identity formation. Anzaldúa (1987, p. 437) sums this up when she says that "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity..."

Lastly, I would like to reiterate what Barker (2003) says that ethnic identity is a “contingent cultural category”. Ethnic identity is not a fixed category. We say that identity is a convoluted concept because it is very dynamic. One can ascribe to a certain ethnic identity; one can also deny an ethnic identity. For whatever reasons and motivations, we construct and negotiate our identities. And we do these through language. As Gee (2005, p. 11) puts it, “we use language to get recognized as taking on a certain identity or role, that is to build an identity here-and-now.”

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Baja: The Yavapai's Struggle to Preserve Their Land and People

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Abstract

This paper examines the nearly decade-long struggle of a Native American tribe to save their homeland from destruction by a United State Bureau of Reclamation dam project. The Fort McDowell Yavapai of Arizona ultimately succeeded in defeating the proposed construction project which, for many years, benefitted from widespread public and governmental support. Their story is atypical of American Indian tribes in the Cold War era. Many Native American groups, perhaps most notably the Seneca Nation of Indians in New York State, suffered land loss as a result of government-sponsored public works projects in the second half of the twentieth century. This paper compares the unsuccessful campaign of the Seneca Nation with that of the Fort McDowell tribe to identify aspects of the Yavapai effort that helped them achieve victory. Recently passed legislation intended to increase government transparency and encourage citizen engagement in the decision-making process created a more conducive environment for the Yavapai to make their grievances known. The presence of this legislation alone, however, did not necessarily translate into a win for the tribe. Rather, the tribe's victory over Orme Dam came as a result of the recognition that their campaign would have a greater chance of success if they developed strategic alliances with other organizations to broaden the base of opposition to the dam. Whereas the Seneca had focused their effort around a single issue, the Yavapai developed a multi-pronged strategy to counter the proposed project. That strategy enabled the Yavapai to preserve their land and, consequently, their culture.

Carl Hayden, Arizona's senior senator, finally exerted the necessary mix of pressure and pleas to win congressional approval for the Central Arizona Project (CAP) in 1968 after more than two decades of unsuccessful lobbying to get funding for the massive water project (Espeland, 1998, p. 105). The public works project would pump water uphill from Lake Havasu on the Colorado River through a series of aqueducts and control dams to thirsting desert cities and agricultural growers. The legislation authorized the construction of four multipurpose dams, including Orme Dam which was to be built thirty miles northeast of Phoenix at the confluence of the Salt and Verde rivers (Schilling, 2000, 58). Many Arizonians, particularly those in the greater Phoenix area, believed Orme to be a critical component of the Central Arizona Project. Severe social and environmental costs would accompany the benefits brought by the dam however. The large earthen structure would back water up two different river valleys, inundating miles of lush river ecosystem. The riparian ribbons that cut through the Sonoran Desert provided home to flora and fauna uncommon to the State of Arizona. The Fort McDowell Yavapai reservation also straddled the Verde River just upstream from the construction site and would be flooded by the resultant reservoir (Bureau of Reclamation, 1976, p. 102). Dam proponents did not suspect that the Yavapai would pose a threat to their plans, but the tribe had a long history of struggling to maintain the sanctity of their homelands. The Yavapai succeeded where other tribes had failed, in part, because they capitalized on the passage of new environmental legislation and developed a multi-pronged campaign against Orme Dam.

The Yavapai maintained a deep cultural connection to the Lower Verde Valley and opposed the construction of Orme Dam; though this sentiment was not shared by all tribes living adjacent to the Salt and Verde Rivers. Planners tried to capitalize on that division. The Fort McDowell Yavapai first voiced their objection to construction at the confluence site between October 1964 and March 1965, before the dam had congressional approval or funding. Legislators and dam planners consequently neglected to inform Fort McDowell tribal members about the project during the planning process, habitually failing to notify the Yavapai about the dates, times, or locations of hearings related to the project (Coffeen, 1972, p. 364). The neighboring Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community did not experience the same neglect because they supported the dam's construction (P. Dorchester, personal communication, 1965). The downriver Pima-Maricopa tribe would benefit economically from the newly-created reservoir. Orme would only flood the uninhabited northeast corner of the Pima-Maricopa reservation while giving the tribe lakefront property on which to develop concessions and recreational opportunities (D. Olson, personal communication, 1965; F. Carlos, personal communication, 1965). The Fort McDowell Yavapai, conversely, would gain no such advantage from the dam, because the majority of their homeland would be inundated with water. No local or national politician visited the tribe after the project was approved, reasoning that Yavapai's "emotional thing" would not be an issue because they would "listen to the ring of cash" when the time approached (D. Olson, personal communication, 1965).

The United States Bureau of Reclamation planned to condemn approximately two-thirds of the Fort McDowell reservation. The Bureau would give the tribe a 2,500 acre parcel of land bordering the reservation in exchange for the 16,952 acres that it condemned. The agency would also help relocate all of the 279 Yavapai tribal members to the new parcel of land and compensate them for the lost acreage (Bureau

of Reclamation, 1976, p. 1, 16, 78). The Bureau of Reclamation plan not only shortchanged the Yavapai out of thousands of acres of land, but it posed a serious threat to the cultural, social, and economic vitality of the tribe. It would force the Yavapai to forfeit the rich bottomlands along the Verde River for the rocky, hardscrabble ground atop the mesas to the east (Coffeen, 1972, 369).

Past precedent for the iniquitous exchange existed and dam proponents had little reason to suspect that the Yavapai would be able to stop the condemnation of reservation lands. The Pick-Sloan Flood Control Act of 1944 authorized the construction of the Garrison Dam in North Dakota and consequently displaced over 900 Native American families as it reduced Sioux land holdings by six percent (Bilharz, 1998, p. 42). More recently, the Army Corps of Engineers' completion of Kinzua Dam in 1965 flooded one-third of the Allegheny Indian Reservation and all of the Seneca's Cornplanter Tract. The dam also forced the relocation of more than 600 members of the Seneca Nation of the Indians (Hauptman, 2014, p. xv, 13). The Seneca lobbied Congress, pled with two presidents, and filed lawsuits in attempt to save their homelands and stop the construction of Kinzua Dam. They drew the support of the American Friends Service Committee, Native American rights organizations, former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and popular musicians Buffy St. Marie and Johnny Cash in their quest. The tribe drew a contrast between Seneca life and mainstream American society, asserting that the Seneca had a place-based identity rooted in the geography of their homeland. Most oppositional arguments, however, focused on the fact that construction of Kinzua Dam would break the United States' longest-standing treaty with a Native American tribe (Rosier, 2006, p. 1320; Bilharz, 1998, p. 56). Neither the terms of the Pickering Treaty of 1794 nor the tribe and its supporters stopped Congress from exerting its rights of eminent domain and condemning Seneca lands. The Bureau of Reclamation undoubtedly figured that the process of gaining title to Yavapai land would proceed with similar rapidity.

The Yavapai appeared to lack the resources for mounting a staunch opposition to Orme Dam. Endemic poverty characterized Fort McDowell and the reservation remained isolated despite its close geographic proximity to Phoenix. Tribal members lacked telephone service until 1967. Nearly seventy percent of the 53 housing units at Fort McDowell stood in substandard condition. The United States Public Health Service had recently constructed new wells and water lines on the reservation, but a formal plan for sewage disposal still proved lacking in 1971 (Coffeen, 1972, 365). Such poor living conditions likely convinced the Bureau of Reclamation that a large cash payment would easily induce the Yavapai to vacate their land without much complaint. The Bureau, however, failed to recognize the Yavapai's long history struggle to maintain their homelands.

The Yavapai's defense of their homelands against the incursions of Americans stretched back approximately one-hundred years. General George Crook used Pima and Maricopa scouts in a particularly brutal effort to wrest the Yavapai from the lands around Fort McDowell in 1872 and 1873 (Braatz, 2003, p. 137-139). This ultimately resulted in the Office of Indian Affairs relocating the tribe from the bottomlands of the Verde River to the San Carlos Apache Reservation 180 miles away in the White Mountains. The Army began the forced march (later referred to as the Trail of Tears) of 1,476 Yavapai on February 27, 1875. By the time that the Yavapai reached San Carlos two weeks later, 115 persons had perished from exposure to the elements or

hunger (Braatz, 2003, 173-176). During the march and the subsequent twenty-five years at San Carlos, the Yavapai held out hope that they would one day be allowed to return to the Lower Verde Valley. The tribe never accepted San Carlos reservation as their permanent home and willfully forfeited the physical and economic security of life on the San Carlos Apache Reservation for the opportunity to return to Fort McDowell between 1899 and 1902 because their identity was connected to the geography of the lower Verde River (Braatz, 2003, p. 193, 203, 212-213). President Theodore Roosevelt established the Fort McDowell Indian Reservation in 1903 with an executive order, but challenges to the Yavapai's claim to the land continued to arise. A short seven years after the creation of the Fort McDowell reservation, the Bureau of Indian Affairs attempted to pressure to Yavapai into relocating to the adjacent Salt River Pima-Maricopa lands downriver. The Yavapai refused (Iverson, 1982, p. 89).

Place remained vitally important to the Yavapai throughout the remainder of the twentieth century. The Yavapai word "Baja" (pronounced Baa-jaw) is used to reference both the Yavapai as a people and the Lower Verde River Valley in which they live, meaning that the people are of the place. The names of bands, clans, and individuals connected to specific geographical spaces, creating an additional link between identity and place (Winchell, 1982, p. 4, 62, 85, 101). Traditional Yavapai housing remained close to the Verde River, despite the availability of space in outlying areas, because "the spirit of the water and the land are inexorably intertwined in Yavapai life" (Thurs, 1976, 9). Much of their cultural and economic life--particularly basket-making, agriculture, and wood cutting--also relied heavily on the vegetation and fertile soil of the Verde River bottomlands. This close connectedness to place is what U.S. Representative Morris Udall's staff member Dick Olson mistook as a "strictly emotional thing" in 1965 (D. Olson, personal communication, 1965).

A newspaper story in December 1972 alerted the Yavapai that plans for Orme Dam had been moving forward without their input and that their lands were under threat once again. Tribal Chairman of the Fort McDowell Yavapai Robert Doka called a community meeting on December 26th to address the situation and it turned into a press conference. The date marked the centennial anniversary of the Skeleton Cave Massacre, in which seventy-five or more Yavapai who tried to elude the United States Calvary were found and slaughtered in the Mazatzel Mountains (Schilling, 2000, p. 66). Yavapai speakers incorporated this history and the bitterness of betrayal into the statements that they made in opposition to Orme Dam. Members of the tribe then connected with Carolina Butler, an environmentalist from the nearby city of Scottsdale, who helped tribal members form the Committee to Save Fort McDowell Reservation. Butler emphasized the importance of educating the public, speaking out at public hearings, and voicing their opposition with letters to newspapers and government officials. Together they worked to accomplish the improbable and derail the plans for a dam at the confluence of the Salt and Verde Rivers (Welsh, 1985, p. 150).

Yavapai tribal members and Carolina Butler traveled across the state and nation in attempt to win support to their cause. Butler submitted testimony to Congress on behalf of the Yavapai people during the annual appropriations hearing in Spring 1973. Fort McDowell elder John Williams traveled south to Tucson and spoke for against

Orme Dam at the first public hearing on CAP water in January 1975. Andrew Johnson and Gilbert Jones, both Yavapai, then joined Williams at the Phoenix meeting on CAP. Williams made a trek east to Washington D.C. later in the year with Yavapai elder Emma Johnson and submitted more testimony at annual spring hearings. Dixie Lee Davis, Andrew Johnson, Virginia Mott, John Williams, and his daughter Kimberly Williams followed suit in October, traveling to the nation's capital in hopes of speaking before the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Butler, 2005, p.78-80). The committee denied their request, however, because the group did not have the official endorsement of the tribal council. Nonetheless, Kimberly Williams recalls that the trip proved important, because they spoke to a number of senators outside of the meeting – many of whom were unaware that the Yavapai were living in the valley that the Bureau of Reclamation intended to flood. She recalls that officials in Washington “were surprised and enraged to find they had been lied to” about potential problems with the location of the planned project (Krol, 2004).

Throughout these engagements, the Yavapai continually placed greater importance on their connectedness to the land and place than on the potential monetary gain that they would receive as a result of displacement. John Williams, whose grandfather numbered among the tribal members who received the land grant from Roosevelt in 1903, asserted that the Yavapai differed from Euro Americans who often and easily moved from place to place (Richards, 1976, part II, p. 8). Kimberly Williams remembers her father regularly saying: “Put a dollar in one hand and the soil in another, which will last longer?” (Krol, 2004). Marjorie Cleveland, who grew up in a hut with dirt floors echoed Williams’ sentiments. “You hate to lose it,” she stated, “there were times we didn’t have any water or food, but even then we didn’t want the money” (Krol, 2004).

The tribe’s spiritual and cultural attachment to the land ran deep and many Yavapai lamented that relocation would disrupt their culture to such an extent that their old ways would disappear. On removal, a Yavapai elder commented: “It would kill their spiritual life. They would be dead inside even though they may be walking around. No longer would they be Yavapai” (Pattea and Mariella, 2005, 86) Another elder Lola Dickson took a similar tone in the plea that she submitted to the public works subcommittees of both the United States House and Senate Appropriations Committees. Dickson, an expert basket weaver, detailed how Yavapai culture was tied to the bottomlands of the Verde River and the riparian vegetation. She stated:

“I watch my mother weave. I sit by and then I learn from it. As I child I help her gather devil pods and cottonwood branches, which makes the white color. The willow trees make it go round and round. Maybe if they build a dam, someday I’ll have no cottonwood tree” (Johnson, 1980)

She added that she wanted to continue living in the open land as she always had, rather than be forced into the cramped cluster of houses that would come with relocation (Johnson, 1980). Clinton Pattea also worried that the reduction in reservation acreage would negatively impact Yavapai culture. He linked the Yavapai’s extended family situation to the geography of Fort McDowell and explained that their place along the Verde helped the Yavapai to maintain their clan

relationships, tribal relationships, and language (Elling, 1981, p. 4). Relocation away from the bottomlands of the Verde River would radically disrupt the cultural and spiritual continuity of the Yavapai.

Unlike with the construction of Kinzua Dam by the Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation had to complete an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) before construction could begin on Orme Dam. The Bureau had no previous experience crafting such a report, because public works projects did not require an EIS prior to the passage of the 1970 National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA). NEPA necessitated that the federal government complete an environmental impact statement in which the costs and benefits of a public works project were considered. Drafters of the EIS also needed to include a fully detailed list of alternatives replete with a comparative cost/benefit analysis. The final component of NEPA, and the one that would prove particularly troublesome for the Bureau of Reclamation, required that the responsible agency devise procedures for the inclusion of public input in the EIS process (Espeland, 1998, p. 7). NEPA, in other words, attempted to democratize to some degree decision-making on public works projects. Without the National Environmental Protection Act and the requirement for an Environmental Impact Statement, the Bureau of Reclamation probably would have had little or no trouble getting Orme Dam built.

The Environment Impact Statement that the Bureau of Reclamation drafted suffered from a number of shortcomings and showed the agency's negligence in failing to consider the social and environmental costs of construction project. In one section of the EIS, the Bureau failed to differentiate between the relatively abundant population of Northern Bald Eagles and the endangered Southern Bald Eagle (Bureau of Reclamation, 1976, p. 67-68). Orme Dam would adversely affect the desert-nesting Southern Bald Eagle that nested in areas along remote, fresh-running streams in the mountainous central region of Arizona (Southwestern Bald Eagle Management Committee, [?]). The biologically-distinct Southern Bald Eagle differed from its northern counterpart in that they did not fish or nest along lakes or reservoirs. With the exception of one pair of eagles, all of the desert-nesting bald eagles resided along the banks or tributaries of the Verde and Salt Rivers (Maricopa Audubon Society, 1976). Consequently, the proposed construction of Orme Dam and the subsequent flooding of miles of land in the Salt and Verde River Valleys represented a critical threat to the continued existence of the Southern Bald Eagle (U.S Fish and Wildlife Service, correspondence, 1977). The Bureau of Reclamation tried to downplay the effects that the dam would have on the nesting population. It maintained that grazing cattle and upstream dams contributed to the decline in cottonwood trees along the river and intimated that the eagles would persevere (Bureau of Reclamation, 1976, p. 71, 145). Orme Dam, however, would completely decimate the population of cottonwood trees on which the eagles depended for nesting.

The agency showed a similar dismissiveness towards Yavapai concerns in the Environmental Impact Statement. The Bureau of Reclamation emphasized the cultural tenacity and fortitude of the Yavapai as it worked towards a calculated conclusion. The EIS outlined four major events in Yavapai history that had severely threatened tribal culture and life. A discussion of how the Yavapai survived the traumatic experiences then followed. In its analysis of the effect of Orme Dam on Fort McDowell, the Bureau of Reclamation concluded that the Yavapai withstood all of

the previous threats to their culture, so there was little reason to assume that the tribe would have any trouble persevering in the face of this new adversity (Bureau of Reclamation, 1976, p. 126-128). The agency asserted that the construction on Orme Dam should begin without delay.

The insensitivity evidenced in the Bureau of Reclamation's conclusions angered Yavapai and their supporters alike (Espeland, 1998, p. 118). After the release of the Orme Dam EIS, the Fort McDowell Tribal Council held a vote on the project to determine how it should proceed in response. The council asked members of the Fort McDowell reservation whether the tribe should negotiate with the Bureau of Reclamation or continue to resist the construction of Orme Dam. For the second time in two years, tribal members overwhelmingly voted to oppose the dam. The voting results showed that 144 voting-age Yavapai opposed the sale tribal land, while 57 voted in favor of negotiations. Prior to the election, Tribal Chairman Clinton Pattea, assured tribal members that the results of the election would serve as a guide for all future dealings with the Bureau of Reclamation ("Yavapai Again Reject Sale of Land for Orme Dam Site," 1976). After the vote, tribal leaders vowed to fight any attempts at condemnation with the strongest opposition that the tribe could muster ("Orme Alternatives Sought By CAP", 1976). The Bureau of Reclamation spent three years and thousands of dollars on a public relations campaign to coax the Yavapai out of their land and failed miserably ("Yavapai Again Reject Sale of Land for Orme Dam Site," 1976).

With the council solidly backing its people in opposition to the dam, tribal members began participating in the Environmental/ Socio-Economic Subcommittee, a branch of the Interagency Task Force on Orme Dam Alternatives. The subcommittee, formed in May 1977, had no restriction placed on its size or composition. The subcommittee directed its efforts towards gaining a greater awareness of the sentiments of Phoenix area residents towards Orme Dam and its alternatives, so that the Bureau could hopefully avoid another public relations nightmare. The stated major principle of the subcommittee portended that environmental and socioeconomic concerns should have equal consideration in the deliberations process as technical and economic concerns (Brown, 1978, p. 1, 4). Hiawatha Hood (Fort McDowell), Lewis Hood (Fort McDowell), Carolina Butler (Committee to Save Fort McDowell Reservation) and many other concerned citizens contributed to committee discussions (Thompson, 1977, p. B1). The group weighed the costs and benefits of Orme Dam against possible alternatives and spent significant time considering the amount of habitat destruction and stress upon Yavapai life that a dam of any size at the confluence site would cause. When the subcommittee completed its investigation, it concluded that any dam at or near the proposed construction site was environmentally unacceptable and would negatively affect the Yavapai at Fort McDowell. The group drafted a resolution in opposition to any dams at the confluence site and forwarded it to the Interagency Task Force on Orme Dam Alternatives (Thompson, 1977, p. 1-3). The recommendations of the Environmental/ Socio-economic Subcommittee did not carry enough weight to eliminate dam sites at the confluence from consideration though and so the Yavapai struggle continued.

Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt formed a separate committee to study alternatives to Orme Dam at roughly the same time that the Environmental/Socio-economic Subcommittee was conducting its analysis of the confluence site. Unlike the

Environmental/Socio-economic Subcommittee, however, the Governor's Citizen Advisory Committee allowed only limited participation. Babbitt appointed a twenty-eight member panel that was overwhelmingly in favor of Orme Dam. The committee claimed to bring together a diverse group of businessmen, government officials, tribal representatives, community leaders, and environmentalists. However, with the exception of three members, the committee wholly supported the construction of Orme Dam. Opponents of the confluence site included Dr. Robert Witzeman of the Maricopa Audubon Society, as well as Thomas Jones and Joan Enos from the Fort McDowell Tribal Council (Congressional Briefing on the Central Arizona Project Status, 1980). Still most committee members only seemed interested in hearing the government's position even though dam opponents submitted an enormous amount of data to counter the government's claims (Welsh, 1985, p. 161).

Babbitt could well have adopted a page from the Kinzua dambuilders' playbook in strategizing to address criticism of the construction project. When a prominent civil engineer, Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, proposed an alternative to Kinzua Dam in 1957 that would have saved the Allegheny Reservation from being flooded, the Army Corps of Engineers arranged with the White House director of Public Works Planning John S. Bragdon to form an "independent" committee to investigate the alternative proposition. Bragdon previously served as deputy chief of the Army Corps of Engineers and very much supported the Kinzua Plan. The Corps and Bragdon contracted the firm of Tippetts-Abbett-McCarthy to complete a feasibility and cost analysis of Morgan's plan. A partner in the hired firm had close connections to the Corps as well, having previously been employed by the agency as director its civil works projects and overseeing the construction of the Dennison Dam that adversely affected the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes. This arrangement clearly worked in the favor of Kinzua supporters and the report unsurprisingly favored the Kinzua Dam construction plan over the alternative proposition (Hauptman, 2014, 61-63). Babbitt's committee functioned in much the same way, falsely claiming objectivity in its analysis of alternatives to subtly clear the path for dam construction.

The "independent" committee commissioned by the Army Corps of Engineers effectively submarined the Seneca Nation's hopes of defeating Kinzua Dam; Babbitt's Governor's Citizens Advisory Committee, in contrast, did not have the same negative consequences for the Yavapai. Instead, the experience of serving on the blatantly biased Governor's Citizens Advisory Committee taught the Yavapai a valuable lesson. In the years subsequent to the formation of Babbitt's group, the Yavapai blended different complaints against Orme Dam to enlarge the base of opposition and force dam proponents to address variant compelling arguments against construction at the confluence site. Tribal spokesmen infused rhetoric about the endangered Southern Bald Eagle into their publicity statements. Concerns about the future of the desert-nesting eagle population interwove almost seamlessly in the tribe's demand that the government consider issues of social justice and cultural preservation in the decision-making process. In a meeting before Congress, Thomas Jones testified:

"The impact on my people of being removed and relocated by this dam would be devastating. We would lose thousands of acres of rich bottomlands that we use for farming and pasture for our cattle. The trees along

the fresh flowing Verde River and the wildlife habitat that is a home for the endangered bald eagles would be lost forever. The survival of my people and the preservation of our lifestyle would be threatened. Our community would be disintegrated in the name of technological progress and growth” (Jones, 1979).

In this statement, Thomas Jones gives near equal weight to Yavapai’s economic vitality, cultural preservation, and the protection of wildlife and environmental habitat, broadening the tribe’s appeal to citizens and government to oppose construction of Orme Dam at the confluence of the Salt and Verde Rivers.

The tribe later cooperated in the formation of the Orme Alternatives Coalition - a loosely knit consortium of tribes, environmental organizations, concerned citizens, religious congregations, and other public interest groups. Yavapai Clinton Pattea and Pat Mariella maintained that the coalition formed out of a necessity to counter the intensified efforts of dam proponents after a series of devastating floods struck the Phoenix metropolitan area between 1977 and 1980. The networking of the tribe with other organizations with which it shared some common ground equated to a more powerful opposition. Coalitions generally include groups with a diversity of interests, affiliates, tactical capabilities, and resources (Meyer, 2007, 75). The Orme Alternatives Coalition embodied this characterization with a composition of more than twenty local and national groups that spanned the political spectrum from far left to far right (Welsh, 1985, 166). The Yavapai joined forces with environmentalists concerned about the Southern Bald Eagle, fiscal conservatives who shuddered at the price tag on the construction project, and a number of tribal-affiliated groups swayed by the Yavapai’s argument that Orme Dam would destroy their native culture and society (Orme Alternative Coalition, 1981). The diversity of the coalition increased the visibility of the Orme Dam opponents and facilitated in spreading the message of the now multi-pronged campaign of opposition.

The coalition devised a strategy that focused immediate attention on the elected officials of the state and would attempt to pressure them into passing laws that responsibly addressed flood control. If the state failed to take action, then the coalition planned to take a more active stance by beginning the initiative process or by petitioning the federal government to assume responsibility for the management of six upstream dams that, if used properly, could prevent flooding in the valley. The Orme Alternatives Coalition also proposed increasing the public presence of the opposition by encouraging public participation in all public workshops and hearing discussions. It was agreed that participating groups would combine resources and skills in order to effectively complete the tasks necessary to accomplish the stated goals of the coalition (Orme Alternative Coalition, [?]).

The coalition demonstrated its growing strength in September 1981 by staging a three-day march from the Fort McDowell Reservation to the state capital building in downtown Phoenix. The march, deemed the “Trail of Tears,” in reference to the forced relocation of the Yavapai from Fort McDowell to the San Carlos Apache reservation in 1875, drew a massive amount of media attention within the state. While the march primarily focused attention on the Fort McDowell Yavapai, organizers continued to interweave social and environmental concerns in their

promotions to appeal to a wider public demographic. The flyers advertising the event prominently featured the drawing of a Native American man's face with an eagle sketched into the hair on the right hand side of the head (Orme Alternative Coalition, flyer, 1981). Hundreds of people, representing a multitude of organizations and backgrounds, joined the Yavapai in protest by the time they reached the state capital. They filled the plaza in front of the capital building, hoisted anti-Orme signs in the air, and presented the Yavapai recommendation for an alternative site to an aide of the governor (Perry, 1981, p. C1, C2).

The show of strength by the Orme opponents marked a transitional moment in the campaign, after which the prospect of a dam being constructed at the confluence of the Salt and Verde Rivers seemed increasing less likely. Politicians acknowledged and acquiesced to the demands of the Yavapai and other Orme opponents a short time thereafter. The success of the march, the public presence of oppositional forces, and the threat of legal action effectively reduced support for Orme Dam (Pattea and Mariella, 205, 85). On November 12, 1981, the Governor's Advisory Committee met with the Fort McDowell tribal community and both sides agreed to support an alternative site for flood control (*Relive the Past*, 2004). Secretary of the Interior James Watt also pledged to back what was then called the Plan 6 alternative. The plan authorized increasing the size of two existing dams and constructing a new dam upstream from Fort McDowell on the Verde River. That plan, too, would continue to be challenged by some of Orme Dam's opponents. The Yavapai, however, expressed content knowing that they had accomplished the improbable and saved their homelands from the threat of Orme Dam.

The success of the Yavapai in overcoming improbable odds to defeat a proposed dam with widespread public support can be attributed to a number of complimentary factors. The Yavapai, in part, benefitted from timing. The campaign against the dam launched in early 1970s, a period in which Native Americans were becoming increasingly politicized and making their grievances better known through the Red Power Movement. That alone did not assure the Yavapai of success though. Proponents of Orme Dam continued to have strong public and governmental support through most of the 1970s. The National Environmental Protection Act provided the Yavapai with much needed time to organize and build alliances as the Bureau of Reclamation fumbled through the agency's first attempt at an Environmental Impact Statement and the aftermath of its release. During those critical years, the Yavapai learned the value of broadening their argument against the dam into a multi-pronged attack that addressed a host of concerns. The Yavapai then began to nurture important alliances with a diverse range of organizations. These groups, in turn, mobilized their diverse resources to turn support away from the dam and ultimately defeat it thirteen years after Orme Dam received congressional approval.

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*A study on trend of the Ergonomic research papers over the past 20 years in
Taiwan*

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0425

Abstract

The Ergonomics Society of Taiwan will celebrate its 20th anniversary in 2013. The study looked into the development of Ergonomics in Taiwan by analyzing 1,404 papers published by 113 lifetime members of the Ergonomics Society of Taiwan. The authors examined each essay by key words and context of abstracts and coded along period of publication (1971-1992(1st Period), 1993-1997(2nd Period), 1998-2002(3rd Period), 2003-2007(4th Period), and 2008-2012(5th Period)), and 13 topic categories. The results show that the publication has an increase of about 100 essays every five years since 1993. The most popular topic was Ergonomic Assessment and Analysis Techniques in 1st Period, Force Exertion Related Research in 2nd Period, Product Design and Evaluation in 3rd Period, Occupational Safety and Health in 4th Period, and Human-Computer Interface in 5th Period. Moreover, the numbers of essay about Occupational Safety and Health, and Human-Computer Interface, Specific Workplace Related Research, Specific User Group Research, System Development and Evaluation, Driving Related Research, and Micro-ergonomics were increased period by period. However, the quantity of essays about Ergonomics Theory and Inspection Related Research were decreased. The results of this study will help to predict the future direction of Taiwan ergonomic research effort for the next 20 years.

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The development of Human Factors/Ergonomics (HFE) has spanned over more than 60 years, starting in Europe from the establishment of the Institute of Ergonomics and Human Factors in England in 1949 and the establishment of Gesellschaft für Arbeitswissenschaft in Germany in 1953, followed in the North America by the founding of Human Factors and Ergonomics Society in USA in 1957 and the Association of Canadian Ergonomists in 1959. In the Asia region, Japan Ergonomics Society was founded in 1964, the Ergonomics Society of Korea was founded in 1982 and the Chinese Ergonomics Society was founded in 1989. Nowadays, HFE-related organizations have been established in over 40 countries and regions in the world.

Zavod and Hitt (2000) analyzed 511 essays in the Human Factors Journal published between 1988 and 1997. The results showed that theses related to visual performance were the majority with 111 essays accounting for 22% of the total published; followed by industrial ergonomics and cognitive engineering (10%) and training (9%). Furthermore, Waterson, Falzon, and Barcellini (2012) investigated the 987 essays published in 16 International Ergonomics Association Meetings and Congresses events convened during the period from 1961 to 2009 and discovered that essay topics based on ergonomic methods and methodology, work on workload, physiology, and product design declined over the years with topics on cognitive ergonomics, human-computer interaction (HCI), organizational design and management, and work and health gradually taking dominance. Meanwhile, thesis based on some topics such as aging, international standards, and education and training remained stable during the same period. Lee (2010) employed the Journal of the Ergonomics Society of Korea as the subject of research in which 649 essays published from 1982 to 2009 were analyzed. The results indicated that in the period between 1982 and 1989, research topics based on biomechanics, anthropometry and work physiology were the majority (41%) with both the topic of displays and controls and the topic of work system and workload analysis taking second place (12%).

The development of HFE in the R.O.C. was initiated by the “Ergonomics Steering Group” established by the National Science Council (NSC), Executive Yuan in 1984 and the Ergonomics Society of Taiwan (EST) was officially founded in 1993 by the National Tsing Hua University at Hsinchu to integrate human resources in HFE. The R.O.C. has been promoting the knowledge, technicalities and concepts of HFE for over 20 years. The research and implementation efforts originated from the support of the NSC are now gradually extending to other government institutions such as the Council of Labor Affairs, Atomic Energy Council and the Ministry of Transportation and Communications. Together with the rising demand for ergonomics in the private

sector, the importance and potential of ergonomics are increasingly evident. In addition to the departments related to industrial engineering and design, tertiary education also includes departments of manufacturing engineering, vehicle engineering, industrial health and safety, logistics management, and health and leisure sports, attesting the emphasis and demand on courses in ergonomics in the various fields of academic faculties. Essays investigating the development of HFE research topics in Taiwan are rare. Hwang et al. (1993) indicated that the man-machine system and industrial safety were the major domains of study by the EST members at the time. This was supported in the research by Lee and Wang (2000) showing that the academia recognized occupational health, man-machine system and product design as the three major domains vital to the development of HFE in Taiwan, while the industry identified topics on occupational health, human performance and human information processing were more important.

Now with 20 years of history in the development of HFE in the R.O.C., this study intends to investigate the evolution and trend in academic research topics. The findings from this research will be considered as important references in planning the future development of HFE in Taiwan.

Method

Method of data collection

This study employed the permanent members of the EST as the subject of research and analyzed the table of contents of academic essay writings (till the end of July, 2012) provided by the members. The total number of permanent members of the EST was 201 by the end of June, 2012. This research obtained the list of works by 113 members with a data coverage rate of 56%.

Method of data processing

This study collected a total of 1,404 essays ranging from the earliest publication in 1971 to the latest in 2012. The list of essay writings was keyed into Excel 2010 with entries containing information such as author, year of publication, title of the thesis, title of the periodical, volume, issue, page number and keywords. In the possible case that several authors were included in the thesis, each essay was counted only once to avoid repeated counting and the overestimation of the publications as a consequence. Academic studies only included essays in domestic and international periodicals and journals; those published in the proceedings of conferences or as a collection of paper for conferences were excluded. Additionally, all periodicals were updated with the

latest titles to facilitate subsequent analysis.

Categorization of essay topics

HFE is involved in a wide variety of fields. On top of the fundamental anthropometry, psychology, work physiology, test and evaluation, it also covers applications such as consumer products, communication systems, automation and expert systems, transport systems, health and medical systems and higher level macro-ergonomics such as work design, organizational design and management, training and education within its scope. Over the years, many studies differentiated HFE research topics into 9 to 25 categories depending on the characteristics of the research samples (Hwang et al., 1993; Lee, 2010; Lee, 2000; Lee & Wang, 2000; Waterson et al., 2012; Waterson & Sell, 2006; Zavod & Hitt, 2000). This study examined a total of 13 categories classified as

1. Ergonomic Theory,
2. Ergonomic Assessment Methodology,
3. Anthropometry,
4. Force Exertion Task,
5. HCI,
6. System Development and Evaluation,
7. Inspection Task,
8. Product and Workplace Evaluation,
9. Driving Task,
10. Specific Industrial Research,
11. Specific User Research,
12. Occupational Health and Safety,
13. Macro-Ergonomics and the Environment.

Each essay was classified into only one of the 13 categories.

Analysis of the essay

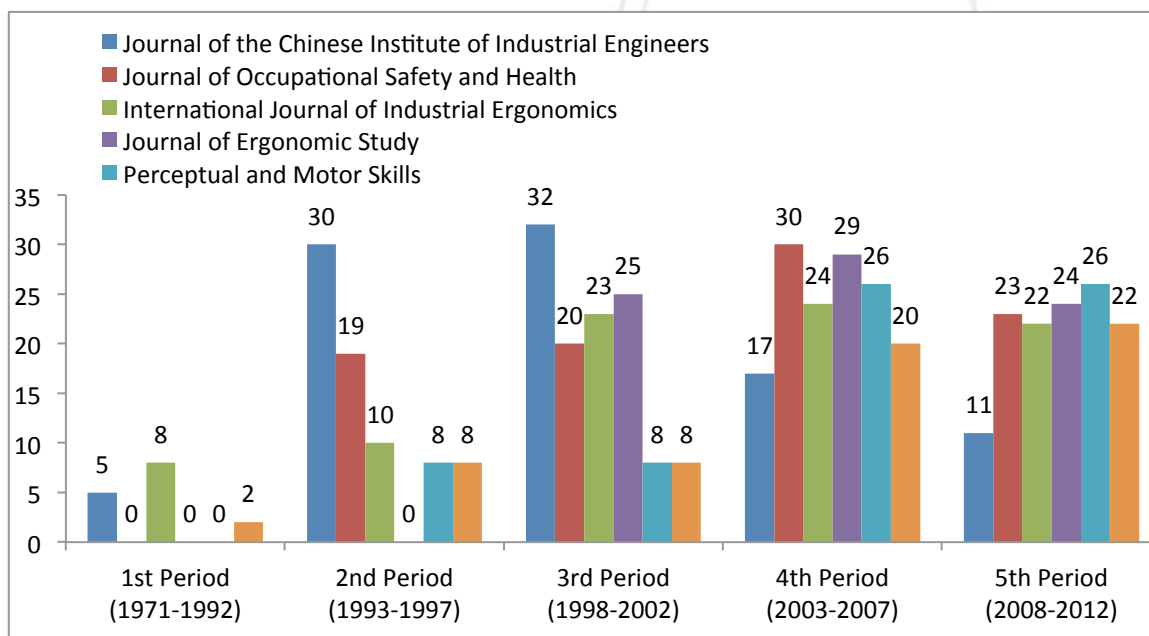
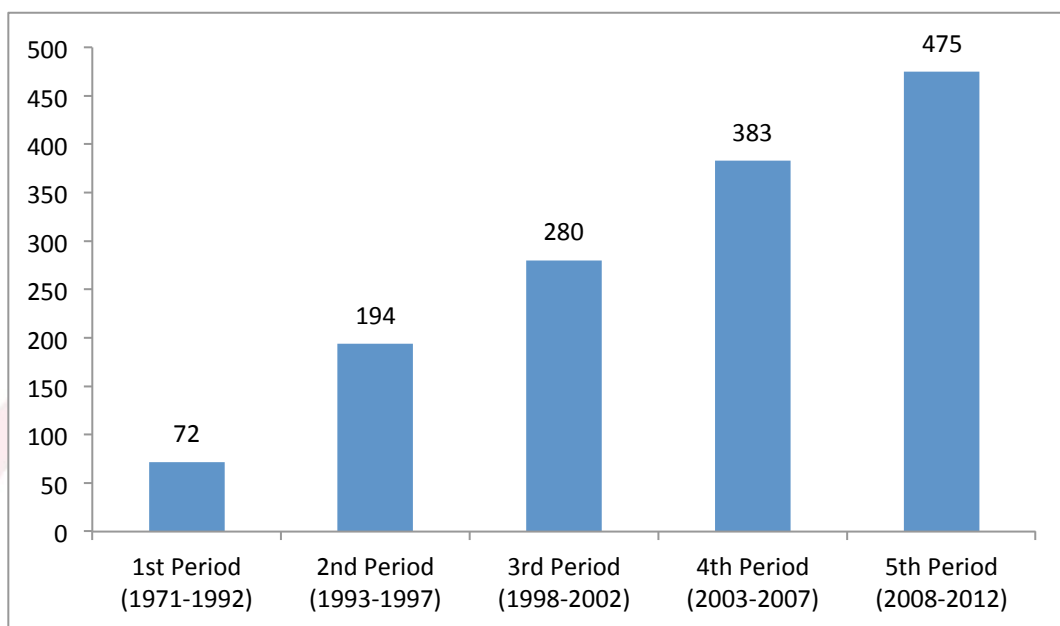
This study used 1993, the year when the EST was established, as a baseline to segment the years before 1993 as the 1st period and every subsequent five-year interval as a separate period. The years of essay publications were segmented into five periods: the 1st Period is from 1971 to 1992, the 2nd Period is from 1993 to 1997, the 3rd Period is from 1998 to 2002, the 4th Period is from 2003 to 2007 and the 5th period is from 2007 to 2012.

Results and Discussion

The quantity of essays published and the publishing periodicals

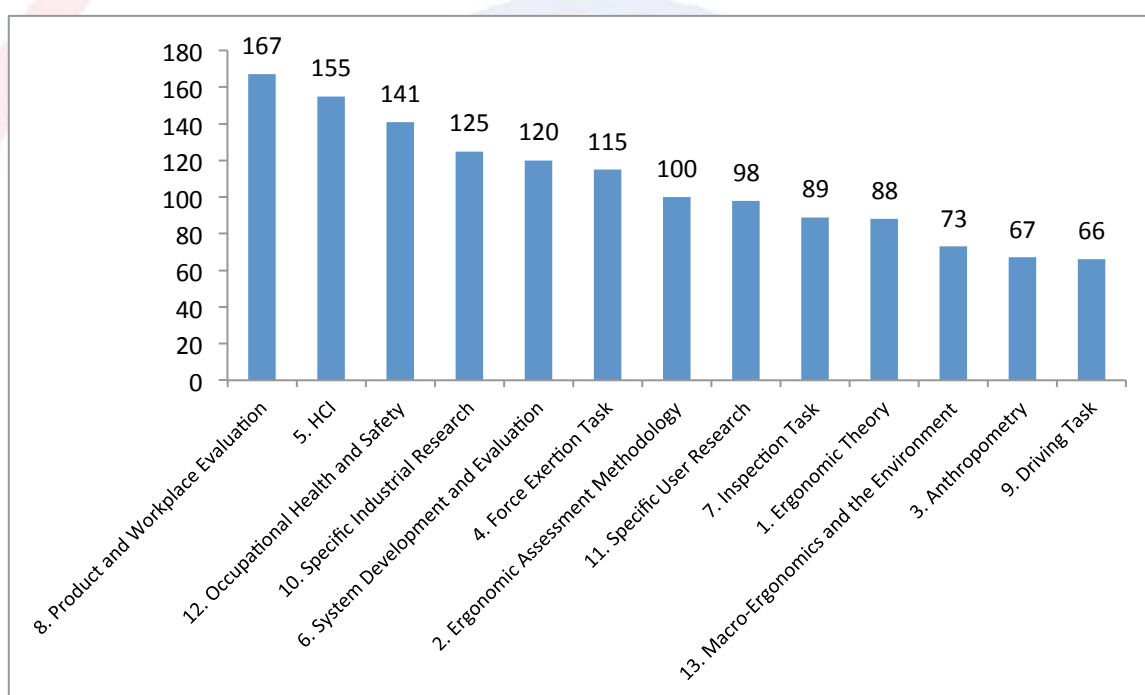
Examining the total number of essays published during each period as illustrated in Figure 1, the 72 essays in the 1st period continuously increased by the year to 475 essays in the 5th period, which is a 6-fold increase with an average growth of 1.7 times than the previous period. This indicates a gradual proliferation of HFE research publications in Taiwan.

In-depth analysis of the publishing periodicals shows that 1,404 essays were published in 342 types of different journals. The top six periodicals ranked by the quantity of essays in descending order are Journal of the Chinese Institute of Industrial Engineers(JCIIE) (95 essays, 6.77%), Journal of Occupational Safety and Health(JOSH) (92 essays, 6.55%), International Journal of Industrial Ergonomics(IJIE) (87 essays, 6.2%), Journal of Ergonomic Study(JES)(78 essays, 5.56%), Perceptual and Motor Skills(P&MS) (68 essays, 4.84%) and Applied Ergonomics (60 essays, 4.27%), which combine to account for 34.19% of the total published. The quantity of essays published in each of the periodicals during each period is illustrated in Figure 2. Prior to 2002, JCIIE published most of the essays by the members; however the quantity of its publication declined in the period from 2003 to 2012, which was replaced by JOSH and JES. A possible explanation is that HFE was classified as a field in industrial engineering in the early days so scholars published most of their research work on JCIIE with the absence of periodicals dedicated to HFE in Taiwan. It was not until the first publications of JOSH in 1993 and JES in 1999 that HFE finally had its dedicated periodicals in Taiwan. Therefore, HFE scholars shifted their publications to these journals. The EST members published most of their essays in the international journal IJIE prior to 2002. After 2003, P&MS and Applied Ergonomics had been growing rapidly. A reason for this change is that manufacturing was the primary industry in Taiwan. As a result, most of the HFE researches concentrated on workplace evaluation and improvement, which prompted the scholars to publish their researches on IJIE as it was more associated with the topics of the journal. The primary industry has then been shifting towards the design and manufacturing of digital information and consumer products in the past 10 years, thus attracting more scholars to focus on researches related to product evaluation and design. Therefore, the essay publications were also shifted to the journals Perceptual and Motor Skills and Applied Ergonomics.



3. The result shows that Topic 8 (167 essays, 11.89%) contains the most essays including hand tools (such as knives, screwdrivers, metalworking saws and tweezers); signage diagrams and symbols (such as signage used in discount stores, hospitals, airports and other public spaces); furniture (such as desks, chairs and work chairs); footwear (such as high-heels and insoles); 3C products (such as keyboard, mouse, electronic books, PDA, iPod and iPhone); consumer products (such as spatula, toothbrush, chopsticks and coins); spaces or work stations (such as kitchen and toilet);

and the evaluation, comparison and design of lumbar and back support products. The second ranked by the quantity of essays is Topic 5 (155 essays, 11.04%), which includes display specifications of products, input methods of products, arrangement of the displayed contents and the evaluation of the usage context. Topic 12 (141 essays, 10.04%) ranked third with researches on the survey of hazardous factors at workplaces; analysis on the prevalence of musculoskeletal disorders; and studies on collapses, slips and falls. Other categories of topics are listed in order as Topic 10 (125 essays, 8.9%), Topic 6 (120 essays, 8.55%) and Topic 4 (115 essays, 8.19%).



growths, in which publications in Topic 5 have the most significant growth with an increase of 65 essays between the 1st and 5th period; followed by Topic 12 with an increase of 59 essays compared to the 1st period and then Topic 10 with an increase of 55 essays.

With further analysis on the research contents of essays in Topic 5, it is discovered that the subject of research shifted from the VDT work stations used in the workplace to the variety of electronic information products (such as electronic books, electronic paper and mobile phones) used by the general public. The issues evaluated also altered from the operational performance of the mouse and keyboard and the identification of text to reading comprehension, posture preferences and subjective likings. However, most of the studies are centered on the influences of information presentation (such as the size, color, brightness and background contrast of the text or

digital symbols). The researches in Topic 12 always concentrated on both the workplace and fundamental study regardless of the period. On one hand, the effects of various HFE hazardous factors (such as friction at the soles of shoes, falls and shock) were investigated in the laboratories, which led to the creation of theoretical models and checklists; on the other hand, the hazardous elements at a variety of workplaces (such as metal work factories, catering and hotel industries) were evaluated with HFE methodologies for improvement. The subjects of research in Topic 10 focused on medical personnel in the early periods, but this has been replaced by high tech industries such as semiconductors or TFT-LCD manufacturers and control rooms of nuclear power plants in recent years. The research contents for the semiconductors or TFT-LCD manufacturers included musculoskeletal disorders of clean room operators, the evaluation on the wafer transportation operations, the evaluation of clean room shoes (clothes), effects of roster operations and causes of work stress. The studies for the nuclear power plants mostly focused on the human-machine interface, emergency system, emergency operational procedure and personnel reliability in the control room.

The essays in Topic 1 and Topic 7 show negative trends. From this study it is found that there were more researches conducted to create theoretical fundamentals related to HFE (such as the theory of signal detection, decision making process, threshold values, personnel performance and reliability) during the 2nd period and more scholars applied mathematical models such as Fuzzy, Neural Network and Genetic Algorithm to elevate the performance of the automatic identification systems. However, the subject of research later shifted to HCI and occupational safety and health, resulting in the decline of essays in this category. The essays published in Topic 8, Topic 3, Topic 4 and Topic 2 showed variable trends, in which Topic 8 and Topic 3 demonstrated an increasing trend during the 3rd and 4th periods then declined slightly in the 5th period; whereas Topic 4 and Topic 2 showed opposite trends with reductions during the early periods followed by an increase during the 5th period.

Conclusions

By analyzing the periodical publications of researches conducted by permanent members of the EST in this study, it is discovered that the top six periodicals by the quantity of essays published are JCIIE, JOSH, IJIE, JES, P&MS and Applied Ergonomics. For the past 20 years, HFE thesis in Taiwan has been growing at a rate of 100 essays for every five-year interval on average. The topics have shifted from the fundamental studies on the HFE evaluation methods in the early periods to occupational safety and health in the later periods with more studies on the HCI in

recent years. To correspond with the trends in future generations, this study suggests that HFE in Taiwan may emphasize on issues related to HFE engineering, organizational HFE engineering and healthcare in the hope of a brighter future of HFE both in Taiwan and the world.

Acknowledgement

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Seeking Common Ground In Comics

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Abstract

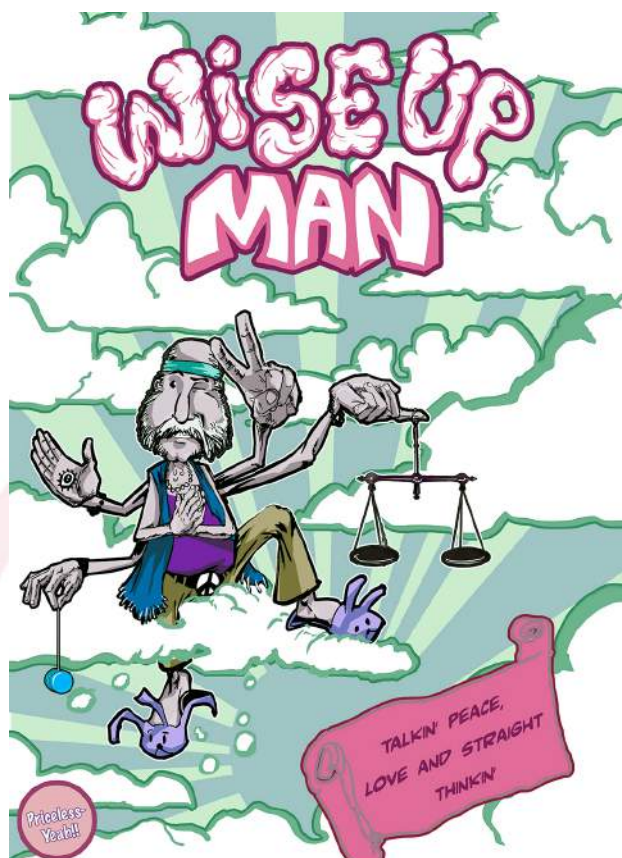
Wise Up, Man! –talkin’ peace, love and straight thinkin’ is a pilot for a comic book application for touch screen tablets. A post-doctoral research project, the application will present wisdom stories from across the world’s great spiritual traditions in a non-discriminatory, inclusive and light-hearted fashion. Aimed at 10 -12 year old children, comics and activity pages address themes of self-worth, compassion, forgiveness, and tolerance.

The project is based on the proposal that education lies at the heart of working towards global peace, tolerance and mutual respect. It asserts that a common ground can be found across religion, culture and ideology via a secular approach of curiosity and inclusion. In focusing on the ethical values informing the world’s spiritual traditions, valuable life lessons might be revitalized for contemporary children. The universal language of comics and the appeal to children of interactivity and a multimodal approach is discussed, as well as the challenge of adapting traditional stories for a diverse contemporary audience.

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Wise Up, Man! –talkin’ peace, love and straight thinkin’
Cover design, Darren Fisher.

The Context

There is a familiar story as told by the great Sufi provocateur, Mullah Nasrudin, set ten centuries ago, in which the Pope decided that all Muslims were required to leave Jerusalem. Of course this didn’t go down well with the Muslim community and so the Pope offered a debate to resolve the matter: if the Muslim representative won, their community could stay, if they lost, they had to leave. An old Mullah agreed to represent the Muslims on the condition that the debate be conducted in mime, no words. And so it happened that the day came, and sitting opposite each other, the Pope raised his 3 fingers. The Mullah responded by showing his middle finger. The pope waved his fingers in a circle above his head; the mullah responded by pointing to the ground and stamping his foot. The Pope brought out a wafer and a glass of wine; his opponent, an apple. At this, the Pope stood up and exclaimed, ‘This man is too good! The Muslims can stay.’

The Cardinals gathered round the Pope, asking what had happened. ‘First I held up 3 fingers for the holy trinity, and the Mullah responded with one finger for the one god common to both our religions. I then circled my head as god is all round us; he pointed and stamped on the ground explaining that god is also right here with us. To the wine and wafer in absolution of our sins, the Mullah presented the apple as reminder of the very first sin... He had an answer for everything!’

Meanwhile, the Mullah explained to his community: ‘First he said that we had 3 days to leave Jerusalem; I told him ‘Get stuffed’. Then he said the whole city would be cleared of Muslims; I said not one of us are leaving this land.’ ‘And then?’ asked a woman. ‘Well, he brought out his lunch and I took out mine.’

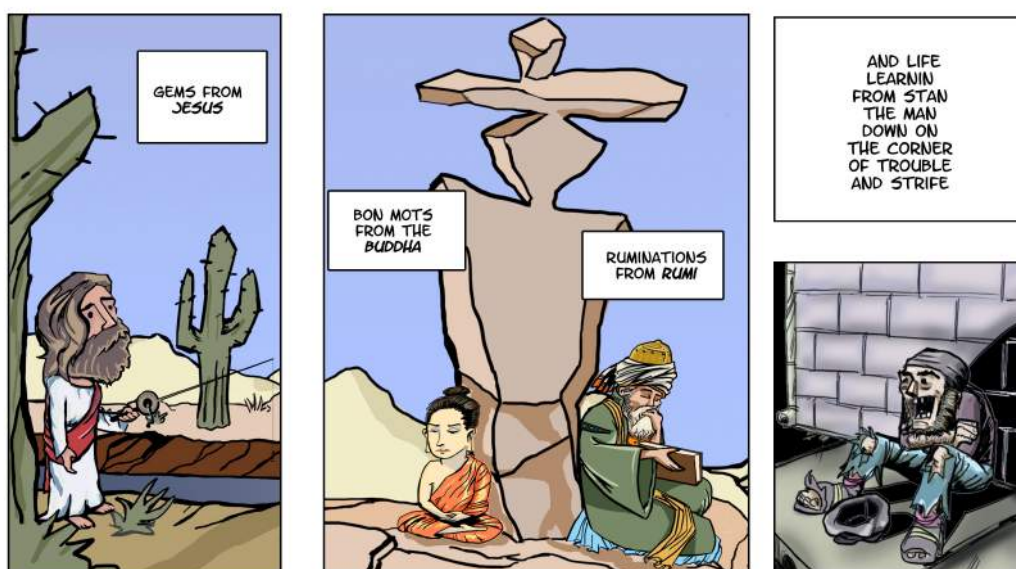
-sourced from <http://www.spiritual-short-stories.com/>

This story articulates the great problem of cross-cultural dialogue in seeking to resolve conflict and the importance of humour in raising such issues in an accessible and disarming way. Admittedly this story is at the expense of the Catholics, however differences are somewhat alleviated, or at least grounded in the shared human requirement for lunch!

In *Comparative Religious Ethics: A Narrative Approach to Global Ethics*, Darrell J. Fasching, Dell deChant and David M. Lantigua (2011) employ the terms ‘sacred’ and ‘holy’ to define what they describe as two opposing tendencies in ‘human religiousness’. The ‘sacred’ they suggest ‘generates a morality expressed in narratives of mistrust and hostility towards the stranger’. On the other hand, the ‘holy generates an ethic which calls into question every sacred morality in order to transform it in the name of justice and compassion’. Such holy narratives of ‘hospitality to the stranger’ should ‘affirm the dignity of precisely those who do not share “my identity” and “my story”’ pp 34, 35. The research project is undertaken in this spirit of inclusivity.

The Project

Wise Up, Man! –talkin’ peace, love and straight thinkin’ is a pilot for a comic book application for touch screen tablets. Addressing a perceived need for rich learning resources in ethics content for the educational curriculum across Australian primary schools, the application will present wisdom stories from across the world’s great spiritual traditions in a non-discriminatory, inclusive and light-hearted fashion. Aimed at 10 -12 year old children, stories from across the world’s great spiritual traditions - Sufism, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism etc- will be re-presented to address themes of self-worth, compassion, forgiveness, and tolerance.



Wise Up, Man! –talkin’ peace, love and straight thinkin’

Introductory page excerpt, Darren Fisher.

‘I believe that at every level of society, the key to a happier and more successful world is the growth of compassion. We do not need to become religious, nor do we need to believe in an ideology. All that is necessary is for each of us to develop our good human qualities.’ - The Dalai Lama (Patron of The Foundation for Developing Compassion and Wisdom).

Wise up, Man! will focus on the ethical foundations underpinning the world’s diverse religious and spiritual traditions via wisdom stories in comic book format. Such stories provide practical advice on living well and in harmony with others and our environments. The project aims to provide meaningful learning material for those parents and children looking for a broader approach to values-based learning than that currently provided by religious instruction which preferences specific faiths and ideologies. This approach would appear to better reflect and service the needs of contemporary Australian children across diverse religious and cultural backgrounds in recasting perennial stories within a sectarian frame. This project aims to provide meaningful non-denominational material both as an alternative to Religious Instruction classes and within established RI programs.



Wise Up, Man! –talkin’ peace, love and straight thinkin’
Introductory page excerpt, Darren Fisher.

The project is based on the proposal that education lies at the heart of working towards global peace, tolerance and mutual respect. Surely children represent the greatest possibility in moving beyond the differences that divide towards the differences that inform and enrich. This project proposes that a common ground might be found across religion, culture and ideology via a secular approach of curiosity and

inclusion. In focusing on the ethical values informing the world's spiritual traditions, valuable life lessons might be revitalized for contemporary children.

The Challenge of Adaptation: how might these traditional stories and parables be recast to appeal to 21st century children?



Wise Up, Man! –talkin’ peace, love and straight thinkin’
 Story page excerpt, Anthony Cheung.

The Proposed Schema

1. Take God out of the frame.

In taking notions of ‘God’ out of the frame, in focusing on stories which address ethical concerns –pragmatic advice on how best to live with yourself, with others and on/with the planet– it is hoped that these stories will not discriminate in speaking to all faith and secular groups alike. No effort is made to substantiate nor deny metaphysical entities, rather when godheads do play a role in such stories, the effort will be in highlighting them as cultural iterations and narrative agents.

2. Maintaining the heart.

In seeking to repurpose these stories for children of today, it is important to identify the key message, and to take care not to compromise its strength and integrity in adapting its metaphors. In short, when altering the appearance of a story –characters, setting– the heart of the story must remain intact.

3. Contemporary Vernaculars



Wise Up, Man! –talkin' peace, love and straight thinkin'
 Story page excerpt, Anthony Cheung.

Writers will be engaged to adapt the stories to contemporary vernaculars, to recast characters, to provide new settings; the central conflict or issue might be reworked in the light of contemporary concerns such as identity, globalisation and environmental sustainability. The lessons, the message –ie the methods presented for meeting and negotiating the challenges of an era, are maintained as perennial. Opportunities will be sought to accommodate a variety of points of view across the selection of stories. The narrating voice –1st or 3rd person– might be of a different gender, age, or of an altogether different culture from the original story. When the features of the original story are deemed to resonate with today's children, those features will be maintained. In all cases, the story's provenance will be acknowledged in an effort to honour its origins and to develop an historical literacy and appreciation in children.

4. Age appropriateness

Cosmic stories, creation myths and stories that deal with issues of faith are not the focus of this project. The stories that will be chosen are those that are deemed to assist children in dealing with problems of the here and now. The rationale is that issues

facing 10 -12 year old children usually pertain to identity and socialisation; the higher pursuits of a spiritual quest might indeed be prompted by these stories but the key consideration here is to uncover the life-lessons so often veiled for contemporary children by dogma and religious exclusivism.

The presentation of such faith stories within the context of a comparative overview might make for a worthy themed edition within the proposed ongoing series.

5. Humour

–employed as salve, as agent of reconciliation, to leaven, to make accessible, as inclusive.



Wise Up, Man! –talkin’ peace, love and straight thinkin’
‘Carlos’ character design, Darren Fisher.

6. Media

An overarching consideration in bringing these stories to children, in speaking their language, is choice of media. The comic has been chosen for its accessibility and its richness as multimodal expression. The incorporation of interactive activity pages is designed to leverage children’s affinity with current digital technology.

The Media

Comics

Comics have benefited from a recent re-appraisal as worthy medium of expression counter to their low-brow reputation in the public imagination. Much of this analysis has focussed on the comic’s ability to engage an audience in unique and meaningful ways. In *Understanding Comics* (1993), Scott McCloud celebrates the universality of the comic as facilitated by accessible imagery, while the operations of the comic gutter and a ‘less is more’ aesthetic can be seen to generate an actively imaginative engagement in the reader.

Two titans of sequential art, Osama Tezuka and Robert Crumb, have both taken religion as subject matter amongst their respective bodies of work; Tezuka in the well-received 8 volume account of the life of Gautama Siddhartha in *Buddha* (1972 - 83); and more recently in 2009, Crumb published all 50 chapters of *The Book of Genesis Illustrated*.

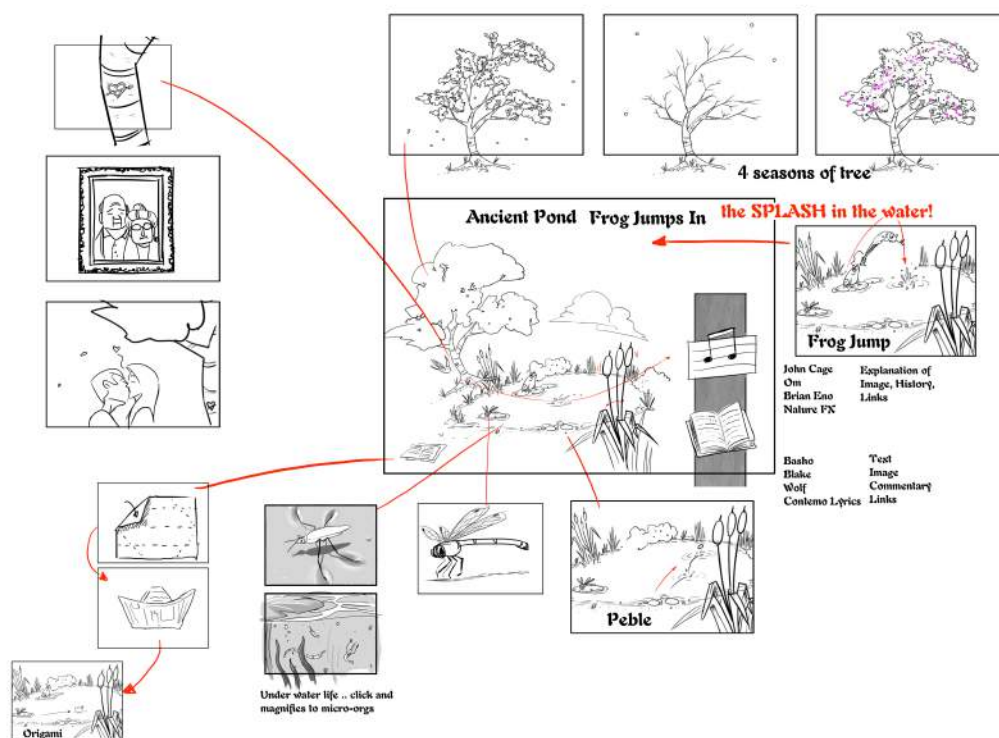
For the record, Tezuka’s comic took liberties from historical veracity with additional characters and storylines in an effort to entertain and reach the broadest audience. He called this ‘religious science fiction’. Crumb appears to have adhered to a more faithful rendering of the original, the fearsomeness of the 1st testament God fitting very well with his surreal style, fear and anxiety never too far from the surface.

Multimodality

The multimodality of the comic is cited as another of its strengths as resources for literacy and as means of expression. ‘Images of people, objects, animals, and settings, word-balloons, lettering, sound-effects and gutters all come together to form page layouts that work to create meaning in distinctive ways and in multiple realms of meaning-making’ (Jacobs 2007). Communicating via multiple modes arguably captures a wider audience of readers of various abilities across a spectrum of preferred modalities.

Interactivity

Wise Up Man will include activity pages separate to and between the featured stories for each edition. Such pages will contribute to the multimodality of the project by way of audio options, hotspots to informational tabs, and interactive puzzles and activities. Moreover, interactivity leverages children’s affinity with and desire for a participatory engagement and approach to learning.



Wise Up, Man! –talkin’ peace, love and straight thinkin’

'mud map' for interactive page, Anthony Cheung.

Conclusion

This paper reports on early stages of thinking and development in the realisation of the pilot edition of *Wise Up, Man! –talkin' peace, love and straight thinkin'*. The author invites feedback on the approach outlined above in an effort to realise the objectives of a rich resource for ethics education in children towards greater universal understanding, tolerance and well-being.

Acknowledgements

Artists

Darren Fisher

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Story Adaptation

Marianna Shek

Sources

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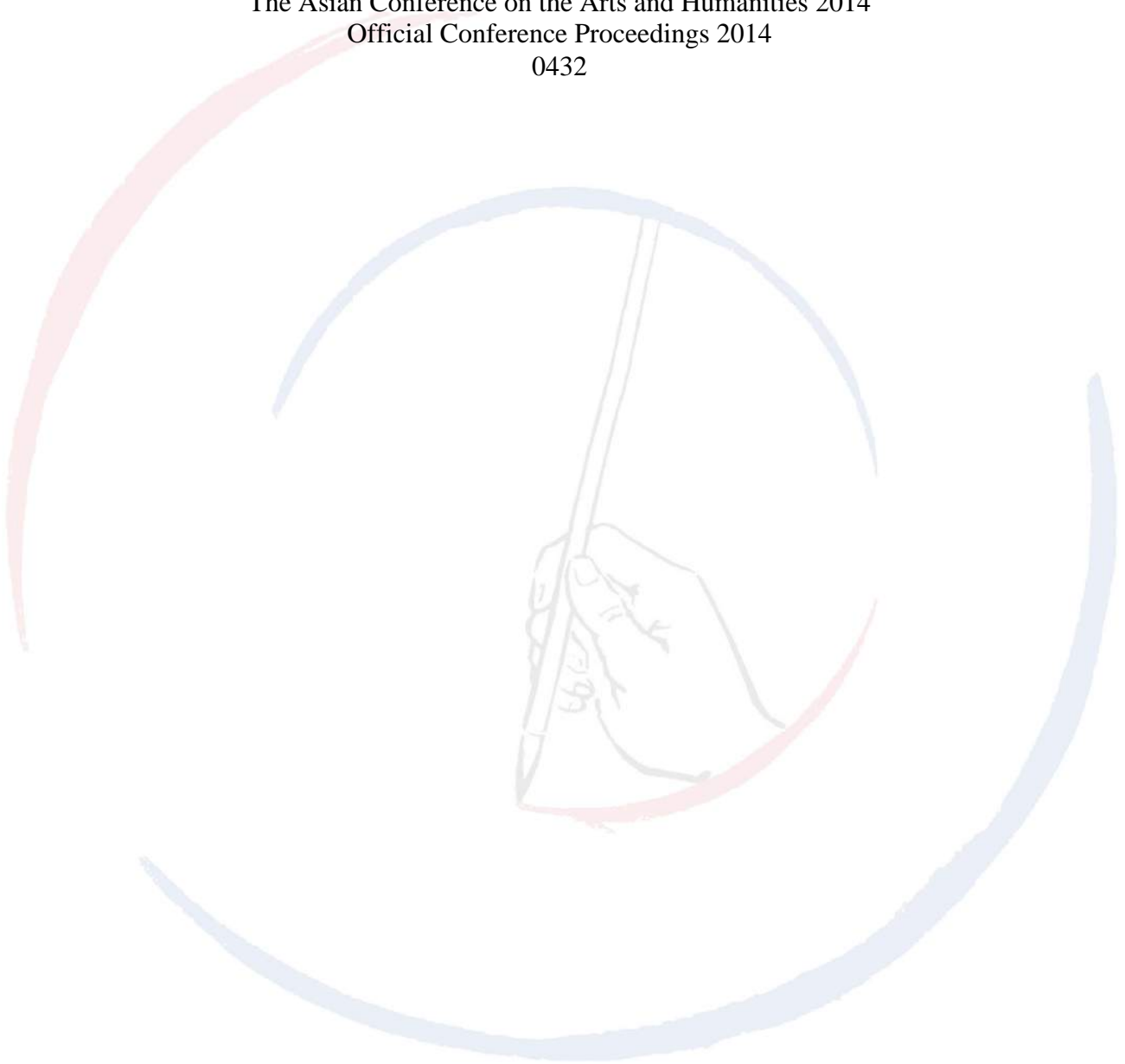
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Communicating trustworthiness. Experts and role models in women's magazines.

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Introduction

In this paper, the notions of trust and trustworthiness will be applied to the communication of women's magazines with their readers. Women's magazines often advertise themselves as 'friends' or 'sisters' to their readers. However, no matter how much magazines try to create an atmosphere of friendly communication, friendship with a magazine is a highly artificial construction. I will take the position that there is a hierarchical relationship between the magazine and its reader. There is no reciprocity: it is important for the magazine to be trusted by its readers, but trust in the readers is not at stake. Also, being perceived as trustworthy is important for the magazine, not for the readers.

Trust and trustworthiness appear to be two sides of a coin: if readers trust the magazines they buy, the magazine itself has to take up a trustworthy position and has to leave no stone unturned to maintain it. Therefore, my basic assumption is that women's magazines communicate trustworthiness to their readers. These readers turn to women's magazines with the intention of belonging to a more or less delineated group and of defining their (feminine) identity. By doing so, they express a certain trust in these magazines. The editorial voice which has the word in the magazines therefore has to corroborate its trustworthiness and communicate in a trustworthy way. We will see that this is a kind of persuasive communication. I will start from the ethos notion in ancient rhetoric to explain the communication of trustworthiness and I will apply more contemporary approaches of (critical) discourse analysis to show how women's magazines communicate trustworthiness exactly.

Corpus

I have analysed 12 issues of the Flemish weekly magazine *Flair* from June 2009 to May 2010, one of each month¹. The magazine is aimed at young women. The age of its readers is somewhere between 18 and 34 years, and the target group is that of working women without children or with young children. When the magazine was launched in 1980, it described itself as a 'friend with whom you can share all your doubts and worries and who is willing to give you non-patronizing advice on all levels of femininity' (Van den Bossche, 1995 [translation mine]). In 2009, the magazine had a weekly circulation of 164 729 copies and it reached 719 900 readers². In 2009-2010, all members of the editorial staff except one were women.

In every issue of *Flair*, about half of the pages is taken up by testimonies or stories by readers, experts or witnesses. In the other half, it is the editorial voice of the text producers which addresses the reader. Table 1 shows the distribution of voices for the average issue. I have focused on the editorial voice in the magazine (more in particular in the beauty section [*beauty*, *mooi!* and *mooiMIX*], the section '7 x touched by the news' [*7 x geraakt door het nieuws*], which gives an overview of the most newsworthy facts of the previous week, the *Funlist*, which announces new CD's, television programmes, cultural events etc. and the 'Love & Lust' section [*liefde &*

¹ Issues of 2009: June 30, July 28, August 11, September 15, October 27, November 10, December 1; issues of 2010: January 5, February 23, March 23, April 6, May 11.

² <http://www.theppress.be/febelmag/nl/> [N⁷²⁷. 21, 2011]

lust], which deals with personal life and relationships) and I have carried out a qualitative, linguistic discourse analysis.

	100
Cover	1
Advertisements	15
Table of contents, <i>next week</i> , colophon	3
Editorial and columns	4
Horoscope, comic strip, fictitious stories	4
Readers' and other voices (interviews, quotes, full quote stories told by readers, experts, witnesses)	37
Editorial voice	36

Table 1 The distribution of voices in *Flair*: average number of pages per issue

The communication of women's magazines

Women's magazines are a very distinct subset of general-interest magazines. This implies that the language used is also very different from that of mainstream news magazines. McQuail (2010) has shown that objectivity and independence have to be interpreted as scalar values in mass media communication. In women's magazines, the journalistic values of objectivity and independence are not the main values. McLoughlin (2000) points out that in most of the cases, the underlying purpose of women's magazines is to advertise goods or commodities to the reader. She contends that even the articles which on the surface do not appear to be selling anything (e.g. articles on the personal lives of celebrities or interviews) still keep us informed about the latest films, concert tours, CDs and so on which are available for purchase. This implies that the communication of women's magazines is persuasive in nature.

Since Aristotle, we know that the trustworthiness of the communicator is an important factor in the persuasive power of a message. *Ethos* is one of the three Aristotelian categories (next to *logos* and *pathos*) which are studied as modes of persuasion. McCroskey (2001:83) defines *ethos* as 'the attitude toward a source of communication held at a given time by a receiver'. This means *ethos* has to do with the perception the receiver has of the communicator. It is not an attribute of the communicator, and it may vary depending on who is the receiver.

McCroskey (2001:85-86) further explains the three dimensions of *ethos*. The first is *competence*: if the communicator is being perceived as competent in the field s/he is communicating about, this enhances *ethos*. Second, it is also important that the receiver of the message considers the communicator to be *trustworthy*. Trustworthiness is related to competence, as well as to the third dimension of *intention toward the receiver*: the receiver has to be confident that the *intentions* of the communicator are good, that there is a certain care for the wellbeing of the receiver. McCroskey (2001:98) contends that the impact of this kind of message is higher if the speaker has the status of an *expert* or of a *referent/role model*.

Voices in women's magazines

In the previous section, I have already hinted at the possibly persuasive nature of communication in women's magazines. Ferguson (1983:1) defines women's magazines as 'journals (that) help to shape both a woman's view of herself, and society's view of her'. Talbot (1995: 143-165) discerns two persuasive voices in these magazines. The first one is the expert with special knowledge. The expert position makes it possible to try to influence the readers and to convince them of the proper way to behave (how to behave in relationships, how to raise children, how to use make-up, etc.)

On the other hand, Talbot has also developed the notion of *synthetic sisterhood*, indicating a simulated friendship between editor and reader, in which both parties would be on a more equal footing. This notion is based on Fairclough's (1989) notion of synthetic personalization, referring to a way of communicating in which a whole group of people is given the impression of being addressed individually. This is a characteristic of marketing and advertising language but also of some types of political and mass communication. In this kind of communication, there is a construction of an implied reader who is treated as an individual.

In the case of women's magazines, women are addressed as a single community. The representation that is given is that the individual woman is a member of her own society, the world of women, and the text producers of the magazines try to establish a sisterly relationship within this community. Ferguson (1983) uses the term *surrogate sisterhood* for this relationship. According to McLoughlin (2000:73), 'the relationship between the text producer and the reader [is] one of informality and friendship. In minimising the social distance between them, the text producer is in a powerful position to mould a like-minded reader'.

Of course, women readers do not *absorb* every message they read in a magazine. Holmes & Nice (2012) state that the influence of women's magazines was overrated by researchers in the seventies. But still, according to Gauntlett (2002:205), these magazines offer a 'confusing and contradictory set of ideas'. Their readers do not take everything they read seriously, but the influence the magazines have, should not be underestimated either.

It is not my intention to make any claims on how successful women's magazines are in communicating trustworthiness, nor on how the text producers deliberately plan to create a trustworthy image. For those purposes, reception study and ethnographic research would be necessary. Holmes (2007) emphasizes the importance of these last approaches, but he does not deny the relevance of a text-based approach. Rather than on the content, I will focus on the tone of the communication, which is a factor which is often overlooked.

Instructive tone

The instructive tone of women's magazines has been commented on by a number of authors. As Caldas-Coulthard (1996:255) formulates it: 'Constructed thus on the ideology of consumerism and on formulas of advice and hope, the private world is directly accessed [...] through procedural discourses ('you should do this or that').'

Tanaka (1998:127) points out that even in a society like the Japanese, where politeness and avoidance of confrontation are very important in conversation, women's magazines take up a very prescriptive, patronizing and even condescending tone: 'to judge from the language used by the magazines, they treat their readers as pupils who aspire to achieve standards defined by the editors.' She states that text producers attempt to maintain the *loyalty* of their target audience, which is a concept which could be put on a par with *trust* and *confidence*. Furthermore, she says that readers are rather insecure, so they 'crave authority figures to instruct them as to how they should cope with this unsettling new world of choice' (Tanaka, 1998:128).

On the other hand, in some cases the editorial voice seems to be perceived as a referent, i.e. a person to please and a model to imitate, rather than as an expert. This position corresponds with the synthetic sister role we have defined earlier and with the trustworthiness and the goodwill dimensions of ethos.

Coates (1996) has studied communication between female friends and she has found that in everyday conversation, women try to avoid talking like an expert to each other. They use questions to make their communication less directive and they repeat each other's words a lot. This last aspect is of course not possible in written communication, but questions appear very frequently in women's magazines. According to Coates (1996:202), '[Questions] are one of the ways by which we can avoid talking like an expert. It is important to maintain an ethic of reciprocity in friendship and therefore in friendly talk.'

As illustrated in ex. 1, *Flair* sometimes tries to establish a two-way conversation with the reader:

- (1) Heb jij een vraag, een probleem? Mail ons op helpdesk@flair.be. [all issues]
[Do you have a question, a problem? Mail us at helpdesk@flair.be.]

But as the example shows, the questions we find, are very often followed by an imperative. The text producers offer a solution for every problem they have introduced as a question. Ex. 2 shows that the problem-solution or question-imperative sequence also appears on the covers of *Flair*:

- (2) Wallen? Eet minder kaas. (Feb., p. 1)
[Pouches? Eat less cheese.]

This does not resemble the reciprocal conversation Coates describes. The question-answer sequences rather seem to imitate the way women with some authority advise their younger *sisters*, when it comes to women matters,.

So even when the editorial voice seems to enter a dialogue with the reader, the style remains authoritative, which does not seem compatible with the notion of *synthetic sisterhood* we introduced earlier. Still, examples of sisterly, *conspirational* communication occur every now and then, as in ex. 3

- (3) Daar gaan we weer... cadeautjes zoeken voor mensen zonder
interesses of die alles al hebben. (Dec., p. 79)

[There we go again... looking for presents for people without interests or who have already got everything.]

The inclusive *we* in this example suggests that text producer and reader belong to the same group of people chasing for presents. But the text continues with:

- (4) *No worries, wij deden het harde werk al voor jou!* (Dec., p. 79)
[No worries, we already did the hard work for you!]

where the exclusive *we* takes up the expert role again.

It is clear that the first person plural pronoun plays a crucial role in the definition of the relationships between the editorial voice and the reader. I have categorized the different uses of the pronoun (both personal and possessive) which occur in my corpus. In the next section, I will present a systematic description and discussion of the different linguistic characteristics of the instructive tone.

1. Presentation and discussion of extracts from the corpus

1.1 Imperatives

Stoll (1998) points out that there are as many directives in women's magazines as there are assertions in newspapers and news magazines. Ostermann & Keller-Cohen (1998:544) describe how imperatives and mitigated forms (e.g. 'try to figure out', 'you can make physical contact') are used in teenage girls' magazines to offer a solution for a given problem: 'the Solution is given in the form of projected action; it is the behavior the reader should adopt from then on'.

Also in my corpus, there is a high frequency of imperatives and exclamation marks. They already occur on the cover (see example 3) and in the titles of many articles, as in ex. 5

- (5) *Test je lijf. DNA-, alcohol-, diabetestesten... doe je gewoon thuis!* (Aug., p. 30 - title)

[Test your body. DNA, alcohol, diabetes tests... you can simply do them at home!]

In Dutch, imperatives seem to be the unmarked form in cooking recipes and make-up instructions, which have recognizable formats. If they choose to read the texts, the readers may be supposed to have the desire to obtain the suggested results, as exs. 6 and 7 show:

- (6) *Kook de aardappelen en pureer ze.* (May, p. 77)

[Boil the potatoes and mash them.]

- (7) [in order to obtain smokey eyes] *Gebruik een kohlpotlood in je binnenste ooglid en op je*

wimperrand. (Nov., p. 25)

[Use kohl on your inner eyelid and on your lashes.]

Ex. 8 is also from the beauty section, but we can see that this instruction goes one step further. The advice is more coercive here, as the phrases are part of a more informative text. The same holds for the fashion advice in ex. 9.

- (8) *Leg je handcrème op een strategische plaats, zodat je niet vergeet te smeren.*

(Jan., p. 25)

[Put your hand cream in a strategic place, so that you don't forget to apply it.]

- (9) [about wearing a jegging] Draag hem in een casual look met een lang T-shirt (...)

(Feb., p. 14)

[Wear it in a casual look with a long T-shirt (...)]

But also in articles on personal life and relationships, imperatives frequently occur, as exs. 10 and 11 illustrate:

- (10) Wees jezelf en relax. (Sept., p. 64)

[Be yourself and relax.]

- (11) Staar je niet blind op zijn kleine foutjes. (Aug., p. 50)

[Don't concentrate on his minor flaws.]

In Dutch, infinitives can be used with an imperative meaning as well, as in ex. 12. I have found no differences in the pragmatic meaning between these forms and the 'real' imperative.

- (12) Aantrekken en wegwezen, de jumpsuit trotseert ook de barre temperaturen in stijl. (June, p. 22)

[Wear and go, the jumpsuit also defies bitter temperatures in style.]

Portner (2007:381) describes the pragmatic meaning of imperatives as the expression of a *To-Do List* for the hearer, by which the speaker tries 'to impose a commitment on someone else'. The exact meaning may vary from order over invitation to suggestion/advice. The directives in women's magazines cannot be interpreted as orders, but rather as invitations, suggestions or pieces of advice. According to Portner (2007:360), invitations start from the presupposition that it would make the hearer happy to carry out a certain action, that there is a certain *desire* and the act of suggesting/advising starts from the presupposition that the hearer wants to reach a *goal*.

1.2 Pseudo-dialogue

Crismore (2004:312) recognizes the interpersonal function of language (based on Halliday's (1985) systemic-functional grammar) in fundraising letters in instances where the writer seeks to engage the reader as a human agent and an interlocutor, by addressing the reader directly.

By listing the phrases containing the Dutch second person pronouns *jij/je* (singular) and *jullie* (plural), I have collected many examples of the way *Flair* tries to set up a dialogue with its readers. These pronouns are informal forms, used between people who know each other. The formal form *u* never occurs in *Flair*. Example 1 already illustrated how the magazine tries to set up a two-way conversation with its readers. Ex. 13 shows that the magazine sometimes organizes surveys with its readers, so that there is a real interaction:

- (13) [...] een kleine enquête leerde ons dat jullie er deze keer écht werk van willen maken. [...] 20% van jullie wil afvallen. (Jan., p. 56)

[[on new year's resolutions] a little survey has taught us that this time, you really intend to take action. [...] 20% of you want to lose weight.]

In some cases, the direct address of the reader with 'you' is just an alternative for the imperative form, as in ex. 14

- (14) Deze T-shirts draag je overdag met een skinny jeans [...] en ballerina's. (Aug., p. 16)

[You wear these T-shirts during the daytime with skinny jeans and ballerina's.]

Stoll (1998:547) states that a text producer sometimes responds to the intended reader's potential and implicit comments or questions. Although the communication happens through a mass medium, the text producer still tries to set up intimate relation with the reader. In this 'implicit dialogism', readers' answers are implied in rhetorical questions and answers are given to readers' implicit questions ('the backward reach of responses' e.g. 'Yes, it is possible to stop being a slave to nicotine!'). This involves a conversational and persuasive text type. An example of this dialogism from *Flair* is ex. 15:

- (15) Ongetwijfeld hunker ook jij naar die eerste lentekriebels. (Feb., p. 81)
[No doubt you are also longing for the first spring vibes.]

1.3 The personal pronoun *we*

6.3.1 Exclusive *we*

As a last characteristic of the instructive tone, I have singled out all phrases containing the pronouns *wij*, *we*, *ons*, *onze* (we, us, our). I will discuss the different uses, starting from a first distinction between exclusive and inclusive *we*.

The most straightforward use of exclusive *we* is where it refers to the text producer and another person, like a photographer, as in ex. 16, where the writer reports about her visit to an erotic *sinner's* party:

- (16) *We* delen de hotellift met een *sinner's*-koppel. (Dec., p. 56)
[We share the hotel elevator with a sinners couple.]

This is an unmarked use of the pronoun. In other cases, *we* stands for the editorial staff of the magazine and it is opposed to *you*, the reader(s), as in ex. 17:

- (17) [about wearing short skirts] *We* dagen *je* uit, het is nu of nooit! (Sept., p. 19)
[We dare you, it's now or never!]

We representing the editorial voice may also act as an intermediary for the reader(s), as in ex. 18:

- (18) *Wij* vroegen een vrouw aan de top hoe zij erin geslaagd is haar carrière uit te bouwen.
(July, p. 60)

[We asked a woman at the top how she succeeded in building up her career.]

Here, *we* speaks from the perspective of the editorial staff again. If this perspective is combined with an evaluative phrase, expressing a certain judgment, *we* gets the extra dimension of an expert connotation, as in ex. 19:

- (19) [green nail polish] *Wij* kozen de vier mooiste tinten voor jou. (Mar., p. 18)
[We have chosen the four nicest shades for you.]

Just like in ex. 17, *we* is in opposition with *you* here. Clearly, the reader lacks the expert knowledge to know which shades of green nail polish are the best. Very often this expert stance is taken without any argumentation, but once in a while, some support is given for the evaluations that are being made, as ex. 20 illustrates:

- (20) Daarom vinden wij Triumph zo'n leuk merk: ze hebben fijne lingerie'setjes in vrolijke kleurtjes die ook nog eens een perfecte pasvorm hebben en een goede steun bieden. (Sept., p. 20)

[This is why we think Triumph is such a great brand: they have fine merry-coloured lingerie sets which moreover have a perfect fit and which offer good support.]

We can say that the use of exclusive *we* creates a distance between the editorial voice and the reader and puts the editorial voice on a higher level. The text producer goes to places where the reader cannot go or does not dare to go. The editorial voice acts as an intermediary: it interviews stars and high placed people the reader would never meet in real life. It advises how to apply make-up, which clothes to wear etc., thereby demonstrating an expert knowledge the reader is not supposed to have. Very often, this advice is to be taken for granted. The argumentation that is being offered to support the advice, is scarce.

The rhetorical function of the use of the first person pronoun in its exclusive form can be related to the *enhancement of persuasion*. Exs. 19 and 20 present the proposition as a general truth, so that the reader is overwhelmed and does not even have ‘a chance to test, accept, or reject [the] opinions’, as Spiegelberg (1973:131) contends.

6.3.2 Inclusive *we*

When *we* is used in its inclusive meaning, the readers are included in the referential scope of the pronoun. A first kind of inclusive use refers to the group of text producers and readers, as illustrated in ex. 21:

(21) *We* willen het allemaal vermijden: foundation die als een masker op je gezicht hangt [...] (Sep., p. 26)

[We all want to avoid it: foundation which is like a mask on your face.]

In an instance like ex. 22, text producers and readers are represented as both being addressed by Rimmel:

(22) Véeél volume, dat belooft de nieuwe Rimmelmascara *ons*. (Jan., p. 18)

[Lots of volume, that’s what the new Rimmel mascara promises *us*.]

Interestingly, this use can lead to what Bull & Fetzer (2006) have called an equivocal use of the pronoun. The pronominal shift which can possibly occur here, is not from *I* to *we* as in Bull & Fetzer’s examples, but from inclusive to exclusive *we*. This is shown by the continuation of the article (ex. 23), where it is said that *we* sign for this mascara:

(23) Snel aan te brengen, maxi-effect, daar tekenen *we* voor! (Jan., p. 18)

[Easy to apply, maximum effect, that’s what *we* sign for!]

The Dutch expression ‘*we* tekenen ervoor’ could be translated as ‘we won’t say no to it’, but the connotation of the expression is one of guarantee. So there might be a shift to the exclusive use of *we* here, where it is the editorial voice who recommends and guarantees the quality of this particular kind of mascara. The editor’s stance seems to change from that of sister to that of referent, which we have defined as a person to please or a model to imitate. The text producer encourages the reader to follow her example.

A third kind of inclusive *we* is where it has the sense of *we women*, indicating that both the editors and the readers belong to the larger community of all women (cf. exs. 24-25). In this sense, *we* is often opposed to *they*, referring to men.

(24) Uit onderzoek blijkt dat *wij* vrouwen betere chauffeurs zijn. (Dec., p. 34)

[Research shows that *we* women are better drivers.]

(25) *Wij* vrouwen zijn het zorgende type. (July, p. 55)

[We women are the caring type.]

In these instances, the set of text producers and readers is represented as a subset of the set of all women. Its main purpose seems to be to create a feeling of sisterhood, but again statements made from this perspective might be persuasive. However, the competence that is being communicated in these instances is not that of the editorial voice, but that of an external competent source (e.g. ‘research shows...’)

A last type of inclusive *we* is where *we* refers to other groups the text producers and the readers are members of, like all EU citizens (ex. 26) or even mankind as a whole (ex. 27).

(26) Onze allereerste president van de EU, Herman Van Rompuy [...] (Dec., p. 63)
[Our very first president of the EU, Herman Van Rompuy (...)]

(27) Wetenschappers hebben ontdekt dat we de letters uit onze eigen naam mooier vinden dan andere letters. (Feb., p. 56)
[Scientists have found out that we like the letters of our own names better than other letters.]

This use approaches a generic use, and there is no persuasive aspect to it. Figure 5 illustrates the different meanings of ‘we’.

Conclusions

I have examined the way trustworthiness is communicated in the Flemish women’s magazine *Flair*. I start from the basic assumption that trust is a key factor in the relationship between the reader and her magazine: if the reader cannot trust the magazine to offer her whatever it is she is buying the magazine for, she will not continue to buy it. Therefore, it is important for the magazine to maintain a trustworthy position and to communicate trustworthiness. I consider the relationship between the magazine and the reader to be hierarchical in nature: the reader turns to the magazine with the intention of defining her feminine identity and belonging to a group and thereby in a way makes herself dependent of the magazine. This makes it possible for the editorial voice of the magazine to communicate from an asymmetrical, hierarchically higher position.

Authors like Talbot (1995) and Ostermann & Keller-Cohen (1998) have shown that the editorial voice often takes up an **expert** position. They contend that women turn to women’s magazines out of a feeling of insecurity and that the magazines communicate in a problem-solution pattern: they are the experts who offer a solution for every possible problem the reader might encounter. Apart from the expert voice, Talbot has also discerned the voice of the **synthetic sister**: magazines try to build up an intimate and friendly relationship with their readers in order to create an in-group feeling. This is a more symmetrical way of communicating, but often the magazine takes up the role of an older or more experienced friend (a role model or referent), which involves some hierarchy in the relationship as well. Both voices can be considered as forms of persuasive communication and in both, trustworthiness is crucial.

As my analysis is a linguistic discourse analysis only, I cannot make any claims on how the magazines’ editors plan to create a trustworthy image nor on how successful they are in their communication. However, a text-based approach allows the researcher to lay bare the communicative and linguistic mechanisms which are

applied for building trust. Several authors (e.g. Jansen, 1992; Crismore, 2004) have described these mechanisms for other genres like fundraising and direct mail letters. A specific use of interpersonal pronouns and of imperatives and other instructive forms seem to be characteristic of the way communication from an (authoritative) trustworthy position happens.

I have shown that the editorial voice in the expert position takes up an instructive tone. This is illustrated by the numerous **imperatives** which can be found throughout the magazine, on the cover, in the titles and in all different sections, from beauty to personal life and relationships. The imperatives are not to be interpreted as orders, but as suggestions or pieces of advice which offer an answer to certain desires the reader has or which help her to reach a presupposed goal. Apart from the imperatives, **pseudo-dialogue** is also characteristic of this tone. The reader is addressed directly with the informal form of the second person pronoun, sometimes in the form of a question-answer sequence, sometimes with a statement. This produces a conversational tone, which corresponds to the synthetic sister position, but in many instances, an authoritative element is added, again introducing some kind of advice or suggestion.

I have paid special attention to the use of the first person plural pronoun ‘we’, as it plays a crucial role in the definition of the relationships between the editorial voice and the reader. In its exclusive meaning, ‘we’ often refers to the editorial staff, which puts itself in a trustworthy expert position, acting as an intermediary for the reader and again offering advice. In its inclusive meaning, ‘we’ refers to the assembled group of editors and readers, but there I have been able to demonstrate that in some cases, an equivocal use occurs, producing a shift to the exclusive meaning and to a recommending tone again.

Concluding, we can say that in most cases, this magazine adopts an expert position for communicating trustworthiness. In some cases the magazine takes up the position of a sister or friend, but then this friend is presented as a role model or referent, so that it can communicate from a hierarchically higher position. In spite of the fact that the magazine presented itself as ‘giving non-patronizing advice’, we must conclude that the tone in which it communicates is very patronizing. This might lead to a *voluntary deference* on the part of the reader (Kramer, 1999), but this is a question which should be further examined in a reception study.

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The Study of Match Degree Evaluation between Poetry and Paint

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Abstract

This study aims to explore which exhibit titles named by the exhibits' creator and the curator from the viewer's point of view can make the audience more easily understand the desired messages conveyed by the exhibits, to further explore the cognitive differences among the curator, creators, and audience. For now, a total of 254 subjects (63 males and 191 females) were participated in the pilot study. Their mean age is 19.98 years old. 10 oil paintings about "cloud" theme which collecting from one artist were used as study samples. 5 paintings were the curator proposed a poem as the title; the other 5 paintings were named by the artist herself. The fit assessment of each painting included three questions in the questionnaire: Question 1 explored the degree of fit between poetry and paintings. Question 2 and Question 3 explored the degree of fit between poetry and "affection" and "scene" of the paintings. The results showed that the proposed titles of the curator or artist had a similar influence on the respondents. The overall fit of the paintings and their titles is mainly affected by the scene fit and affection fit. The higher the score of the scene and affection fits, the higher the overall fit. Among them there are the paired scenarios between the paintings and the titles, allowing the respondents to find whether there were common concepts or objects between the two. If the result is positive, the fit is high, and if the corresponding project cannot be found in the paintings and the titles, the fit is considered not high. The findings will help the painter use apt titles that allow the audience to better understand the meaning of the work and improve the communication effects of the work.

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Introduction

With the general public's increased demand for all kinds of exhibitions, the curator — the person-in-charge of exhibition planning — (Farquharson, 2003; O'Neill, 2007) has changed from an art researcher to a more active role that takes the initiative to enhance the meaning and value of artists and art creations or act as the coordinator between the client (government, enterprise, or arts institution), creator (artist), and audience. In the past most curators would have an artistic background, but nowadays it is common for curators to have interdisciplinary backgrounds, and the definition of curator has been expanded to include the ability to create a viewpoint that resonates with the people (Sasaki, 2012). In other words, the curator can be a creator or any other entrusted person as long as the performance can successfully convey the message that makes the audience discover and understand the creator (exhibits).

As far as the school of process on dissemination theory is concerned (Fiske, 1990), in the dissemination process from the sender (curator or creator), the message (exhibits characteristics) to the recipients (visitors), it must meet three levels: The first is the technical level, which requires letting the recipient see, hear, touch, or even feel the message; that is, how the curator tries to accurately convey a message through the exhibits. The second is the semantic level, which requires letting the recipient understand the meaning of the message without misinterpreting, misunderstanding, or even not understanding it all; that is, how to let the viewer and listener understand the original intention of the message to be expressed. The third is the effect level, which is how to make the recipient, according to the original intention of the message, take the right actions; that is, how to effectively influence the expected behavior (Lin, 1992). As far as the school of symbols of the dissemination theory is concerned (Fiske, 1990), an exhibit must reach the following three functions to express its significance through the symbol system: (1) Signification: The exhibit can express a kind of significance; that is, the curator's intentions can indeed be expressed through the exhibit. (2) Expression: The exhibit may represent the curator's thoughts and feelings; that is, through the exhibits, the curator's thoughts and feelings can be reproduced. (3) Communication: The results of signification and expression can be sent to the listener or audience only when the curator thinks like the audience and understands the mood that the exhibit wants to convey, thereby completing the communication of the curator's (creator's) concept (Jakobson, 1987; Silverman, 1983).

When viewers visit art-related exhibitions, if there is not enough information about the contents of the exhibitions in advance to form a conceptual model, viewers have

difficulty appreciating or experiencing the exhibits, therefore the exhibits' titles are important clues that help the audience understand the exhibits' message. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore which exhibit titles named by the exhibits' creator and the curator from the viewer's point of view can make the audience more easily understand the desired messages conveyed by the exhibits, to further explore the cognitive differences among the curator, creators, and audience.

Method

In this study, ten paintings were selected. A poem was proposed respectively by the curator and the artist for each painting as the title, and then participants were invited to view the paintings and their titles and to fill the fit questionnaire, in order to explore the impact of the title on participants' understanding of the contents of the painting. The research method is described below in detail.

Experimental Samples

In this study, the experimental samples were based on the paintings of the amateur painter, Ms. Lee, who has painted for five years. The ten selected paintings were her creations in the past two years that took "clouds" as the theme. The contents tended toward the abstract style, meaning the paintings have no images of a specific scenery, object, or character, but are mostly patterns composed of colors and lines. The curator proposed a poem as the title for each of the five paintings (No. E1~E5), and the other five paintings were named by the artist herself (No. A1~A5). The ten paintings and corresponding poem titles are shown in Table 1. The principle for the curator proposing the title is mainly for the audience, as the title must help the audience to understand more easily the mood of the painting. Therefore, in naming the title, the first thing that must be done is to associate the major visual impression that people have of the paintings with the life situations of the audience. Meanwhile, the titles developed by the curator were recognized by the painter as similar to the painter's implications. The painter developed the title based on her own creative process and feeling of the painting. She focused on whether the poetry title expressed the mood of the painting, but did not consider whether the viewer would be able to understand.

Table 1. Paintings poetry title and number of samples.

Number	Title development by curator	Number	Title development by Painter
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E1

天光雲影共徘徊 (The light and clouds are reflected in the pond, swaying in one direction.)



A1

朝辭白帝彩雲間 (Farewell to Baidicheng surrounded by the morning glory.)



E2

雲想衣裳花想容 (Seeing flowing clouds, one is reminded of light clothes; seeing beautiful flowers, one is reminded of beautiful faces.)



A2

來時淡春衣上雲 (A woman is walking leisurely like a bright white cloud in the spring.)



E3

大風起兮雲飛揚 (The wind blows and rolls up thick clouds that fill the sky.)



A3

行雲有影月含羞 (The floating clouds at night cover the Moon as if the Moon itself is shy.)



E4

去似朝雲無覓處 (Like drifting clouds in the morning, one is nowhere to be found after leaving.)



A4

雲雨巫山露凝香 (Covered with dew in cloudy and rainy Wushan, the peony flowers with a rich aroma are in full bloom.)



E5

雲破月來花弄影 (The clouds spread and the Moon appears. The moonlight shines on the flowers and projects a ray of light on the ground.)



A5

坐看山窮雲起時 (In my seat I see clouds being lifted.)

Subjects

Due to the limited funding and time for the questionnaire survey, the research participants were mainly university students. A total of 300 questionnaires were issued, of which 254 valid questionnaires were retrieved. The participants consisted of 63 men and 191 women, with the majority between the ages of 18 to 21 (88%). The majority of the participants had a background in design-related departments (70%), such as Commercial Design, Visual Communication, Techno-Craft Design, and other departments, followed by departments in mass communication (18%), such as the Advertising Department. The rest were art-related departments, such as the Department of Fine Arts, the Painting Department, and so on.

Procedure

This study was mainly conducted in school classrooms. The researchers invited students to participate in the investigation and obtained prior consent. The participants agreed to arrive at the classroom at the agreed time. First, the purpose of the experiment was explained to the participants, and a slide was juxtaposed with the title. The participants were then asked to fill in the questionnaire for the painting experience. Each questionnaire answer had no time limit, and the questionnaire could generally be completed within 15 minutes. The questionnaire contained personal information and fit assessment of each painting. Basic information included gender, age, department and grade, and other items. The fit assessment of each painting included three questions: Question 1 explored the degree of fit between poetry and paintings, with the score range from 0 to 100 points; the higher the score, the higher the fit. Question 2 and Question 3 explored the degree of fit between poetry and “affection” and “scene” of the paintings. The

5-point Likert scale was used to score the responses, which ranged from 1 (very unfit) to 5 (very fit).

Results

The average fits of the paintings with poetry titles are shown in Table 2. Three paintings, (E1), (E2) and (A1), had scores exceeding 70 points of the overall fit. Six paintings, (E3), (E4), (E5), (A2), (A3), and (A4), had scores that ranged from 60 to 70 points. Only painting (A5) had an overall fit of less than 60 points.

The distribution of the scores of the affection fit was the same as that of the overall fit. Paintings (E1), (E2), and (A1) had an average score of more than 3.5 points, and paintings (E3), (E4), (E5), (A2), (A3), and (A4) had scores that ranged from 3.0 to 3.5 points. Only painting (A5) had the affection fit of less than 3.0 points. The situation of the scene fit was slightly different. Only paintings (E1) and (E2) had scores above 3.5 points. The scene fit of painting (A5) was still below 3.0, and the scene fits of the remaining seven paintings were between 3.0 points and 3.5 points.

Further ANOVA analysis explored the degree of difference between the ten paintings and showed significant differences ($p < 0.001$) in the overall fit, affection fit, and the scene fit. Duncan grouping test results are also presented in Table 2, in which the overall fit can be divided into five groups. The highest group includes paintings (E1) and (E2), indicating that the overall fit of these two paintings is significantly higher than those of the other eight paintings. The second group included paintings (A1) and (A2), the third group included paintings (E3), (E4), and (A3), the fourth group included paintings (E5) and (A4), and the lowest group had painting (A5). It can be seen that the overall fit score of painting (A5) is significantly lower than those of the other nine paintings. Affection fit is divided into four groups. The highest group includes paintings (E1), (E2), and (A1), the second group included (E3) and (A2), and the third group included (E3), (E4), (A3), and (A4). Painting (A5) remains in the lowest group. The scene fit is also divided into four groups. The highest group included (E1) and (E2). The next group included paintings (E3), (A1), and (A2). The third group included paintings (E3), (E4), (A3), and (A4). Painting (A5) belonged to the lowest group. The paired T-test results show the average affection fit of 3.27 points is significantly higher than the average scene fit of 3.18 points ($t=6.01$, $p < 0.001$).

In addition, the study explored the impact of the ways in which poetry titles were






developed on the fit. The overall fit of the five paintings (E1~E5) that the curator proposed titles for was 70.37 points. The average of the scene fit was 3.31 points, and the average of the affection fit was 3.39 points. The overall fit of the other five paintings (A1~A5) that the artist developed titles for was 65.99 points. The scene fit was 3.05 points, and affection fit was 3.15 points. Overall, relative to the artist's own proposed titles, the participants had a higher degree of recognition for the poetry titles developed by the curator. However, the independent t-test results showed that the title development method had no significant impact on all fit indicators ($p > 0.05$), which means that the poetry title, regardless of whether it had been developed by the curator or the artist, had a similar impact on the participants. The results confirmed that, in addition to the artist herself, the curator from the viewer's perspective and based on past experience applied the appropriate title that could still convey the meaning of the paintings, so that other viewers could correctly receive them.






Then the independent variables were again the participants' age and gender, the scene fit, the affection fit, and the title development method. The dependent variable was the overall fit. Stepwise multiple regression analysis was used to establish the regression model's overall fit. The results are as follows: Overall fit = $14.87 + 0.44$ (scene fit score) $+ 0.41$ (affection fit score) Adjusted $R^2 = 0.63$. The model shows that the participants' gender and age, and the title development method for the paintings were not entered in the model, so the overall fit was mainly affected by the scene fit and the affection fit. The higher the scene and affection fits were, the higher the overall fit was.

To analyze in-depth the above results, the top of painting (E1) is a mixed blue and white, and the bottom is green, making it easy to think of "blue sky, white clouds, and green land" and fitting the concept of "sky" and "clouds" in the title; painting (E2) (E2) uses green for the bottom and many colorful blocks to form the images of flowers, which coincides with the concept of "flower" in the title text. The title of painting (A1), "clouds," again echoes with the varied colors of the painting. In contrast, the poetry title of painting (A5) was "mountain," "cloud," and other figurative text, but the artist wanted to express the dynamic imagery of "rising clouds." However, the painting has no "mountain" image concept in the painting, so so the respondents could not associate it with the title, resulting in a low fit. Such situations can be illustrated using the "frame of reference" in the dissemination theory. There was a paired reference scenario between the painting and the title, and the respondents found clues in the images of the paintings in order to match the

the painting image to the title text. If there is a common concept or object between the two, the fit is considered high; conversely, if the painting and the title cannot find a corresponding project, then the fit is considered not high.

Table 2. The average fit of paintings with poetry titles and the test results (N = 254)

Number	Paintings	Poetry title	Overall * Fit (0 to 100 points)	Affection * Fit (1 to 5 points)	Scene * Fit (1 to 5 points)	Title develop ment method
E1		The light and clouds are reflected in the pond, swaying in one direction.	77.25 ^a	3.73 ^a	3.72 ^a	
E2		Seeing flowing clouds, one is reminded of light clothes; seeing beautiful flowers, one is reminded of beautiful faces.	75.13 ^a	3.61 ^a	3.55 ^a	
E3		The wind blows and rolls up thick clouds that fill the sky.	68.31 ^c	3.35 ^b	3.31 ^b	Developed by curator
E4		Like drifting clouds in the morning, one is nowhere to be found after leaving.	66.26 ^c	3.09 ^c	3.00 ^c	
E5		The clouds spread and the Moon appears. The moonlight shines on the flowers and projects a ray of light on the ground.	64.89 ^d	3.17 ^c	3.00 ^c	

A1		Farewell to Baidicheng surrounded by the morning glory.	73.09 ^b	3.54 ^a	3.43 ^b	
A2		A woman is walking leisurely like a bright white cloud in the spring.	69.79 ^b	3.34 ^b	3.24 ^b	
A3		The floating clouds at night cover the Moon as if the Moon itself is shy.	66.33 ^c	3.19 ^c	3.03 ^c	Developed by Painter
A4		Covered with dew in cloudy and rainy Wushan, the peony flowers with a rich aroma are in full bloom.	65.50 ^d	3.08 ^c	3.04 ^c	
A5		In my seat I see clouds being lifted.	55.22 ^e	2.61 ^d	2.52 ^d	

* Indicates that the 10 paintings have significant differences ($p < 0.001$) in the title items; a, b, c, d, e, f are the results of the Duncan grouping test.

Conclusions

This study explored the influence of the painter and curator on the titling of paintings. The results showed that the proposed titles of the curator or artist had a similar influence on the respondents, and then showed that the curator based on past experience could convey the meaning of the paintings, so that other viewers could correctly receive them. The overall fit of the paintings and their titles is mainly affected by the scene fit and affection fit. The higher the score of the scene and affection fits, the higher the overall fit. Among them there are the paired scenarios between the paintings and the titles, allowing the respondents to find whether there were common concepts or objects between the two. If the result is positive, the fit is high, and if the corresponding project cannot be found in the paintings and the titles, the fit is considered not high. A follow-up study should further explore whether the paired painting and title will have similar or dissimilar elements that participants in

the overall fit, scene fit, and affection fit would classify into the same group. The findings will help the painter use apt titles that allow the audience to better understand the meaning of the work and improve the communication effects of the work.

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Gender Differences in Narrating Stories on Second Graders

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Abstract

Recently, much attention has been paid to gender differences. A number of studies have discussed gender differences in oral discourse. However, only few studies investigated the differences between boys' and girls' written discourse such as personal narratives and storytelling. Therefore, the aim of the study is to explore whether girls and boys create different stories after watching silent video clips. Fifty-six second graders, 29 boys and 27 girls, are recruited in Chiayi County. Data gathered from students' worksheets created by the researcher and audio recording. In terms of data analysis, the researcher adopted Lakoff's (1976) ten features and chose three of them, including (a) lexical hedges or fillers, (b) "empty" adjectives, and (c) intensifiers such as just and so, to examine whether the results are consistent with her theories. The results reveal that the stories created by girls and boys are different. Girls' stories tend to portray people, community, and everyday life, while boys' stories tend to describe dangerous creatures. The suggestion for future study is that it would be better to analyze oral discourse in lower grade pupils since students don't have enough abilities to express their feelings by words, namely observing the conversation between them and their peers. Thus, storytelling by words may be suitable for upper grade students.

Key words: Gender difference, oral discourse, written discourse

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Introduction

In the past two decades, there has been an increasing interest in gender and discourse. Many researchers (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 1990) claimed that gender differences occur since gender is dualistic and polarized; that is to say, men and women live in a different world. Hence, they use different ways of communication so that they should be treated separately. This phenomenon can be explained from a cultural approach (Maltz & Borker, 1982). Maltz and Borker (1982) asserted that men and women live in different subcultures; as a result, they need to learn different communicative styles in social context.

As a consequence, gender differences are constructed socially (Mahmud, 2010). As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) stated, “the real force and import of their interaction is erased when we abstract each uncritically from the social practices in which they are jointly produced and in which they intermingle with other symbolic and social phenomena” (p. 2). For instance, girls’ shelves are filled with Barbie dolls and pink objects. As for men, their shelves are full of weapons and vehicles (Änggård, 2005). Consequently, society creates the men’s and women’s world when they are in their childhood that shapes different gender identities. When they grow up, women tend to use insecure, conservative, deferent, and emotional language, while men tend to use tough, competitive, independent, and hierarchical language (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

Holmes (1997) contended that stories are one way to construct women’s and men’s gender identities. In addition, economic, political, and social discourse may gender people’s subjectivity (Weedon, 1987, as cited in Holmes, 1997). As a consequence, women and men create different stories. Women’s stories focus on “relationships and people, affirm the importance of their family roles, family connections and friendships” (Holmes, 1997, p. 286). On the other hand, men focus on “work and sport, events, activities and things, and affirm the importance of being in control” (Holmes, 1997, p. 286).

A number of researchers (Freed & Greenwood, 1996; Lakoff, 1973; Mahmud, 2010) have investigated the differences between men’s and women’s oral discourse; however, only few studies (e.g., Änggård, 2005) discussed the differences between men’s and women’s written discourse such as personal narratives and storytelling. Therefore, the aim of the study is to explore whether girls and boys create different stories in the given task. The followings are tentative research questions:

1. What are the main features in boys' and girls' story narration?
2. What kind of theme do boys and girls write?

Literature Review

Men's and Women's Oral Discourse

Women's features. Lakoff (1976) found that women's speech have their linguistic features. She presented that women tend to use lexical hedges or fillers (e.g., you know, sort of, well, you see), tag questions (e.g., she's very nice, isn't she?), rising intonation on declaratives (e.g. it's really good?), "empty" adjectives (e.g., divine, charming, cute), precise color terms (e.g., magenta, aquamarine), intensifiers such as just and so (e.g., I like him so much), "hypercorrect" grammar (e.g., consistent use of standard verb forms), "superpolite" forms (e.g., indirect requests, euphemisms), avoidance of strong swear words (e.g., fudge, my goodness), and emphatic stress (e.g., it was a BRILLIANT performance). Although her theories were criticized by many researchers owing to her bias about women and lack of empirical studies, her ten features have become a theoretical foundation for future studies to follow (Fasold, 1990).

The women's hedges are due to their insecurity and powerlessness (Coates, 1986; Fishman, 1978; Lakoff, 1975). As Coates (1986) claimed, "a statement like *It was, you know, really interesting* is considered less assertive than its unhedged version *It was really interesting*" (p. 102). Additionally, several researchers (Fishman, 1980; Lakoff, 1975; Maltz &orker, 1982; Tannen, 1990) asserted that women like to ask questions more often than men, which can be interpreted that women tried to communicate with others cooperatively (Tannen, 1990). As Hirschman (1993) noted that "several of the female-male conversations fell into a question-answer pattern with the females asking the males question" (p. 10).

Another feature is that women show a tendency to give positive minimal responses like mm hmm (Hirschman, 1973), and during the conversational process, they tend to provide some comments to the interlocutors, not just in the end of talk (Fishman, 1978). Furthermore, women like to use the pronouns "we" and "you" to invite other speakers to join the conversation together (Hirschman, 1973).

Men's features. In terms of men's features of talking, they like to interrupt the speech of their interlocutors, including women (Zimmerman & West, 1975). Thus, they show the tendency to challenge others' speech (Hirschman, 1973). In addition, men provide

the slow responses which are called “delayed minimal response” (Zimmerman & West, 1975, p. 118). Additionally, most of time, they control the flow of the topic, including initiating and developing the new topic (Zimmerman & West, 1975). This phenomenon occurs because “men enjoy power in society and also in conversation” (Maltz & Borker, 1982, p. 171).

Finally, Tymson (1998) clarified different communication styles between male and female (see Table 1).

Table 1

Male and Female Style of Communication

Male Style	Female Style
<i>Focus on information</i>	<i>Focus on relationship</i>
<i>Report style of speaking</i>	<i>Rapport style of speaking</i>
<i>Goal driven</i>	<i>Process oriented</i>
<i>Single-task approach</i>	<i>Multi-task approach</i>
<i>Succinct language</i>	<i>Storytelling style of speech</i>
<i>Working towards a destination</i>	<i>On a journey</i>
<i>Need to know the answers</i>	<i>Want to ask the right questions</i>

1995, as cited in Holmes, 1997, p. 264). “Narrative is a central function of language . . . To learn to speak is to learn to tell a story” (Ursula, 1989, as cited in Johnstone, 1993, p. 69). Hence, telling story is one of the ways to express oneself; in other words, stories are crucial for constructing people’s identity (Holmes, 1997; Johnson, 1993). Davies (1993) pointed out that “gender is constituted through the discourses with which we speak and write ourselves into existence” (p. 1).

Furthermore, Tannen (1982) stated that features in oral discourse also existed in written discourse. Literacy devices such as repetition of sounds and words, syntactic structures, and rhythm were used in written discourse and daily conversation because both of them were from self-knowledge and interpersonal involvement. Thus, writing also play an important role in understanding gender differences. When reading storybooks to 4- and 5-year-old children, Davies found that children tried their best to maintain a “bipolar division” (p. 540). Instead of creating their own stories, they let themselves fit in the static gendered frameworks given by society. As a matter of fact, “the worlds created in stories do provide evidence of how psychological and social reality constrains people’s telling about it” (Johnstone, 1993, p. 69).

Nevertheless, there are few empirical studies (Änggård, 2005; Dyson, 1997; Johnstone, 1993) doing the experiments with regard to gender differences in narrating

stories. Johnstone (1993) collected 33 personal experience narratives and did observations to investigate whether men and women wrote different genre of the stories. The results found that women's stories are about people and community, while men's stories are about contest. Moreover, women created the names of characters in their stories, and they have a conversation with people. In contrast, men often let their characters be anonymous and created silent environment. Other than that, men seldom spoke of women in telling stories, whereas women's stories focused on more details about people.

Dyson (1997) demonstrated that girls' stories usually talked about family and friends, whereas boys' stories usually talked about superheroes. The findings are consistent with Änggård's research (2005). She conducted the study by recruiting 8 pre-school children, including 3 girls and 5 boys. Through observations, video recordings and having conversation with those kids, the results showed that girls' stories tend to write about romance and everyday life, and boys' stories tend to write about heroes and dangerous creatures. Besides, boys wrote their heroes being friends with the enemies. What interesting is that the girls did not follow traditional style of fairytales' narratives, letting male characters play in active roles; conversely, girls' stories put female in active characters.

Methodology

Participants

There are 56 students, 29 boys and 27 girls, recruited from two classes in Chiayi County. All participants were second graders in elementary school which are chosen because of convenience sample. They would write worksheets in Chinese since they were too young to use English expressing their ideas.

Procedures

First of all, students needed to watch silent video clips called "The Bears Who Saved Christmas" for two minutes. After that, they began to write down their perceptions toward the stories in Chinese via worksheets created by the researcher and guessed what will happen next in the following plots. The researcher told them there is no correct answer regarding stories, so they can create their own stories. During the writing process, all of them were asked to keep quiet; namely, they cannot share their ideas with their peers for the purpose of understanding students' thoughts authentically and immediately. Aside from writing their feelings by words, drawing pictures are also required for the sake of grasping students' thinking further.

Subsequently, the researcher asked for 6 volunteers, 3 boys and 3 girls, in each class to share their stories with their classmates. Eventually, the researcher analyzed the data gathered from students and categorized them into meaningful units.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collected from students' worksheets (see Appendix A) and audio recording. firstly, in order to examine whether gender differences in narrating stories, the researcher used Lakoff's (1996) ten features respecting women's ways of communication and adopted three of them: (a) lexical hedges, (b) "empty adjectives, and (c) intensifiers such as just and so. The reasons are that the rest of features cannot easily observe in written discourse like tag questions, rising intonation on declaratives, emphatic stress, and avoidance of strong swear words because they required having a conversation with others. Additionally, due to the concern of second graders' abilities to describe sentences, precise color terms and "superpolite" forms were not applicable in this study. Also, the language students wrote was Chinese that did not have obvious verb forms, so "hypercorrect" grammar was excluded in data analysis. Secondly, so as to explore the genres of girls' and men's stories, previous studies (Änggård, 2005; Dyson, 1997; Johnstone, 1993) would become the evidence to verify whether the findings of this paper have the consistent results with theirs.

Results and Discussion

RQ1: What are the main features in boys' and girls' story narration?

Table 2

The Results of RQ1(N=56)

Gender	Lexical hedges or fillers		"Empty" adjectives		Intensifiers such as just and so	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Girls	6	25.00%	7	29.17%	11	45.83%
Boys	12	57.14%	3	14.29%	6	28.57%

Table 2 displays the result of gender differences in narrating stories. It is apparent from this table that girls used more "empty" adjectives and intensifiers such as just and so more often than boys. There are 29.17% of girls using "empty" adjectives in their written stories, while 14.29% of boys use them. Take some of students' written stories for examples, "寒冷的"冬天, "熱呼呼的"咖啡, "平安又快樂的"回家, "白白的"雪, and "害怕的"說 were regarded as "empty" adjectives. As for intensifiers such as just and so, the results showed that a majority of girls (45.83%) wrote this kind of

utterance to express their perceptions toward stories guessing. Speaking of boys, only 28.57% of them described intensifiers such as just and so in their worksheets. In terms of intensifiers such as just and so, 很害怕, 好恐怖, 很开心, 很高兴, 很快樂, 很緊張, and 很好心 were words portrayed by students. The findings are similar to Lakoff's (1976) definition of women's communication styles.

The most striking result to emerge from the data is that boys use much more lexical hedges or fillers than girls: 57.14% of boys wrote their hedges, while just 25.00% of girls expressed their hedges in the written discourse. For example, 應該, 可能, 覺得, and 猜 would be viewed as lexical hedges or fillers. The findings are contradictory to Lakoff's (1976) definition of women's language about lexical hedges or fillers; that is, girls tend to use more lexical hedges or fillers than boys. The results indicated that gender is dynamic, fluid, and unfixed. In other words, not every boy should be equipped with assertive speech, and not every girl needs to share the same features as lexical hedges. Although Lakoff (1976) classified the different features of men and women, she overcategorized both of them (Fasold, 1990), which ignored the fact that individuals may have different personalities.

RQ2: What kind of theme do boys and girls write?

After analyzing the data, the researcher found that girls and boys wrote fairly distinct stories. It can be categorized into two themes: one is meeting dangerous creatures, the other is meeting a house.

Table 3

The Comparison of Girls' and Boys' Themes (N=56)

Gender	Dangerous creatures		House	
	N	%	N	%
Girls	8	12.50%	12	60.00%
Boys	14	87.50%	2	40.00%

As can be seen from Table 3, 87.50% of boys had consistent tendency to write the theme with regard to dangerous creatures like snow monsters, ghosts, skeletons, zombies, bats, and witches. On the contrary, the girls also wrote the theme about dangerous creature (12.50%), but a majority of them (60.00%) depicted the following stories more about meeting a house; that is to say, they predicted that there was a house there. Some of girls considered that they would have an unforgettable memory in that house as drinking a bowl of corn soup and eating cakes with their family or

nice people.

The followings are students' writing about their understanding of the stories and guessing what the stories are going on. The first section is about girls' descriptions of the stories (see Appendix A). In the second section, boys' narratives of the stories were discussed (see Appendix B). All students' names are pseudonyms.

Girls' themes-people, community, and everyday life

Excerpt One

他們在車上說笑話，後來車卡住了，車也沒油了，後來他們會借住別人的家。

(Star)

Excerpt Two

他們走到一半電燈沒電了，就孤單的坐在樹下一直哭，他們要想辦法回家，後來爸爸想到了一個辦法，爸爸媽媽就把車子修理好了，他們就平安又快樂的回家了，後來孩子得到禮物，一打開有一隻小布偶跳出來，他們就笑了出來。(Fenny)

Excerpt Three

有一天爸爸在開車，媽媽在幫忙指路，妹妹和哥哥抱著小熊，爸爸開著車要去玩，開到一個不知道的地方，那邊有白白的雪積著，開到一半就沒有油了，全家就在車子上睡著了，起來之後，媽媽擦亮了玻璃看到了一間屋子，爸爸和媽媽和兩個小朋友都下來了，到了那間屋子全家喝著熱熱玉米濃湯。(Joy)

Excerpt Four

他們全家人很開心要去玩，突然積雪了，他們很害怕，一直到傍晚，突然看到樹林裡有一陣亮光，很高興的走進樹林裡，突然看到一間小屋子裡面住著一位老婆婆和一位老公公，他們很好心拿一些小點心和兩杯熱呼呼的咖啡，他們全家人吃完小點心和兩杯咖啡後，很快樂的和老婆婆和老公公謝謝，老婆婆和老公公也高興的和他們全家人說不客氣。(Becky)

Excerpt Five

他們全家人開車出去玩，開到一半停下來，因為雪太多了停了一下，他們就下車，爸爸就帶他們下車探險，就嚇到了一大跳，因為被爸爸嚇到，因為看到阿嬤家。

(Janet)

Excerpt Six

他們在討論要去哪裡，他看到一間小木屋，他們要去那邊住，那邊的人對他很好送東西給他們等。(Peggie)

Excerpt Seven

叮叮噹叮叮噹叮叮噹，哈哈!我們把車開去最前面爸爸說，媽媽說好啊!妹妹說我第一次帶小熊出來，哥哥說爸爸開快一點!爸爸說好啊，呼呼呼!蹦蹦!爸爸說完了我們被困住了!妹妹說我們怎麼辦我不想死在這裡妹妹哭了!媽媽說不用怕，爸爸說我們現在車上吧!媽媽擦擦窗戶媽媽說那裡有一間小屋，我們去那吧，他們下

車前往小屋那裡，他們就在那裡住了下來。(Judy)

The themes in these excerpts have the common features. They described and created the stories about having a relationship with others such as their family (Dyson, 1997) and good people. Becky, for instance, portrayed that “突然看到一間小屋子裡面住著一位老婆婆和一位老公公，他們很好心拿一些小點心和兩杯熱呼呼的咖啡。” Besides, Joy considered that “媽媽擦亮了玻璃看到了一間屋子，爸爸和媽媽和兩個小朋友都下來了，到了那間屋子全家喝著熱熱玉米濃湯。” As can be seen from excerpt four (Becky) and seven (Judy), the obvious feature is that girls like to have a conversation with others in their stories (Johnstone, 1993). In Becky’s excerpt, she mentioned that “他們全家人吃完小點心和兩杯咖啡後，很快樂的和老婆婆和老公公謝謝，老婆婆和老公公也高興的和他們全家人說不客氣。”

It can be also found in Judy’s excerpt, “叮叮噹叮叮噹叮叮噹，哈哈!我們把車開去最前面爸爸說，媽媽說好啊!妹妹說我第一次帶小熊出來，哥哥說爸爸開快一點!爸爸說好啊，呼呼呼!蹦蹦!爸爸說完了我們被困住了。” In addition to that, the stories girls created were just like everyday life such as “後來他們會借住別人的家” (Star), “爸爸媽媽就把車子修理好了，他們就平安又快樂的回家了，後來孩子得到禮物” (Fenny), “因為看到阿嬤家”，“那邊的人對他很好送東西給他們等” (Peggie), and “全家喝著熱熱玉米濃湯” (Joy). Therefore, the results revealed that the themes of girls’ stories were about people, community (Johnstone, 1993), and everyday life (Änggård’s research, 2005).

Boys’ themes-dangerous creatures

Excerpt One

他們下車後，有可能會遇到怪物，蝙蝠，我看到那片影片我覺得好恐怖。(Larry)

Excerpt Two

故事在說有四人開車旅行，然後等一下會出現雪怪，甚至還有冰風暴把他們活埋。(Yoyo)

Excerpt Three

他們應該要同心協力脫困，因為他們在雪中覺得他們會看到鬼或被熊攻擊。(Jason)

Excerpt Four

他們在一座正在下雪的山的路開著，最後走進一個森林裡面可能有一個惡魔正在等著他們要吃他們，也應該是他們發抖的原因吧!(Andy)

Excerpt Five

全家人一起去玩。然後他們迷路了。他們應該會看到鬼、熊、大便怪物、殭屍、骷髏頭。(Johnny)

Excerpt Six

有一家人去一個下雪的地方，開到一半沒油了，他們很恐怖要很大的山他們到了門口就一直發抖看一個巫婆把它他變成豬。(Jordan)

Boys' stories have the tendency of writing dangerous creatures (Änggård, 2005). For example, “怪物，蝙蝠” (Larry), “雪怪” (Yoyo), “看到鬼或被熊攻擊” (Jason), “可能有一個惡魔正在等著他們要吃他們” (Andy), “鬼、熊、大便怪物、殭屍、骷髏頭”, and “看一個巫婆把它他變成豬” (Jordan). Compared with girls' stories, boys' stories looked more silent (Johnstone, 1993). That is to say, in these six excerpts, the conversation with others cannot be found out easily. Interestingly, boys' stories hardly mentioned female characters (Dyson, 1997; Johnstone, 1993), only Jordan wrote about “巫婆” (excerpt six), but it can also be regarded as dangerous creatures. Therefore, the results showed that the themes of boys' stories were about dangerous creatures (Änggård, 2005).

One unanticipated finding was that girls' prediction of the stories tended to depict happy ending, yet boys' were inclined to delineate sad ending.

Table 4

The Comparison of Girls' and Boys' Results Prediction (N=56)

Gender	Happy ending		Sad ending	
	N	%	N	%
Girls	10	100.00%	0	0.00%
Boys	3	20.00%	12	80.00%

As shown from Table 4, it indicates that boys and girls thoughts were quite divergent. For instance, a number of girls believed that they would encounter wonderful events like receiving presents and eating food, whereas 80.00% of boys guessed that they would die because of the cold weather or be attacked by dangerous creatures.

Conclusion

Gender is present in our daily life, even in children's childhood (Änggård, 2005). Thus, “being a child also mean being a girl or a boy, and children are in that way constructors of gendered childhoods” (Änggård, 2005, p. 540). Storytelling is a good strategy to understand children's thoughts since it can construct their gender identity as well (Holmes, 1997; Johnson, 1993). The aim of this study is to investigate whether gender differences also exist in second graders' storytelling. In the study,

students need to watch 2-minute silent video clips and created their own stories. Data gathered from students' worksheets created by the researcher and audio recording. In terms of data analysis, the researcher adopted Lakoff's (1976) ten features and chose three of them, including (a) lexical hedges or fillers, (b) "empty" adjectives, and (c) intensifiers such as just and so, to examine whether the results are consistent with her theories. In order to explore the themes that boys and girls used in their storytelling, students' worksheets would be clarified into boys' and girls' stories. The intent is to ensure whether previous studies (Änggård, 2005; Dyson, 1997; Johnstone, 1993) discussing gender differences in storytelling also have the similar features on second graders in elementary school.

There are three limitations in this study. First, 56 participants are a small-size group, so it may influence the results and lack of reliability and validity. Second, the participants are second graders, so not all students can use words to express their thoughts very well. That is to say, some of them write wrong Mandarin Phonetic Symbols (MPS) so that it may cause the misunderstanding about their ideas. Third, the time is limited within 30 minutes because the given time for one class is only 40 minutes in elementary school, so students don't have enough time to organize their stories thoroughly.

As a teacher, we need to understand more about our students; as a result, the pedagogical implication is that teachers can adopt the same methodology, playing silent video clips and creating their stories, to investigate whether gender differences exist in different graders such as in junior high school, senior high school, and university. The suggestion for future study is that it would be better to analyze oral discourse in lower grade pupils since students don't have enough abilities to express their feelings by words, namely observing the conversation between them and their peers. Thus, storytelling by words may be suitable for upper grade students. Furthermore, written language can be chosen in English to enhance students' motivation to learn English if students are equipped with abilities to use English to tell a story.

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Appendix A Girl's worksheet

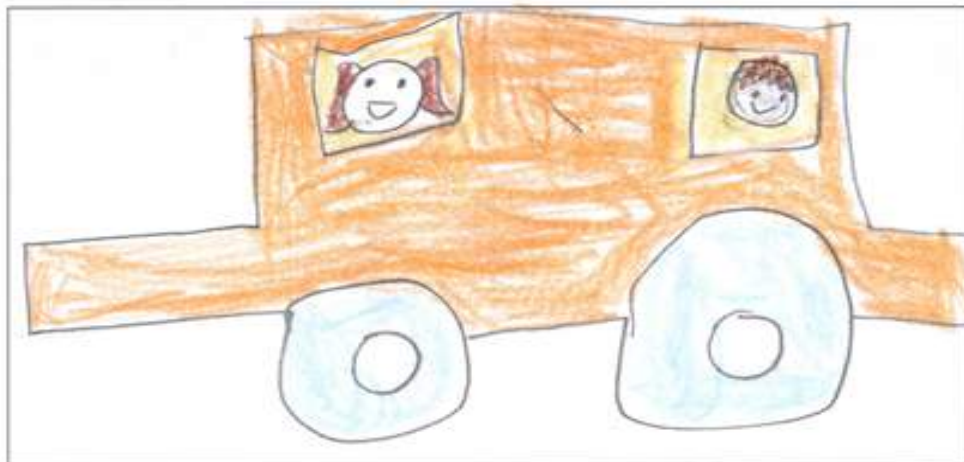
學習單

班級：二年 班 座號： 姓名：

(1) 小朋友們，看完影片之後，你覺得故事的內容是在說什麼呢？接下來，會發生什麼事呢？請把它寫下來。

他們全家人很開心要去玩，突然地震了，
 他們很慌、怕，一生到晚上，突然
 看到樹林裡有一陣亮光，很高興的走近
 樹林裡，突然看到一間小屋子裡面住著
 一位老婆婆和一位老公公，他們很好心
 拿一些小點心和二杯熱茶，匆匆的回去，
 他們全家人吃完小點心和二杯茶後
 很快樂的和老婆婆和老公公謝謝，老婆婆
 和老公公也高興的來他們全家人說不盡

(2) 請畫圖說明你的故事內容。



Appendix B Boy's worksheet



學習單



班級： 2年 班 座號： 姓名：



(1) 小朋友們，看完影片之後，你覺得故事的內容是在說什麼呢？接



下來，會發生什麼事呢？請把它寫下來。



他們在一座正在下雪的山的路開著最後
走進一個森林裡面可能有一個古魔正在等著他們要吃他們也應該是他們發變的原因吧！



(2) 請畫圖說明你的故事內容。



Interaction Design of Crowdsourcing Disaster Response

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Abstract:

These years, as climate change, natural disasters happens more often worldwide making disaster relief and response even vital. Crowdsourcing is recently applied in disaster response and successfully enhances the quantity of information and reduces damages. However, through analyzing existing crowdsourcing disaster system and in-depth interviews with volunteers, two major interaction problems are found in this research: (1) the systems are not easy to search for needed information (2) no instant feedback after reports makes users anxious. These are the challenges that current crowdsourcing disaster systems need to deal with in order to make the biggest advantages.

The research takes the 88 Flood happened in Taiwan in 2009 as an example and proposes interaction design suggestions of crowdsourcing disaster response for reporting and mapping disaster events tasks through smart phone. The thesis expects to be helpful for governments and designers who want to develop disaster response application for the Crowds. Hopefully, the efficiency and penetration of crowdsourcing disaster response can be enhanced.

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Introduction

As suggested by experts in 2013 UN climate talks, these years, because of climate change and global warming, there are more and more natural disasters happen worldwide (see fig. 1). The impact of disasters is getting much serious and longer lasting than before. Natural disasters seem to be inevitable and vary every time; however, if more attention be paid on coping with these problems, damages and wasteful use of natural and human resources on rescue can be minimized (Kent, 2001). Therefore, how to handle natural disasters well is always vital to governments all around the globe.

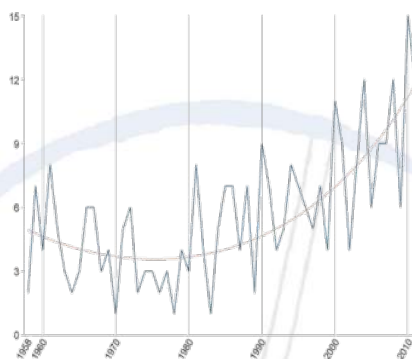


Figure 1. Frequency of natural disasters happen in Taiwan (1958-2011).

Due to geographic factors, Taiwan, surrounded by sea and sits at plate boundary, often suffers from a variety of natural disasters such as typhoons, earthquakes and floods, etc. Moreover, with the high population density, considerable people are easily affected when any natural disasters hit Taiwan. In 2009, Typhoon MORAKOT hit Taiwan badly and caused tremendous losses and tragedies in a short period of time. If there were no crowdsourcing aid, things would have been worse. Crowdsourcing was applied in disaster response for the first time around the world. Therefore, knowing how crowdsourcing works during Typhoon MORAKOT is important. This paper focuses on the interaction, for the crowds only, of crowdsourcing disaster response system constructed after the hit of Typhoon MORAKOT.

First, the paper provides a brief review various crowdsourcing disaster systems applied in different cases and compares how crowdsourcing functioned in various conditions. Second, the research discusses current challenges of crowdsourcing disaster response in existing systems. Finally, after considering about the culture and geographical environment differences, interaction design suggestions for crowdsourcing disaster response application for Taiwan are provided.

CASES OF CROWDSOURCING DISASTER RESPONSE

Lasecki, Murray, White, Miller, and Bigham (2011) claims that crowdsourcing has been used for solving difficult problems gradually. It is no surprise that crowdsourcing is involved in complicated situation like disaster response. People are eager to help disaster relief whenever they heard someone needs them. The existing outcomes of crowdsourcing applied in disaster response all showed how helpful it is especially in the immediate assistance by providing disaster information sooner owing

to its characteristics of amazing speed on collecting and processing information. Crowdsourcing also changes the way disaster relief and response works, from top-down to a mix of top-down and bottom-up (Brabham, 2013). People do not have to rely only on the Government to get disaster information; they can also contribute to disaster reduction. Simultaneously, they gain more disaster awareness, get involved and are in charge of helping others. Even victims with little injured and people from other places can support with disaster response. With a little help of volunteers, lots of lives can be saved.

Ushahidi

According to the report done by Heinzelman and Waters in 2010, Ushahidi (<http://ushahidi.com/>), a famous crowdsourcing website providing free open source software which can be used to collect, visualize, and map information, plays a critical role in the 2010 earthquake in Haiti. Gao ,Barbier,& Goolsby (2011) state that in order to get more disaster information, “Mission4636” is developed and victims are encouraged to send text messages to the free number 4636 and report their current situation and needs. However, the collected information makes rescue missions more difficult owing to the language used in messages cannot be read by rescuers who do not speak Creole which victims only use. Rather than hiring a group of translate specialists, Ushahidi allows people from worldwide help translate contents into English through the Internet with various channels, such as Twitter, email, SMS, and other tools which can send text-based reports. Lots of messages are then translated soon (Zook et al., 2010).

The volunteers helped not only translate languages but build a more detailed map with important information tagged on it making disaster relief easier. It was not easy for rescuers to find affected population soon and accurately right after the earthquake because only some of the main roads are shown on the map that led to inefficient relief efforts. After few days of efforts of the Crowds, most of the roads with more accurate and detailed information are drawn which successfully eased lots of burdens of rescuers to find specific places. It successfully conquered the difficulties of languages and enhanced the efficiency of rescue mission (Heinzelman & Carol Waters, 2010). The crowds help conquer the difficulties and enhanced the efficiency of disaster relief. Ushahidi is also used in other disasters like the Kenya civil war in 2008, Japan tsunami in 2011, and Arab Spring and Social Movements in 2011, etc.

OpenStreetMap

Another famous example is OpenStreetMap (<http://www.openstreetmap.org/>), a tool often used in disaster response. It is a free map that can be drawn and edited by signed up volunteers. In the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, the Crowds help mapping needed information and spatial analysis, within less than a day, a more complete map of urban area in Haiti is made which highly enhance the efficiency of rescue mission. When Japan attacked by tsunami, information about dangerous places, food, shelters, medical service, wifi, and the places of pay phone are all tagged on maps. In the past, geospatial data is not easy to create and maintain; however, with the help of crowdsourcing, the costly expense and time can be saved. Users can edit a map by referring to GPS devices, aerial images or their own understanding to the place because of the consideration of local knowledge rather than depending only on coordinates (Zook et al., 2010).

Google Crisis Response

Enterprise like Google also launches a long-term disaster response project called Crisis Response (<http://www.google.org/crisisresponse/>) since Hurricane Katrina in 2005. The goal of the project is to arrange disaster data before and during a crisis, and release latest information to the Public around. Google has recently cooperated with government from numerous countries that often suffer from natural disasters. While Governments offer official disaster data, Google help announce integrated information to the Crowds via the Web and smart phone. By using crismapping, similar to crowdsourcing but focuses only on disasters and humanitarian crises, a large groups of crismappers, often volunteer experts, help gather data, map information, analysis situation and provide results to Google. Google can therefore send accurate and latest information to users in affected area in time. Moreover, people can use tools provided on the website to find their loved ones, posts emergency messages and tag injuries on Google map. This has been executed in several cases and shown to be successful.

IRL

Even game company wants to give disaster response a hand. The Internet Response League (IRL) (<http://internetresponse-league.com/>) recently aims to make gamers get involved in disaster relief operations by using crowdsourcing. The notice of disaster alert may appear on the screen when gamers play, gamers can choose if they want to help or not. Players can aid disaster response by tagging real-life photos, finding related information, and finding victims and damaged areas. Players do not have to log out the game when helping and can exit and go back to their game anytime. The founder of IRL hopes that gamers can spend a little of their gaming time on helping real life world which suffers from disasters.

CROWDSOURCING DISASTER RESPONSE APPLIED DURING TYPHOON MOROKOT

As lessons learnt from the 88 Flood caused by Typhoon MORAKOT in 2009, there were lots of emergency and unexpected situations happening during disaster. Yang (2009) mentions that owing to strong winds and heavy rains, the main roads were cut off and lots of telecommunication infrastructures broke down leading to fewer approaches to contact with outside world, especially when winds and rains lasting for several days. The increase needs of communication and complex information dissemination makes the communication environment heavier than usual. Just like Shiaolin village in Kaohsiung City, no disaster condition information comes out; no relief resources would get in since no one knows it was destroyed so badly and claimed hundreds of lives. Emergent information should be sent out as soon as possible, hopefully in the golden window; otherwise, tragedies may happen again.

During the 88 Flood, lots of first messages from different places are sent out by satellite phone because in serious affected area, victims can only listen to radio to get latest disaster news and help themselves. The problems delay disaster relief movement and make the situation worse. Therefore, having an integrated disaster response platform online is important and helpful for disaster relief because of its fast and easy accessibility that can make up the shortcoming of existing way. If sufficient accurate information is given in time, losses and human casualties can be cut and reduced.

序號	時間	縣市	詳細地址	連絡方式	發生災情	需要物資、協助	目前最新狀態
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5134	2012/08/12 17:02	南投縣仁愛鄉	南投縣仁愛鄉龍溪		南投人上個禮拜已經變成「龍溪鄉」了，請大家如果有認識住在附近的親友，請點通知他們，大家快來避難吧！謝謝大家這週一公舉了！謝謝轉發在大家手裡以下的資訊，感謝大家協助。		新增 [2012/08/02 14:38] 南投縣龍溪鄉龍溪鄉新防山空襲會場上方約5X0公尺處大壘土石崩落。

Figure 2. The platform volunteer upload disaster information.

The crowd power is also used when Typhoon MORAKOT hit Taiwan in 2009. And with the help of crowdsourcing, the impacts of Typhoon MORAKOT were reduced. In People contribute their time and professional skills to help disaster response. Volunteer programmers built a website integrating information about Typhoon MORAKOT and others help collect and share disaster information. In order to get more real-time disaster information, volunteer crowds helped disaster response by posting disaster information and goods and material needs and tagging “taiwanfloods” on social media such as Twitter, Plurk, BBS which later integrated into a platform built by volunteer programmers soon after the disaster (see fig. 2). The platform integrates both formal and informal information and combines google map to present different sorts of disaster information showed in geospatial way (see fig. 3). During the disaster, the crowds contributed their time and professional skills and successfully assisted fundraising, recruiting volunteers, finding missing people, disseminating emergent requests and filtering out inaccurate or outdated messages. With the collaboration of these volunteers, disaster information and requests spread as soon as possible, even faster than authoritative information (Yang, 2009). These volunteers helped deliver disaster messages on the Internet and food to affected areas and also filtered out inaccurate or outdated messages. With the collaboration of these volunteers, disaster information and needs spread as soon as possible, even faster than authoritative information (Yang, 2009).

救災地圖



本資訊顯取自網友 Billy Pan 等人製作的其拉克颱風災情地圖，此頁僅顯示最新的25筆資料，每10分鐘更新一次。

Figure 3. The platform built by volunteer programmers.

PROBLEMS OF EXISTING CROWDSOURCING DISASTER RESPONSE SYSTEMS

The crowdsourcing tools as mentioned provide a handy and good way for people around the world and get together and assist disaster response anytime online. In the cases mentioned above, most of the tasks that volunteer crowds do are mainly (1) tag needed information on maps, (2) build a new detailed map if needed, (3) collect and upload real-time data, and (4) translate languages. Volunteers follow instructions and process at least two different sorts of information, including writing and editing texts, tagging and mapping images, describing and interpreting videos and geo-information, etc. It seems so seamless cooperation; nonetheless, there are still problems need to be improved.

After conducting in-depth interviews with volunteer crowds, two major interaction problems are found in this research: (1) the systems are not easy to use and search for needed information (2) no instant feedback after reports makes users anxious.

In existing cases, the Crowds are not paid and not forced; hence, volunteers do not have to take any responsibility and can quit at anytime or show up this time but not others (Chang et al., 2011). Moreover, using crowdsourcing on disaster response is still kind of new to general public. It is normal that the untrained crowds get surprised and unfamiliar with the whole interaction system at the very first time. Therefore, ideally, tasks should be simple or easy to learn in a short time and the interaction should be well designed in order to avoid crowds from giving up doing crowdsourcing tasks. If there are too many difficulties and less attractive elements when doing tasks, volunteers may quit easily. After all, they just want to be nice and

helpful. However, in most of existing crowdsourcing disaster response systems, there are numerous and complex steps that users need to follow. Some even ask users to download the software first. Although there are instructions on the websites and the application, people still cannot get it because of the complicated flow. People who are familiar with the system even created a PowerPoint file to teach people how to use the platform. And some users point out that they cannot figure out how to use the system even though they want to help. They then learn how to use it by searching teaching materials on the Internet. They spent lots of time learning how to use the system even though they know time is especially significant during disaster.

Lasecki et al. (2011) consider that lack of providing instant feedback loop after tasks are finished. If there is no tight feedback, volunteers may waste lots of time waiting for it and get confused which may makes them quit helping easily, especially in emergency situation.

For example, crowdsourcing was also applied in disaster response in the 88 Flood in 2009 and it helped a lot that time. However, the achievements can be greater if crowdsourcing interaction can be improved, since the platform is built within a short period of time by volunteers. Additionally, the Crowds need time to prepare, get used to it, follow instructions and then complete tasks. But they still make mistakes because they are not quite familiar with the platform. With no financial rewards, crowds volunteer help due to their kindness. If they can finish tasks fluently and successfully without frustrated and feeling down, it may double their willingness to help. Accordingly, a good interaction is particularly significant in disaster response.

The challenges mentioned above are more crucial in crowdsourcing disaster response due to time limits and human lives concerns. Accordingly, improving the interaction of crowdsourcing tasks is significant and helpful for disaster relief and response. As an old saying goes, "If two people are of the same mind, their sharpness can cut through metal." What if there is a considerable amount of people aim at the same goal, the results may be greatly powerful. The more volunteers help, the less loss may get. Disasters relief successful rate may therefore increase year after year. Consequently, finding a better and thoughtful interaction for crowds to handle unexpectedly needs and features is significant.

DESIGN IMPLEMENTATION

Most of natural disasters happen in Taiwan are regional. Sometimes just affect a city while sometimes influence larger area. Among all kinds of natural disasters, they all never bring tremendous damages around whole Taiwan. Therefore, we do not have to worry about having no Internet access during disasters because on the other side of Taiwan which are not affected hardly, people can use the Internet to help with crowdsourcing disaster relief.

Information

Since lots of people nowadays own and use smart phone a lot in Taiwan, especially younger generation, people are familiar with replying messages and sending photos through applications. During disaster, a considerable amount of information would be send, the bandwidth would stuck easily. Therefore, the less traffic information take,

the more people can join. Therefore, tasks designed for volunteer crowds are better show direction of tasks only and directly rather than giving lots of irrelevant data on the same frame of the application leading users to spend more time finding needed information. Providing filter and search function is also important. Users can choose what sorts of information they need to see, and at the same time, the application can run faster due to less data on the same pages. Base on the users' preferences, the information is better categorized to different sorts such as region, characteristics of tasks, reporting/helping, and so on.

Interaction

Owing to the emergent circumstances during disaster, time is more significant than usual. Therefore, whenever volunteer crowds face errors, systems should response them immediately and lead them to the right track. Also, right after people update information, the information should be shown immediately for users to make sure their response is accepted and done correctly. In order to reduce the possibility of users forgetting what to do or how to use, a virtual assistant should always standby at the corner of the screen. Therefore, whenever users face problems, they can get help right away. Most of the instructions are better shown as pictures aids with few words for clearer interface and less noises. Lots of things happen simultaneously during disaster, therefore, there would be a large amount of events reported to crowdsourcing disaster response system. In order to make users find specific information as soon as possible, rather than using scrolling, one pages after the other is a better option. And do always remain latest information on the front page.

Interface

The size of font should be larger than it used to be on smart phone owing to users are often in anxious or nervous situation. Larger size makes them easy to read in a short time. Black and white is the better colors to use. Moreover, the interface is better combined with existing data in advance. For example, there are lots of convenience stores around Taiwan, if food is needed, the spots of those convenience stores should be already tagged on maps rather than waiting for volunteers to tag them.

CONCLUSION

The current cases show that crowdsourcing indeed contribute a lot in disaster response. It enhances the quality and the speed on gathering disaster information. However, if better interaction is given, more damages and losses can be minimized. In Taiwan, the Internet access portion and smart phone ownership are high; therefore, Taiwan provides a good environment for crowdsourcing. Among all existing cases, they all have the same interaction issues need to be improved. If crowdsourcing disaster response systems can provide instant feedback anytime and redesign the interface, information and interaction, hopefully, the systems would be more user-friendly and enhance the efficiency of disaster response.

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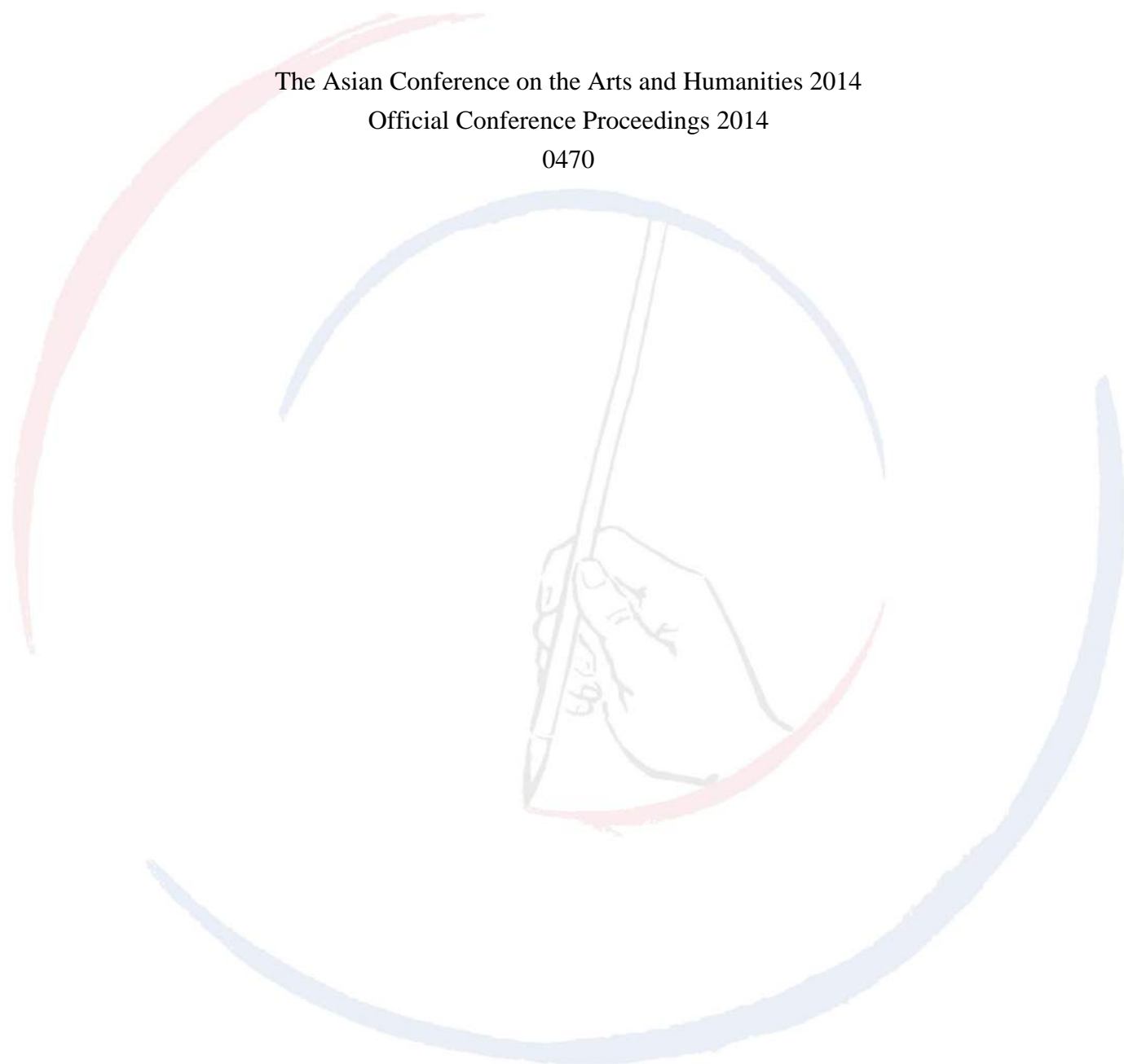
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*The processes and problems of school organizational restructuring from
Bureaucracy to professional learning community*

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1. Research Purpose

In the past, school management emphasized bureaucracy, but now we shall put emphasis on building teacher learning community. The main purpose of the study was summarized as follows:

- 1.1 Explore the school's developmental process of promoting the organizational restructuring of the school to teacher's professional learning communities.
- 1.2 Discuss the difficulties and problems that the school faces while the school promoting the organizational restructuring from bureaucracy to teacher's professional learning communities
- 1.3 to provide the suggestions of school organizational restructuring from Bureaucracy to professional learning community at an elementary school

2. Research Method

2.1 Literature Analysis

To find out the process and problems of the organizational restructuring and professional learning community, the research adopt the literature analysis, gathering all the literature works that research for the organizational restructuring and professional learning community abroad and in Taiwan to analyze. Also, use them as the standard to explore how they influence the case school. As for the issues of the organizational restructuring and professional learning community, there have been some experiences and research information about them. Therefore, using this information is suitable enough to be the sources of this academic research.

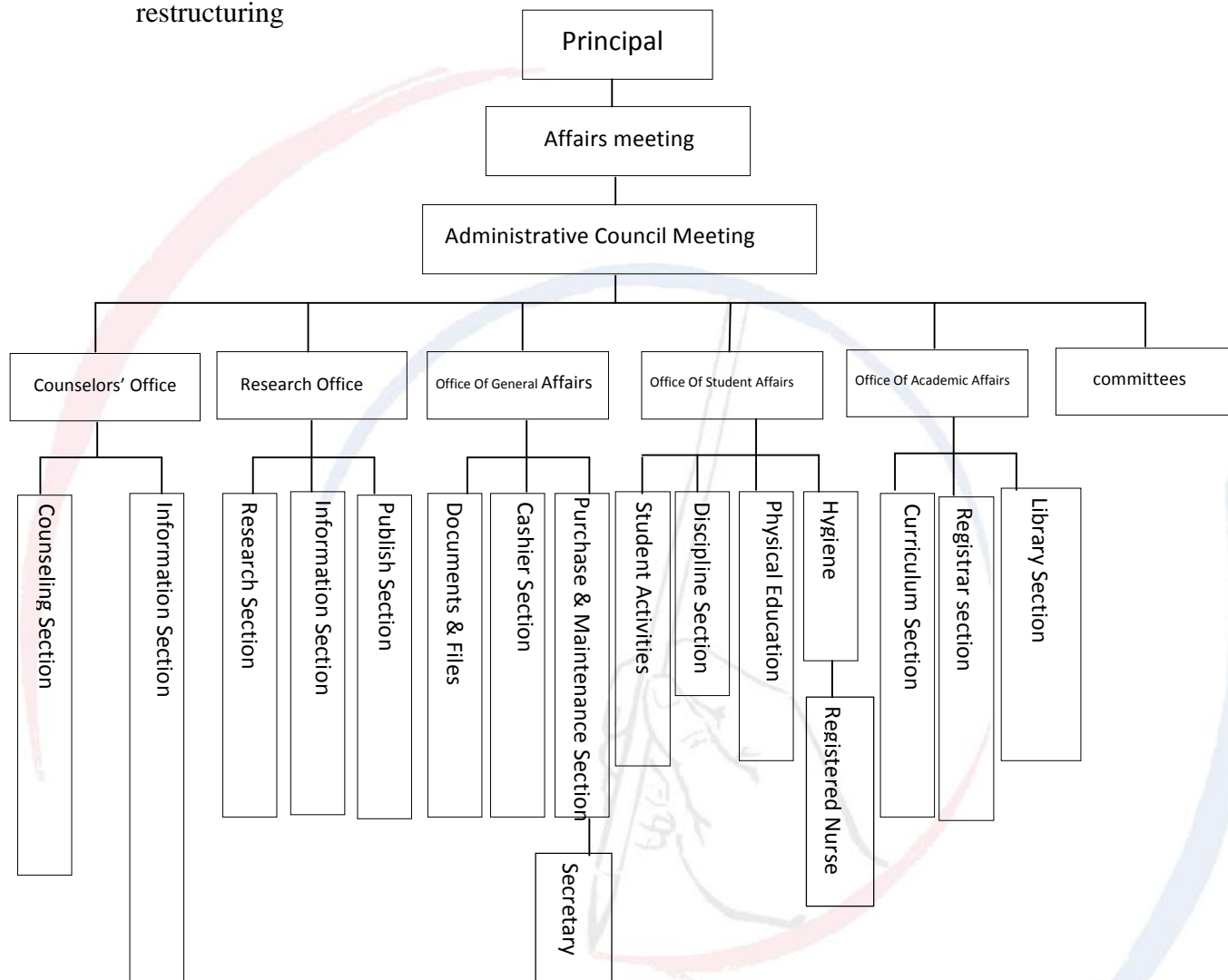
2.2 Documentary Analysis

In the analyzed research of the quality, the researchers often gathers related documents to analyze its content. The gathering of documents is similar to historical research. The only difference is that the document historical research use is information about historical facts. It is harder for a researcher to collect and often find it by chance. The information this research use is about the true events nowadays, so it is easier to collect and it is wider to find. In the documents this research gathered included school conference record, administrative conference and community conference record, feedback from the teacher in the communities, etc.

3.1 School’s developmental process of promoting the organizational restructuring of the school

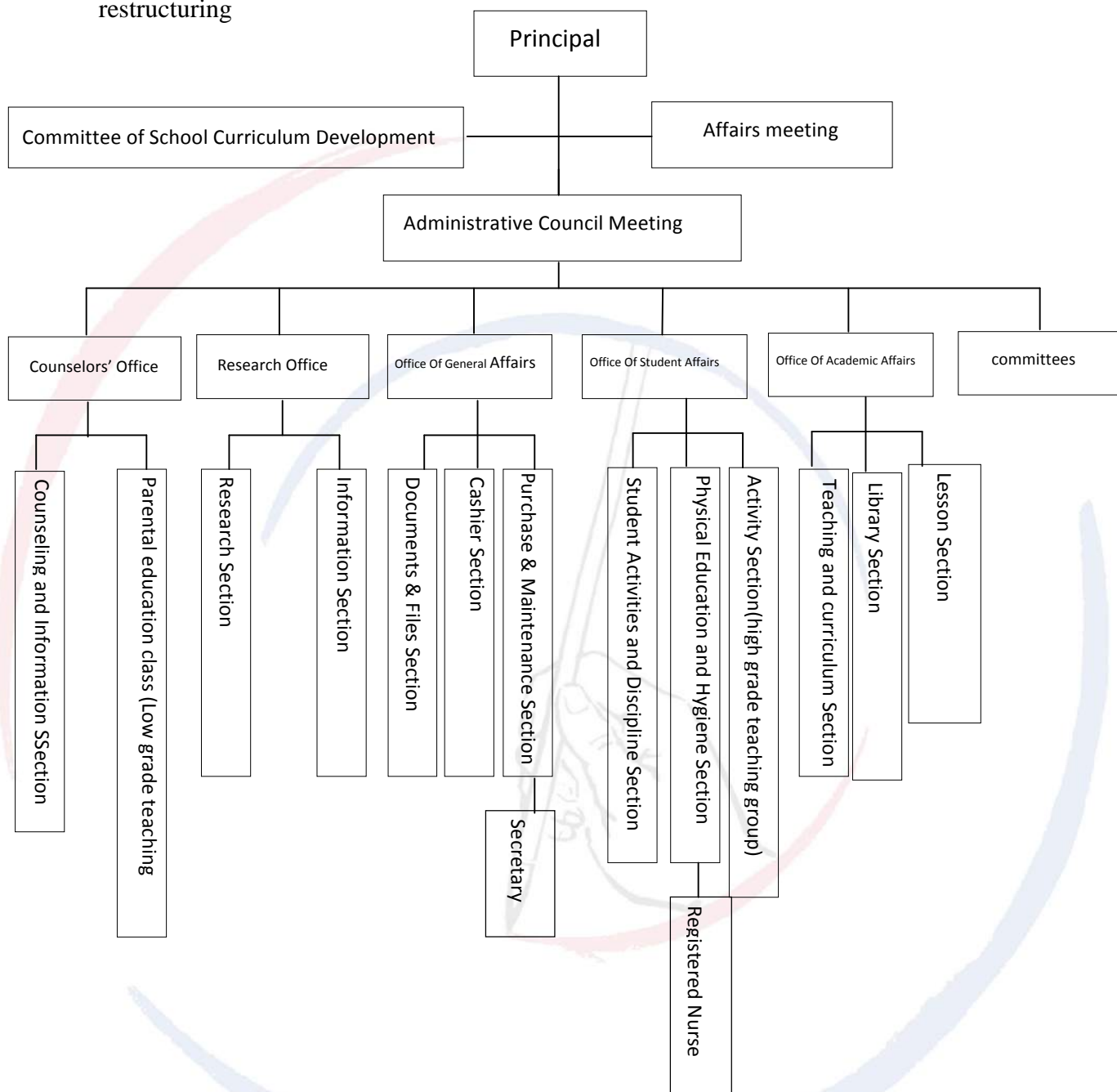
Picture1

The administrative organization chart of the case school before the organizational restructuring



Picture2

The administrative organization chart of the case school after the organizational restructuring



From the comparison between picture 1 and picture 2, we can know the administrative organization chart of the case school. and realized what the differences before and after the organizational restructuring.

1. Consolidation: In office of Academic Affair, Curricular Development Section unites with the Registrar's section. In Student Affair Office, Student Activities Section and Discipline Section consolidate to form Discipline and Student Activities Section. Physical Education Section and Hygiene Section consolidate

to form Physical and Hygiene Section. In Counselors' Office, Student Information Section and Counseling Section consolidate to form Student Information and Counseling Section

2. Extensions: Form three new teaching groups including low, medium and high grade and add them to the structure of the school administrative organization.
3. Adjust the places of the administrative office and the working space at the same place makes the administration more influent.
4. The number of the reduced group: It reduced from the original 15groups to 13 groups.

3.2The functions of promoting the organizational restructuring of the school

1. Horizontal organization reduced the administrative working level at school
2. Unite the powers or authority of offices improves the efficiency of the work
3. Consolidate the work and add the organizational functioning
4. Establish a school organization that is suitable for the direction for the educational revolution

4.Discussion

4.1 the problems that the school faces while the school promoting the organizational restructuring

1. Overemphasize the adjustment of the structure and ignore the other important aspects.
If we are overemphasized the adjustment of the structure, we would remain the meaning of the restructuring staying in the consolidation of the structure and ignore the other aspects.
2. The school's organizational structure still limits to the Bureaucracy. The executive power is often over the educational profession.
3. Being stressed of the school organizational restructuring and be lack of another whole-new organizational culture to correspond to it.
4. The process of the organizational restructuring still operates in from the above to below pattern which is not disadvantageous for reaching the agreement.
5. The process is supposed to get the support from the ministry of education to reach the agreement.
6. The related planning is still not enough and we should work harder to put the organizational restructuring into practice.

4.2 the difficulties that the school faces while the school promoting the

organizational restructuring from bureaucracy to teacher's professional learning communities

- 1 how to organize teachers professional dialogue time
2. how to get rid of controversial community members to improve the sharing and exchange
- 3 how to make sustainable learning community
4. including how to transform principals' leadership style, how to improve school culture, how to encourage teacher action search, and so on.

5. Implications and Conclusions

As described before, this study would be beneficial for practical area since this study provided a few evidences and suggestions of school organizational restructuring from Bureaucracy to professional learning community at an elementary school.

In the past, school management emphasized bureaucracy, but now we shall put emphasis on building teacher learning community. The main purpose of the study was to explore the processes and problems of school organizational restructuring from Bureaucracy to professional learning community at an elementary school of Pingtung county. In order to attain this research purpose, literature and document analysis was adopted. Their process and problems as follows: (a) emphasis on school organizational restructuring, the lack of another new organizational culture Correspondingly; (b) the process of organizational restructuring still subject to the "top-down" mode of operation; (c) how to organize teachers professional dialogue time; (d) how to get rid of controversial community members to improve the sharing and exchange; (e) how to make sustainable learning community; (f) including how to transform principals' leadership style, how to improve school culture, how to encourage teacher action search, and so on. In short, the study is to provide some suggestions and recommendations for school organizational restructuring from Bureaucracy to professional learning community in order to enhance teacher professional growth and improve the management of school administration.

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Heterogeneous Homescape: Ping Fong Acting Troupe's Apocalypse of Beijing Opera

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Abstract

Established in 1986 with the aim to convey the dignity and concerns of the Taiwanese, Ping Fong Acting Troupe is one of Taiwan's leading theatre companies and *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera* acclaimed as their masterpiece written by its deceased artistic director, Hugh K. S. Lee. In this play, the power struggle of a family-run Beijing Opera troupe is juxtaposed with the actors' private rows of a fictitious Taiwanese amateur troupe, which struggles to survive in the harsh marketplace while its actors fall out badly. There is a constant fear of failing to stage the show as scheduled; such a failure will result in the dismissal of the troupe, an allegory for the site of Taiwan. The plot is unfolded along the renovation of traditional Beijing Opera initiated in the past but carried out in present Taiwan. The success of the renovation relied on the unified efforts of the members of the previously disintegrating Taiwanese troupe

Lee re-considers the historical narratives and cultural memories in the space of Chinese past and their implications for the Taiwanese in the present. Via 'a play within a play' structure, two spaces are simultaneously presented on stage. Grappling with the issue of the un/settled nature of home-making, this play investigates the complex cultural imaginary and present an alternative way of mapping home for the Taiwanese. Home framed in the practice of localisation is destabilised by the utopian nostalgia towards the Chinese past reconsidered in present Taiwan. Taiwanese identity is located in a heterogeneous homescape between a reconstructed past and a transformed present.

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With a 400-year history of colonization¹, Taiwan is an immigrant society for which 'home' is a crucial and intriguing concept yet clearly defined². Since Taiwan is an immigrant society where the majority of the population is of Han Chinese ancestry, Taiwanese identity is located in a heterogeneous space. China has always insisted on its territorial right over Taiwan, in spite of their formal separation for more than half a century. However, although Taiwanese culture has evolved separately, Chinese heritage still bears influential marks on the construction of Taiwanese identity. Due to the common use of language and a shared historical past, the socio-political backgrounds and economic-cultural interactions between Taiwan and China inform the constitution of Taiwanese identity. This article, via tracking the ways that a cultural past in historical China is integrated into the mapping of present Taiwan, seeks to flesh out an in-between space where Taiwanese identity is theatrically negotiated.

This article tackles the discourse of home/identity in relation with Chinese history in contemporary Taiwanese theatre, focussing on one influential theatre production by the Ping Fong Acting Troupe (thereafter referred as Ping Fong) founded in 1986 by the deceased Hugh K.S. Lee (1955-2013). Ping Fong is selected for detailed evaluation because it was involved in the Little Theatre Movement and has become one of the few companies that can put on regular tours in Taiwan. Also, it has gathered rich experiences of international tours (mainly to south-eastern Asia and North America where the overseas Chinese are the targeted audience). Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that it has represented Taiwan to a wider audience. It has enjoyed a firm and continuous support from the public as demonstrated in the steady box office records. It used to hire more than ten full-time staff, which is still unusual for Taiwanese theatre, indicating that it has been running on a long-term basis. After almost three decades' practice, its works has had a long and wide exposure to the Taiwanese audience. Often inspired by socio-cultural events, its works reflect life in contemporary Taiwan and explore the complex constitution of Taiwanese identity. The cultural power that it exerts therefore makes its works worth evaluating.

Among the repertoires of Ping Fong, I have observed in the production, *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera*, a narrative of 'home' is developed as the present of Taiwan is mapped

1 Before being made a province of the Qing Dynasty of China in 1887, Taiwan had been partially occupied by the Dutch (1624-1662) and the Spanish (1626-1641). Then, the Qing Dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan for a fifty-year colonisation (1895-1945).

2 In the 17th century, the first wave of the Han people (escaping famine from the poor provinces in southern China) arrived in Taiwan. The last large-scale Han immigrants came in the late 1940s as a consequence of the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949) and after that, Taiwan has been separated from China politically.

in a dialectical time and space relation to the past of China. The performance analysis examines the dramaturgical structure of 'a play within a play' where the present locality of home and an imaginary homeland of the past are juxtaposed. Two narratives unfold simultaneously in these two spaces, sharing similarities in terms of plot and characterisation. Their story lines are separately forwarded but are also placed in constant reference to each other. The space of Chinese past remains constitutive of the present Taiwan where the construction of home and identity is mediated in the difference of the other space.

The central proposition of this article is that Taiwanese identity is best located in the spatio-temporal disruptions between the present locality and a cultural past. The past homeland, accessible only through fractured memories, cannot sustain integrity in the present. Furthermore, it is transformed by the present home whose constitution also undergoes changes. Two spaces are re-inscribed in each other whereas a heterogeneous home space emerges from the dialectics between past and present. I will first explore the discursive implications of Foucault's notion of heterotopia. Then, the detailed performance analysis will illustrate the theatrical siting of heterogeneous homescape in which Taiwanese identity is contended.

Heterotopia: a site of spatio-temporal discontinuity

Foucault first discusses the notion of heterotopia in 1967³. There, he pinpoints heterotopias in real social sites like the cemetery, library, prison among others. But in the preface to *The Order of Things* (1974), Foucault's second mention of heterotopias slides to stress the epistemological significance. Heterotopias here signify an absolutely differentiated discursive space; they shatter as well as tangle common names, destroying the syntax where identity is built by holding words and things together. Foucault's heterotopias show that differences are socially as well as discursively produced. Instead of an abstract void or a material container, Foucault's space is composed of a set of relations manifest in the social sites. Foucault sees space as that which "draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs..." (1986, p. 23). His view of space is deeply and intricately historical.

Laughing at the absurd bestiary in Borges' quote of a 'Chinese encyclopaedia', Foucault uses the notion of heterotopia to highlight the problematic task to classify things by difference (1974). Borges' fable divides animals into (a) belonging to the

³This notion was first brought up in a lecture Foucault gave to a group of architecture scholars and then appeared in a posthumous article, "Of Other Spaces" published in 1986.

Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, and so on. No coherent space can accommodate this classifying scheme except in the language itself. Such classification is implausible because of the propinquity between divided things that are named as such. This bestiary can only exist in utopia where differences are homogenised by granting “a common locus” that renders the propinquity of different things (1974, xviii). Situated in contrast to utopia, heterotopia in acknowledging the incommensurable conflicts between different things, maps out a heterogeneous space where the arbitrary link between the name and the named object, signifier and signified is hard to hold together. Heterotopia therefore destroys the syntax that makes meanings possible; it “dissolve(s) our myths and sterilise(s) the lyricism of our sentences“(ibid. xviii). To be able to name, the basis of division denotes the dogmatism necessary to exclude the different other that is not the named object. Borges’ table of animals shows any attempt of classification is inevitably arbitrary as well as contingent. What is more unnerving is that besides the incongruity between things and names, is the realisation that fragments of other possible orders co-exist in the space of heterotopia, a disordered territory where the different other resides and incommensurable orders are not gelled into an over-arching order.

Heterotopia that contains a cacophony of conflicting discourses and incompatible geographies exceeds the discursive limit⁴. Benjamin Genocchio (1995) argues that Foucault’s heterotopia, in establishing an absolutely differentiated space, also presents the limits of actualising this site. Genocchio(1995) views it as impossible to locate heterotopias in real places, yet he acknowledges the power of this subversive notion to expose the arbitrary nature of any spatial ordering systems and thus to “produce/theorise space as transient, contestory...” (p. 43). It is impossible to practically move to the otherly site of heterotopia which nevertheless offers an idea to confront the disciplinary power inscribed in social space, affirming the polysemantic nature of our collective spatial experiences in habitual practices and everyday life. Genocchio (1995) in rejecting the ontological existence of heterotopia however admits its subversive force that he sees embodied through an environmental installation set up in a underground station, a place where disciplinary power and social control prevail and dominate. Composed of interviews, audio broadcasts, texts etc, this installation at once displaces, and transforms a mundane and familiar space whose fabrication is simultaneously exposed and unravelled.

4 Because of this capability of transcending the discursive limits, the space of heterotopia is appropriated as a sign of literary post-modernism (Brian McHale, 1989). But there are critics holding in doubt the ‘non-critical’ appropriation of the idea of heterotopia such as in post-modern literature and cultural geography (Benjamin Genocchio, 1995).

It is this disruptive confrontation with a totalising space and order in Foucault's heterotopia that I want to pursue in relation to the problematic of mapping home and identity in contemporary Taiwanese theatre. The Chinese past constitutes a totalising space of Chinese identity that is invoked in juxtaposition with present-day Taiwan. The spatio-temporal continuity of this past is disrupted in the contingent present. In the disruption between past and present emerges the heterotopia, a site of spatio-temporal discontinuity. In "Of Other Spaces", Foucault's heterotopias are located outside the discursive / linguistic arena and designate social places in real geography such as the theatre, the cemetery, the cinema, the brothels among others which can be easily found in almost all cultures. Imbricated in the real world, heterotopias constitute a contingent yet differential space. On the borderline of the real and the imaginary space, heterotopias illustrate transient spatiality and ambiguous temporality. This formulation of heterotopia takes issues with the notion of historicity, where both personal and collective identities are produced.

The Foucaultian heterotopia offers an illuminating indicator to the juxtaposition of two spaces –historical China and present Taiwan featured in the spatial narratives where Taiwanese identity is mapped. The spatial narratives function like ideological practices in the sense that they attempt to tie an imaginary space to a real space as well as bind people to particular identities of both real and unreal spaces. Heterotopia has the critical value of locating itself simultaneously between two intertwined spaces: the real and the imaginary. Memory about the past homeland in China, and Chinese cultural history are re-enacted in contemporary Taiwanese theatre. Personal memories together with the Chinese past invoked and reconfigured in the present constitute the historicity wherein Taiwanese identity resides. And this historicity is interwoven into the present geography. I wish to borrow and modify Foucault's concept of heterotopia in making a more precise paradigm of the spatio-temporal dynamics of heterogeneous homescape where Taiwanese identity is negotiated.

In *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera*⁵, Hugh Lee explores the notion of home in relation to historical China. This production is part of the '*Fong Ping* series'⁶ about a fictitious amateur troupe named as the reverse of the *Ping Fong* Acting Troupe. This amateur troupe struggles to survive in the harsh theatre marketplace while its actors fall out badly. There is a constant fear of failing to stage the show as scheduled and such a

⁵ *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera* premiered in 1996 was staged again in 2000 and 2007.

⁶ '*Fong Ping* series' including three stage productions starts with *The Half Mile of The Great Wall* (1989), followed by *Shamlet* (1992) and ends with *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera*(1996). *Half-Mile Great Wall* presents a parody of Chinese history through which the private rows among actors are temporarily resolved. *Shamlet* is a parodied version of Shakespeare's Hamlet.

failure will result in the dismissal of the amateur troupe, an allegory for the site of Taiwan. Lee juxtaposes the power struggle of a family-run Beijing Opera troupe with the private rows of the Taiwanese actors via 'a play within a play' structure. Both the Beijing Opera troupe in China and the Fong Ping Acting Troupe in Taiwan face a crisis of disintegration. The Chinese past transformed by the present amateur troupe saves the Fong Ping's survival crisis and contributes to the binding of a collectivity among the Taiwanese.

Apocalypse of Beijing Opera delineates the transition period when people in modern China moved to live in Taiwan and Beijing Opera, the Chinese cultural tradition connects people in two places. Beijing Opera that elicits a cultural past is transformed to incorporate the present where it is re-inscribed. The love affair, money troubles, and power calculations among the actors lead to the accidents that transform the historical tragedy into a situation comedy. Via these quasi-historical narratives enacted by the Ping Fong/Fong Ping Acting Troupe, Lee hopes to identify various phenomena of social disorder in modern Taiwan. Hence, an allegorical reading of these juxtaposed narratives shows that Taiwanese identity is negotiated in between the two spaces between past China and present Taiwan.

Farewell to Beijing Opera

Apocalypse of Beijing Opera is 'a play within a play within a play'. The Ping Fong Acting Troupe plays the Fong Ping, which plays the Liang Troupe (a Beijing Opera troupe, made up mainly of the Liang family) that is rehearsing and playing an opera episode, *Fishing and Killing Clan*. *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera*, a semi-autobiographical work also brings in another time and space of Hugh Lee's family, the director of the Ping Fong Acting Troupe (also playing the director of the Fong Ping), as Lee's opera boot-maker father who, according to this production, worked closely with the Liang Troupe tells Lee its story in his childhood. The performance starts with slides of steps for boot making and ends on a pair of boots hand-made by Lee's elder brother, who inherits the family business. One pair of boots serves as a symbol connecting past and present for Lee's family as well as for the Liang Troupe.

Making opera boots, like traditional Beijing Opera, both require diligent practice and whole-hearted devotion. The tradition of Beijing Opera in this production is accredited with high standards in both morality and aesthetics. But as the modern time draws near, the traditional opera is forced to be open to renovation. I suggest *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera* aims to map the collective identity of the present Fong

Ping troupe through exploring the transformation of the Liang Troupe's collectivity and Lee's family identity in the past. Again, this mapping is mediated in the metatheatrical narrative that blurs the line between illusion and reality, past and present. As usual, the internal conflicts among the actors make it almost impossible to stage the show as planned and consequently, the Fong Ping faces a crisis of dismissal, which also threatens the Liang Troupe.

The Liang Troupe story is set in 1946 when China was at Civil War. The troupe toured around China to avoid the war that spread everywhere and had problems finding enough audiences. The old opera repertory needed renovation to make it more entertaining to attract more audiences. Renovation for Master Liang, the head of the family and the leader of the Liang Troupe was an agonising issue as he regarded traditional Beijing Opera not only as his life-making skill but also moral guideline. At first, he resisted renovation, emphasising that opera was made for a cultivated audience not for ordinary people. But in the wartime, the public went to theatre seeking for light entertainment rather than tedious moral lessons. The Liang Troupe's audience number decreased and a famous virtuoso coming to help boost the box office died accidentally. Crushed by these mishaps, Master Liang finally agreed to renovate, starting to create a new flashy version of an old opera episode, *Fishing and Killing Clan*. However, other troubles came up. The Nationalist Army interrogated Liang on the whereabouts of his first wife who had left the troupe to work for the Communists. Besides taxing politics, Liang's illegitimate affair with his daughter-in-law was discovered by Ms. Sun, his second wife. Liang whose career and family were both shattered, finally decided to give it all up.

Via the Liang troupe story that reconnects Lee with his family past, Lee investigates Beijing Opera, the Chinese tradition in a modern context where its stylistic formulas also convey nostalgia for a cultural past (Chou Huey-ling, 1996). The 'standard opera', the 'renovated' opera created in the Cultural Revolution simplified traditional tunes and lyrics; it was used to dispatch the political propaganda of Communist socialism. While the renovation by China was criticised for being political, the Taiwanese appropriation of this cultural tradition into the Gezaixi formulas was also reproached for misinterpreting the characters. Comparing these two 'modern' versions, Lee seems to advocate that Beijing Opera be freed from ideological intervention and exuberant cultural misappropriation.

I further suggest Lee's view of 'modern' Beijing Opera is influenced by his father and Master Liang who see Beijing Opera representing refined culture and a good way of

life. And, this good way of life is nourished in the regular public performances of Beijing Opera whose renovation would arrive as the effect of the historical force just as Master Liang had to renovate so that his troupe could survive the wartime. In response to the spatio-temporal difference between past and present, Beijing Opera undergoes transformation as observed in the final act when *Fishing and Killing Clan* was performed with a new flashy ending. Lee's father trusted that the continuous performance of Beijing Opera would ensure a successful transmission of a good way of life. I argue that the continuation of Beijing Opera and its cultural implications contributes to cohere the identity for the Liang Troupe and Lee's family. Furthermore, in making a collectivity of the Fong Ping troupe, it requires that Beijing Opera incorporate the difference of the present.

In the scenes of flashback, Lee returns to his family home where Beijing Opera and fatherly love are tightly interwoven. Through refreshing the memories about his father and a secure home identity, Lee seems to find courage to deal with the chaotic present where he is panicking about his wife's pregnancy and the lack of morale among the Fong Ping actors. Anxious about giving birth, Lee's wife also dives into the past to look for a feeling of security. Recollecting her first visit to Lee's family house, she noticed that a wooden door sliding on the track gave a squeaky noise. To her, this noise like the "sound of the track of time" symbolizes "tradition", providing her "a feeling of security"(Lee, Hugh K. S, 2013, p.51). Lee's family home behind the sliding door is limited by time and space disjointed from the present but it provides comfort also because of its confinement within the enclosed space. The past and old family home provides security but also limits the present constitution of home and identity for Lee and his wife. The past home needs to be remapped in the present where it is invoked in ambiguous memory, which in any case is the only way to access the past. The past can only be partially retrieved as it is always mediated in the different time and space of the present.

In Lee's recollection, Ms. Sun of the Liang Troupe who has moved to Taiwan visited Lee's father as an old family friend. Although she walked on a stick, she clearly remembered how she managed the Liang Troupe after Master Liang had left. Her Hong Kong friend wrote to tell her that Master Liang died in a denunciation meeting for he refused to perform the 'standard opera' as the Communist Party demanded. As Ms. Sun tried to show Lee's father her friend's letter, she pulled out of pocket a blank tissue paper. In this scene, memory seems so unreliable and fragile, like blank tissue paper on which anything can be written and also be easily destroyed. For Lee, memory is always receding from the present as he tries to grasp it. He constantly

questions whether Ms. Sun or even the Liang Troupe actually existed as their story was recalled from his father's memory. Lee's personal identity is always negotiated between a past and a present that are mutually constituted; similarly, the present identity crisis of the Fong Ping troupe is considered in contingency with the Liang Troupe in the past.

The performance of *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera* covers the rehearsal period and the premiere. The conflicts between the Fong Ping actors, though they occasionally interrupt the rehearsal process, have no transforming impact on the Liang Troupe narrative associated with Lee's father. The Liang Troupe narrative is rehearsed in linear order, from its struggle to survive the wartime to its dismissal by Master Liang. *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera* is the last in the 'Fong Ping series' where the amateur troupe is expected to clear their stained reputation. This requires a successful run-through of the Liang Troupe story, which ends before Master Liang carries out his renovation on Beijing Opera. Before the premiere, many Fong Ping actors with either emotional or financial problems plan to quit. Unable to find them solutions, Lee following Master Liang, announces that he will dismiss the Fong Ping Acting Troupe after the premiere. He also expresses his regrets that the Liang Troupe story ends in the dismissal of the Liang Troupe, which thus fails to finish its renovation of the *Fishing and Killing Clan*. The Fong Ping actors decide to work together to fulfil Lee's wish to stage this episode in its renovated form, through which the now and then theatre troupes' internal conflicts are resolved.

In the premiere, the Fong Ping successfully performs the Liang Troupe story, which ends in the renovated episode that was initiated in the past but finished in the present. This is a moment when the past narrative is continued in the present with a difference. This moment of ambiguous temporality and spatiality is further developed when Ms. Sun in Lee's memory also moves out of the past to enter the present of the Fong Ping troupe. After watching the premiere, Ms. Sun walks in light-footedly onto the stage and passes a pair of boots to Lee, asking him to return them to his father. Caught in the conundrum between the past, theatrical illusion, the present, she demands to meet Master Liang. On Lee's hint, the actor playing the master approaches Ms. Sun who asks the actor to make his final decision: whether he would dismiss the Liang Troupe, the same question she asked the real master before. Lee prompts the actor to reply differently. The fake Master Liang promises that he will stay to run the troupe instead of giving everything up. Ms. Sun gives a final cry of relief. A different past is envisioned via the spatio-temporal disruptions between past and present, reality and illusion, here and there. The past mediated in the present of the Fong Ping troupe is

reconfigured. Expanding the cultural significance of such mediation in relation to Taiwanese identity, I suggest the Chinese national identity once built on the cultural tradition of Beijing Opera is reconfigured in present Taiwan.

This symbolic inversion of the Liang Troupe narrative seemingly secures a coherent collectivity for both the Liang Troupe and the Fong Ping. However, after Ms. Sun's miraculous presence on the stage, Lee states that he never saw Ms. Sun again after 1984, long before the Fong Ping started rehearsing the Liang Troupe story. Ms. Sun's subversive intrusion into the present of Fong Ping is deliberately problematised. She lives on the borderline between reality and illusion, not belonging to either end. Simultaneously invoking and problematising the past remapped through memories, Lee breaches the integrity of an immutable past where a fixed home and its singular identity fails to be sustained in the present as the relationship between past and present proves to be dialectically constitutive. Heterogeneous space arises when the boundary between past and present is disrupted; this differential space of heterogeneous time unhinges the original identity associated with Lee's family and the Liang Troupe; the past is unhinged and reconstituted in the present of Fong Ping. The redemption for the 'Fong Ping series' comes from giving a performance that runs smoothly without the mistakes that amateur troupes make. The Fong Ping's lost grace is saved and it seems to gain a collective identity but Lee already announced the dissolution of the troupe after the premiere. Whether a collective identity for the Taiwanese can be sustained remains in question.

Heterogeneous Homescape

Ping Fong Acting Troupe insists on a native approach to making theatre that stresses originality. Hugh Lee mostly writes situational comedies inspired by social events. Local critics often regarded the audience's laughter as the proof to accuse Lee of not taking theatre as a serious matter. Lee defends this accusation with the fact that his comedy never has a happy ending, thus expressing his 'seriousness'. His productions do not simply mock social phenomena. Instead, his plays contain "a hidden request" to improve Taiwanese society "where something goes wrong" (Lee Li-hen, 1998, pp. 125-165). Lee dramatizes this hidden request in the role of a pregnant woman that appears in most of his plays (*ibid.*). She conveys the metaphorical significance of birth that Lee equates with hope and transmission of (new) life as well as of culture. I suggest that 'something wrong' refers to the deep anxiety of the Taiwanese who are unable to locate a fixed place of home. The baby is yet to be born and a home for the Taiwanese has yet to be located. This pregnancy indicates a state of becoming, and I argue this intermediate state, framed in contingency with the transmission of life and

culture, is related to heterogeneous space mediated between the space of a Chinese past and the present space of Taiwan. In this work, the Chinese past and its designated national cultural identity are appropriated in a Taiwanese context where identity developed around a home is displaced.

Lee explores the notion of home that disrupts the division between the imaginary Chinese past and the present Taiwan, two spaces that constitute as well as counteract each other. In *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera*, the device of ‘a play within a play within a play’ enables Lee to envision a new present-future developing from a different past mediated in the present. The successful premiere ending with the renovated Beijing Opera episode requires that the Fong Ping actors unite as a collectivity. The renovated episode initiated in Chinese past and completed in present Taiwan highlights that the cultural identity internal to traditional Beijing Opera is transformed in modern Taiwan. This past reconfigured in the present continues as Ms Sun subverts her past in the story of the Liang Troupe, whose disintegration crisis is thus reverted. A coherent Taiwanese collectivity seems to be coming into shape via this past reconstituted in the difference of the present. But, this collectivity is still not solidly grounded as Lee already announced the dismissal of the Fong Ping after the premiere. The collective Taiwanese identity emerges only in a heterogeneous space that incorporates the spatio-temporal differences between past and present.

Hugh Lee re-considers the historical narratives and cultural memories in the Chinese past and their implications for the Taiwanese in the present. Grappling with the issue of the un/settled nature of home-making, *Apocalypse of Beijing Opera* investigates the complex cultural imaginary and present an alternative way of mapping home for the Taiwanese in displacement of both Chinese past and present Taiwan. Taiwanese identity is located in a space between a reconstructed past and a transformed present, an in-between mapped through the spatio-temporal disruptions. In such space, the static status and fixed identity of home/homeland in both Taiwan and China is dismantled and Taiwanese identity is consequently constantly evolving.

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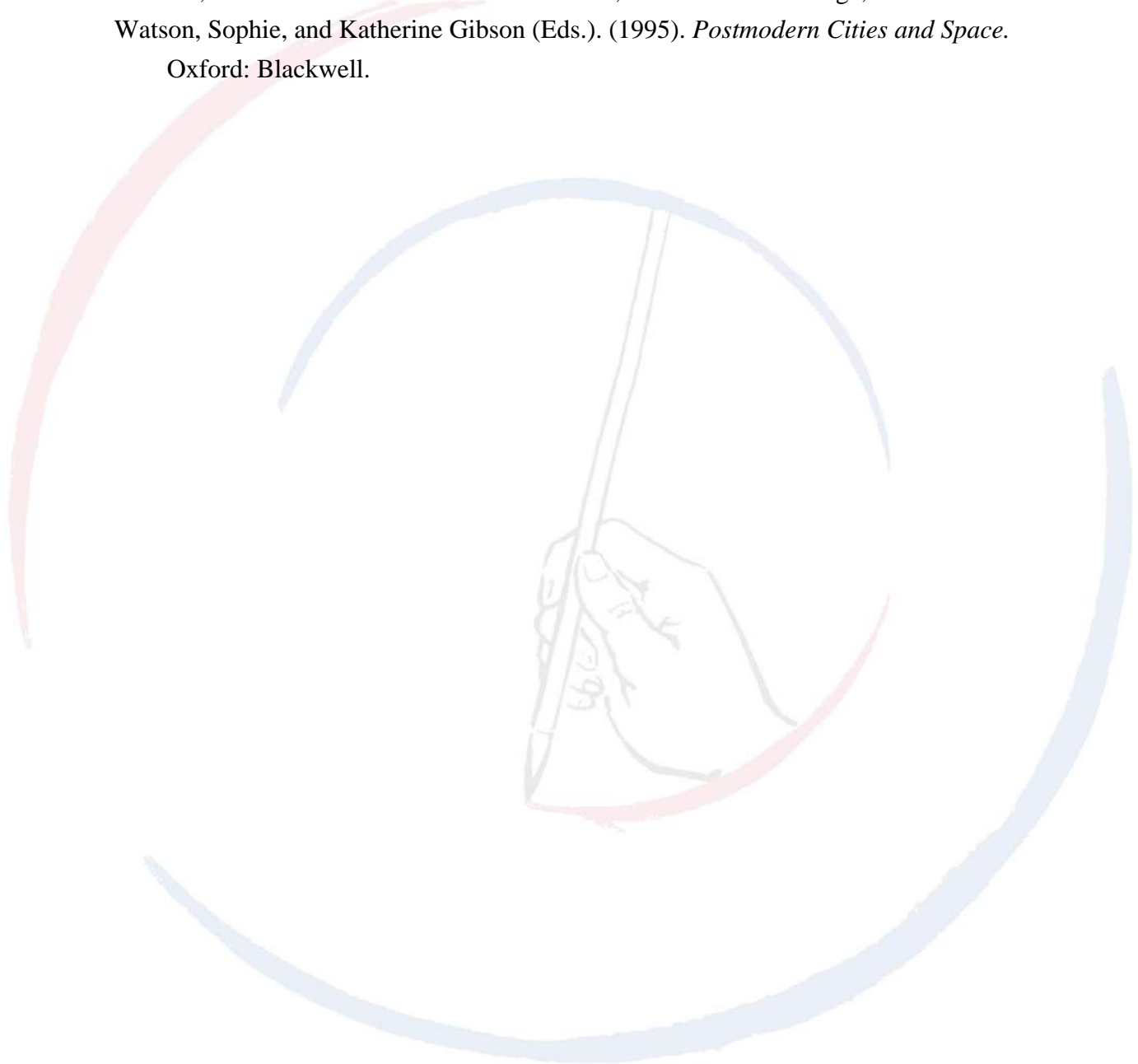
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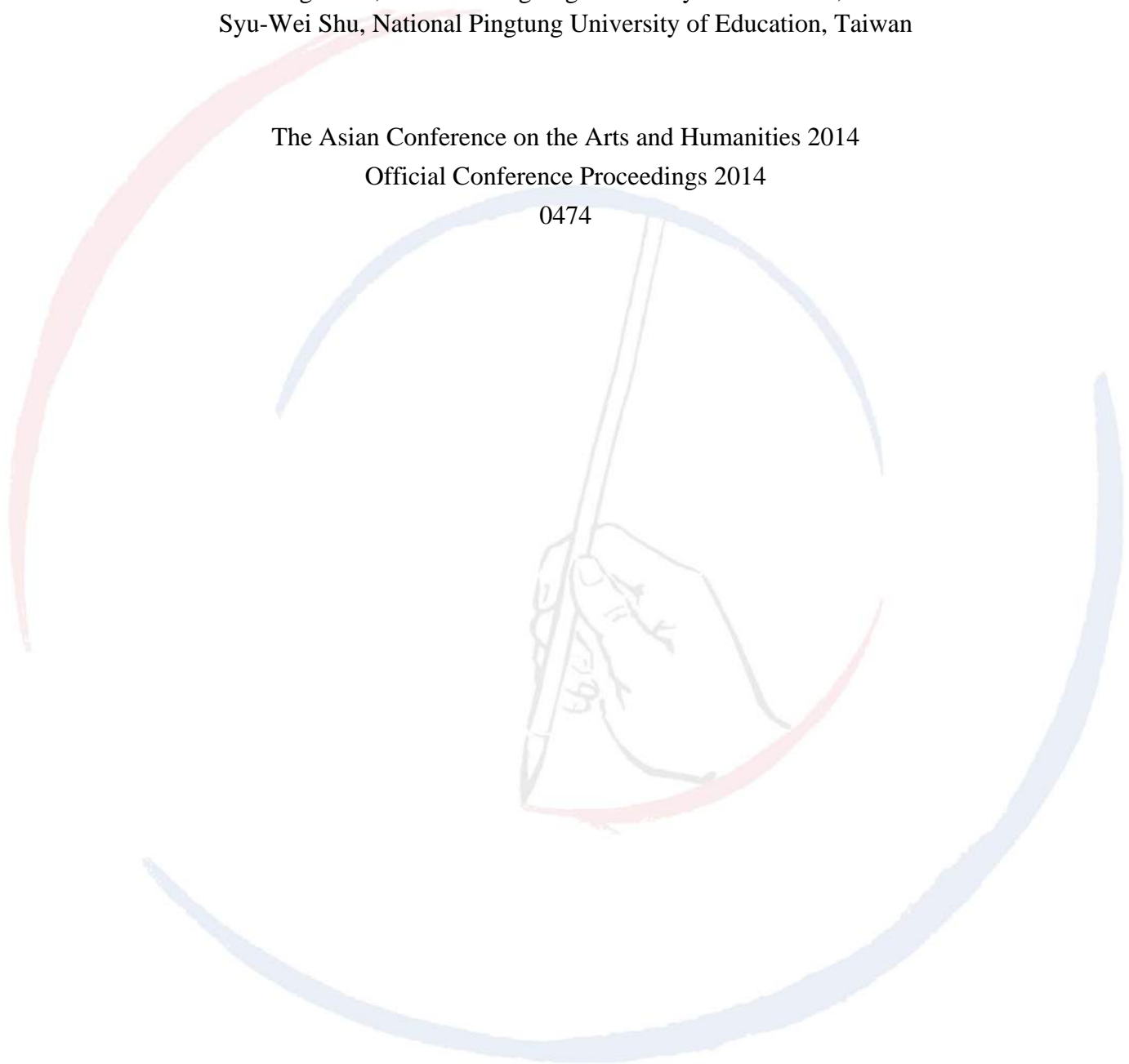


*A Study on the Construction of Curriculum Mapping-
The Case of Department of Education of NPUE*

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INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, curriculum mapping of each department at schools commonly exist in higher education in Taiwan since the application of Teaching and Learning Excellence Program. In 1980s, the society in Taiwan was dramatically changed. The leading systems of politics, economics, culture, and value in Taiwan were drastically varied by the impacts of the internal and external environment. Social forces got rid of the control of political power and economy due to deconstruction of the value system and diversification of social structure. Thus, various social movements sprang up like mushrooms, and the Educational Reform burst out like an explosion(Hsiao, 1989). The main requirement of the Educational Reform was deregulation of education. Higher education in Taiwan was rapidly expanded after the Consultants' Concluding Report on Education Reform was announced. Besides, the funds for schools from government were less and less because of the increasing numbers of schools. Program for Promoting Teaching Excellence Universities was also announced by Ministry of Education in Taiwan and it guided the development and improved the quality of the universities and colleges through the prize mechanism. And the curriculum maps were one of the necessities to apply for the programs for promoting excellence teaching universities, this opened the construction of Taiwan's higher education curriculum map trend. H. H. Jacobs(1997) believed the school curriculum map is a manuscript recounting the operational curriculum story. The research was a study of Department of Education of National Pingtung University of Education(NPUE as the abbreviation in the following). The study was narrated the procedure of constructing curriculum maps from the past, present and future development to provide the prospective suggestions for the curriculum maps of higher education in Taiwan.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Relate and Analyze Curriculum Mapping

The Statement of Curriculum Mapping with Empiricism. The empiricist, Dewey (1956), compared curriculum with drawing a map. He said “mapping is an abstract; it arranges for previous experience; it guides the direction of the future experience and provides people individual direction; it saves labor; it avoids unnecessary wander; it points out the short cut to achieve the goals directly. With the mapping guiding, latter travelers can benefit from formers' findings as well as experience and avoid wandering in wasting spirit and time. ”

Subjects use the most useful format to organize the previous experience. However, Dewey (1956) also pointed out that there is not an ultimate goal in the logical organization of experience. Its value is not in itself and its meaning is with its

standpoint and ways. In other words, mapping itself is the best organization of the previous experience and it makes future experience with more meanings and richness.

The Statement of Curriculum Mapping with Learning Community. Curriculum mapping is a progress and achievement from the teaching team whose team members get together and try to get better ideas. Jacobs (1997) thought that teaching leaders should use curriculum mapping to build a learning community. Jacobs applied the metaphor of the building to illustrate the processes of carrying out the curriculum mapping. She indicated that leaders must have plans (blueprint) and concepts of structure look (building). The function of curriculum mapping is to integrate this community. Through curriculum mapping to gather professionals, to improve teaching together, to construct centripetal leaning community and mold the processes of academic conversations as Uchiyama and Radin(2009) said, a program with high quality needed peer culture and support culture and the process of drawing curriculum mapping contained the value of the collegiality and the collaboration.

The statement of evidenced-based curriculum mapping. “Evidence-based”, included extending the term from the evidence-based policy and education. Evidence-based policy aimed at emphasizing rigorous scientific analysis of political decisions to permit the system and can be seized to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of rational government decision-making(Frey & Ledermann, 2010). Curriculum mapping in Taiwan also plays a decision to give evidence as a function of education. Under the trends of emphasizing the importance of educational evaluations in Taiwan, the evidence-based orientation to promote the teacher training program, curriculum mapping that is one of the most likely items necessary to render.

The developmental strategy of curriculum mapping

About the relevant curriculum mapping process, some scholars put forward different but similar stage (Jacobs, 1997, 2004; Oliver, Jones, Ferns & Tucker, 2007; Uchiyama & Radin, 2009). In this study, the above steps for the development of curriculum mapping, grouped into three main steps, namely, Plan, Do and Action, referred to as the PDA map curriculum development steps. Plan, this phase includes gathering information and comprehensive curriculum widely reading. Do, this phase includes grouping review discussions, reviewing the overall view, and selecting the final stages of building software. The last step, Action, is mainly a reflection of action and selects long term objectives and continues the cycled checking.

METHODOLOGY

Method

Participant observation In the process of setting up curriculum mapping, the three researchers of the study are the participants of setting up curriculum mapping and actually attend the developing process of curriculum mapping. The researchers are taken as the insiders; devoted to participating and observing the development of Department of Education of NPUE as well as the procedure and results of establishment and development of the curriculum mapping. The experimental procedure of the study is lasted for one semester (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000).

The analysis of the documents To achieve the research purpose one and two of the study, the researchers adopt the document analysis and collect the related meeting minutes. The meeting minutes that the study adopts are close to official records which are the evidence of the curriculum mapping to achieve establishment of Department of Education.

Interview The interview is adopted by purposive sampling and six pre-service teachers are interviewed in the study.

PROCESS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of developing curriculum mapping procedure

The background of the study mentions one close reason that the rise of setting up curriculum mapping in higher education in Taiwan is the University Teaching Excellence Awards Plans. According to “the second phase of the University Teaching Excellence Awards Plan“, the expected performance indicators three review the structure and content of the curriculum and offer the rich learning content to the students; qualitative assessment benchmark three: each department sets up the curriculum and education objectives and the connected charts of core competencies according to the curriculum content and teaching methods. Also, each department establishes the complete curriculum mapping to coordinate students’ graduation and help students select courses and plan learning (Ministry of Education, 2008.12). Under the education situation of evaluation guidance administration, each university starts to set up curriculum mapping of the department to get grants.

NPUE located in Pingtung and has its adverse impact on enrollment and access to resources. To overcome difficulties, NPUE also actively applies for Teaching Excellence Project to enrich school resources for promotion. Therefore, from the 98th

academic year, the departments of NPUE start to setting up curriculum mappings. To match up the administrative process, the Department of Education of NPUE set up “the building team of curriculum mapping“. The members of the team are seven people and the chair at that time of the department served as the convener who was responsible for the building of curriculum mapping of the Department of Education (the meeting minutes of Department of Education of NPUE, 2009, 9, 17). The PDA procedure of making curriculum mapping of the Department of Education is the following.

Plan The procedure includes two steps. The first step is collecting curriculum data. At the beginning of setting up curriculum mapping, most of people in the Department of Education are still unfamiliar with the concept, connotation or factor of the curriculum mapping. Although there is some related domestic literature, the curriculum mapping still lacks of complete narration and influences the quality of curriculum mapping (observed reflection, 2009,9,16). Through several meetings and speeches, we confirm the first work of setting up curriculum mapping, deciding educative goal and development direction to be the guide of mapping. On September seventeenth of 2009, the Department of Education held the first meeting and discussed three issues. The first one is the educational goal the Department of Education; the second one is the category of curriculum mapping of the Department of Education and the third one is the students’ future career of the Department of Education. After the Department of Education changed its name since 2006 (originally the Department of Elementary Education), it used to modify its educational goal. But with social change, the main objective that is to cultivate outstanding elementary school teachers originally also needs to be adjusted under the impact of declining birth-rate to fit the needs of the society and students. After the discussion of the participants in the meeting, holding the concept of heritage as well as innovation and taking into account the needs of teachers’ expertise and job market to draw the conclusion are as the following: first, there are four educational goals in the Department of Education which are having rich education, cultural and professional knowledge, specialized educational administration and management knowledge, practical education industry and business knowledge and extensive social care and service knowledge; second, the curriculum mapping of university is separated into core curriculum, characteristic curriculum and other curriculum. As for the future career of the students in the Department of Education, there are five ways which are educational department, academic research, public sector, educational business and non-profit sector (the meeting minutes of the Department of Education, NPUE, 2009, 09, 17).

The second step is comprehensive range of reading. After the philosophy of broader concept and objectives establishment, the building group collect the curriculum structure of the related departments of other universities which include teachers college and the Departments of Education in general universities instantly to be the amended reference. Moreover, the building group also collects the curriculum mapping of several universities in Taiwan to master the specific practices and outcomes of other schools. From the step, the building group gains the belief as the following:

The establishment of curriculum mapping should has the complete structure as well as under the big structure of school. Each department sets up its curriculum mapping which especially should focus on the relationship between the general education curriculum of the school and the curriculum of each department. This can give consideration to both integration and particularity of the curriculum mapping and also gives horizontal connection to each department rather than doing things in his or her own ways. This can make the organic links of school curriculum.”(Observed reflection, 2009, 9, 23)

The belief gives the building group of the Department of Education further understanding about the spirit of curriculum mapping.

Do The procedure includes three steps. First, recall and discuss by groups. According to the first meeting, the curriculum in the Department of Education is divided into educational foundation field, curriculum field and teaching field. Two members of building group are responsible for each field. After the meeting, the person in charge of the field of curriculum gathers the teachers in that related field to discuss and make the name of the curriculum in that field, the amounts of credit, required or selected, the grade of students that are taught, course requirement (For example, the prerequisite course) and so on. Then send the information above to the department office to synthesize. Second, check the recalling. On October 1 of the same year, the Department of Education held the second curriculum mapping meeting. In addition to positioning the Department of Education, the objective of amending the text, the meeting also makes the resolution as the following: 1. Different types of courses with different color rendering. 2. The future ways of each department suggests selected course to provide the references when the students register the courses (the meeting minutes of the Department of Education, NPUE, 2009,10, 01). Third, choose the constructed software. After confirming the discussion of the philosophy of curriculum mapping, make it concrete. The curriculum mapping of the Department of Education in NPUE uses the applied software such as

Mind-Mapping, Visio, HTML, PHP and programming languages to build the digital curriculum mapping which has a search, zoom view function, and data link functions. (<http://edu.npue.edu.tw>)

Action The procedure includes two steps. First, choose a long-term goal. Because it's urgent to build curriculum mapping, the Department of Education held the setting up meeting for curriculum mapping again on October, 29. The resolution of the meeting is to include the educational objective to the curriculum mapping to fit the requirement of school (the meeting minutes of the Department of Education, NPUE, 2009, 10, 29). On November, 19, the department of Education held the fifth setting up meeting of curriculum mapping. In addition to the partial modification and adjustment of lecturing courses of each department to the future ways, the related subjects of teacher examination are added. At the same time, find a mentor of freshman to gather some students to try the curriculum mapping. Doing this can understand the views of the students to the content and convenience of curriculum mapping. Also, the students' feedback makes the curriculum mapping more perfect (the Department of Education, NPUE, 2009, 11, 12). On November, 26, holding the last setting up meeting of curriculum mapping is to make amendments to details for the color and layout of curriculum mapping (the meeting minutes of the Department of Education, NPUE, 2009, 11, 26). So far, the Department of Education's curriculum mapping is to complete the build stage. The second step is cycled checking consistently. As the description above, the main mission of the course committee in NPUE is to plan and deliberate the curriculum structure of each department. The so called "plan and deliberate" is actually to build course self-evaluation mechanism and checking the courses consistently. As to the course checking mechanism, the course committee of department belongs to internal validation. In order to strengthen the effectiveness of inspection, there is another external checking approach. According to the established rule of "Curriculum evaluation measures of NPUE" (2009), external experts and scholars evaluate the department programs every three years. "Each subject to evaluation units provides improvement plans in accordance with the evaluation results in one month; sends the improvement plans to Curriculum Division of Academic Affairs for inspection and tracks the effectiveness of the implementation by the school curriculum committee" (The sixth article in Curriculum evaluation measures of NPUE). On April, 22, 2011, the Department of Education implemented the curriculum self-evaluation which invited the outside experts to come to school to evaluate the curriculum and the results were used as the basis to the improvement courses of the Department of Education.

The characters of the curriculum mapping building

The belief is based on students' empiricism philosophy. Although curriculum mapping building with higher education in Taiwan results from the application of Teaching and Learning Excellence Program, the agreement of developing curriculum mapping in the Department of Education is to clearly and systematically provide learners more meaningful and rich experience. According to the belief of the empiricism philosophy, educators provide the curriculum mapping in the Department of Education with students to make them understand and take courses. In order to realize Pre-service Teachers' understanding of the curriculum mapping in the Department of Education, six participants in this study were interviewed. The Pre-service Teachers' data of interviewing concludes two points of their understanding of the curriculum mapping.

1. Understand the curriculum framework easily Now that it is the curriculum mapping, it should has functions to guide readers to understand the curriculum framework as well as career development in the future. Pre-service Teacher A said that curriculum mapping should make everyone know what the courses were and understood the courses easily. Or nobody knew what the function of the curriculum mapping was(Interview, 2014.3.3, A). Pre-service Teacher E said that the major function of the curriculum mapping was to let students and external examinations immediately understand our core curriculum, characteristic curriculum etc., make us know career development in the future and what abilities were cultivated by us during the university(Interview, 2014.3.4, E). Pre-service Teacher F said that there should be an outline of the study and career development in the future in this department(Interview, 2014.3.4, F). Pre-service Teachers point out their viewpoints of the function of the curriculum mapping base on their requests of taking the courses, the guidance of the career development in the future and the negotiations with the members of society.

2. Understand the sequence of the curriculum There are its structure and sequence in the system of knowledge. Thus, the arrangement of the curriculum in the Department of Education in this study base on the principles of going from the easy to the difficult and complicated and form general to specific. According to the principles, the curriculum mapping uses different colors to present the groups of the courses. Pre-service Teachers in the Department of Education make great comments about the colours of U shape. Pre-service Teacher C said that we can recognize the courses as required courses or optional courses, which courses for sophomore and which courses for junior by colors. (Interview, 2014.3.3, C) Pre-service Teacher D said that we can clearly know which course for freshman, which courses for sophomore and which courses for junior(Interview, 2014.3.4, D). It shows that the curriculum mapping guides students successfully.

The collegiality and conversation of the professional community Curriculum mapping is a progress and achievement from the teaching team whose team members get together and try to get better ideas (Lu & Wang trans., 2008; Uchiyama & Radin, 2009), The processes of the curriculum mapping building in the Department of Education base on this spirit. At the beginning of the curriculum mapping building, the community of the Department of Education has this agreement.

The foundation of the curriculum mapping building in the Department of Education is that administrative force intervened. Due to the requirement of the application of Teaching and Learning Excellence Program, there starts to be this plan in the Department of Education. The curriculum mapping building is helpful not only for students' learning but also for teachers' understanding of the curriculum in the department and they also can rethink the arrangement, the rationality, and the systematic courses. However, it is important and necessary for the Department of Education to build the curriculum mapping. Therefore, it needs enough time to carry it out; or it is just to do a thing perfunctorily. (Observation and reflection, 2009.9.18)

According to the agreement mentioned above, the hierarchy of the whole school was given various experts' speeches, home and abroad cases sharing, and the processes of constructing software first; it seems that before constructing a new building, people should remove from detrimental stones and leading-in new soil to construct the blueprint and schema of the design; and then every chairman plays as an architect to lead all members in each department to collaborate and gradually as well as completely finish the curriculum mapping (Lu & Wang trans., 2008). Besides, in order to find out the core ability which should be cultivated, they deeply discussed the syllabus of the courses with the same titles but with different teachers during the same time when the second stage "Do" grouping discussion. As Jacobs (1997) said that through the heterogeneity of the teaching and administrative staff to form the sort of jigsaw puzzle group provide new viewpoints and then cohere with the agreements of the courses.

The procedure of building up was recurring. The construction of curriculum mapping is a process of keeping revising. The spirit of doing by learning and learning by doing fits in with recurring management. The recurring management is a kind of progressive elaboration; it plans for recent work first in detail and it keeps revising (recurring plan, 2008). The basis of the recurring management theory is recurrent learning; the emphasis on the basic understanding is to make reflection; the attitude

toward the reasons of the problems is to get to the bottom of an affair. The strategy is to make the way of thinking return to zero, find out the points, take action and evaluate effects (Wu, 2009). Although there is a purpose of administration in the curriculum mapping in the Department of Education within this study, from the aspect of the students' learning rights, students as costumers definitely have rights to know what the course are during their study period and realize the influence and benefits of the career development in the future. Especially for most people whose education goal is university, the curriculum mapping is more necessary. The standpoint is based on students-canter in the Department of Education; the value of constructing curriculum mapping is to make the previous experience empower the best organization for supplying Pre-service Teachers in the Department of Education with logical and rich learning experience as well as meaningful and professional education (Dewey, 1956). The opinions about the curriculum mapping in the Department of Education from the Pre-service Teachers, interviewees proposed as followings:

1. It's without pleasing to the eye. Because the limitation of the structure of the curriculum mapping, it cannot attract students' eyes. Pre-service Teacher B and C said that that the color was too dark, and it would not be attractive and not be beautiful enough... There was a feeling of standardization, and there was no character of the Department of Education(Interview, 2014.3.3, B, C). Pre-service Teacher D said that it was crowded with too many things. Although it marked core curriculum etc., it was not clear enough; the space should be more. Pre-service Teacher D also thought that it was too inflexible and it would not be attractive(Interview, 2014.3.4, D).

2. Insufficient Correlation Some other Pre-service Teachers proposed other opinions about the curriculum mapping. Two of the Pre-service Teachers point out the curriculum should have the guiding functions, that is the curriculum can clearly presents students the correlations between the courses and the relationships the a career development in the future; it is not just a static curriculum mapping(Interview, 2014.3.3, A, B). Pre-service Teachers also provide suggestions as followings:

1. Beautify the layout of a printed page For the sense of sight in the curriculum mapping, Pre-service Teacher C suggested that the color needed to be brighter, the words needed to be larger, in this way, it is able to be more attractive(Interview, 2014.3.3, C). Pre-service Teacher A thought that it should strengthen art because it looked monotone(Interview, 2014.3.3, A). Pre-service Teacher F also stated that the curriculum mapping should be added pictures to it(Interview, 2014.3.4, F).

2. Networking For using the function of the curriculum mapping, Pre-service Teacher A suggested that if the curriculum mapping could become a website. When you got into it, there were many things.....and it was easily updated, too(Interview,

2014.3.3, A). Pre-service Teacher C with the using website experience of teacher professional development proposed the following suggestion: It seemed that we surfed on the Net of teacher professional development, there were many things. It was not limited by the layout of a printed page. A page was filled with many things(Interview, 2014.3.3, C).

The curriculum mapping in the Department of Education has gone through for one month; the result combines the goals of the Department of Education, students' needs and recurring as well as correcting conversation between heterogeneous peers. The processes include the character of recurring: both flowing and harmonization (Jacobs, 1997). Through the Reflection Action stage, marching toward next goal, recurring check, elaborating the curriculum mapping in the Department of Education is the road of continuous development.

The prospect of the curriculum mapping building

The integration of curriculum data at whole school Lee(2009) points out that the major characters of the curriculum are: learning to guide, coherent integrations, hierarchical systems and courses examinations. Coherent integrations mean that professional curriculum, general course and the integration of the activities in each office at school to establish the complete university courses. Thus, the building of the curriculum mapping needs to consider strengthening the integration of the school courses and the interacted linking of data system such as teachers' courses over the years and the data of students' registered classes to supply the course reference for students.

To enrich the linking of information content So far, the most part of the development of the curriculum mapping is based on the linear structure(Wang, 2011). The curriculum mapping under a linear structure contains all of the possibilities. If the curriculum mapping only reveals the fields that can be seen, it's definitely not enough to guide the students to go through the path which the formers walked. Moreover, the students' course taking experiences may expand the unknown field. Thus, the building of curriculum mapping can enrich the linking of external resources in addition to internal data to make students' curriculum mapping become infinite possibilities.

The automatically updated information of the maps The concept of " curriculum mapping " not only relate to the design and plan of curriculum but emphasizes the dynamic process(English, 1980; Jacobs, 2004; Hale, 2009). Thus, the expansion of

curriculum mapping is absolutely not only the interacted linking and computing between the information but further automatically and wisely produces the data of curriculum mapping that we need. That is from the information searching, present data applying and system ascertaining automatically, the information is transformed into the necessity. Through using the automatic updating of mapping information, the information of curriculum will be more synchronic and the information will be used more wisely.

RESULTS

The results were the following. First, the process of curriculum of maps of the Department of Education of NPUE was constructed by PDA: the case in the study was based on empiricism philosophy, using Plan, Do and Action that were referred to as PDA curriculum development steps to build curriculum maps, construct a learning community, to provide evidence-based evaluation, to provide students with guidance function.

Second, the procedure of building up was recurring, functional diversity: the build process was the concept of a PDA for quality management, such actions - to improve - and then rolling course of action, the feature of the constructed course maps of Department of Education.

Third, the construction of curriculum maps was a process of sustainable development: Curriculum development and curriculum map building were an ongoing process of continuous development, and therefore PDA's quality control process was constantly monitored and corrected the curriculum maps in order to make the curriculum maps develop the functions to guide students to learn and become the learning objectives. The pre-service teachers are the main users. The needs of aesthetic qualities and functional properties are the directions of gradual improvement of building curriculum mapping.

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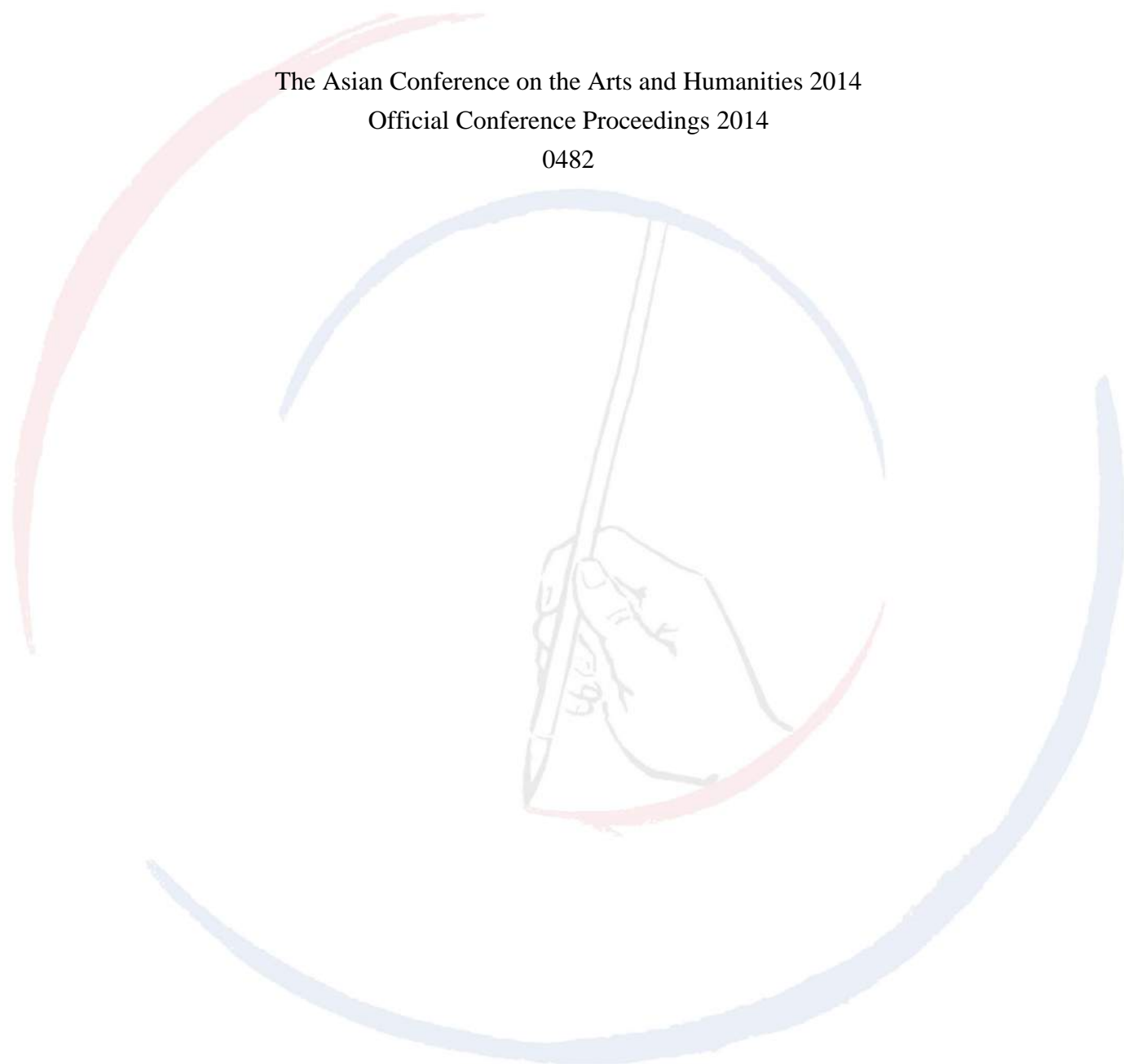
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***Estranged Subjectivity:
An Investigation of the Live-action/animated Hybrid Characters***

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This study proposes that subjectivity is an effective trope for investigating the formal manipulation of the integration between live action and animation. A live-action/animated hybrid character has the capacity to interrogate the construction of subjectivity, and therefore can be used by filmmakers to express issues regarding subjectivity, selfhood and identity in the real world. The performance of subjectivity in hybrid films is investigated via three topics: (1) the contest between autonomy and subjection in hybrid work, (2) representation of filmmaking practice, and (3) hybridised character and estranged subjectivity.

The Contest between Autonomy and Subjection

The concept of animation is strongly connected with the endowment of the quality of life. It can be argued that among all artistic forms, animation is most related to the idea of “life-giving”. Crafton (1982, p. 6) asserts that animated cinema could not have existed before the cinema came into being around 1895, and that animation is a subspecies of film. Whether this latter claim is valid remains debatable, especially with the impact of digital tools. One thing that is certain is that the so-called *true* animation first appeared in the form of the hybrid of live action and animation with the “cooperation” of live action. The drawn sequences in J. Stuart Blackton’s *Humorous Phases of Funny Faces* (1906) is often cited as the first example of true animated drawings (Beckerman 2003, p. 16), while the “first true animated cartoon” is generally understood to be *Fantasmagorie* made by French artist Emile Cohl in 1908 (Crafton 1982, p. 60). They both are manifestations of animation’s specific association with life-giving. Both of the films begin with the artist’s (photographic) hand at work. In general the live-action hands do two things: make or erase drawings, i.e. give or cancel life. The juxtaposition of live-action hands and moving drawings highlighted the difference between photographic images and drawings, and made it possible to understand animation as an aesthetic device.

Crafton (1982, p. 11) notes the concept of “self-figuration” as the tendency of filmmakers to interject themselves into their films in the early twentieth century. The presence of the animator invested early hybrid films with a quality of reflexivity which speaks to the autonomy and subjection of the drawn figures, and presented a kind of “class struggle” between the animator and the animated. Through the intervention of the artist’s hand, the knowing play with surface and depth, and the set up of simulation and situation, early animators revealed the derivation of life on the screen. An animator plays the role of the almighty hand, trifling with the creation under the pen. Meanwhile, these drawings are unwilling to be passive creatures only, they resist and oppose, striving to earn their own existence and independence. Most

often these early hybrid films did not have linear or well-developed storylines. The relationship between the creator and the creation – the omnipotence of the animator's hand and the reaction of the drawn creation – was the main source of entertainment. Showing only hands, the animator was pictured as a powerful magician, and was implied to be the master of the universe created for the screen, claiming his animated figures' submission.

In these films, however, although animators enjoy a privileged role as the creators of life, their personalities were not particularly explored, i.e. they had little other role than that of the master-creator. Drawings created by them are the real centre of the limelight, playing out dramas of self-struggle. The prime example of this scenario can be seen in the Fleischer Brothers' "Out of the Inkwell" series. Taking one of their earliest works *Tantalizing Fly* (1920) as an example, the film is a culmination of the experimental operation of the interweaving of the flesh-and-blood and the hand-drawn world. It starts with an animator sitting there drawing a cartoon of a clown. A three-dimensional fly (a model) comes to rest on his paper and starts to harass both the animator and the clown. Both of them are irritated. The clown asks for the animator's pen and draws his own "creation" to lure the fly. Their attempts to get the fly are in vain. Exasperated, the clown rips up the paper and hides himself in the crevice. The animator picks up the paper and turns it around to expose the clown, who soon transfers into an ink-drop and slides down the page into the inkwell. The fly follows it into the bottle blindly so that the animator can finally capture the annoying insect. Playing with the division between the cartoon world, which the viewer understood as less "real", and the adjacent photographic world, social satire mixed with reflections on the relationship between the animator, studio and characters. It is not surprising that in the early days the Koko stories involved a struggle for corporeal existence. This strategy of expressing the contest between autonomy and subjection through materiality has been continued in more recent hybrid films such as *La Sexilinea* (Osvaldo Cavandoli, 1977) and *Manipulation* (Daniel Greaves, 1991). Even in the digital era, the animator's hand is still an effective device with which to fascinate viewers. In 2006 Alan Becker's Flash animation, *Animator vs. Animation*, gained a large number of hits after being posted on the internet. Because of its popularity, the animation prompted two sequels and a game version, and inspired numerous imitations by its viewers, even though it is in many respects a retread of those early films – with a drawing desk changed to a computer screen, and the hand changed to the cursor.

Nevertheless, the animator's hand can also be presented metaphorically. In Max

Fleisher's "Out of the Inkwell" series, although the main animated character, Koko the Clown, is not directly drawn by the cartoonist, it is always shown as a drop of ink that comes out of the inkwell and falls on the cartoonist's hand. The cartoonist would then blow on the drop, which then instantly turns into a clown. In latter examples such as *You Ought to be in Pictures* (1940) and *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* (1988), the live-action characters are filmmakers, directors, producers or film company bosses. Animated cartoon characters are presented as something being created. Just as those who are displayed alongside an obvious creator's hand, these cartoon figures' destinies are to entertain people, make people laugh, or to follow live-action characters' intentions.

Regarding "creator/created" theme, we should notice a gender difference among filmmakers. Naturally women are the bearers and generators of life but in the early days of film women did not have many opportunities to become animators – another kind of "life giver". Animated filmmaking was a male-dominated profession. In industry women were generally hired only in the lowly role of inkers or painters. Sometimes they might advance to the position of in-betweeners, or an animator's assistants, but rarely worked as animators. The resistance a woman might face if she wished to enter the animation industry can be seen in an example from the 1930s, in a letter that was the response from Walt Disney Productions to a female job seeker: "Women do not do any of the creative work in connection with preparing the cartoons for the screen, as that work is performed entirely by young men. For this reason girls are not considered for the training school. The only work open to women consists of tracing the characters on clear celluloid sheets with India Ink and filling in the tracings on the reverse side with paint according to directions" (Burg, 2007). It was probably accepted thinking at that time in the industry that women did not possess the creativity required to be an animator. The very first female animator within the studio system was Lillian Friedman. At the age of nineteen, in 1931 she joined the Fleischer Studios as an in-betweener. In 1933 animator Shamus Culhane recognised her talent and recommended her for advancement to an animator. In his book *Talking Animals and Other People* (1986, p. 66), Culhane points out that it was not easy for him to convince the other animators to accept a woman working as animator. He had to devise tricks to make her accepted in the all-male environment. Even though Friedman achieved the status of animator she was paid considerably less than her male counterparts. Friedman remained in the job until 1939 when she resigned from Fleischer Studios to be with her family full time.

In terms of independent filmmakers, although a few female filmmakers showed great

creativity and innovativeness in the early days, such as the pioneering female animator Lotte Reiniger (1899 - 1981), their achievements were relatively sporadic in the first half of twentieth century. However, in the last quarter of the twentieth century the number of females working as animated filmmakers dramatically increased (Pilling 1992, p. 5). Yet interestingly, compared to male artists, female artists still present themselves less frequently as the life giver in their works. When they do present themselves in their films as the animator/author/creator, the role portrayed often has different relations with its creation than that portrayed in films made by male artists. In their works, not all the animated figures have to immediately start a rivalry with their creator. Kathy Rose's *Pencil Booklings* (1978) and Joanna Priestley's *Voices* (1985) are two examples. The former begins with the scene when the artist, who resembles Rose and is represented through rotoscoping, paints several characters in the air. The characters soon become lively and talkative, each having a unique personality. They refuse to be characters in Kathy's film and even invite her to join in *their* cartoon. The relation between the artist and its creation appears to be more fluent and relaxed, allowing the created to express their views. Priestley's film uses the artist's physical presence as well as her voice to construct her self-image. As a resemblance of the filmmaker talks to an anthropomorphic mirror, she describes and visualises the fears of aging, gaining weight and wrinkles, as well as things that go bump in the night, monsters of the id, and nuclear holocaust. In the end she concludes that "the attitudes that I hold in my mind create the world that I see", implying that the creation on the screen is the embodiment of her mind, which is basically part of her and inseparable from her.

Using rotoscoping, these two examples are both hybrid works. They reveal the relationship between the animator and the animated through the interface between live action and animation, which is relatively rare in animation works by female artists. In contrast, female artists do not shun issues of sex and gender. Either boldly or humorously, female artists such as Suzan Pitt and Michaela Pavlatova among others express their views with insights into the relationship between the genders. I wondered if this might also arise from gender difference. Perhaps it is the case that for female artists, or the natural life-carrier, creating and being created is not something that troubles their sense of self too much. While male artists are more likely to be obsessed with the relation between the creator and the created, the gender gap often becomes the main source of the subjective struggle for female artists. In this regard, the theme of subjectivity is, as seen in many works by female artists, expressed through a depiction of gender and/or sexuality.

Representation of Filmmaking Practice and Creative Subjectivity

The self-portrait of the author can also lead us to the question of the representation of artistic practice which is often associated with the representation of an artist's identity and tools. There is a long history of individuals being portrayed in paintings by showing specific tools or clothing related to their profession. These objects are visual attributes of the portrayed person. For example, a celestial globe as the symbol for an astronomer in the Durer astronomer by Albrecht Dürer in 1504 (fig. 1), a set of measuring instruments for a mathematician in *Nicholas Kratzer* by Hans Holbein in 1528, and a nautical map for a geographer in *The Geographer* by Johannes Vermeer, c. 1668-69. Artists have also represented their practice or professional identity by displaying attributes of painting in their own works. Some of the first representations of artists at work may be found in illuminated manuscripts and in the early Renaissance where we find St. Luke painting the Madonna as a way to depict artistic practice and skill (Lehmann 2009, p. 33). During the Renaissance the iconography of artistic practice evolved into the self-portrait of the artists who often appeared in the act of painting themselves at the easel with their workshop as the background (Lehmann 2009, p. 33; Hernandez 2010, p. 42).



Fig. 1: Durer astronomer, an engraving of an astronomer by Albrecht Dürer, from the title page of Messahalāh, De scientia motus orbis, 1504 (Source: Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon, <http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/art/astronomer.html>)

Despite the variety of techniques and changing technologies, the iconography of “the artist at work” is still common in modern times. In the case of animated filmmaking,

early animators tended to interject themselves into their films. The way they presented themselves was a direct adaptation of classical iconography. For example, in J. Stuart Blackton's *The Echaned Drawing* (1900), *Humorous Phases of Funny Faces* (1906) and *Lighting Sketches* (1907), the artist is shown as an illustrator or lighting sketch artist at his easel, creating drawings which are animated then in the film. However, the self-portrait that drew attention to the processes and procedures of animation filmmaking did not appear until Winsor McCay's films.

People today may have difficulty imaging how the frame-by-frame technique could seem like magic. However, in the earliest days, part of the attraction of animated films came from the secret of the trick effects that animators were eager to conceal.

Although self-figuration was often a characteristic of early animated films, animators before Winsor McCay usually portrayed themselves (directly or by implication) as a kind of sorcerer or magician. Film companies also used a sense of mystery to market animated films. In the discussion of *The Haunted Hotel*, the animated film created in 1907 using stop-frame technique that aroused enormous public curiosity at that time, Crafton (1982, p. 16-18) elaborates on how the public aura of mystery and insolubility was deliberately built around animated films in the first decade of twentieth century. As the mystery of animated films needed to be sustained, the image of the animator tended to be someone who was able to do mysterious things. McCay, however, did not continue this image. From his very first film, he portrayed himself as something else.

Before setting foot in animated motion pictures, McCay was an artist-reporter and newspaper cartoonist. He also performed "chalk talk" in vaudeville. In 1911 McCay completed his first animated film. It was based on his "Little Nemo" comic strip, and was intended to be presented in a vaudeville show. The film started with a live-action prologue followed by hand-drawn animation. There has been debate about whether a short all-animated version was completed and used on the vaudeville stage before the release of the motion-picture version. According to Crafton (1982, p. 98-100), when the idea was being presented for the first time on the stage, it already had the prologue that accompanies the film as we see today. The prologue is a self-portrayal of the author and a tale of challenge. Explaining the origin and process of the animated work, it shows the versatility and skilfulness of the animator. In the prologue, McCay is in company with several friends at a club. He tells them his new idea for a cartoon. In this scene, close-up shots focus on McCay rapidly drawing the four characters for the animated cartoon, which is an exhibition of his skill of caricaturing. The artist then makes a bet with his sceptical friends and signs a contract, agreeing to turn out 4,000

pictures in one month's time for a moving picture company. In the following scenes McCay demonstrates his perseverance working at his studio. With hundreds of drawings piled on his desk, McCay seems absorbed by his labour. Meanwhile, workers keep entering carrying tons of paper and ink barrels. These comical scenes underline the effort required in the production of animation, which is now an iconic image of animation production. Another iconographic element of animated filmmaking seems to be the presence of technological elements. The scene in which McCay's young assistant attempts to flip the drawings on the Mutoscope, a rotating drum for testing the consistency of drawings, is useful for the iconography of animation as a novelty and of the animator as a resourceful technician. In this film, McCay was already portraying himself as a craftsman or technician, rather than magician.

This self-portrayal device continues throughout most of McCay's subsequent works. His animated films often begin with a live-action prologue, explaining the circumstances where the "artist McCay" undertakes this task, along with the exhibition of his studio and the animation equipment. Usually the prologue contains a bet or a mission which indicates the amount of pictures needed to make the film. The "bet" also plays a crucial role in modelling the profession of an animator. The numbers increase for every new work, showing that every task is more difficult than the previous one, and the achievement of the animator becomes greater each time. Through those prologues, McCay tells the audience that all the magical, wonderful images were the product of the rational and technology. By revealing the apparatus and the process, he lets the audience understand that even a short animation demands thousands or even tens of thousands of drawings and amazingly skilled labour, giving the animator a different identity from the magician.

Although caricatured, the prologue to the "Little Nemo" animation is basically true to the reality of the development of animation production. Could this be the first time the animation process was presented? It seems that McCay was interested in dispelling the magical aura of images on the screen. However what he had done might just be the opposite. He chose to evade the question of how his drawings were put together to create the fantastical "moving images". Usually in his films the crucial part of the *bringing to life* tricks, namely the shooting and editing of drawings, is concealed, remaining in the "black box" (Crafton 1982, p. 16-18; Hebert 2005, p. 183), a term used to refer to technical secrets/skills hidden and accessible only to those with such skills. The audience always sees the resultant film directly without witnessing how the frames are recorded and processed. The mystery of animated filmmaking therefore

increases through this revealing-and-concealing strategy. In effect the “Little Nemo” film functioned as a promotional vehicle for the multi-talented Winsor McCay. This is quite obvious from the film’s title: *Winsor McCay, the Famous Cartoonist of the N.Y. Herald and His Moving Comics*. In this sense McCay’s hybrid films may be regarded as the predecessor of today’s “Making-Of”, or behind the scene, genre. In a contemporary “Making-Of”, artistic practice is also displayed without giving away the secret of the actual how-to. Regardless of their promise to reveal the making-of illusion, key elements of its magic are deliberately withheld. Through a selective representation of animation and CGI making process, the audience learns that a huge amount of work and skill is required in the creation of illusionist imagery. The ability of its makers is more admired, and the fascination of the final product increases. At the end the “Making-Of” is more about advertising a coming attraction than it is about technical enlightenment.

The “Making-Of” shows the distance between representations of digital filmmaking and the actual process. Yet does it also remind us just how difficult it would be to reveal and represent the digital filmmaking process? It is not easy to represent artistic practice in the digital era when much of the core experiment happens inside the computer. How do we describe and visualise the procedures of data programming and processing? The employment of modern technologies not only brings difficulty to the self-revelation aspects of animated filmmaking, it also imbues animated filmmaking with a quality of uncanniness. Many early animated films seem to exhibit this sense of the uncanny. Many of the tricks, from phantasmagoria shows to early film and beyond, are associated with a sense of the uncanny by rendering an ordinary world extraordinary. The processes that are kept opaque to non-initiates have been described by scholars and filmmakers as “black box”, a term that can refer to anything that has mysterious or unknown internal functions or mechanisms (*Merriam-Webster* on-line dictionary). With better and better user-friendly interfaces, advanced technologies seem to make the filmmaking process appear easier, or at least more accessible. Computers are ordinary machines that we can manipulate relatively easily. However, they are also machines few of us understand completely – or even partly. When a filmmaker makes a nice fire effect with just a few clicks, who is the creator of the fire? Is it the filmmaker, the computer, or the person who designed the software? Relying more and more on digital technologies, contemporary animated filmmaking inevitably carries a sense of the uncanny caused by an experience that exceeds our reflexive grasp (Jervis 2008, p. 28-29). After all, the creative self may not be so distinct or in opposition to its creation. As Hernandez (2010) suggests, the author is “the product of a period, of a class, of a gender, of aspirations that are socially determined” (p.46).

Hybrid characters can be expressions of notions of self in other and other in self. The next section is about their formation and function.

Hybridised Character and Estranged Subjectivity

There are two main ways to create hybridised characters. The first is by integrating heterogeneous movement and figuration; and the second is by putting heterogeneous parts into the same figure. I would call these two ways, *hybridisation within the character* and *hybridisation upon the character*. *Hybridisation within the character* means animating a photographic figure (e.g. pixilated figure), or the integration of a hand-drawn or CGI figure with conventional live-action movement (e.g. figures made by rotoscoping and motion capture). When the figure is seen as a still image (i.e. taken from the film) the viewer cannot tell it is a hybridised figure, but when it moves it becomes clear that it is. *Hybridisation upon the character* means the appearance of the figure derives from heterogeneous elements, but the movement is not a concern, for example, the protagonists in the *Angry Kid* series (1999 - present), *City Paradise* (2004), and *Madame Tutli-Putli* (2008). Before the digital era, hybridised characters could only be achieved through a limited set of approaches. The level of difficulty in production was higher compared with a non-hybridised character. As pointed out by Manovich (2002: 157), computer technology privileges spatial dimensions that were not available to be exploited in the pre-digital time. The use of digital technology opens new possibilities for the production of hybridised characters because it makes it easier. The approaches are now many and various. Yet, just as in the pre-digital era, they remain two distinct kinds of hybridisation.

The first type of hybridisation – hybridisation within the character – often causes confusion about the character’s material or existential identity. Techniques include old-style rotoscoping, pixilation and, in contemporary digital cinema, motion capture. The blending of heterogeneous movement and figuration into one character raises issues of life as representation, and the self as constructed. Its operation could be discussed from various viewpoints. For example, in *I move, so I am* (Gerrit van Dijk, 1998), the author uses rotoscoping to create a self-representation that expresses the animator’s identity figuratively. The film starts with a hand drawing the other hand, and then the shoulders, head, legs and the animator himself. The figure of the animator then engages in constant actions of animating things and reinventing himself. Presented in restless, continual motion, the hybridised figure reveals the construction of the acting self. Appearing to be an adaptation of Descartes “I think, so I am”, the title “I move, so I am” seems concerned with the interdependence between the body and the brain. Yet the employment of rotoscoping also implies the non-integration of

one's subjectivity. The technique I explored was pixilation rather than rotoscoping, but the non-integration of subjectivity is what interested me. Explicit in the works or not, I actually found a non-integration through the production process.

Apart from integrating heterogeneous movement and figuration, there is obviously another way to create hybridised character: hybridisation upon the character, namely to put heterogeneous parts into the same body. In Hollywood mainstream films these parts are often adjusted into the same visual style and combined seamlessly. Even so, interesting questions may be asked on the strength of the advanced compositing technology. Films raise philosophical questions, such as *Repo Men* (2010) which could be said to ask "What makes me ME?". In this futuristic action-thriller, humans have extended and improved lives through indestructible mechanical organs provided by advanced technology. Imagine I have a bicycle. When the tyres are worn I replace them. When the frame breaks I replace it. After a while I replace everything on this bicycle. Is it still my bicycle? Similarly, if I extend my life by replacing broken parts of my body until most parts are replaced, is it still me? How many organs should be left to keep me the same person? Has my identity changed after I have had my heart or brain replaced? Are there any defining organs? What is the minimal sense of self? By crossing the boundaries between machine and human, not only the boundaries between life and death but also those between the self and non-self are broken or disturbed.

In the case of experimental films or shorts, the traces of heterogeneity are often retained or even emphasised. In the live-action/ animated hybrid film *City Paradise* (Gaelle Denis, 2004), the protagonist's head is live action while the body is made by computer and hand-drawn animation. The slender and distorted animation limbs are especially suitable for depicting the desolation of life in the metropolis. When, later, the protagonist discovers the mysterious, colourful underground world below the metropolis, the caricaturised body also suits the fairy-tale like atmosphere well. "The Fuccons", a Japanese TV comedy series, may be another, more radical example. Featuring a family of Americans (the Fuccons) living in metropolitan Japan, the series is notable in that all of the characters are played by mannequins with perpetually frozen postures and facial expressions. The fact that the audience could totally understand the story, and could automatically interpret those frozen postures into movements and performances that are required for the story, demonstrates the significance of the viewer's function in the realisation of a film work. For an audience willing to engage in the narrative, the motionless lips may appear to be perfectly in sync with the dialogue. In its use of mannequins, "The Fuccons" reminds us of the

uncanniness of the human-thing engagement. The only scene in the whole series that is animated is when Micky, the Fucons' little boy, imagines that he is an ingenious dancer and dances so vividly and nimbly that it becomes even weirder in its effect than all the uncanny mannequin stills. Marx (1990) claims that commodities become "autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own" (p. 165). As a result, we can become thing-like while living under forces that are "figured" by things. The existence of "The Fucons" series also seems to imply that this hyperrealised world needs something extra, a more radical element, to produce any sense of shock. It could be argued that such absurdity is a form of continuation or even an elaboration of hyperrealism. Yet in a sense the absurdity actually renews the hyperrealist impetus by asking certain questions about the operations of the illusion of movement, performance and montage on the construction of moving images, aside from the human-thing issue in the contemporary era.

In summary, subjectivity has been an effective theme explored by hybrid films. Hybrid works are now everywhere, not only in Hollywood blockbusters, but also in works by independent filmmakers and multimedia artists, who are enthusiastic about using digital technology to integrate different elements in a video. Putting multi-source elements together is a primary tendency in the so-called "postmodern culture". But how can we make it work in a postmodernist context? This paper argues that one issue the interface between live action and animation prioritises is that of subjectivity. In this digital era, a hyperrealised subjectivity is something filmmakers can reconfigure and represent reflexively through the power of digital technologies.

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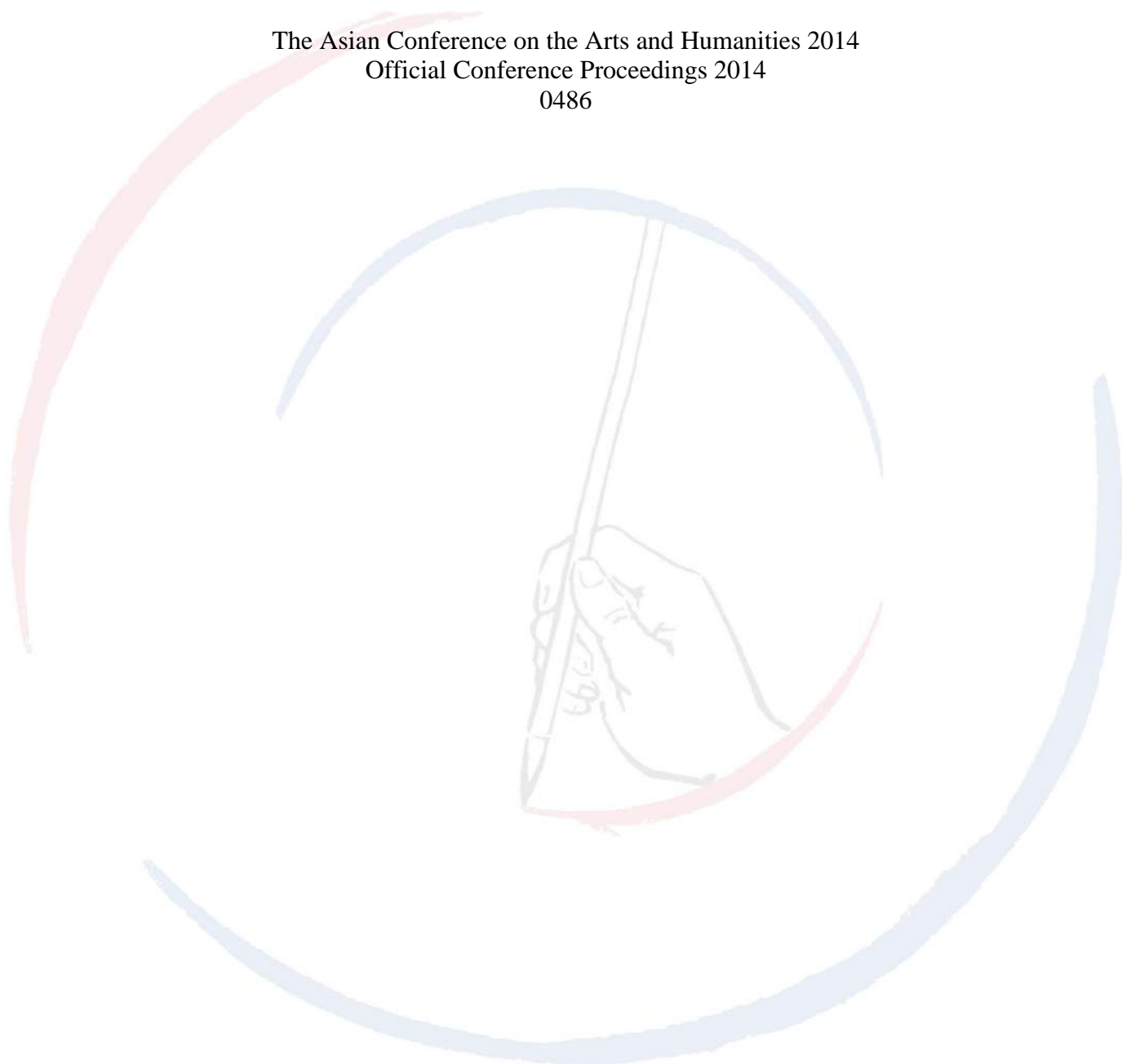
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***Politics of Landscape: Rethinking Korean Traditional Landscape Paintings
- Case of Donggwoldo and Okhojeongdo -***

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1. Introduction: Politics of Landscape

First, let's look at two pictures. One is *Donggwoldo* (Figure 1), which depicts the Joseon dynasty palaces of Changdeokgung and Changgyeonggung owned by the king, and the other is *Okhojeongdo* (Figure 2), a depiction of a private villa owned by Kim Jo-sun who was a powerful politician in the latter part of the Joseon era. Since historical records of the two paintings have not been discovered, their precise date and artist remains unknown. The interesting fact about the two paintings is that they are both large, painstakingly detailed pictorial records which are estimated to have been painted in the same era in approximately the early 19th century. While historical records of the paintings have not been unearthed, historians can discuss them based on the paintings themselves.

Thus far, academic research has shed light on the 'pictorial style' of the painting and 'design style of landscape' of the palace and nobleman's villa as historical records. However, even as pictorial records, paintings rarely depict landscapes precisely as they are, and they also reflect the artist's intentions while reconstructing the scene. This means that they are historical records, yet can also be interpreted to reveal the aesthetic consciousness and the phases of the times they were made.



Figure 1. Anonymous, Joseon dynasty (19th century), *Donggwoldo*(東闕圖),
584X273cm,
Korea University Museum



Figure 1. Anonymous, Joseon dynasty (19th century), *Okhojeongdo*(玉壺亭圖), 280x150cm, private collection

In its modern Western meaning, a ‘landscape’ refers to both a physical space and a visual medium depicting scenery. The replica of landscape precedes the notion of landscape (Debray, 1999). Before the inventing of landscape painting, people had no consciousness of landscape itself, and landscape paintings are one cultural method of seeing nature as well as connoting enormous influence of visual representational media on our views of nature. Moreover, landscape has political undertones. While analyzing the political meaning inherent in landscape painting, gardens and parks in the Western history of mentality, Martin Warnke (1992) referred to them as “political landscape”. He insightfully wrote that our eyes looking at scenery or ways of seeing nature were not clouded by its political meaning, but rather they become even more articulate through political approach. In particular, in the case of “landscapes of property” representing the land of a particular owner, it can be said that the picture is equivalent to a portrait of the owner as the owner is intricately connected with the location (Vinograd, 1972). As well, pictures of a particular landscape connote an imaginary appropriation of the place, making it easy to assume the proprietor’s desires.

Not just Western, but also Eastern landscape paintings have been studied to shed light on their political undertones. The concept of ‘sansuhwa (Eastern traditional landscape painting)’ depicting actual, inaccessible areas can be considered as the concept of imaginary appropriation of those picturesque places. In Korea, recent research is highlighting the political effects hidden in these sansuhwa in which property of specific patrons is represented (Cho, 2004).

This paper aims to investigate the political undertones as embodied in *Donggwoldo* and *Okhojeongdo*, which are regarded just as historical sources and as unrelated to each other. This paper demonstrates how conflict could affect the representation of a landscape as a projection of patrons’ political desires. Through this discourse, we

expect to broaden our perspectives on landscape representations as political artifacts.

2. Creation of *Donggwol(do)* and *Okhojeong(do)*

2.1 Background of Creation

1) *Donggwol* and *Donggwoldo*

In the Joseon era, there were five palaces, and Changdeokgung and Changgyeonggung, both to the east of the main palace of Gyeongbokgung, were also known as Donggwol (East Palace). Donggwol was about 610,000 square meters, built as a detached palace in the 15th century but taking on the role of main palace after the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592.

Donggwoldo is a bird's-eye view of Donggwol during the latter Joseon era. A total of 16 drawing papers were gathered to draw it, and the size of each was 45.5x36.5 cm for a total of 273x36.5 cm when unfolded. The overall size is 273x584 cm. *Donggwoldo* is a national treasure in Korea, considered as an authentic palace painting in the true sense of the word due not just to its size but also to its detail (Ahn, 1997, p. 8).

However, the precise background behind the important picture is unclear as no written records of the purpose, date, author or patron has been discovered thus far. Despite this, taking into consideration the facts that palaces were residences of kings and places of politics requiring security and thus that they could not simply be drawn by any individual, and that most palace pictures created in Korea were commissioned for national events or during monumental incidents, it can be surmised that this painting was created for some special reasons.

There are several opinions regarding the date of production – between 1824 and 1827 (Joo, 1991), between 1826 and 1830 (Lee, 1974), between 1828 and 1830 (Han, 2003), between 1824 and 1827 (Ahn, 2005). However, all agree that it was after 1820. Examining the picture to compare its structures with their actual construction dates, we see that it depicts Yeongyeongdang, constructed during the time of Crown Prince Hyomyeong, without depicting Hwangyeongjeon, which was destroyed by fire in 1830, and thus assume a date of between January 1829 and August 1830.

But why on earth was this picture created at that time? The era of its production serves as a basis for guessing a possible reason. Many scholars consider this reason to be the numerous fires that occurred at Donggwol in the early 1800s (Ahn, 1997; Lee, 1974). According to *The annals of the Joseon dynasty* - a record of the historical events of Joseon Kings – there were continuous fires in the summer of 1803, while a fire in 1811 was severe enough to warrant consideration of moving palaces, and another fire broke out at Gyeongbokjeon in Changdeokgung in 1824. There were more serious fires in 1830 and 1833, and Hwangyeongjeon, Haminjeong, Gongmukhap, Gyeongchunjeon, Sungmundang, Yeongchunheon, Ohaenggak, and Binyangmun in Changgyeonggung were burned down on August 1st, 1830. On October 17th, 1833, a fire broke out during the night and burned the court attire, conveyances and valuables in several royal palaces.

The ruined landscape of Donggwol was reminiscent of the incomplete appearance of the dynasty. According to *The annals of the Joseon dynasty*, on December 17th, 1803, the dynasty discovered the cause of the fires in its own lack of virtue. The royal

family had Donggwol restored after the fire in an attempt to set the country and royal family on the right path. Heavy construction was started immediately following the fires in 1830 and 1833, and the information recorded in the *Changgyeonggung Yeonggeon Dogamuigwe* and *Changdeokgung Yeonggeon Dogamuigwe* allows us to guess at the scale of the work as well as the meaning it held.

The string of fires at the beginning of the 19th century and the burning of the palace was a problem on a national scale. Considering it comprehensively, and comparing the dilapidated palaces and the royal family at the time, we can surmise that they intended to transmit a record of the overall appearance of the palace to future generations (Ahn, 1997, p. 16). Considering that *Gyeongbokgung Jeondo* was referred to while restoring Gyeongbokgung in 1874, and that redrawing it was discussed after the construction, along with similar examples such as *The daily records of royal secretariat of Joseon dynasty* - a daily record of documents and incidents kept by the king's secretary - this theory is supported. *Gyeongbokgung Jeondo* is a visual document showing the actual appearance of the palace, and it was important enough as a record to be redrawn after the palace was reconstructed. This suggests that *Donggwoldo* as well was considered as a historical record for future generations.

Donggwoldo was a concrete depiction of the palace landscape. The palace's interior is drawn in detail, as if it had been measured, including the arrangement of palaces, their columns and stairs, their detailed forms, and even their floor patterns. The signboards to each building and structural materials such as odd-looking rocks and sundials are depicted, and Gyeongbokjeon in Changdeokgung, which burned down in 1824, is depicted as only an empty space, showing the palace's appearance and situation in detail. This offers proof that the picture is a historical record based on measurements and observation. All buildings and facilities are labeled, from which we can guess that *Donggwoldo* played the role of a blueprint. Considering all these factors, it is safe to conclude that *Donggwoldo* was thought of as a historical record to be passed down to future generations.

2) Okhojeong and Okhojeongdo

Okhojeong was a villa belonging to Kim Jo-sun of the Kims of Andong, an influential family. He was a clever politician, maintaining his power even while avoiding the political crises during the eras of Yeongjo, Jeongjo and Sunjo. *Okhojeongdo* is known to date from 1815 based on the sentence, "This letter was carved on a rocky wall in 1815. May the spirit of this rock stand for the rest of time" inscribed on a rock in the painting (Lee, 1961, p. 2). As Jeong Won-yong, Lee Gwang-mun, etc. were recorded to have visited the villa in 1813 and 1814 and it is recorded in *Dongseonggyoyeojip* that "In 1804 Okhosanseo was purchased", it can be determined that Okhojeong existed in 1814. Thus, it must have been built between 1804 and 1814 (Jeong, 2009, pp.58-59).

If so, then who painted *Okhojeongdo*, and when? There are no poems in the picture, and no documents discussing it have yet been unearthed. We can only guess based on the buildings in the picture. As mentioned earlier, we can surmise that Okhojeong was built between 1804 and 1814, and that *Okhojeongdo* was created some time after this in 1828 (Jeong, 2009, p. 59). According to records, a tablet called "Okhosanbang" written by Suok Jandoak during the Qing dynasty was hung in 1828 by Kim Jo-sun, and this tablet is depicted in *Okhojeongdo*. Furthermore, considering the elaborate

drawing technique and 280x150 cm size of the drawing, we can conclude that it was painted by an expert (Lee, 1961, p. 1).

2.2 Political Conflict in the Late 1820s

Given the difference between the time of construction of Okhojeong and the creation of *Okhojeongdo*, a difference of some 15 years, there must be some curiosity about the background of its creation. Of course, there are some doubts about the time and background of *Donggwoldo*'s creation. Why was it drawn between 1828 and 1829 rather than immediately after the fires between 1803 and 1811? As both paintings are estimated to have been created around 1828, it is instructive to examine the situation at that time.

Around 1828, Crown Prince Hyomyeong was strengthening his reign while Kim Jo-sun was outgunned in politics. Hyomyeong was a regent ruler from 1827 to 1830. Until that time, the Kims of Andong had been very powerful, and Kim Jo-sun with them. However, after Hyomyeong became regent ruler in 1827, the situation was reversed as he focused on strengthening his own power. He tried to reduce the power of Kim Jo-sun in particular, and examining *The annals of the Joseon dynasty*, we see that immediately after he took over the regency, Kim Jo-sun and ministers nearby were assigned elsewhere. Kim Jo-sun's son Kim Yu-geun was sent to Pyeongando while his relative Kim Gyo-geun was exiled. In 1829 Bibyeonsa, which had been the seat of the Kim clan's power, was seized by Hyomyeong (Kim, 2011). As a result, people including Kim Jo-sun were pushed back from power and it was difficult for them to be in attendance during important government work.

This supports the theory that when Kim Jo-sun commissioned the painting of his villa and hung the tablet after 1828, meaning after his political position had been curtailed by Hyomyeong, his aim was to 'visualize' his political position through a picture of his property. As well, given that *Donggwoldo* was created amidst frequent conflagrations and while Hyomyeong was strengthening his power, it is reasonable to assume that this picture also represents Hyomyeong's political goals and associations. In other words, the fact that *Donggwoldo* and *Okhojeongdo* were created around 1828 during severe political conflict between Hyomyeong and Kim Jo-sun implies an interconnection between the creation of the landscapes and the ongoing political conflict.

3. Politics of Landscape in *Donggwol(do)* and *Okhojeong(do)*

3.1 Politics of Construction and Use of Built Landscape

1) Donggol: Expression of Royal Authority

Re-Construction of Palace

Crown Prince Hyomyeong re-constructed the palace to strengthen royal authority. First, prior to his regency by proxy, he had Uiduhap constructed as a reading space at the back of Kyujanggak in 1826. Uiduhap meant literally 'depending on a star', and the star here indicates the direction of Uiduhap, the actual construction location of which resembles Kyujanggak (Lee, 2008, p. 211). Uiduhap was built facing north instead of south, and Kyujanggak was located directly to its north.

During his regency by proxy, Hyomyeong had Yeongyeongdang built. Its name can mean 'place for having celebrations,' and its purpose was court banquets. Its gate

Jangakmun, as well, indicates that was a place to take care of the elderly (Lee, 2008, p. 216). In fact, Hyomyeong had Yeongyeongdang built and then celebrated the birth of Sunjo and Queen Sunwon on June 1st, 1828. Considering its use, it is clear that this building was intended to strengthen Hyomyeong's reign. Hyomyeong used the aforementioned royal banquets to increase the royal family's power.

Uiduhap and Yeongyeongdang reflect Hyomyeong's intention to succeed Jeongjo who was his role model and grandfather. Firstly, Jeongjo built Kyujanggak, facing Uiduhap, and this implies its role as a political tool during the time of Jeongjo. On the other hand, Jeongjo was a king who practiced 'hyo (filial duty)', and held royal banquets in order to increase the power of the royal family. Hyomyeong practiced this as well, and Yeongyeongdang was this practice realized in a special form.

Production of Royal Family Events

Examining the numerous large banquets held during the regency of Hyomyeong, we can recognize landscapes as having political effects. Hyomyeong had held three smaller banquets prior to that time, but while holding large-scale banquets, and through court dance and offerings, he revived the power of the royal family in hopes of strengthening his own royal power (Cho, 2005, pp.333-343). Examining the pictures painted at the time, it seems that the new installations introduced in several landscapes were a part of this. For example, Kongjakbyeong (folding screen depicting a peacock) appears in various banquets in 1828, but had not been seen in the Joseon dynasty before then (Figure 3).

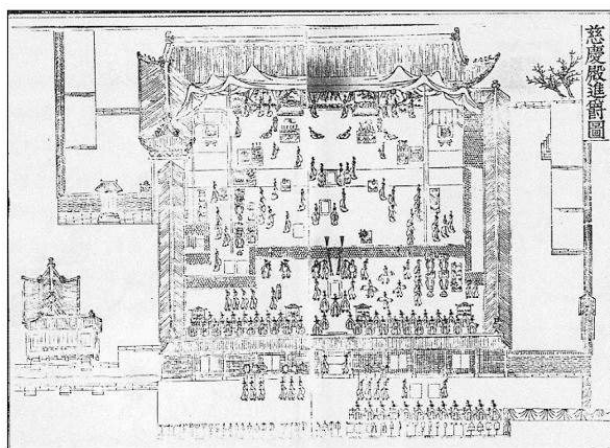


Figure 2. *Jakyongjeon Jinjakdo 1828*, in *Sunjo Muja Jinjak Uigwe*, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies

Hyomyeong's political intentions can be seen in landscape methods and use of space in banquets held in Yeongyeongdang that same year (Figure 4). Guests to Yeongyeongdang sat in a horseshoe shape, with an elevated theater enclosed on three sides in the middle. Oiled cloth over the stage dispersed sunlight for indirect lighting effects (Sa, 2008, p. 35). Imported glass lights were used, and flowers decorated the food were made from silk or velvet instead of the previous paper, adding a touch more extravagance (Kim, 2006, pp.18-19). Hyomyeong's splendid, novel, and intentional landscape techniques designed to show off royal dignity are proven through the banquets at Jakyongjeon and Yeongyeongdang.

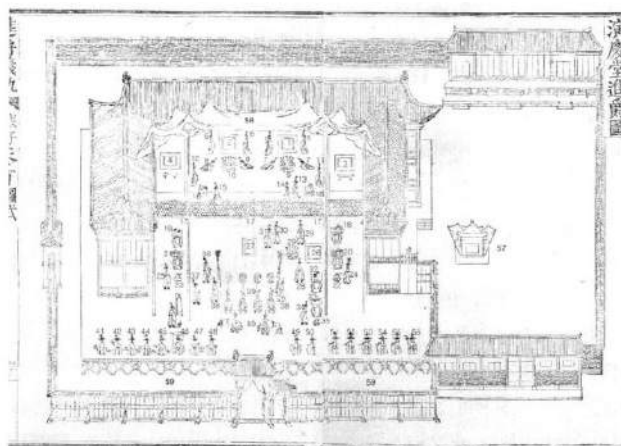


Figure 3. *Yeongyeongdang Jinjakdo* 1828, in *Sunjo Muja Jinjak Uigwe*, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies

2) Representation of Political Ambition: Okhojeong Place for Political Gathering

Okhojeong was a political space. Firstly, Kim Jo-sun lived in it and wrote poems there, and many of those poems expose his political ambitions. His patriotism and political ambitions while writing “Dongwon has no strength in fighting foreigners from the north” (*Punggojip*; in collection of Kim Jo-sun’s poems) are clear.

The natural features of Okhojeong reflected his political ambitions as well. While the pine trees in his poems often represent the meaning of transience of human life, it is interesting to note that maple trees connote unchanging qualities. As maple leaves have unchanging characteristics over time, their permanence is an analogy for his own political permanence. One day he put a maple leaf inside a book and, noting that it didn’t change with the passage of time, took the opportunity to project his own political ambitions onto maple trees. On a related note, “Danpungdae (Pavilion of Maple tree)” was constructed at Okhojeong for the purpose of viewing maple trees (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Around Chojeong in *Okhojeongdo*

Okhojeong functioned as not just a place of residence for Kim Jo-sun, but also a meeting place where his political ambitions were concentrated. Famous politicians of the era visited Okhojeong to talk politics with Kim Jo-sun and they promoted social intercourse through exchanging poetry, writing, and especially painting. While Dongseong was a place of politics within the palace, Okhojeong was a place of politics outside it, where Kim Jo-sun could concentrate his strength. The political gatherings at Okhojeong are verified to some extent in the *Dongseonggyoyeojip*. Politician Jeong Won-yong visited Okhojeong to write poetry and Kim Jo-sun reciprocated by writing poetry, while mention is made of politician Seo Yeong-bo's request for four poems entitled "Okhodongcheon". Politician Lee Gwang-mun wrote poems and said that, "I go to Okhojeong to visit a great teacher, the atmosphere is delightful, but I have no poems yet, so I must follow those of Jeong Won-yong." Kim Jo-sun later praised this poem, writing, "The poem is good like washing clean and worth forgetting filth." Through such poems, it is evident that Okhojeong was a place of political companionship for Kim Jo-sun as well as a place where he could consolidate his political strength (Jeong, 2001).

Okhojeong's Privileged Views

Okhojeongdo represents only the interior of Okhojeong, but is instructive about its exterior in spite of this. Put differently, it allows imagination of the vistas seen by those inside Okhojeong. The main viewpoints at Okhojeong were four pavilions named Jukjeong, Sanbanru, Chojeong, and Ilgwanseok which is a red letter carved in a stone at the top of a mountain in the background of the painting. Most of the living rooms faced directly south, but the pavilions faced east. They avoided the sheltering pine woods to the west in favor of the open view to the east (Jeong & Han, 2007). These pavilions were also located relatively high on the land to achieve these open vistas. What scenery did Kim Jo-sun and his companions have in his Okhojeong pavilions?

Okhojeong's location is already identified (Lee, 1961; Jeong & Han, 2007). It's 133 Samcheong-dong. At that time, from Yukcho Street it would have been possible to view the center of Hanyang (Seoul) continuing from Dongdaemun as well as Eungbong, the mountain range of Naksan, and Namsan. Changdeokgung was to the east of the pavilions and Gyeongbokgung to their south (Figure 6). Okhojeong would have looked out over the center of Hanyang. It was as if Kim Jo-sun borrowed the scenery of Hanyang's center. His borrowing of the views of outside can be seen as a sort of secret privatization of common land, and extrapolating from this, Kim Jo-sun visually claimed the Hanyang he could see from Okhojeong. Joseon palace design includes an ideology linking the king, the primary ruler, to the sky (Lee, 2008, p. 100). According to *The annals of the Joseon dynasty*, since Seoul's four major mountains and castle located within it were considered as sanctified spaces, and it was forbidden to fell or cultivate the pine trees of the mountains. The people were forbidden from climbing Mountain Bukak and Inwang, and temples and private houses looking down on Gyeongbokgung were destroyed. We would need historical records of the system of forest ownership of the time to how it was possible to build a villa in this privileged space with a bird's-eye view of Hanyang, and the political undertones within the system of privileged views are worth considering.



Figure 6. Google earth image around Okhojeong and Donggwol

3.2 Politics of Landscape Paintings

Both pictures are drawn as bird's-eye views, seen from the sky rather than the ground. This viewing method offers the viewer a transcendental, abstract view possible only in the imagination, detaching the observer's spirit from his body and flying into the sky (Lee & Jeong, 2000). Because of this physical detachment, it can be thought of as a copied "record" of the landscape viewed rationally from observations and measurement from this point. On the other hand, the bird's-eye views in these depictions of owned land also indicate possession in the imagination. The person possessing the land at that time, i.e. the person who could see the picture, was a privileged person – not just anyone. The fact that no records have been discovered regarding the pictures implies that both were drawn secretly and confined to the view of privileged eyes only – not just anyone.

1) Representation of Royal Authority: *Donggwoldo* *Expanded Representation of the Specific Landscape*

The landscape representation can be read again in *Donggwoldo* through its spatial realization of the strengthening of royal power, as discussed above. The form and spatial structure of the buildings in *Donggwoldo* is depicted realistically, but its scale is not accurately represented. The buildings and spaces have been enlarged, and when considering the pictorial characteristics of *Donggwoldo* as discussed earlier, it must be seen as an intention rather than an error. For example, Daebodan and Jageongjeon were drawn larger than their actual sizes. The two buildings no longer exist, so their precise size cannot be measured, but when comparing the size of the actual Injeongjeon to its size within the picture, it is evident that it has been emphasized (Lee, 2008, p. 210). This implies that *Donggwoldo* is a detailed and concrete depiction, but not an entire accurate historical record. Particular buildings and spaces were distorted, and the reason for the representational mode may have been for political effect.

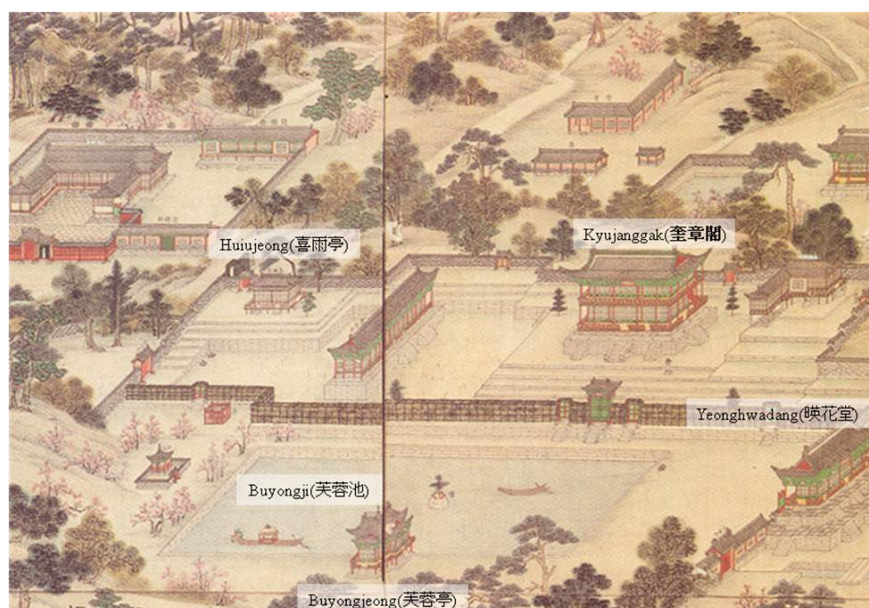


Figure 7. Part of *Donggwoldo* around Buyongji

Succeeding to His Role Model, Jeongjo

Hyomyeong's efforts to inherit the spirit of Jeongjo appear within palace construction and also in *Donggwoldo*. The doubt-provoking emphasis on Buyongji within the picture is one example (Figure 7). A boat floats on Buyongji in the picture. This is evocative of Jeongjo's poem, "A boat floating on Buyongji, seen from Eosumun" (Jeong, 2005, p. 160). Moreover, according to *The annals of the Joseon dynasty*, Buyongjeong, located to the south of Buyongji, was a pavilion constructed during Jeongjo's time to allow him to view flowers, fish, and call political meetings with loyal subjects. The political meaning of Yeonghwadang, located to the right of Buyongji, may be recognized when recalling Jeongjo's poem, "Classic scholar taking the civil service examination, seen from Yeonghwadang."

According to *Hongjaejeonseo*, Jeongjo used to view flowers together with retainers and then fish, hold banquets, or write poetry, all focused around Buyongji. The purpose of these cultural activities was not enjoyment. Gatherings around Buyongji controlled the power of the Kims and furthered reformed along with political activities including devotion to academics and strengthening royal power. According to *The annals of the Joseon dynasty*, "I am deeply aware of the loyalty of the retainers at my side since I became a crown prince. When ascending to the throne, the first task is to set up a cabinet, not for the sake of civil administration, but to have by my side from dawn until dusk for my own development and so I can listen to wisdom. By finding great nobles and treating them respectfully, going together to view flowers, to fish, and to take pleasure together, and to have them attend all banquets with their sons, nephews and brothers. This simplifies courtesy and draws wisdom nearer, and through regularly yearly enjoyment, this treatment and love, always difficult to obtain, is realized."

In conclusion, the emphasis on the Buyongji area in *Donggwoldo* can be considered as another way in which Crown Prince Hyomyeong intended to ascend to the throne of Jeongjo, as seen previously in the palace construction process. The spaces used politically by Jeongjo, including Buyongji, Buyongjeong and Yeonghwadang, were

memorialized in *Donggwoldo*.

2) Representation of Political Desire : *Okhojeongdo* *Imaginary Possession of Mountain Bukak*

Doubt was cast earlier on the privileged views of Okhojeong. This doubt increases when considering the representational mode of *Okhojeongdo*. In *Okhojeongdo*, the mountain behind is magnified. This is Mountain Bukak, one of the four mountains of the Joseon era, as mentioned earlier. Another example of a map of a Joseon nobleman's villa is found in the 17th-century *Inpyeongdaegunbangjeondo*. By comparing the two pictures, the extent of magnification of Mountain Bukak becomes clear. Relating it to the social situation of the time, the mountain was not simply a place to experience natural beauty, but was related to accumulation of wealth. Pine trees were main fuel in the Joseon era. According to *Gyeonggukdaejeon*, forest possession at the time was not clearly regulated, but if an ancestor's grave was on the mountain, possession of the land and its trees was recognized. The problem of mountain possession became more important at the end of the Joseon era since it was not clearly specified. The picture implies that Kim Jo-sun, with his power, considered Mountain Bukak almost as if it were his own possession. In *Punggojip*, the meeting of his political ambitions and desire to possess the land can be ascertained. It says, "I owned half the mountain." As well, Sanbanru, the name of one of Okhojeong's pavilions, provides further proof. The area of the villa is now residential, but the location of the mountain is proven in *Okhojeongdo*. The mountain in the background is a small part of Bukak. Kim Jo-sun's political ambitions and desire to possess Bukak can be discerned from density of the pine trees, and the fact the scenery around the mountain in the background is omitted and only the mountain was depicted.

The Meaning of Ilgwanseok

Another reason to interpret Mountain Bukak's pictorial representation as reflecting Kim Jo-sun's political greed is this: the "Ilgwanseok", carved letter on the rock of the peak of the mountain (Figure 8). The mountain dense with pine trees considered by Kim Jo-sun as his possession is depicted at the top of *Okhojeongdo*, and there is red text reading, "Ilgwanseok (rock with a view of the sun)" at its summit. When the picture's lender, Lee Byeong-do (1961), visited the former grounds of Okhojeong in 1961, he discovered a rock in the place of Ilgwanseok. "I went about 150 meters from the remains of Hyesaengcheon with the goal of rediscovering the rock, and of course there was the rock just as it had appeared. It seemed like that text was written by the owner of Okhojeong, Kim Jo-sun." The rock is drawn on the summit in the picture, but in fact it is not at the summit but located at a midway ridge. In other words, in *Okhojeongdo*, Ilgwanseok was not accurately depicted. The political ambitions of Kim Jo-sun can be surmised through this. "The greatest power in the traditional era was not 'earth' but 'sky', and so the ultimate ruler, the king, must be connected to the sky to possess the greatest power." The sun in the sky represents the greatest power (Lee, 2008).



Figure 8. Around Ilgwanseok in *Okhojeongdo*

The details of the text of “Ilgwan” are recounted in Kim Jo-sun’s poetry, *Punggojip*. Ilgwan was borrowed from the wording of his “Jangpyeonggong”, which means “Man who seizes power”; thus, Ilgwan can be understood as expressing his political ambitions. As well, his son and politician Kim Yu-geun interpreted Ilgwanseok as not just his father’s political power but also the lineage of his family, the Kims of Andong, in his own poetry, *Hwangsanyougo*. “Ilgwanseok stands alone atop the mountain. May it not fall to wind and rain, but stay with heaven and earth eternally.” This sentence symbolizes the unchanging nature of the rock and of power. Even amidst changing politics over the reign of several kings, his father Kim Jo-sun stood firm in his place as a politician, and the desire for continual political power throughout the lineage appears through Ilgwanseok, a part of the scenery.

5. Conclusion

Considering that no material mentioning the pictures has been unearthed, we cannot hastily conclude that they were created while Hyomyeong and Kim Jo-sun were in political conflict and keeping each other in check. However, we are able to ascertain their political desires through the landscapes and pictures of those landscapes they made, and this offers the potential for a reinterpretation. Only the paintings remain, and even without related documents, there is no reason we cannot interpret the paintings. It is hoped that with this paper they will be viewed in a new light through the lens of artistic interpretation of landscapes and paintings combined with an understanding of the Korean political situation in the 19th century.

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The Student Teacher's Reflection on the Model Teacher from Classroom Observation

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Abstract

This preliminary study is to investigate the subject's reflection toward the model teacher in classroom observation. Through the purposive sampling method, one representative sample who was an undergraduate student teacher and a model teacher were selected. The subject was assigned to observe a 3-hour classroom of the model teacher once a week for ten weeks and write a journal based on her reflection after each classroom observation. The researcher analyzed the journals on two areas, teaching strategies and classroom management. The results indicate that the subject observed and recorded mainly what happened in the classroom as she regularly noted the chronological events and teaching techniques. Additionally, the analysis of reflective journals shows that the length of observation period could influence the reflection level.

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Introduction

In many teacher education programs in Thailand, student teachers are assigned to teach their own peers, and they receive feedback from their teachers or peers about their teaching performance. In general, student teachers in the peer group face similar problems regarding teaching skills and strategies, which also include classroom and time management, etc. The researcher perceived that the feedback from peers and teachers might not be enough. She, therefore, implemented classroom observation to help student teachers learn teaching techniques including classroom and time management in a real teaching and learning situation. Furthermore, keeping a journal after each classroom observation can lead the student teachers to become critical. When they observe, they also recall their experience and reflect on it. By implementing the classroom observation, the researcher would like to answer the two following research questions;

1. What do the student teachers observe in terms of teaching skills and strategies and classroom management?
2. How do the student teachers reflect on what they found in question 1?

Literature Reviews

The importance of classroom observation in teacher education

Classroom observation is a purposeful examination of teaching and learning situation (Cogan 1973; Bailey, 2001). It serves as a means for professional development. If the observation takes place in a teacher education program in which student teachers are observed by teacher educators, the teacher educators normally give some advice to the student teachers on the development of teaching skills. In addition, if in-service teachers are observed by student teachers, it is normally done for the professional development purposes of the observers (Bailey, 2001, p. 114). According to Gallimore &Tharp (1992), student teachers experience the practice of certain teaching behavior from observing the model teacher, who is considered to be exemplary in teaching career. The aim is promoting their professional learning. The classroom observation makes them better equipped to shape their own practices (Stofflett and Stoddart, 1994).

Classroom observation can also be seen as “a family of related procedures for gathering data during actual language lessons or tutorial sessions, primarily by watching, listening, and recording” (Nunan & Bailey, 2009). Keeping journals is an instrument that provides records of what happen when a teacher and students are together. Student teachers may keep a record of the chronological events and the strategies that the model teacher uses to present a new language or elicit students’ prior knowledge. It also provides student teachers’ opinions toward particular situation such as praising the model teacher’s character or teaching technique. Bailey (2001) used the term *field notes* to refer to these journals. She suggested that the “observer’s field notes provide a running commentary on the events which occur in a lesson. The field notes must be carefully prepared and detailed enough to be clear and convincing. It is the observer’s responsibility to recognize the difference between observations which are data based and his or her inferences (or even opinions). Field notes provide a human, interpretive dimension to observational data.” (p. 118).

Moreover, these journals give flexibilities to the student teachers to write anything that can happen in the classroom. As a result, it is necessary to distinguish and categorize the contents of the journal entries. Bailey (2006) suggested three major

categories when analyzing the journals. These categories include observations, inferences and opinions. "*Observations* are the records made of events and interactions that occur during lessons, are primarily factual and verifiable. They are reported with a certain amount of objectivity. *Opinions* are the personal responses to the events observed. They are subjective by definition and are judgmental in nature, expressing the values and views of the observers. *Inferences* fall somewhere between observations and opinions on a continuum of objectivity to subjectivity. Inferences are sometimes signaled by phrases such as "it seemed", "it appeared," or "I inferred that" They are conclusions, interpretations, or deductions based on the data." Based on Bailey's definitions, the contents in the Observations category must be objective and observable and in Opinions category, the contents are subjective. It indicates the observer's point of view toward an action or a particular situation. However, it seems difficult to identify the contents in the Inferences category in terms of the subjectivity and objectivity. Therefore, in this study the term 'reflection' will be used to refer to the category that the student teachers comment, judge, value, interpret or make a conclusion based on what they experience from the classroom observation.

Classroom observation task

The journals contain two major parts involving the author's observations and reflections. To categorize the content in the observation part, the researcher will use Wajnryb (1992)'s classroom observation tasks as a framework in this study. Based on his suggestion, teaching skills and strategies involve four major categories which are presenting, eliciting, giving instructions and managing errors. In addition, each category comprises observable elements which can be explained as follows; *Category 1: Presenting*, the observers note the chronological events stating what the model teacher does and the students do in a particular situation. Next, the teacher's voice, they state the model teacher's voice quality in terms of audibility, projection, speed, clarity and lack of distortion. Then the physical position of the teacher in the classroom, they can explain how the model teacher postures and moves when giving instruction. Next, the actual target language presented, they probably note what context is used to embed the language, how natural the context have been, if the context naturally generates the target language forms, and if it fosters a learning link between language and situation. The last observable element is the presentation mode. The observers may explain if the language presented aurally via a tape recorder or visually, in written form and if the mode appropriate to the language form and the language register being presented. *Category 2: Eliciting* (teacher prompts), the observers note types of question prompts, the amount of time the teacher allows, the kinds of responses elicited, the general purposes that eliciting serves. These purposes are to set students thinking in certain direction, to steer them toward a certain pre-planned topic or a lesson objective, to create a context, to warm a class up, to generate peer interaction/ correction, to lead into an activity, to attract and focus attention, to increase student talking time, to allow the teacher to assess what is already known about a particular topic, structure or area of vocabulary, to draw out passive knowledge or to tap into the students as a learning resource and engage them in a learning process. Moreover, they can explain what the teacher says in order to elicit the response, how much time the teacher allows before rephrasing, or re-directing or adding a prompt and what students offer as a response. *Category 3: Giving instructions*, the observers note the patterns or tendencies in the teacher's language and the way the verbal message is segmented as well as the time between segments. In addition, they can describe the language features in terms of voice qualities, cueing

to aid memory, modelling and concept questions. They probably state the possible paradigm for instruction-giving including the signal to engage class's attention, the overall nature of the task and the seat and group organization. Moreover, they may add the way the teacher monitor understanding – if the teacher repeats or re-phrases the message when necessary. *Category 4: Managing errors*, the observers note the instance of learner's errors involving inaccurate or inappropriate language. They can also explain the teacher's responses such as what is said or signals, a particular focus at that point of the lesson; either on accuracy or fluency, how other students respond to a student's error and (where relevant) to the teacher's response; either peer correction, peer interaction or discussion of the error, and what the teacher says or does to encourage this. Additionally, they can state the opportunities for the students to self-correct, the evidence in the lesson of students' processing information; in committing an error, having it pointed out, hearing the correct version and trying it out, as well as the teacher's language to response to an error.

In the classroom management, Wajnryb suggested five categories involving managing classroom interaction, managing pair and group work, teaching and learning roles, time and pace and classroom power. These categories can be explained as follows; *Category 1: Managing classroom interaction*, the observers record the patterns of interaction in terms of how communication takes place in a classroom setting, and the patterns of interaction that provide the medium for communication. *Category 2: Managing pair and group work*, the observers note the model teacher's organizational skills involved in transitions between activities, the characteristics of teacher intervention during pair or group work, and the management of information transfer. *Category 3: Teaching and learning roles*, when the lesson proceeds, the observers can note information about the stage of the lesson, the teacher's role, and the corresponding learner's role. *Category 4: Time and pace*, the observers keep notes on what happened during the lesson stating the actual lesson timing, the number of times there is a switch of focus or activity in the lesson, what external signs the students give of keeping up with the pace, how the teacher gauges whether it is time to move on, time to be silent and create 'space', time to revise and consolidate, and how the teacher maintains a pace that caters for a mixture of language levels and learning pace. *Category 5: Classroom power*, the observers possibly explain either the teacher or the student who makes a decision for particular purposes such as the aim of the lesson, the language or skills focus, the topics or activities, material preparation and seating arrangements.

Measuring reflection level

How to measure the reflection levels is a significant topic. This study will use Shapiro & Reiff's model as the basis for measuring student teachers' reflection level. Shapiro & Reiff (1993) suggested a model which includes four levels moving from philosophical level, framework level, interpretive level and decision making level. The model was described by Larrivee (2000) as follows; *Philosophical level* refers to the teacher's core belief or underlying belief about a certain topic. For example, a student teacher may believe that teachers are students' role models, therefore; they must have certain characteristics such as kind, dependable and trustworthy. These beliefs are adopted based on conclusions inferred from observations and interpretations. *Framework level* refers to the underlying principles that the teacher applies to organize experience and beliefs. From the example in level 1, when the student teacher believes that a role model teacher must have certain characteristics,

she adopts these characteristics as a framework for her behavior. *Interpretive level* explains the connection of the observer's belief and the general plan of action. It indicates how the observer interprets the underlying principles into the general approach to daily practice. From the example in level 2, the observer adopts these characteristics then plans her way of behaving. For instance, to become a dependable teacher, she must listen to her students with open mind and try to respond to their needs. *Decision making level* indicates how the teacher connects her core belief with moment-to-moment decision. It is to examine if the way the teacher approaches a problem is based on her core belief.

Research Methodology

Subjects

The representative sample in this study included three undergraduate student teachers who were in the fourth-year at the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Kasem Bundit University. Their major was in English for Communication, and their minor was in Teaching English. From three student teachers, only one student teacher was chosen to be the subject of this study because she regularly observed the model teacher's classroom, wrote her journals, and her journal entries generated reflection levels. A model teacher was selected because she was an English instructor at the Department of English for Communication, Kasem Bundit University, and her classroom schedule was convenient for the observation schedule.

Data analysis

The method used to analyze the journal entries was content analysis. The researcher read the journals and broke the content into small chunks. She used the guidelines of Wajnryb's classroom observation task to categorize the content of the journals and focused on the two areas, *teaching skills and strategies and classroom management*.

Results

Categories of subject's journal entries

To answer RQ 1 '*What do the student teachers observe in terms of teaching skills and strategies and classroom management?*', ten journal entries written by a subject were analyzed. Only one out of three subjects' journal entries was examined because she reflected on what she had observed from the classroom while the other two students tended to record only the chronological events and the topics in each session. Table 1-4 (See Appendix) shows how the student's records on *Teaching Skills and Strategies* were identified into each category of the observation tasks. None of the information on *Classroom Management* was found in the journals.

Table 1 shows how the journal entries were identified into each subcategory of presentation skills. It can be seen that the subject constantly recorded the chronological events. She occasionally noted the qualities of teacher's voice and the presentation mode, and none of the information on the physical position of the teacher in the classroom and the actual target language presented was written down.

Table 2 indicates how the journal entries were subcategorized in the eliciting category. It shows that the subject kept a record of the purposes of eliciting and the form of the questions that the model teacher made in the classroom.

Table 3 shows the subcategories of giving instruction. It indicates that the subject regularly kept a record of the paradigm for instruction. She rarely noted the model teacher's language features.

Table 4 shows how the journal entries were distinguished and identified into the subcategories of managing errors. It indicates that the subject noted the opportunities for the students to self-correct once in week five.

Levels of subject's reflections

To answer RQ 2 'How do the student teachers reflect on what they found in question 1?', the researcher read the data received from the subject's records again and selected three categories, *presenting, eliciting, and giving instructions* that the subject reflected on. Then she put them in each reflection level. It should also be noted that the extracts selected from the subject's journals were copied as they were written originally by the subject including the grammatical mistakes and typographical errors. The table 5 (See Appendix) shows that the subject's reflections on the three categories reach level 2 Framework. When the subject wrote a journal, it allowed her to examine her fundamental beliefs (core belief) in teaching. These beliefs were espoused based on a conclusion inferred from the observation and experience. She then organized these beliefs with her own framework. This framework serves as the scaffold for how she plans and organizes the way of her teaching career based on what she had observed and experienced. In addition, the subject's reflection reached level 3 Interpretive as the evidence from the journal entries shows that the subject linked her beliefs with her plan for a way of behaving.

The extracts of the subject's reflections on what she observed in each level.

Level 1: Philosophical

Presenting

- "When I was young girl, I extremely wanted to study with a beautiful and be kind teacher. Likewise, I would like to be a beautiful and smart teacher passing on knowledge to a student. Teacher is one of the careers which are an honorable career in the world. In my village, even an old man pay respects to the teacher. It shows that teacher has influence to other in the society especially in the villages. Therefore, being teacher is very important and honor career in the society, you have to proud to be a good teacher to create a good person for the society as well. Everyone has own way choosing way of life in the future, it depends on personally dreams of each person."

This extract shows the subject's core belief of the teaching career. Based on her experience as a young girl, she believes that being a beautiful and smart teacher is one factor that makes the students want to study. Additionally, her attitude toward the teaching career is very positive as she believes that this career is very honorable. She also notes that respect from an old man in her village for a teacher indicates the importance of the teacher's role in her community. This philosophy of life embodies her core belief and values toward the teaching career.

Giving instruction

- "Important word that I really like "I will do not let you go home if you do not understand." It shows the spirits of a good teacher; teach the knowledge to the students until they obtain the right information and be able to apply skills in the real life."
- "The most important part is quizzing to review the previous knowledge before start new information, it conducts me to remind when I was young student. It is a good

practicing exam to review and check understanding of the student's developments. The quiz is the most important things directing the way of success in the exam."

- "There is several ways to be an effective teaching techniques, one of them is non verbal in teaching. The teacher uses a gesture in the class *to describe meaning* of similar words making easy understanding. It is very interesting techniques to let the students pay attention in the class."
- "When students already come to the class, she begins to teach the lesson and always check understanding of the student by repeating the description and concludes the lesson to the students. When we check understanding of the students, it refers to the way how the effective is of teaching.
- "Teacher uses a lot of techniques to control the class and also make the students are merry in the class. In each person have different in teaching style making the class is activate in variety of activities. Therefore, a lot of skills and experiences in teaching techniques can help you to be success in teaching the class."
- "If she prepare the lesson by using PowerPoint, the student will not note any information just look for the PowerPoint and forget it when the class is finished. So she writes the topics and examples on the whiteboards going the lesson together with the students. This is the technique making easy to understand and remember what the detail is in the topics. For instance, some students is confused about the rule of topics; the teacher explains what the different is about the rules and give example for each rules."
- "teacher needs to review the last lesson and summaries the descriptions in each topic before pass to the next lesson easily with the whiteboards by writing their teacher. The most important thing is always checks understanding of the students in each topic and should be show their understanding by let them give an example's participations."
- "When I was a student in the past, my teachers have a variety style of teaching in the class. Sometimes I did not like to study, they try to make me enjoy and feel relaxed by using game and gift for the win. The teacher is my teacher who has a variety of teaching such as singing song; it is the way of relaxing for the students. I really love this way because I imagine to my talent that is a beautiful voice. I would like to show my voice to students relaxing in the class like her. To be a teacher is not have knowledge only but you have to be a spirit of teacher too. Teacher is a model of the students to be good or bad that depends on teacher. So to be a good teacher is very important in our world. The children are become adult in the future and the teacher is almost important to direct the right way to the students."
- "The variety of teaching techniques help the teacher to success the class easily. So you need to find out and keep the techniques to make your class is successful."
- "When the lesson is passing, the memory of the student also gradually out of one's memory. So teacher have to remind or summary the knowledge to the student in the last class. Reviewing the lesson is important to repeat the knowledge to the students before the examinations."
- "The teacher always checks understanding of the students by using questions, "can you follow? Yes?, said she." It is show that she needs the students understand every topic without doubt in the lesson. If the teacher ignore or pass the knowledge that the students are not understand, they will collect the problems and still doubt forever. The effectively solutions are always check understanding of the learners and also asking the questions that relates to the topics. "Can you give me examples for active voice please?" said she. This is some of techniques to be success in teaching to let the students participate in the class."

- “In conclusion, for the last class teacher have to review the lesson repeating the knowledge for the students. It is very important to summary the entire topic in the class in short to be easy to remember and understand. Checking understand of the students in the class is one thing for the teacher to success the lesson in teaching.”

This extract shows the subject’s reflection on the presenting category. The underlined sentences in each chunk illustrate the subject’s reflection toward what she observed. It indicates that her beliefs in teaching are adopted based on the conclusions deduced from her observation and experience. And since the next level describes how the subject organizes her beliefs and applies these underlying principles to scaffold her teaching behaviors, these basic beliefs in the Philosophical level can be seen in the Framework level as well.

Level 2: Framework

Presenting

- “Appearances and personality are necessary factors to be a good teacher. It is the way receiving respect from a student and others. Good appearance is one of the factors to be first impression to the students and others, in other words; it is not enough to be good outside but you have to be good in your mind as well. Setting the example is important for the teacher to be like a “superhero” figure in their eyes. If teachers are rude or inappropriate, they will have an (in) appropriate model for their behavior. Students, all of ages, need someone they can lean on, look up to, and be able to trust. Lastly good appearances are important to be first impression and conduct the students to be enthusiastic in the class.”

Eliciting

- “The teacher starts the lesson by using the question in the Passive and Active voice lesson. “What is the different between Passive and Active Voice” said she, it is the way to conduct the student to the lesson. There are many techniques to let the student to the lesson, ice-breaking activities and role-playing. These techniques are important to relax and let the student interesting in the lessons. One of them is start the lesson with questions; the teacher always starts asking question to the students.”
- “In summaries, there are many techniques of teaching to be effective teacher. However, there are many way developing the students skills, teachers have to increase their skills in teaching too.”
- “It is the way to progress the education in our world, keep learning and preparing yourself all the time because of the world is always turn around you as well.”

Giving Instruction

- “The quizzes and homework can measure the development of the students with the scores. These are practicing the skills of the students as well to do a lot of exercises. When they make mistakes, teacher knows about their weakness and also fixes them in the right way of their mistakes. There is several ways to be an effective teaching techniques, one of them is non verbal in teaching. The teacher uses a gesture in the class *to describe meaning* of similar words making easy understanding. It is very interesting techniques to let the students pay attention in the class.”

It can be seen that the subject plans the ways of teaching behaviors based on her core beliefs derived from the interpretation of observation and experience. Therefore, we cannot clearly distinguish the philosophical level from the framework level as they

interrelate. What was found and categorized in the philosophical level should appear in the framework level.

Level 3: Interpretive

Giving Instruction

- “How to be a good teacher? It is one of my questions when I started to study in teaching minor. When I face with this situation I think it hard to be like that. I have to find a lot of skills to pass the knowledge to the students. It is necessary to conclude or summarize the information to the students.” (Week 9)

This extract illustrates how the subject relates her belief of being a good teacher to her framework. To relate these aspects, she inquired of herself then developed a frame of mind—*“I have to find a lot of skills to pass the knowledge to the students. It is necessary to conclude or summarize the information to the students.”*

Discussion and conclusion

Classroom observation

The analysis of reflective journals shows the different categories of what the subject observed from the model teacher in terms of teaching skills and strategies. The evidence from the journal entries indicates that the subject observed all categories which include presenting and eliciting skills, instructional skills, and the skills for managing errors. In the first category, presenting skills, the subject constantly kept a record of the chronological events. She observed and wrote down the techniques that the model teacher used to attract the students’ attention, lead the students to the lesson, present a new topic, examine the students’ schema, emphasize the topics presented, review and conclude the lessons. She occasionally noted the quality of the model teacher’s voice and presentation mode. Next, the eliciting skills, the subject wrote down the purposes that eliciting served in the lesson, the form of the question and the non-verbal signals. In the third category, giving instruction, the journals show the evidence on the possible paradigm for instruction-giving and the language features. In the last category, managing errors, the subject noted the opportunities for the students to self-correct.

When the classroom observation was scheduled, the subject was told to observe the classroom of the model teacher and keep a record in the two aforementioned areas, teaching strategies and classroom management. Therefore, the subject tended to note only what happened in the classroom at the different times as well as some techniques that the model teacher used in her classroom. These two areas could be too broad for the subject to use as a framework for the observation. The researcher should have provided a predetermined observation system such as a checklist so that the subject could observe wider aspects of teaching strategies. However, the advantage of the reflective journal is that it gives the researcher opportunities to investigate what the subject is interested in the model teacher’s classroom.

The reflection

The subject reflected on the three categories which involve presenting, eliciting, and giving instruction. The reflections on these three categories reached level 1 and 2. The analysis of the journals shows that at level 1 Philosophical, the subject examined her core beliefs in teaching. These core beliefs derived from the interpretation of the

observation and experience. Based on these beliefs, she then developed her own framework for teaching practice. Moreover, the core beliefs found in level 1 can be seen in level 2 as they interrelate. The subject's reflection on category 3, giving instruction reached level 3 Interpretive in week 9. This could be assumed that the length of the classroom observation task influenced the reflection level. The analysis of the journal shows that in this level, the subject connected her core beliefs with framework then developed a frame of mind to approach a particular situation she encountered. Furthermore, level 4 Decision making is not found in the data analysis. This is because the task the researcher assigned to the subject did not allow her to demonstrate the decision making.

To enhance the subject's reflection level, the classroom observation schedule should be planned for the whole semester as the evidence from the journals indicates that the reflection reached a higher level almost in the last week of the schedule. In addition, the subject should have a chance to observe different language classrooms so that she can learn a variety of teaching strategies when different language skills are presented.

Recommendation for future research

This research is a preliminary study which aims to investigate what the student teacher observes from the model teacher in terms of teaching skills and strategies and classroom management. The results from the data analysis are enough to answer the two research questions. However, to further the study, the researcher plans to videotape the teaching demonstration of the student teacher in peer group and play back to analyze the effects of the classroom observation of a model teacher on the student teacher's teaching performance. Moreover, this analysis of teaching performance will shed light on the determination of level 4 Decision making in which the subject links her beliefs to a moment-to-moment decision making in her teaching.

Appendix

Table 1: Presenting

WEEK	Presenting				
	The chronological events	The teacher's voice	The physical position of the teacher in the classroom	The actual target language presented	The presentation mode
1	✓	✓			✓
2	✓				
3	✓				
4	✓				
5	✓				
6	✓				
7	✓				
8	✓	✓			
9	✓				
10					

Table 2: Eliciting

WEEK	Teacher Prompts							
	The language pattern	Wait time	The purposes that eliciting served in the lesson	The form of the question	The way the teacher responds to student response(s)	The way the students respond to the teacher prompts	Non-verbal signals that accompany the teacher's verbal response	The teacher's response to learners' contributions
1								
2								
3								
4								
5			✓	✓				
6			✓	✓				
7								
8			✓	✓				
9								
10								

Table 3: Giving Instructions

WEEK	Giving instructions			
	Pattern in the teacher's language	Segmenting/pausing; <i>the way the verbal message is segmented and the time between segments</i>	Language features; <i>voice qualities, cueing to aid memory, modeling, concepts questions</i>	Possible paradigm for instruction-giving
1				✓
2				✓
3				
4				✓
5				✓
6				✓
7				✓
8				✓
9				✓
10			✓	✓

Table 4: Managing Errors

WEEK	Managing errors						
	The instance of learner error; inaccurate or inappropriate language	The teacher's responses; what was said or signaled	A particular focus at that point of the lesson; on accuracy or fluency	How other students respond to a student's error; <i>peer correction, peer interaction or discussion of the error</i>	The evidence in the lesson of students' processing information	Opportunities for the students to <i>self-correct</i>	The teacher's language in response to an error
1							
2							
3							
4							
5						✓	
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							

Table 5 The subject's reflection on what she observed

Levels	Presenting	Eliciting	Giving Instructions
Level 1: Philosophical <i>Core beliefs: A fundamental belief about human nature</i>	✓	✓	✓
Level 2: Framework <i>Underlying Principle: A principle that organizes experiences and beliefs; a framework for interpreting experiences</i>	✓	✓	✓
Level 3: Interpretive <i>Daily Practice: Linking of beliefs with a general plan of action</i>			✓
Level 4: Decision making <i>Strategies, Moves: Linking of beliefs with moment-to-moment decisions.</i>			

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Gender Communication in Life-Storytelling Narratives: a Gendered Discourse or an Obasan Talk?

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Abstract

This cross-disciplinary study aims at investigating older adults' gender communication differences in their life-storytelling narratives on how they tell stories, why they tell stories in different ways, and what gender communication awareness they develop. Adhering to its constructivist perspective of the social world, this study has adopted a qualitative theory approach from Tannen (1990) and a genre approach from Labov (1972) to empirically examine older adults' linguistic speech styles (N=18). In addition, the study targets at generating a substantive speech model showing how Taiwanese older adults construct their gender identities, power, and speech styles in their autobiographical life-storytelling narratives. Results of this research have identified two major gender communication differences: gendered speech orientations and gendered speech genre. We describe and interpret such differences within two theoretical frameworks that distinguish two different linguistic styles of gender discourse: the gendered conversational styles studied by Tannen (1995) and the storytelling speech genre studied by Labov (1972). This research has also identified a social process that underlies the development of gender awareness in older adults. These findings enhance the current body of research in older adult gender communication by providing information on gender differences in life-storytelling narratives that was previously unclear in literature of older adult gender communication.

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Introduction

The researcher's motif came from a Taiwanese locally used term 'dai-gou'. This interesting sociocultural term 'dai-gou' (generation gap) is commonly used to present certain misunderstandings or problematic conversations between individuals from a younger and older generation. It literally means that there can be an information gap or some miscommunication between interlocutors with different ages. According to the Mandarin Dictionary published by the Taiwanese Ministry of Education (1994), the term 'dai-gou' means conflicts between individuals from different generation, environments, or with different prior life experiences on different perspectives, attitude, behaviors, and etc. An interesting social phenomenon is that 'obasan talks', a Japanese loan phrase which stands for conversations of old ladies, are generally stereotyped and assumed to be 'an annoying and frustrating human language' in Taiwanese societies. This phenomenon allured the researcher's attention to figure out what linguistic characteristics the 'obasan talks' have and what cause interlocutors of female older adults so impatient to their conversations.

The core values of the present study are bridging the cross-cultural communication between older adults and their family members, familiarizing different gender(ed) past life experiences and discourse styles, and targeting to increase the awareness of gender differences, hoping the older adults (N=18) in this study can realize their intrinsic values, gender identities, and the meaning of life. The present research is a within-subject study and a subproject of an older adult language learning project. The two primary goals of the project are: a) raising the gender awareness of older adults, facilitating their gender communication, and enabling the development of their gender identities; and b) empowering older adults' language competence in gender communication with an appreciation of different gender speech styles.

A large body of gender communication (GC) research has already informed us various aspects of how gender identities can be socially or culturally constructed or affects people engage in conversations in different ways. In literature, constructivists (e.g. Valerie, 1997; Crawford, 1995; Fairlough, 1989, 1995a, 1995b; Tannen, 1990, 1995) conducted research in many contexts to discover what gender differences males and females have in their talks, narratives, and conversations. In Labov's (1972) landmark essay, the researcher found noticeable differences in storytelling genres of both genders. Labov's (1972) genre approach and classic definitions of storytelling genre benefit many further empirical studies. In empirical studies, researchers examined and discovered whether there are significant distinctions in many forms of gender communication.

To investigate older adults' gender communication differences in their life-storytelling narratives on how they tell stories, why they tell stories in different ways, and what gender communication awareness they develop, 21 empirical studies from journals or books were selected for review and specifically narrowed to fourteen empirical studies for issues related to gender, speech styles, and narratives. The body of empirical studies in the previous research reviewed can be divided into four categories: a) gender identities, b) gender discourse in workplace, c) gender and communicative styles, and d) gender and narratives. In previous studies, researchers indicated how male and female construct their gender identities in different contexts (Gómez, 2010; Koch, 2004; Lidestav, 2007; Scheuer, 2011; Wang, 2012), while some researchers (e.g. Cassell, 1998; Swap *et. al*, 2001) explained how males and females translating the knowing to telling, especially transferring this linguistic knowledge to workplace. Linguistic stylists (e.g. Davies, 2003; Ehrlich, 1998, Herring, 1994; Lawlor, 2006; Maíz-Arévalo, 2011; Page, 2003; Severiens *et. al*, 1994; Tenebaum, 2011) empirically analyzed the linguistic speech styles of gender talks. In addition, the present study benefits from six empirical studies on the issue of gender and narratives (e.g. Alexander, 1994; Alidou, 2002; Bickmore, 1999; Bucholtz, 2011, Cheng, 2005; Solomon, 2012). To target at examining the gender communication styles, the current research modified Page's (2003) methodological approach to specifically identify older adults' speech contents and genres. To achieve the purposes of the study (discovering whether there are any gender differences), the following ones are the research questions.

1. Are there any gender differences in older adults' life-storytelling narratives (e.g. Contents in oral narratives and structural differences in the genre oral narratives)?
2. Does gender communication awareness facilitate older adults' cross-cultural communication?

Literature Review

To answer the research questions, the literature review of the present study mainly focus on three things: a) Gender differences from cross-cultural perspective (e.g. Tannen, 1990), b) Structural analysis and genre analysis of gender communication (e.g. Labov, 1972), and empirical studies on gender communication and storytelling.

Theoretical Framework

Cross-cultural gender differences

In the study, the researcher describes and interprets gender differences within two theoretical frameworks that distinguish two different linguistic styles of gender

discourse: the gendered conversational styles studied by Tannen (1995) and the storytelling speech genre studied by Labov (1972).

Tannen (1990) in her landmark essay *You Just Don't Understand* identifies the roles of women and men in conversation. She contended that women speak a language of connection and intimacy which is a way to establish and negotiate relationships. On the other hand, Men speak a language of status and independence which is a way to negotiate and maintain status in a hierarchical order. Thus, their communication can be a cross-cultural communication.

Tannen (1995) in another essay *The Power of Talk: Who Gets Heard and Why* sees women and men are from two cultures, namely, masculine and feminine cultures. In her study, she claims that gender differences can be found in ways of speaking. Also, she suggests that we need to identify them and understand them in order to avoid unnecessarily blaming others, ourselves, or relationship for our conversational styles. Most importantly, she believes that we need to understand gender in order to be better conversationalists or talkers. To specify the two speech styles from 'masculine and feminine cultures', she capsulated the characteristics of two distinct linguistic styles: *Rapport Talk* and *Report Talk*. The followings are the major characteristics of *Rapport Talk* and *Report Talk*.

Rapport talk (Feminine style)

- (a) Using language to form connections and build rapport
- (b) Using we statements (e.g. pronoun usages brings different power control)
- (c) Talking in a power down position
- (d) Down playing their contribution (a powerless speech manner)

Report talk (Masculine style)

- (a) Using language to compete and report
- (b) Using language to show hierarchy/status or independence and 'I' statement
- (c) Talking in a power up position
- (d) Speaking in linear structure (a more direct powerful speech manner)

In feminine style, Tannen (1995) highlighted four major linguistic features. She contended that the biggest difference between male and female talk is that women use language to build rapport and form connections, while men prefer the headlines and use language to report. Moreover, women prefer using 'we' statement, but men use 'I' statement to show hierarchy status or their independence. Hence, women are usually talking in a 'power down' position with circular or more sophisticated narratives, but

men are generally talking in a 'power up' position with linear structured narratives. In contrast, male talks, thus, seem to be a more direct and powerful speech, and female talks seem to be a powerless speech.

Gender differences in linguistic styles and Storytelling Approach

In the study, issues related to linguistic styles and storytelling approaches are particularly reviewed. Before figuring out what the functions storytelling approach have, we should find out what a storytelling approach is. Storytelling is one way in which women and men construct their gender identity within a social constructive framework (Crawford, 1995:17, 1997). Weedon (1987) and Butler (1990) also indicate that language is a cultural production of gender identity. Additionally, in Fairclough's (1989, 1995) studies, the scholar found that women and men use storytelling approach to construct gender identities. In particular, autobiographical storytelling approach is a method to study how life-story can transform one's identity and perceptions. In short, the present study adopts Tannen's cross-cultural perspectives and use autobiographical storytelling approach as the theoretical foundation and framework.

Gender differences in the speech genre of storytelling narratives

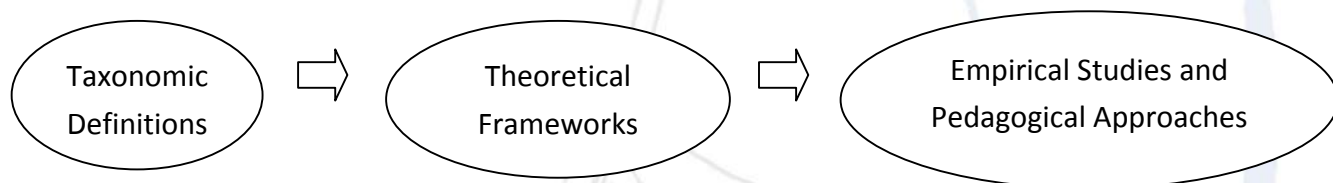
Brown (1975) cited the three major functions of storytelling narratives: a) Constructing gender identity, b) Serving as a response or sharing previous experiences, c) A narrative of personal story is a method of recalling the sequence of events actually occurred. The overall structure should have beginning, middle, and end. Another classic definitions of storytelling narratives are from Labov's (1972) genre research that a story should have and can be analyzed by six parts: abstract, orientation, complicating, action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. In brief, the present study not only adopts Tannen's cross-cultural perspectives and use autobiographical storytelling approach as the theoretical foundation and framework, but also adopts Labov's (1972) classic definitions to analyze the genre structure of older adults' storytelling narratives.

Empirical Studies on Gender Communication

21 empirical studies of gender communication have been categorized into four major themes: a) gender identities, b) gender discourse in workplace, c) gender and communicative styles, and d) gender and narratives. Researchers (e.g. Gómez, 2010; Koch, 2004; Lidestav, 2007; Scheuer, 2011; Wang, 2012) found that gender identities can be constructed through language and communication. They obtained two positive results: a) boys prefer report talk style and b) girls prefer rapport talk styles. Cassell

(1998), Swap *et. al* (2001) in their empirical studies explained the process of translating and transferring the linguistic knowledge to workplace. Indeed, they attempt to raise the gender awareness and encourage individuals to transfer the knowing of gender differences to their talks. Some other linguistic stylists (e.g. Davies, 2003; Ehrlich, 1998, Herring, 1994; Lawlor, 2006; Maíz-Arévalo, 2011; Page, 2003; Severiens *et. al*, 1994; Tenebaum, 2011) analyzed the linguistic speech styles of gender talks by using discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, genre analysis, storytelling approaches, and interview within a constructivist and conversational framework. Profoundly, in order to strengthen the methodology of the present study, empirical studies using storytelling approach and genre analysis on storytelling narratives are reviewed (e.g. Alexander, 1994; Alidou, 2002; Bickmore, 1999; Bucholtz, 2011, Cheng, 2005; Solomon, 2012).

In summary, the researcher started from understanding the taxonomic definitions, classic work on gender differences and communication, and empirical studies on related issues.



Methodology

Cluster Sampling

Participants and Samples

20 older adults involved in this project/study. The average of their ages is 77. The eldest one is 93. The ‘youngest’ one is 73. Two of the participants missed one third of the semester and did not participate the storytelling activities. As result, they have been excluded in this project/study. 18 oral life-storytelling narratives are collected, transcribed, and legally videotaped. Note: World Health Organization (WHO) defined people with age 65 and over 65 as older adults. Therefore, all the participants are defined as older adults in this study.

Content and Expert Validity

Content and Expert Validity for Content Analysis

Content Validity	Procedures to Achieve
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<p>This type of validity cares about whether the contents can be effectively examined or not.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Clearly explain the definitions 2. Use the definitions to examine the contents from all or part of the samples 3. Develop new definitions or articulate the results by connecting the adopted definitions. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tannen’s definitions and perspectives are clearly explained in the present paper. (Why is this important? We want to know what to see and count as evidence.) 2. Tannen’s definitions have been adopted to examine the contents of the life-storytelling narratives. 3. The results will be connected and explained with Tannen’s definitions.
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The research design and research instruments have been evaluated by three university professors who have experiences of teaching *discourse analysis* and conducted related research. In the first try, the design of content analysis failed to achieve content and expert validity. In the second try, the researcher followed the instructions and accepted the suggestions from the three professors.

Content and Expert Validity for Genre Analysis

Table 2

Content Validity	Procedures to Achieve
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<p>This type of validity cares about whether the contents can be effectively examined or not.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Clearly explain the definitions 2. Use the definitions to examine the contents from all or part of the samples 3. Develop new definitions or articulate the results by connecting the adopted definitions. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Labov's (1972) definitions will be clearly explained in the present paper. (e.g. how to count the evidence and categorize them into the six elements of genre structure on oral narratives) 2. Labov's (1972) definitions have been adopted to examines the genre of the life-storytelling narratives. 3. The results will be connected and explained with Labov's (1972) definitions.
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The research design and research instruments have been evaluated by three university professors who have experiences of teaching *discourse analysis* and conducted genre research. The design followed Labov's (1972) definitions. In addition, all the items are clearly defined and connected to Labov's genre approach. Therefore, the research instrument of the study achieved the content and expert validity.

The Coding Schemes of the Research Tool

Content analysis

The present study adopts Tannen's definitions and perspectives on report and rapport talk. In this study, CT1 represents report talk while CT2 represents rapport talk.

Genre analysis

Items for Genre Analysis	Labov's (1972) Definitions
Abstract (GAI 1)	A reason for telling it.
Orientation (GAI 2)	Exposition/Explanation
Complicating action (GAI 3)	Development and crisis
Evaluation (GAI 4)	Justifying the claims in the "abstract"

Result or resolution (GAI 5)	The outcome/influences
Coda (GAI 6)	Concluding clauses

The Coding Schemes of the Participants

Participants have been simply coded with a capitalized P with a number starting from one to eighteen (e.g. P1 to P18).

Procedures of the Research

1. Participants should take bilingual lessons (Mandarin and Taiwanese) in order to make their life-story picturebooks. There are 24 lessons in total including the language lessons and the storytelling practices. 3 hours for each lesson. 72 hours in total.
2. In order to conduct the structured interview effectively and efficiently, the two researchers took and attended their Taiwanese language class for 3 times (9 hours of Taiwanese language training).
3. The first lesson is designed to give an orientation about the purpose of the course and the explanation of learning objectives.
4. The lecturers utilize an implicit teaching of Taiwanese songs plus an explicit teaching of Chinese vocabulary words in terms of how to write and say them.
5. Teaching and helping the seniors how to make their own life-story picturebooks.
5. Helping and Teaching seniors how to make their own life-story picturebooks.
6. Storytelling in the third last class. -> Conducting a content analysis.
7. A talk/lesson on gender communication and the results of the study to the participants (The second last class).
8. Achievements exhibition and media reception (The last class).
9. The follow-up study for investigating older adults' perceptions (After the lessons).

Data Collection

Content Analysis

The first research question (RQ) is as followed:

RQ1. Are there any gender differences in older adults' life-storytelling narratives (e.g. Contents in oral narratives and structural differences in the genre oral narratives)?

The following table shows the data collected in the content analysis. In the table, (F) stands for female, and (M) stands for male. The coding of CT 1 represents report talk

while CT 2 symbolizes rapport talk.

P1 (F)	P2 (F)	P3 (F)	P4 (F)	P5 (M)	P6 (M)	P7 (F)	P8 (F)	P9 (F)	P 10 (M)	P 11 (M)	P 12 (M)	P 13 (F)	P 14 (M)	P 15 (F)	P 16 (F)	P 17 (F)	P 18 (F)
CT 2	CT 2	CT 2	CT 2	CT 1	CT 1	CT 2	CT 2	CT 1	CT1	CT 1	CT 1	CT1	CT 2	CT 2	CT 2	CT 2	CT 2
								Δ				Δ	Δ				Δ

Genre Analysis

To answer the first research carefully, the present study also examine older adults' speech genre in storytelling narratives. The first research question (RQ) is as followed:

RQ1. Are there any gender differences in older adults' life-storytelling narratives (e.g. Contents in oral narratives and structural differences in the genre oral narratives)?

Participants	P1 (F)	P2 (F)	P3 (F)	P4 (F)	P5 (M)	P6 (M)	P7 (F)	P8 (F)	P9 (F)	P 10 (M)	P 11 (M)	P 12 (M)	P 13 (F)	P 14 (M)	P 15 (F)	P 16 (F)	P 17 (F)
GAI 1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
GAI 2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GAI 3	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	
GAI 4	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
GAI 5				✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
GAI 6	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Results of the Study

Content Analysis

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. | One of the six men: rapport talk | 17% |
| 2. | Five of the six men: report talk | 83% |
| 3. | Three of 12 women: report talk | 25% |
| 4. | Nine of the 12 women: rapport talk | 75% |

The content analysis has provided us two results: a) most of the male participants (83%) used the report talk communication style; b) most of the female participants (75%) used the rapport talk communication style.

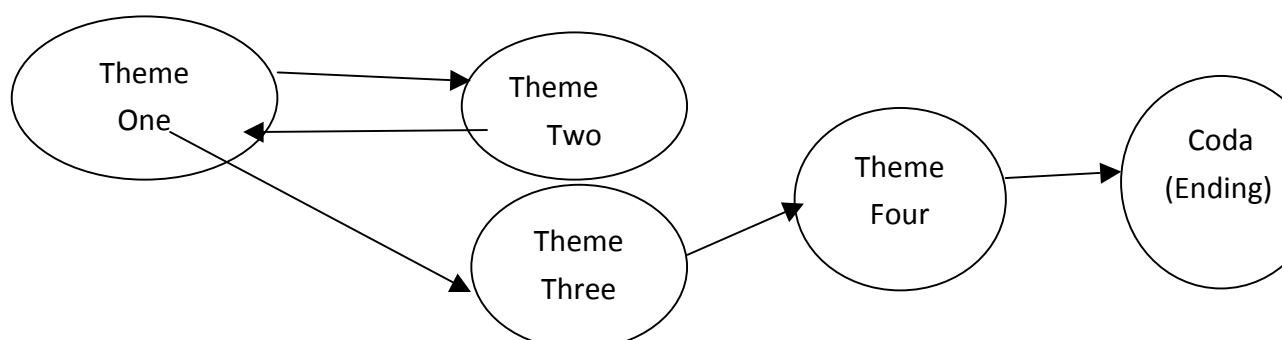
Genre Analysis

The genre analysis of storytelling narratives has provided us several results: a) all the participants followed Labov's (1972) first element of the storytelling components s—abstract. All male and female older adults told the reasons for telling the stories; b) all the participants except for a female one did not follow the second element (orientation); c) three female storytellers (25%) and one male storyteller (17%) did not follow the third element (complicating action); d) only two females (17%) did not include the evaluation part of the story; e) six females (50%) and one male (17%) did not have the fifth element (Result or resolution); f) all the storytellers except one female (8%) did not have a coda.

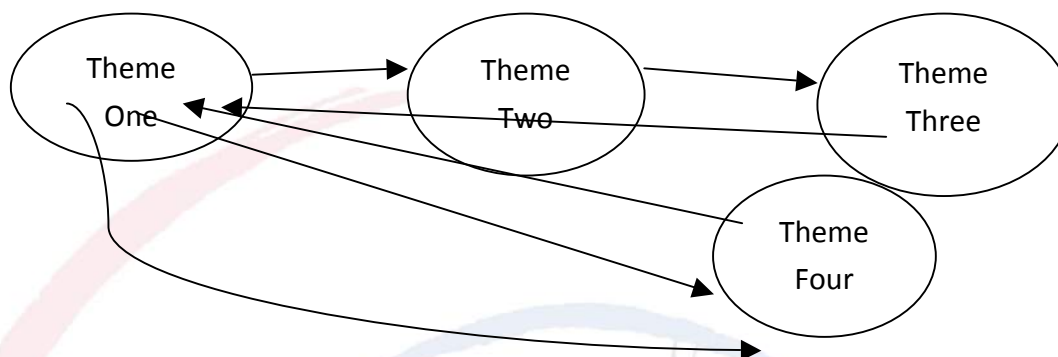
Throughout the genre analysis, this study did not have significant differences in speech genre on storytelling narratives. We can still see that 50% of the females did not provide outcomes or influences of the stories. 25% of the female did not include 'complicating action', the development and crisis of the stories. In addition, 17% of the females did not provide the results for the stories. In contrast, most males follow Labov's definitions. However, in terms of speech themes, females significantly showed more complicated story development, while men constructed linear structure in their storytelling narratives.

Examples from the Participants

Participant 1 (Cai Xiu Fang)



Participant 4 (Li Nian Lin)



The above diagrams showed how female develop their speech themes and plot their story. Their narratives showed circular and more sophisticated structure, while all males preferred the linear style.

Structured Interviews

To answer the second research question, the study also examines the answers of the structured interviews prepared for the interviewees. 10 interviewees are randomly selected and mix-gendered to attend their audiotaped interviews. The second research question for the follow-up study is as followed: RQ2. Does gender communication awareness facilitate older adults' cross-cultural communication? There are only three questions for each interviewee.

The interviews mainly focus on the following five dimensions:

1. Do they notice any gender difference before the implementation?
2. Do the participants and their family members benefit from the implementation and the talk on gender communication awareness?
3. What gender communication differences do they notice in peers' storytelling narratives?

Results and Answers from the interviewees

1. Only two out of ten interviewees (20%) told the interviewer that they noticed gender differences in communication. Eight out of ten interviewees (80%) did not notice any gender differences in talks. They stated that 'I think there's no difference between the talks.

2. All the interviewees stated that 'this project educated them on language learning in writing and speaking, raised their gender awareness, and facilitated their

family talks. In addition, the interviewees are unexpectedly motivated because they were on the TV news. They also feel encouraged to talk more about their life-stories and shared prior experiences with their family members, although they think there were 'dai-gou' (generation gap) in the family talks.

3. After the implementation and the talk on gender communication, all the interviewees can give examples of gender differences in communication. Interviewee 3, a female older adult, surprisingly told the interviewer that she does not agree with Tannen's ideas that female talks are powerless. Instead, she stated that 'rapport talk style' (intimacy talk) is powerful. She told the interviewer that 'a-sun always find the a-ma first when they need someone to talk with or when they come back home from the school' (Translation: the grandson always find the grandma first when they need someone to talk with or when they come back home from the school). The grandmother is also confident that the grandson does not want to talk to the grandfather first, because the grandfather would always try to solve the problem as a problematizer. In this case, the interviewee feels that she gains the power in the family even the grandfather is sitting in the living room, too.

Discussion

Although the study shows significant differences in speech contents and no significant differences from genre analysis, we can still clearly notice that female older adults tend to repeat themes that they have already said or explained.

In addition, in female talks, they did not clearly tell the audience that they are changing from one theme to another theme. In fact, there can be some very confusing jumps from one supporting detail, example, or theme to another one.

Another mutual problematic storytelling development can be that female older adults tell the audience much more than the listeners expect to find out (e.g. their specific home addresses, names of each relative, and etc.). Also, according to Labov's (1972) definition, a 'good' story should justify the claims or respond what storytellers mentioned in the "abstract". Female older adult storytellers sometimes forgot what they have already said and what they should say to refer to what they wanted to say.

To sum up the results, a problematic obsan's talk can be interpreted as followed:

1. Talking too much about what people do not really need to know (e.g. addresses).
2. Jumping from one theme to another theme or shifting one topic to another one illogically.
3. Repeating things too many times that listeners have already heard.

In contrast, typical talks from male older adults can be induced as followed:

1. Explaining too much in the “abstract” section to tell the audience many reasons why they tell the stories. They spent an average of 2 and half minutes to explain the reasons they talk about the story in the “abstract” section, while female older adults spent an average of 45 seconds to tell the audience their reasons of the talks.
2. Male older adult storytellers provided many examples to prove how independent, physically strong, or hardworking when they were young.
3. Males speak with position up position defined by Tannen (1995).

Limitations of the Study

In the present study, although the subproject (SP) researchers took three language classes in Taiwanese (9 hours), they still find it difficult to conduct the content analysis and oral interviews. In addition, the number of male of older adult participants is six. The unequal number and small-scale research results may not generalize the norm. Most importantly, not all women communicate the same and not all men communicate the same.

Pedagogical Implications and Conclusion

The results of the research highlighted the gender differences in older adults’ storytelling narratives and interpret that the obsan’s talk can be a problematic form of gender miscommunication. The study suggested that: a) female older adults should not repeat things that are said already again and again; b) female older adults should logically structure their storytelling narratives; c) the languages used in life-storytelling narratives are just different; there is no better storytelling model. The core values of this study are: a) improving older adults’ gender communication, b) constructing gender identities and realizing the intrinsic values through life-storytelling task, and c) facilitating family talks. The study re-examined Tannen’s and Labov’s definitions and perspectives of gender differences in terms of cross-cultural communication. The study found there are significant differences on the content of the narratives.

1. Participants believe that this projects their gender communication between peers and family members.
2. The study didn’t find any significant differences on the genre structure of the narratives. However, the development and plot of females’ stories are more complicated than ones from the males.

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The Hakka Proficiency Test Studied by the Methods of Semantics

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Abstract

Because of the past policy, the people who speak Hakka became less and less frequent. In 2005, the Hakka Affairs Council set up Hakka Proficiency Test for rescuing Hakka. Because the contents of examination led the way of teaching in Taiwan, children practiced Hakka just for testing; they may not apply Hakka in daily life.

The teaching materials of Hakka Proficiency Test are like a dictionary and the examination questions of Hakka Proficiency Test almost tested the definitions of Hakka word. The meanings of Hakka lexicons are isolated the using environment, and the learners can't know how to use the lexicons. So the learners can't apply Hakka in daily life.

Although the contents of examination led the way of teaching, if we would want to maintain the use of Hakka, the way of teaching and the examination questions must be fixed.

Keywords Hakka Proficiency Test, Semantics, Hakka

1. Introduction

Because of the past policy, the people who speak Hakka became less and less frequent. In 2005, the Hakka Affairs Council set up Hakka Proficiency Test for rescuing Hakka. Because the contents of examination led the way of teaching in Taiwan, children practiced Hakka just for testing; they may not apply Hakka in daily life.

2. Literature Review

The same verb has different meaning because of the use of context or syntax(王慶華, 2008 ; 林雯菱, 2008).

The meanings of "看(kon)" in the Hakka Proficiency Test-based lexicon are "看(kan), 探望 (tan wang)". But In 林雯菱's research(2008), she discovered that the meanings of "看(kon)" are 瞧、視(qiao、shi) ; 觀看、欣賞(guan kan、xin shang) ; 探望、拜訪(tan wang、bai fang) ; 估量、考慮(gu liang、kao lu) ; 診斷(zhen duan) and 閱讀 (yue du)

The teaching materials of Hakka Proficiency Test are like a dictionary and the examination questions of Hakka Proficiency Test almost tested the definitions of Hakka word. The meanings of Hakka lexicons are isolated the using environment, and the learners can't know how to use the lexicons. So the learners can't apply Hakka in daily life.

For example, the meaning of "縱(jiung`)" in the Hakka Proficiency Test-based lexicon is to pamper. But in Hakka, "縱(jiung`)" also means to coddle. "縱(jiung`)" only collocate with child. It maybe makes a mistake if the learner uses the meaning in the Hakka Proficiency Test-based lexicon. In Mandarin, "縱容" can collocate with "搶匪", but it can not in Hakka.

The example is from Academia Sinica Tagged Corpus of Early Mandarin Chinese

...沒想到檢察官不服, 又上訴, 還開記者會說我「縱容搶匪」...

(*mei xiang dao jian cha guan bu fu , you shang su , hai kai ji zhe hui shuo wo 「zong rong qiang fei」*)

3. Discussion

In every the Hakka Proficiency Test, Hakka Affairs Council will offer the examinees Hakka Proficiency Test-based lexicon to be the criterion of the pronunciation of Hakka, the use of Hakka, etc.

In order to preparing for an examination, the examinees can study the Hakka Proficiency Test-based lexicon. The examinees can learn the pronunciation of Hakka and the use of Hakka in the Hakka Proficiency Test-based lexicon. If the contents of the Hakka Proficiency Test-based lexicon are applicable to the test, the examinees can't apply the knowledge in daily life (王瑞珉, 2013 ; 謝杰雄、湯琬君, 2013).

Because Hakka Proficiency Test-based lexicon is like a dictionary and the learners just learn the definitions of Hakka word. The word has different meaning because of the use of context or syntax. Although Hakka Affairs Council want to help the

learners to understand the meanings of Hakka word by adding Mandarin and English translation, it doesn't mean that the learners can understand the meanings of the Hakka word even the learners know every Chinese characters. If the learners want to understand the meaning of a word, they can get the meaning of a word from its context. So it is not enough to understand the meaning of a word by using the translations.

The meanings of words are in the using. The meanings are not only in the language but also in the interaction between man and the objective world of cognitive (徐志民, 2008 ; 王寅, 2006) . The meanings of words are different for everyone because everyone has different experiences in life.

The learner maybe make a mistake if they just learn the definitions of Hakka word. The material in this paper is derived from Hakka e-learning Center. Here, for example, is a sample from The Hakka Proficiency Test: Elementary in 2012.

Yes-No Question:

華語講「服兵役」，客語講「做兵」。【Ans. (O)】

(The meaning of “fú bīng yì” in Mandarin also means “zo bin” in Hakka.)

Another example is from The Hakka Proficiency Test: Intermediate and High-Intermediate in 2013.

Vocabulary Test

non' sui' (seu' sui') 暖水(1) 熱水瓶的水 (2) 水是溫暖的 (3) 燒熱水 (4) 隔水加熱

【Ans. (3)】

(*non' sui' (seu' sui')*) (1) water of thermos bottle (*rè shuǐ píng de shuǐ*) (2) water is warm (*shuǐ shì wēn nuǎn de*) (3) makes the water to get hot (*shāo rè shuǐ*) (4) double boiler (*gé shuǐ jiā rè*)

Although the learners know the meaning of *non' sui' (seu' sui')* 暖水 in Mandarin if they use the sentence "佢暖水煮茶" in daily life and the sentence is wrong. A Mandarin translation of *non' sui' (seu' sui')* 暖水 is 燒熱水(*shāo rè shuǐ*), but the meaning of *non' sui' (seu' sui')* 暖水 in Hakka is someone makes the water to get hot for taking a bath not for drinking.

Although the task types are listening test and speaking test, the examinees do not necessarily understand the questions of Hakka statement. For examinees, they can answer the questions as long as they can understand the Chinese characters. Because all the questions are written by Chinese characters, the examinees can guess the answers by using Mandarin. For the examinees that pass the exam, I wonder if they can talk in Hakka in daily life.

Although the contents of examination led the way of teaching, if we would want to maintain the use of Hakka, the way of teaching and the examination questions must be fixed.

For example:

It was switched *Yes-No Question* and *Vocabulary test* to *Cloze test* in the Hakka Proficiency Test: Elementary in 2013.

這支係鉛筆，該支係原子筆，這兩項東西_____。

(1) 共樣 (2) 共下 (3) 無要緊 (4) 無共樣 【Ans. (4)】

(This is a pencil, and that is a pen. The two things are _____.)

(1) 共樣 same (2) 共下 together (3) 無要緊 it is ok (4) 無共樣 different

The Answering Question of listening test before the Hakka Proficiency Test: Elementary in 2013, the questions are almost Hakka-Mandarin Translation.

The example is from The Hakka Proficiency Test: Elementary in 2012

昨暗晡有地動你知無？「地動」就係華語个麼个？

(1) 地震 (2) 崩塌 (3) 震動 【Ans.(1)】

(Did you know it had earthquake last night? What does earthquake mean in Mandarin?)

(1) di zhen (2) beng ta (3) zhen dong)

They not only switch the type of Answering Question but also increase the task type "Conversations". For the examinees, they can apply the knowledge in daily life.

Answering Question

阿婆係阿姆个麼人？

(1) 丈人老 (2) 丈人哀 (3) 家官 (4) 家娘 【Ans.(4)】

(What is mom call grandmother? (1) wife's father (2) wife's mother (3) husband's father (4) husband's mother)

Conversations

女：若舖娘(姐仔) 還有去工廠上班無？

男：佢身體佇毋著，放忒(歇) 咗。

請問厥舖娘(姐仔) 還有上班無？

(1) 頭路辭忒(歇) (2) 還有上班 (3) 半做半寮 (4) 半工半讀 【Ans.(1)】

(Women: Does your wife still work in the factory ?

Men: She is out of health.

Q: Does his wife still work?

(1) She quit. (2) She still works. (3) She works a few days. (4) Work-study program

Although it didn't transform all task types in the Hakka Proficiency Test: Elementary in 2013(ex. Hakka-Mandarin Translation), the situation had been greatly transformed. Because they decrease the ratio of Hakka-Mandarin Translation and the ratio of the questions are written by Chinese characters, the examinees must really understand the meanings in Hakka or they can't answer the questions. For the examinees, they can apply the knowledge in daily life. Other levels of the Hakka Proficiency Test should work in this way.

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Dilemma in the Preservation Practice of Traditional Malay Houses

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Abstract:

Traditional Malay houses in Malaysia are examples of the Malay (the largest community in Malaysia) cultural heritages. However, developments that are growing rapidly in many areas in Malaysia had replaced traditional village areas with new developments. These actions diminished with them many traditional Malay houses. Nowadays, preservation of these houses becomes crucial to protect the cultural heritage of Malaysia and the culture of the Malays that lie within the architecture of these houses. The Malay cultures are manifested in the form, spatial layout and the details of these houses. The research aims to establish the categories of preservation practice in traditional Malay house and the factors which influence it. Qualitative method was employed with in-depth interview technique through case study. Kuala Kangsar was chosen as the case study area due to the rich cultural heritage contents in the area that includes traditional Malay houses. The research discussed the findings of the initial study towards preservation practices on traditional Malay houses in Kuala Kangsar. The findings revealed that lack of awareness among the users on the cultural value of the traditional houses, changes of building owners and changes on the daily needs of the users are among the reasons why the traditional houses were not well preserved.

Keywords: Preservation practices, Traditional Malay houses, cultural heritage, , Kuala Kangsar

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Effort to preserve and conserve heritage building in Malaysia has started a few decades ago, but only within the last decade that the efforts have seen tremendous achievement (Nik Farhanah and Embong, 2012). This can only be seen through the establishment of National Heritage Department in 2006 and also the enforcement of the National Heritage Act 2005 (Siti Norlizaiha, 2011). According to the research done by Siti Norlizaiha (2011), although Malaysia has lot of heritage buildings all over the country but the understanding on the preservation practice is still unclear. Basically the preservation practice involved physical action to preserve the fabric and material of the heritage building. One of the heritage building that is crucial to be preserved is the traditional Malay house because many suffers demolition due to rapid development (Mohd Sabrizaa and Mohammad Najib, 2005; Abd Aziz and Enoch, 2013).

Traditional Malay houses in Malaysia has form that differs from one state to another (Azizi and Aldrin, 2008). It is also an indicator of a local style house design (Zulkifli and Abdullah Sani, 2006). In addition, the traditional Malay house can be classified as a vernacular architecture, which mean the local architecture by the people, and also architecture without architect, of the Malay Peninsular before the colonialism period (Yuan, 1991; Zulkifli and Abdullah Sani, 2006; Mohd Sabrizaa et al, 2009). The preservation practice is one of the process in maintaining the fabric of the traditional Malay house.

This paper aims to establish the categories of preservation practice in traditional Malay house and the factor which influence it. Therefore the objectives of this initial study are: (1) to identify the categories of preservation done to the traditional Malay house through its building components, and (2) to establish the factors that influence the preservation practice by the house user. Hence, this paper will present a preliminary finding of the preservation practice done by the house owner of the traditional Malay house in Kuala Kangsar district.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Preservation Practices of Heritage building

Considering the important of preserving the cultural heritage components, it is important to appreciate the meaning of 'preservation'. Conceptually, preservation means and includes maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration (International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property [ICCROM], 2010; History Trust of South Australia, 2009; NPS, 2011). Thus, preservation implies maintaining the original in an unchanged state, but conservation embraces elements of change and enhancement (Benson and Klein, 2008).

Besides, preservation also covers the act of controlling the conditions, physical and determining the lifelong of heritage component for future maintenance management (Arazi et.al, 2011). Most treatments are reversible. If the objects have historical, cultural, technological or aesthetic significance, then preservation is the preferred

option to restoration (Rahman et.al, 2012). Hence, the conservation and preservation of the heritage building shall include any buildings that have significance heritage values towards the community (Ministry of Urban Development Government of India, 2010).

According to NPS (2011) the expressed goal of preserving historic buildings as simple as basic maintenance of existing materials and features or may involve preparing a historic structure report, undertaking laboratory testing such as paint and mortar analysis, and hiring conservators to perform sensitive work such as reconstituting interior finishes. In Malaysia context, the preservation of heritage building also includes the preservation practice of architectural component of the Malay traditional house (Abu Talib, 2010; Arazi et.al, 2011; Rahman et al, 2012; Nurhidayatuljamilah, 2012). Interestingly, for traditional Malay houses, the preservation is done by the house owner themselves in their own way without the help of trained conservator.

Based on the definition by a few researchers and organizations (Benson and Klein, 2008; History Trust of South Australia, 2009; NPS, 2011; Arazi et.al, 2011) the operational term of preservation practice in this study is “the retention of the building existing form, features and detailing of the traditional Malay house by the house owner”.

There are several agencies which do preservation practices to maintain heritage buildings condition and existence. These agencies have several considerations on choosing a building before they proceed with the preservation program (table 1).

Table 1: Heritage building criteria for preservation practice

NO	AGENCIES	CONSIDERATION
1	U.S National Park Service (2011)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Relative importance in history- building that contribute to the significance of historic district 2. Physical condition- distinctive materials, features, and spaces are essentially intact and convey the building’s historical significance 3. Proposed use- building will be used as it was historically or will be given a new use 4. The character of the building defined by the form and the detailing of: <i>exterior material</i> (masonry, wood and metal), <i>exterior features</i> (roof, porches and windows), <i>interior materials</i> (plaster and paint), <i>interior features</i> (moldings and stairways, room configuration and spatial relationships, structural and mechanical system) 5.
2	Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Place in	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Materials, features and spaces of the historic place are essentially intact and convey the historic significance, without extensive repair or replacement

	Canada (2010)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Depiction during a particular period in its history is not appropriate 3. Continuation or new use does not require extensive alterations and addition
3	Historic Resource Inventory and Preservation Plan -Office of Historic Preservation, California (2011)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Property must be listed as individual buildings or as a district 2. Property that have historically significance 3. Property reflect as historic resources, the historical uses of site, the spatial organization and response to the natural environment
4	Preservation Guidelines and Standards for Oklahoma City Historic District (2011)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Distinctive areas and places of historical significance 2. Individual or district historic buildings and features to be preserved 3. The buildings reflect the styles during certain period of time (eg: 1st half of 20th century) 4. Building features reflecting the time periods- windows, doors, building materials, scale and shapes 5. Determine the relative integrity and importance of existing materials and forms
5	National Heritage Act (2005), Malaysia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Building or group of separate or connected building which because of the architecture, homogeneity or place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science. 2. Historical importance, association with the Malaysian history 3. Reflection towards natural environment and Malaysia cultural heritage

Summary of the criteria in choosing the building based on Table 1 is as in Table 2.

Table 2: Criteria in choosing heritage building to be preserved

CRITERIA IN CHOOSING BUILDING TO BE PRESERVED	1	2	3	4	5
Importance in history	/	/	/	/	/
Physical condition:					
1. Form	/	/	/	/	/
2. Features	/	/	/	/	/
3. Detailing	/	/	/	/	/
4. Spaces	/	/	/	/	/
5. Material	/	/	/	/	/
Time period	/	/	/	/	/
Reflection towards:					
1. Historical resources			/		

2. Natural environment			/	/	/
3. Local architectural style	/	/	/	/	/
Functions	/				
Individual/ district historic building	/	/	/	/	/
Proposed use	/	/			

* *Agencies: (1) U.S National Park Service, (2) Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Place in Canada, (3) Historic Resource Inventory and Preservation Plan -Office of Historic Preservation, California, (4) Preservation Guidelines and Standards for Oklahoma City Historic District , and (5) National Heritage Act (2005), Malaysia.*

Based on Table 2, the similar criteria which most of the agencies took into consideration in choosing the buildings to be preserved will also be the based on choosing the buildings to be evaluated for this study. The criterias that will be taken into considerations are:

- i. Importance in history
- ii. Physical condition of the building- form, spaces and materials
- iii. Time period of the building
- iv. The building with reflect the local architectural style
- v. The building to be listed as individual's or district's historic building

Traditional Malay House

Traditional Malay house is a very important building in the history of Malaysia. The essence of traditional Malay house is based on the understanding of Malay actual needs, cultural expectation and the way of life (Amir Hosein and Nur Dalilah, 2012). From a distance, the Malay house seems standing as an icon to the local architecture which has its own identity. The traditional Malay house evolved by the Malays over generations, adapting to the environment and respond well with sustainable issues that are concern recently in term of ventilation and water quality, energy efficiency, solid waste management and natural resources (Sufian and Mohd Sabrizaa, 2008).

Traditionally, these houses was designed by the local craftsmen using readily available local materials such as timber, which suited the local climate and environmental conditions (Zulkifli and Abdullah Sani, 2006). All the spaces inside the Malay house have specific sizes based on their own allocated functions It has an open plan layout which facilitates the users to have a flexible use of space (Yuan, 2001). Moreover, the traditional Malay house responds to the environmental characteristics of the region through various solutions such as open planning, large openings, limited walls and partitions.

Type of traditional Malay houses

In Malaysia, the traditional Malay house can be found along different lines in the various regions and states. Research done by Lilawati et al., (2005) proved that areas in Peninsular Malaysia from the state of Johor to Perlis, consist of twelve different

designs of traditional Malay house (fig.1). Each house has its main characteristic, which vary from state to state. The evolution of the architectural design of Traditional Malay houses have derived from several influences such as cultural, environmental needs, socio- economic and religion.

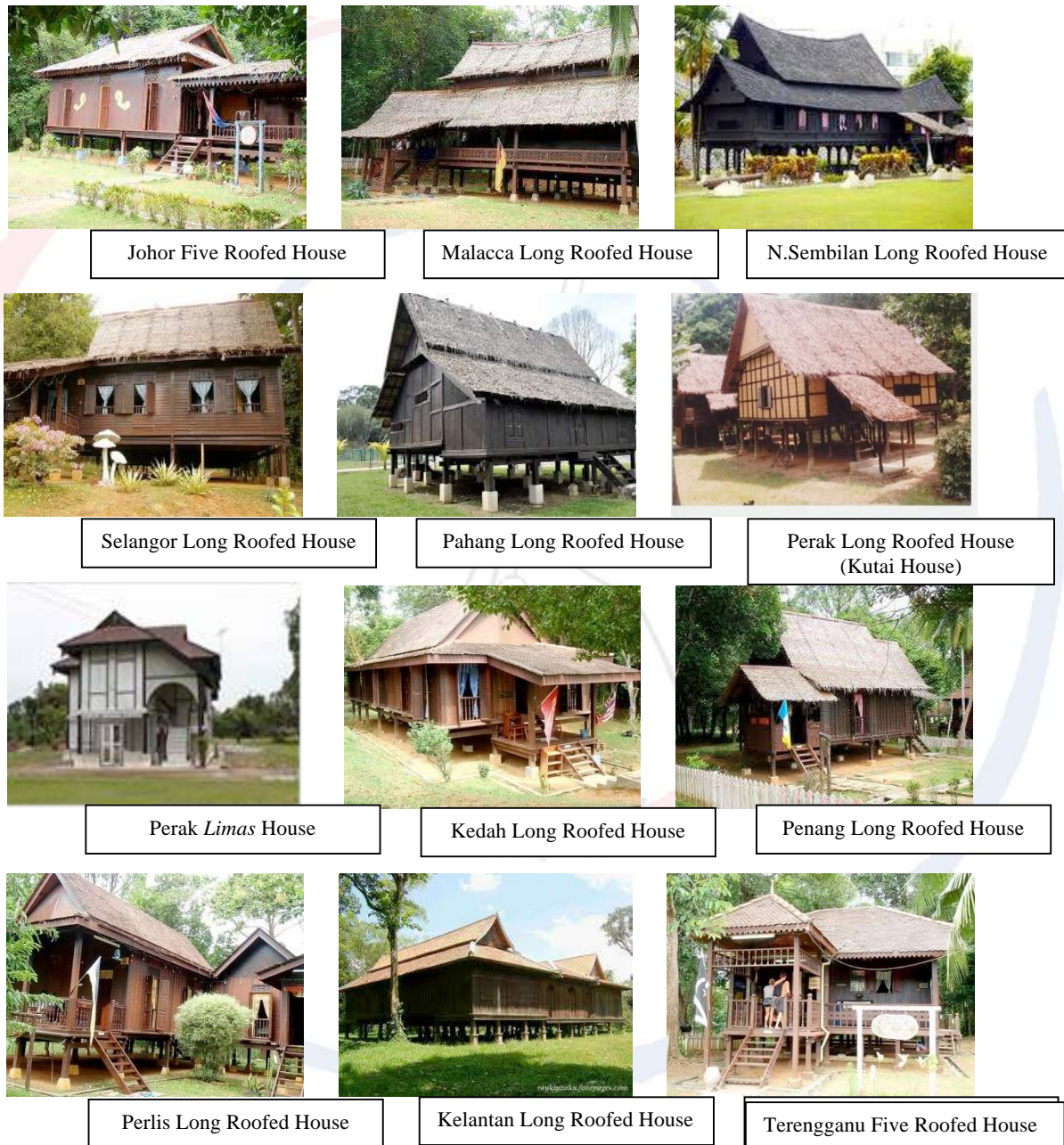


Figure 1: Types of traditional Malay houses in Malaysia
(*Source: Lilawati et al., 2000; Abdul Halim and Wan Hashim, 1996*)

This research focusses on three significance characteristics of traditional Malay house which are: (1) building form and structure of the house, (2) space function and arrangement, and (3) elemental components.

a) House form and structural component

The Malay house styles, particularly the design of the roof, vary from state to state in Peninsular Malaysia, but the basic house layout and construction methods are similar. The association of the roofs of the house with different sizes and at different orientations creates an interesting visual form (Syed Ahmad Iskandar, 2004). The Malay house is basically a post and beam structure with sustainable building materials such as timber or bamboo walls and a thatched roof (Azizi and Aldrin, 2008; Limthongsakul et al, 2010).

The other significant sustainable approaches to the traditional Malay house design are that the traditional houses are raised on stilts (Roslan and Mohd, 2012, Lilawati et al, 2005). The stilt construction also provides protection against wild animal, and during heavy rain and floods, it sustainably keeps the living space dry. According to Syed Ahmad Iskandar (2004) the clean columns underneath the floor, usually made of highly durable local timbers like *cengal* (*Neobalanocarpus heimii*).

b) Space function and arrangements

The space arrangements inside a Malay house are based on the priorities of functional spaces and the space adjacencies. Accordingly, the spaces inside a traditional Malay house are divided into three main areas which are *anjung* (*serambi* or verandah), *rumah ibu*, and *rumah dapur* (Abidin, 1981; Yuan, 1991; Hassan, 2010). The spaces inside the Malay house are categorized into public, private and semi-private space based on the level of privacy (Amir Hosein and Nur Dalilah, 2012; Yuan, 1991).

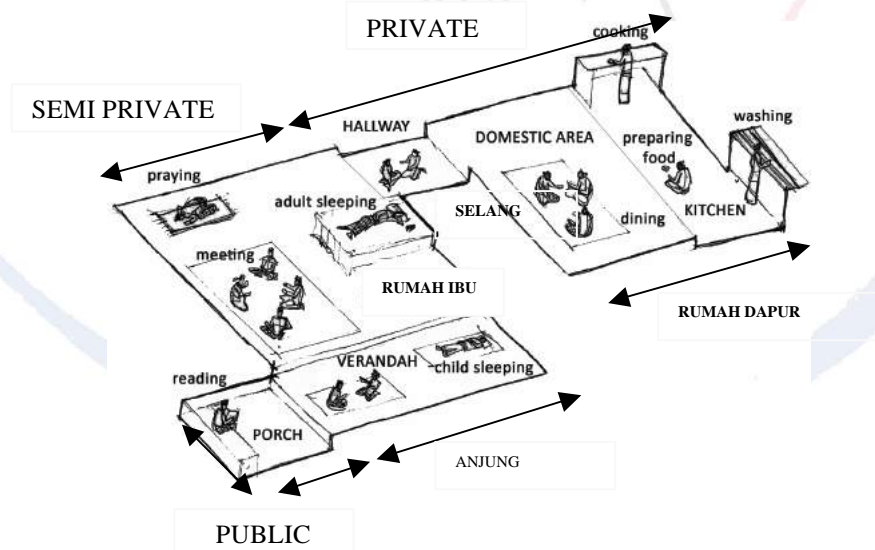


Figure 2: Typical layout of traditional Malay house
(Source: Yuan, 1991)

The main entrance of the house is reachable through stairs leading to a covered porch called *anjung*. Basically, the *anjung* acts as an open space entrance which is prior to the main entrance of the house. It is allocated for the households to rest in that

functional space while the unfamiliar guests are entertained (Yuan, 1991; Abdul Halim and Wan Hashim, 1996; Wan Ismail, 2005). Accordingly, the *anjung* contains low openings having cross ventilation while providing a nice view for the users. Moreover, the *anjung* is also adjacent to the main living room of the house which is called *rumah ibu*, as the core of the house. The floor level of the *anjung* is lower than *rumah ibu* indicating the border between the functional spaces (Yuan, 1991; Hassan, 2010).

As stated by Amir Hosein and Nur Dalilah (2012), the *rumah ibu* is the main space of the house which is a multi-functional space. Various needs of the house occupants are addressed in this area as its open space provides the flexibility for different functions such as family gathering, sleeping, praying and many other functions. Furthermore, the *rumah ibu* contains larger openings in front and back which increase the air movements in the spaces of the house. Additionally, the floor level of *rumah ibu* is the highest among all functional spaces of the house representing its crucial impact on the house layout (Yuan, 2001).

Selang is considered as a walkway or a passageway which connect the *rumah ibu* to the kitchen area. It also acts as a circulation space while being an allocated space for the female's interactions. *Selang* is a space for women to chat, socialize and entertain with other females (Wan Hashim, 2005). In addition, *selang* provides an open space between the two major parts of the house which is highly influential for the thermal comfort of the users and penetration of lighting (Yuan, 1991; Wan Hashim, 2005). The *rumah dapur* is located next to the *selang* as the back section of the house. This functional space is considered as the kitchen area of the house which is allocated to the females of the family. It is utilized for various interactions such as cooking, washing and food preparations while being on the lowest floor level (Abidin, 1981; Yuan, 1991).

c) Elemental components

Malay society has emphasized on community intimacy, as well as personal and family privacy (Yuan, 1991; Hashim, 2010). The priority given to privacy is reflected in the flexible and open planning of the Malay house. One of the vernacular spatial features of the Malay houses is the elemental component that can always be observed inside the functional spaces of house.

Large windows and openings are considered as another significant characteristic of Malay houses which allow the fresh air and daylight to penetrate inside the house. The size of a typical window is basically the same as the full height of the door.

The elemental components are mostly based upon the Malay's wood carving art and weaving (*kelarai*). The Malay's wood carving art is substantially incorporated with Malay's life, customs, beliefs, and Islam. According to Mohd Sabrizaa and Sufian (2005), the wood carvings which are made from high quality wooden materials may last for many years. Wood carving as a vernacular spatial feature can be seen in the interior functional spaces of the house on walls, partitions and openings (Wan Ismail, 2005; Yuan, 1991). This art which is mostly known as *tebuk tembus* (perforated carvings) is utilized as spatial embellishment while being influential towards the cross

ventilation of the house and as a decorative components (Nursuriani and Ismail, 2011; Tajul et al, 2005).

The designs of the carvings as the spatial embellishments are mostly based on geometrical, natural and Islamic patterns. These spatial embellishments that serve as a vernacular spatial feature create visual interest and reduce the glares while being influential in reinforcing the natural ventilation of the house (Wan Ismail, 2005).

Zumahiran (2010) mentions that ventilation panel or *sisip angin* is known as one of the strong decorative features of Malay traditional house, not only on window but also on leaves of doors, wall panels, railing of verandahs, stringer, and roof (eaves and gable end). Likewise most of them are focused on openings which provide good ventilation whilst creating a comfortable view and cool atmosphere (Mohamed Rashid and Suzana, 2008). In addition, Lilawati et al. (2005) mentioned that traditional buildings comprise three approaches of ventilation concept; (1) ventilation from top, (2) ventilation from bottom, and (3) ventilation on body that are specifically designed to allow air movement through the buildings. Indeed, these traditional buildings are carefully designed in accordance to counter on the weather, thus provides comfort for the users.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

As mentioned earlier, this study is carried out based on three main parts of the house which are (1) house form and structural component, (2) space function and arrangements, and (3) elemental components.

The strategies of the study are based on qualitative method that employed in-depth interview techniques and building's visual investigation survey (Arazi et al., 2011; Vatan, 2010) through selected case studies of the Malay traditional houses. Relevant information was collected through qualitative method and case studies from different sources including;

(1) *Reviewing the available related literature*

- The literature review is needed in order to collect the information related with preservation practice, traditional Malay houses and methods to be used in evaluating the condition of the heritage buildings. Overall review was derived from related studies done by the past researchers published in journal papers and conference paper. The remaining studies were obtained from theses, governmental reports and books. The information gathered from the secondary data will be used to prepare the checklist and framework for on-site data collection.

(2) *Building's visual investigation survey*

- The building's visual investigations were carried out to identify the current condition of the traditional Malay houses and preservation works done to it. This techniques were carried out through visual observation and photographic documentation. The observation of the house itself is done based on the checklist produced from literature review. The observation was done

thoroughly by investigating the availability and condition of the components. During the investigation, the researchers evaluated each and every component with the scale that categorised it into ‘highly preserved’, ‘moderately preserved’ and ‘poorly preserved’ to achieve objective number one.

(3) *In- depth interview*

- Based on the results from the building’s visual investigation survey, the interviews were done to the house owners and users of the traditional Malay houses to determine the factors which influenced their preservation actions to achieve objective number three. At this stage, semi- structured interview have been prepared earlier before going to the site.

This research concentrates on a case study, namely Kuala Kangsar. Selection of case study is based on the Kuala Kangsar as one of the districts in Perak, North Malaysia that is still rich with cultural heritage. Having breadth of 256, 360.64 hectares, Kuala Kangsar consists of nine sub districts; *Sungai Siput, Pulau Kamiri, Senggang, Sayong, Kampung Buaya, Chegar Galah, Lubok Merbau, Kota Lama Kiri and Kota Lama Kanan*. Kuala Kangsar, located 48 kilometer to the north from the capital state of Perak, Ipoh. Kuala Kangsar is famous among tourist because it has royal history, arts, cultural and heritage. (Draf Rancangan Tempatan Daerah Kuala Kangsar, 2011).

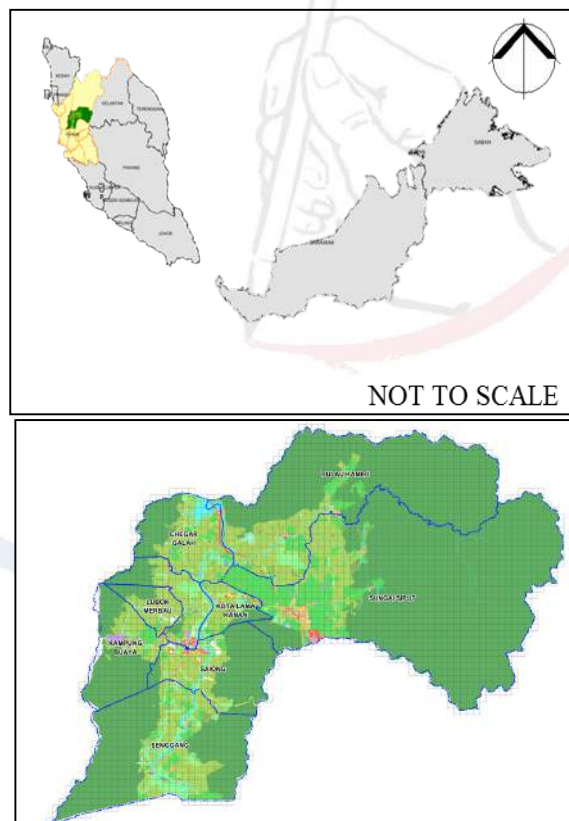


Figure 3: Map of Malaysia

Figure 4: Kuala Kangsar District

The distributions of the traditional Malay houses in Kuala Kangsar are focuses on the central part of the district. Referring to this factor, the scope of the area for this study

is within (1) *Sayong*, (2) *Kota Lama Kanan* and (3) *Kota Lama Kiri*. This research observed ten Perak Traditional Malay houses namely *Kutai* house and *limas* house (*rumah bumbung Perak*) to categorize the preservation practice done to the houses.

As been mentioned earlier, the observation scale for preservation practice will be divided into three main categories with specific score given: (a) highly preserved (3), (b) moderately preserved (2), and (c) poorly preserved (1). The consideration will be based on the following building elements:

Table 3: Total components and score given during the visual survey of the traditional Malay house

Main characteristic of the house	House components	Total component	Highest score
Space function and arrangement	Body (Rumah ibu)	1	3
	Selang	1	3
	Kitchen	1	3
	Anjung/ verandah	1	3
Form and Structural components	Roof structure	1	3
	Pillar/columns	1	3
	Floor structure	1	3
	Walls	1	3
Elemental components	Ventilation panel	1	3
	Door/ window leaf	1	3
	Stairs	1	3
	Fascia board	1	3
	Tunjuk langit	1	3
	Railing	1	3
Total score	14 x 3 = 42	14	42


Based on the house components above, the table of calculation is formulated to assist the calculation for the scale of preservation practice. The weighted score of three (3) for 'highly preserved', two (2) for 'moderately preserved' and one (1) for 'poorly preserved'. Based on Table 2 it shows there are 14 components of the traditional Malay house. Total components of the house (14 components) are multiplied with the highest score (3 marks) to get the total marks. The total score for preservation practice will be 42 marks. From the total score of 42 marks, it is divided into three main categories of preservation as shown in Table 4.


Table 4: Scale and description of preservation practice

Rate	Description of preservation practice	Scale <i>(Based on the given marks)</i>
Highly preserved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All form/ components/structure/ elements are intact holistically in its original state 	30 – 42
Moderately preserved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The form is still identifiable but the space function and some of the material and elemental components are changed 	15 – 29
Poorly preserved	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changes to the form, structure, space, material and elemental components 	1 – 14

Table 5 shows the selected two types of traditional houses that can be found in Kuala Kangsar. The main characteristic of the house and the house components are in table 5.

Table 5: The main characteristic of the house and the house components

Type	Main characteristic	House components	Figure
Perak long roofed house (<i>Rumah Kutai</i>)	Space and functions	Divided into 3 main areas: rumah ibu, rumah dapur (connected by selang) and verandah	
	Form and structural component	The main structure of the house are supported with 12 or 16 post The Kutai house has a rare long roof with gable end	
	Elemental components	The wall called 'Dinding Kelarai' Ventilation panel, fascia boards, stairs, railing The main material used are wood and bamboo	

<i>Rumah bumbung Perak (bumbung limas)</i>	Space and functions	Partitioned space (rumah ibu, kitchen, rooms etc)	
	Form and structural components	Main pillars forming the basic structure of the house are of the same length	
	Elemental components	Ventilation panel, fascia boards, stairs, railing and tunjuk langit	

The data collection will be done as follows:

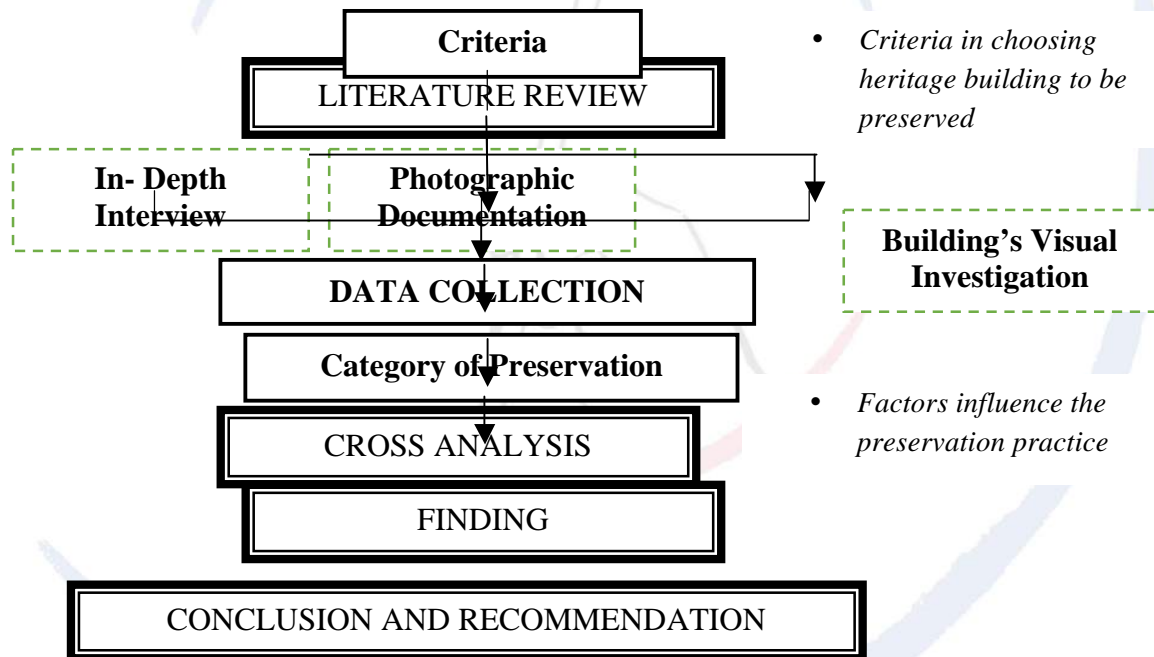


Figure 5: Phase of data collection

4.0 ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The findings of this study are highlighted based on the preservation practice done towards ten (10) selected Perak traditional houses situated in Kuala Kangsar, Perak. Based on the data that have been documented by the local district of Kuala Kangsar in *Draf Rancangan Tempatan Daerah Kuala Kangsar (2011)*, it explained that the distribution of the traditional Malay houses are only located in the central areas of Kuala Kangsar which are *Kota Lama Kanan, Kota Lama Kiri* and *Sayong*. The type of traditional houses in these areas cover the two sample type that need to be tested in

this initial study. The discussion are based on: (1) respondent and house user details, (2) house user's awareness in preserving traditional Malay houses, (3) availability of the house components, (4) categories of preservation practices of traditional Malay houses in Kuala Kangsar and (5) factors influence level of preservation practice.

4.1 Respondent and house user details

Based on the research conducted to the house users of the traditional Malay houses, it shows that only 20% from overall respondent are the original owner of the houses, while another 60% confirmed to inherit the houses from their ancestor (parents or grandparents). While another 20% of the respondent are the person that rented the traditional house from the original owner.

Table 6: Type of Respondents

Respondent	No. of houses	Percentage
Original owner	2	20%
Inheritance (children etc)	6	60%
Rental	2	20%
Total houses	10	100%

4.2 House user's awareness in preserving the traditional Malay houses

Seven of the respondents agreed that the traditional Malay houses in Kuala Kangsar district need to be preserved in order to maintain the condition of the house. 70% of the respondent said that they know about the preservation practice and there are some of the houses that have been preserved by the owner themselves. The traditional Malay houses are mentioned to be important feature of cultural heritage in Kuala Kangsar district in the *Draf Rancangan Tempatan Daerah Kuala Kangsar* (2011). However, referring to Fig. 6, 30% of the respondents which are not the original owner think that the traditional Malay houses are not important to be preserved.

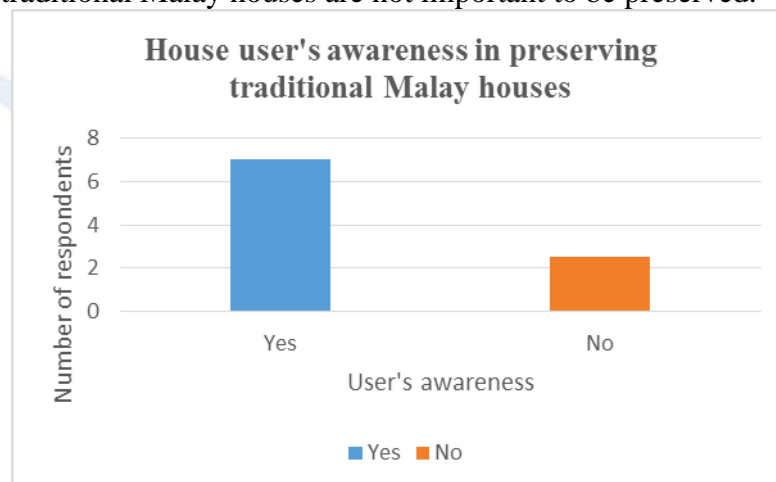


Figure 6: House user's knowledge in preserving traditional Malay house

It can be seen clearly the difference between the original owner who do believe in the importance of preserving the traditional Malay houses in Kuala Kangsar compared to those who are not the original owner who do not have the same passion and awareness.

4.3 Availability of the house components

With the reference to the scoring technique marked as “highly preserved (3 marks)”, “moderately preserved (2)” and “poorly preserved (1), the current status of preservation work implemented on the ten (10) traditional Malay houses, the overall results shown on the following Table 7. By using the scale in Table 4 (pg. 13), the overall category of preservation practice can be established on the case studies.

Referring to the Table 7, it shows that most of the house components are still intact in the original condition. It will help the researchers to evaluate the rate of the preservation practice on site.

Table 7: Scoring on the availability and preservation of the house components

House components	Traditional Malay house	House 1	House 2	House 3	House 4	House 5	House 6	House 7	House 8	House 9	House 10
Space function and arrangement	Body (Rumah ibu)	2	3	3	1	3	1	2	3	3	2
	Selang	2		3	1				2		
	Kitchen	2	1	3	1	1	1		1		
	Anjung/verandah			1		2					
Form and Structural components	Roof structure	3	2	3	1	3	1	2	3	3	2
	Pillar/columns	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	2
	Floor structure	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	3
	Walls	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	3
Elemental components	Ventilation panel	3		3	3			2	3	3	
	Door/window leaf	3	1	3	1			2	3	3	2
	Stairs	3		2		1	2		2	1	3
	Fascia board	1		2	2			2	2	1	
	Tunjuk langit	1						3	2		
	Railing	2		2	1	2	2		1		2
Total score	42	32	11	28	14	18	10	20	30	19	19

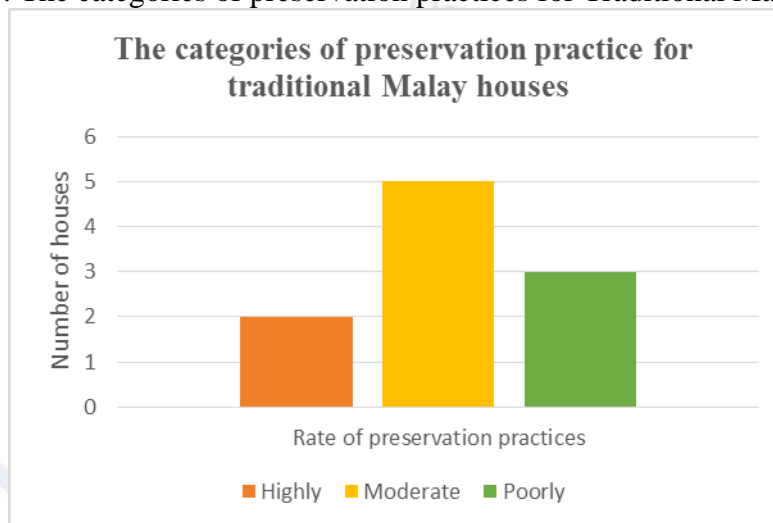
4.4 Category of Preservation practices on traditional Malay houses in Kuala Kangsar

Based on the Table 8 and Fig. 7, 5 traditional Malay houses on site claimed to be categorized as moderately preserved. Meanwhile 3 houses is poorly preserved and only 2 of the houses is highly preserved.

Table 8: Categories of preservation practice in Kuala Kangsar

Traditional Malay houses	Highly preserve	Moderate preserve	Poorly preserve
1	/		
2			/
3		/	
4			/
5		/	
6			/
7		/	
8	/		
9		/	
10		/	

Figure 7: The categories of preservation practices for Traditional Malay houses



i. Highly preserve

According to Limthongsakul et al. (2010); Abd. Aziz and Enoch (2013), the aesthetics design of the traditional house play a significant role in maintaining the identity of the local architecture. However, nowadays people tend to ignore the importance of traditional Malay house design and function towards the identity of the community. Respondent were asked about their awareness on preserving the traditional houses. Out of ten owners, seven respondents are aware about preservation and the importance to preserve the house for future generation. Based on this finding, one of the respondents (R1) said that,

“The traditional Malay house in Kuala Kangsar become the most important element to be maintain. So, as you can see, I try to preserve my house by my own effort (in term of money and time) in order to put the house in a good condition by maintaining the house components”.

Sample house 1 has been surveyed by using the observation checklist. It shows that all form, components, structures and elements are intact in its original state. The house is highly preserved based on the effort done by the house owner themselves although it may requires them to use their own money and time, but with high awareness on the importance to preserve the uniqueness of their house design, most of the house components in its original state and condition. This is consistent with the findings by Mahmoud et al. (2011) whom highlighted that preservation and maintenance management practice are essential in extending the life of heritage buildings and avoiding the damage of the building but it requires high maintenance cost, awareness among the users and comprehensive guidelines.



Figure 8: House no. 1

Traditional Malay House 1					
	Condition	Availability	<i>Highly preserved</i>	<i>Moderate preserved</i>	<i>Low preserved</i>
Space and function	Body (<i>Rumah Ibu</i>)	/		/	
	<i>Selang</i>	/		/	
	Kitchen	/		/	
	<i>Anjung /verandah</i>				
Form and Structural component	Roof structure	/	/		
	Pillar/ columns	/		/	
	Floor structure	/	/		
	Walls	/		/	
Elemental component	Ventilation panel	/	/		
	Door/ window leaf	/	/		
	Stairs	/	/		
	Fascia Board/ <i>Pemeleh</i>	/			/

	<i>Tunjuk Langit</i>	/			/
	Railing	/		/	

Table 9: Assessment on preservation practice of house no. 1

ii. *Moderately preserve*

In those houses that are categorised in moderately preserved building the respondents highlighted changes were done due to the changing needs of the family.

Respondent (R3) said that;

“I tried my best to maintain the house condition in its original state. But due some changing need of the family, I need to make some changes into the form and material of the house. But, the house elemental components still can be seen”.

Based on the interview with R3, it shows that, she need to expand the house in order to satisfy the need of the house users. The lower part of the house have been changed into a room by using brick material. Besides that, some of the house components such as stair and *selang* had been changed into new material but kept still in its original shape. Out of ten house, five houses are in this category including house no.3. From the interview and observation, all the house in this categories are in similar state that shows the form is still identifiable but the space function and some of the material and elemental components are changed.



Figure 9: House no. 3

Traditional Malay House 3					
	Condition	Availability	Highly preserve	Moderate preserve	Low preserve
Space and function	Body (<i>Rumah Ibu</i>)	/	/		
	<i>Selang</i>	/	/		
	Kitchen	/	/		
	<i>Anjung</i> /verandah	/			/
Form and	Roof structure	/	/		
	Pillar/ columns	/		/	

Structural component	Floor structure	/			/
	Walls	/			/
Elemental component	Ventilation panel	/	/		
	Door/ window leaf	/	/		
	Stairs	/		/	
	Fascia Board/ <i>Pemeleh</i>	/		/	
	<i>Tunjuk Langit</i>				
	Railing	/		/	

Table 10: Assessment on preservation practice of house no. 3

iii. Poorly preserve

From this initial study, there are three houses that have been categorized in the poorly preserved category. Based on the interview, the house has been occupied by the tenant that rent the house and it's not the original owner. One of the respondents (R4) said that;

“The house owner entrusted us to take care of the house. But, some of the house elements and space (kitchen) that already damage, we try to repair and change into the new material and additional form. The house need to be repaired in order to satisfy our daily need”.

From the observation done to the house, it shows that the house condition is bad. Some changes had been made towards the space function and arrangement. For example, the kitchen had been repaired and change into the new material. Meanwhile, the elemental components had been abandoned without proper works to preserve the condition. It explained that the house which is poorly preserve has gone some changes in term of the form, structure, space, material and elemental components.



Figure 10: House no. 4

Traditional Malay House 4					
	Condition	Availability	Highly preserve	Moderate preserve	Low preserve
Space and function	Body (<i>Rumah Ibu</i>)	/			/
	<i>Selang</i>	/			/
	Kitchen	/			/
	<i>Anjung</i> /verandah				
Form and Structural component	Roof structure	/			/
	Pillar/ columns	/			/
	Floor structure	/			/
	Walls	/			/
Elemental component	Ventilation panel	/	/		
	Door/ window leaf	/			/
	Stairs				
	Fascia Board/ <i>Pemeleh</i>	/		/	
	<i>Tunjuk Langit</i>				
	Railing	/			/

Table 11: Assessment on preservation practice of house no. 4

4.5 Factors influence level of preservation practice of traditional Malay houses.

As preservation practice of traditional Malay house is seen as a new phenomenon in the local architectural scene, it is imperative to highlight several finding and issues associated with this research.

- i. *Lack of awareness among the users on the cultural value of the traditional Malay houses*

There are lacked of awareness among the users on the cultural value of the traditional Malay houses. This is the major issue because most of the occupant of the house only knew about their house can be consider as traditional houses but do not have the awareness on the importance of preserving the house for future uses. As previously discussed and highlighted by various studies, it is denoted that the functional spaces of the Malay house are influenced by the cultural values and life style of the Malays. However, based on the interview done by the researchers, most the respondent are only aware with this issue after being explained by the researchers. It shows that, the knowledge about the preservation practice of traditional Malay house is still relatively new at the case study area which is Kuala Kangsar district.

ii. *Changes of building owners*

Despite on the issue regarding the awareness among the users on preservation practice, another factor identified is the changes of building owner. Based on the data, only 20% are the original owner of the house. But due to the changes of the building owner, it shows that the rate of overall preservation practice can be consider moderate because only the original owner tend to preserve the house. Meanwhile, apart from that, they tend to ignore the preservation practice because it's not their own house.

iii. *Changes on the daily needs of the users*

Some of the houses have been modified or renovated with additional form or space attached to the original houses. Based on the interview, they need to renovate the house in order to cater the daily need of the users. Some of them said that the houses need to be extended in order to fulfil the need of their children. Meanwhile, some of the respondent replied that, the house need to be renovated in order to maintain the original structure from any defect that may destroy their houses.

iv. *Financial influence*

This study shows that, only two houses has been highly preserve. Based on the interview done to the house user, the high maintenance cost especially of timber materials can become the factor for them to preserve the house. Two users that highly preserve the houses said that they need to use a lot of money in order to prevent the house from damage. But, the other users and users said that they cannot preserve the house because it requires a lot of money. This finding explained that the cost and financial influence become one of the factors for the house owner and users to preserve their own traditional houses.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The preservation practice of traditional Malay house requires knowledge and understanding of the cultural values and the history they represent. The preservation practice of traditional Malay house should be handled and started by the owner of the house in order to preserve the unique qualities and values of the building materials, architecture and craftsmanship of the house detailing. The findings from this study explained that reservation needs a proper management and systematic procedure on the preservation works. The process of the preservation work should be guided and monitored by the suitable guidelines and standards from various related agencies. On the other hand, the house owner also should be exposed with preservation works in order to guide them to preserve their own houses regardless of the issues related with the original condition of the houses. The study recommends that further study need to be done on how to continuously preserve the building when the daily need change and there are changes of the building owner. ⁸⁸⁷

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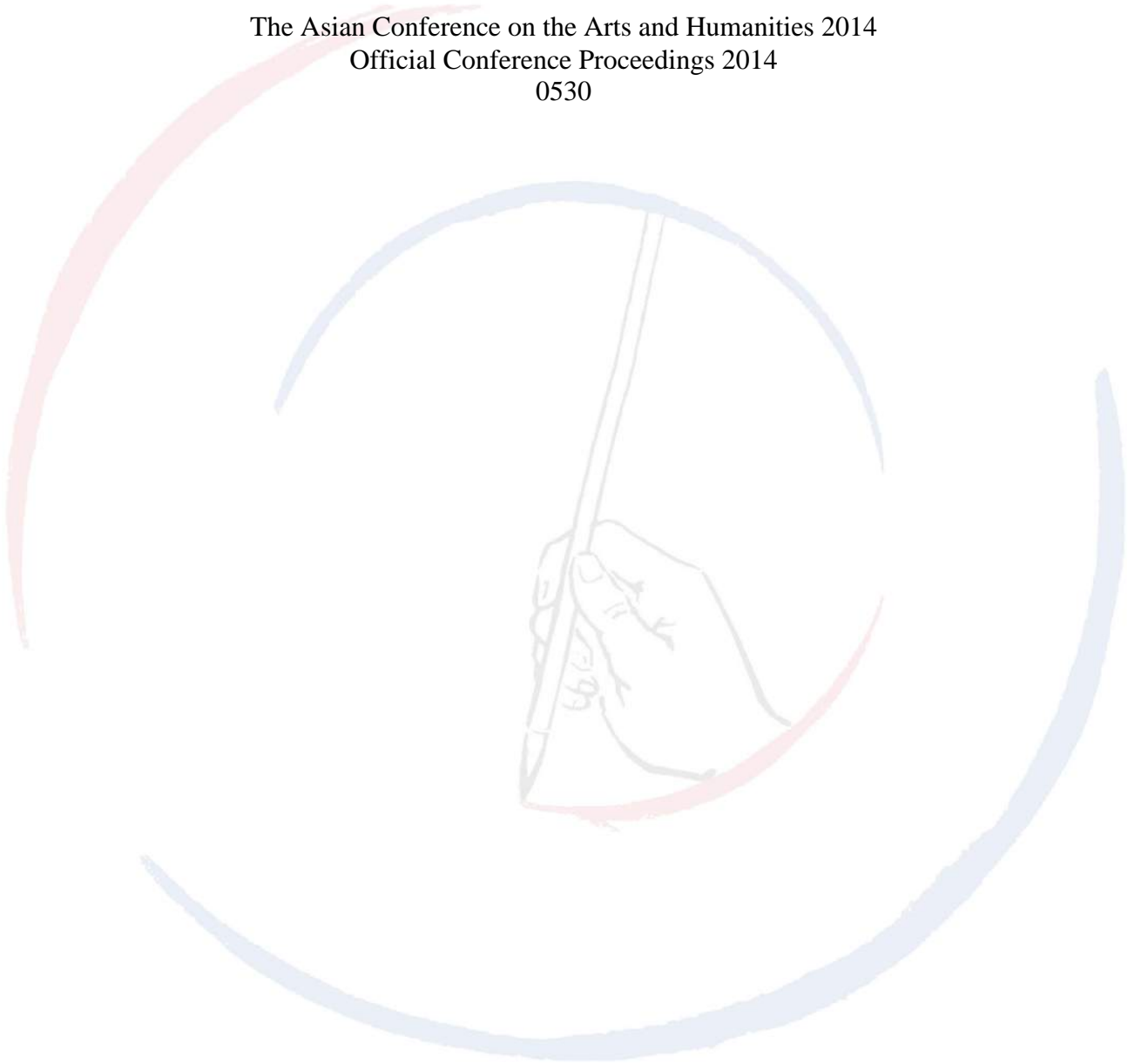
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***Timelines along the Vågen: A Studia Humanitatis on the Narratives of Urban
Images through Mnemic Residues***

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“Any site contains not only presences, but the memory of previous presences and the immanences of a possible presence”¹

1. Introduction

The cityscape is a book. That is to say, it can be *read* as a system of projected diachronic commentaries –traces– on its image that mediate the understanding of the logic of its growth and transformation over time. Its spatial identities and clusters of forms emerge so that the observer reads them as residues of different associated contextual pasts. Think for example today’s experience of the preserved distinctive patterns of the *Jyokamachi* (castle town) from the Edo period or the remains of the narrow *Roji* with their wooden traditional houses in many Japanese cities. In a sense, the observer cannot escape from grasping scattered information about the context of city’s production; traces that not only juxtapose the modern layout of the Japanese city with its premodern Edo image but also recall and reconstruct lost memories. The city *as* a book refers to the ways in which our conscious awareness of how the urban image is configured entails the recollection of what I call *timely displaced characteristics* and their translation into memories *for* forms, techniques and meanings. Deriving from external perceptions, they are certainly not memories of lived pasts. But they work on us similarly. With the recognition of their outstanding properties in our mind, they render up the dislocated contextual details that produced those percepts in order for us to invent the general framework of the urban image. The complex patchwork layout of Tokyo or Osaka, for example, witnesses several perceived characteristics ranging from the Edo to Meiji period and the twenty-first century modern layout, being all of them necessary parts to furnish -by the individual contemplation- the contemporary image.

The city not only displays a narrative image which evolves with time but it also inserts its language into the contemporary space with both physical and notional traces. Christine Boyer would reiterate this insertion of visible and intuitive allusions, noting that

“...to read across and through different layers and strata of the city requires that spectators establish a constant play between surface and deep structured forms”²

By this distinctive characteristic, the urban landscape is composed as a series of different chapters, each one capturing visual narratives of past conditions (Figure 1), in an attempt to transfer nowadays a long story made out of snapshots and fragments. “*Certain pockets of the city*,” Boyer claims, “*are redesigned intentionally as narrative tableaux utilizing imaginary architectures and historical allusions*”³ For the observer who rambles inside the complex urban layout of the historic city, the visual display of the city’s book appears most often as a mosaic of spatial grammars and syntaxes with which the mind categorizes the projected commentaries of the tableaux. In other

words we can say that the dynamic reality of the contemporary city is constituted by dispersed topological condensations made out of spatial and chronic descriptors - facades, volumes, images, styles and adjusted configurations. This leads to the notable situation where the human mind is challenged to synthesize the mental representation of a rather displaced actuality. That is one made of several timely displaced relationships and ideas generated, metaphorically or metonymically as Boyer feels, by the perceived differential elements in the composite spatial picture. Traditional buildings representing different eras, designed or accidentally occurred public spaces, diversities in volume heights, configurations, materials or colors, and accumulated urban textures are all kinds of such displaced and differential elements in the mind of the perceiving subject.



Figure 1:
Stavanger, Norway
in the past.
Today the restored parts
of the city attempt to
translate into
contemporary views the
traces of lost activities,
commons and meanings.
Source: Stavanger
Kommune (Skare, 2013).

2. Patterns of reflection: the *Mnemonic Residue*

Boyer goes even further, exploring within the narrative tableaux of the city this displacement with its associative structures of remembrance. There seems to be a fundamental and irreconcilable, or so Boyer thinks, participatory element in the mental synthesis of the displaced actuality. When the mind strives toward understanding of the visual storytelling, the mental apparatus becomes independent of the subjective perceptions, enabling the subject to think through traces, like the remembrance of things past, and to achieve a holistic awareness of the experienced setting. John Hendrix, professor at the Lincoln School of Architecture, USA, reminds us that the possibility of unconscious thought from initial sensual impressions is always present. As the stroller explores, spatial judgment and memory is gradually structured in the mind. And a chain of associative thoughts resurface from the unconscious due to the interpretation of the perceived images. Not due to the sensible form itself, but due to the intelligible form that begins to emerge after the end of the perception. This for Hendrix is the *mnemonic residue*, the “*memory trace of previous sense impressions in a process of reminiscence.*”⁴

Though there are direct correspondences between the spatial descriptors found in the city (images) and the syntactical thoughts for them (mnemonic residues), the understanding of the city as a book and as a projected language entails more shared and collective properties than individual ones. This city as a palimpsest written of previous presences and parades of situated images in peoples' mind is not unlike Maurice Halbwachs' view of the recalled city fragments aligned in patterns of thoughts within the different social groups. Halbwachs⁵ traps our view in a constant reading of foreground and background collective references: a belief in the dialectic interpretation of primary and supplementary visual sensibilities distributed along lines of thoughts. By entrapping ourselves in this negotiatory back and forth with the dislocated genre of the urban fabric, Halbwachs' palimpsest of layers of multiple and dispersed relations between traces is in fact unraveled through the lived experience. But it always remains a mental construction, "*the temporal logic of reason superimposed on perceived space, which for Lacan would be the dialectic of the Symbolic and the Imaginary*"⁶ The humanistic inspiration provided by the psychoanalytic explanation is, in short, a critical awareness on the role of the spatial and temporal configurations to city's hierarchical⁷ recognition and comprehension.

The appeal of the above concept is that the unraveled palimpsest illustrates the recalling of the memory-traces by episode-like time periods, in the sense that memories of a place are often anchored and recognized in chronic clusters by association with events, techniques or collective practices⁸. As such, time periods are linear progressions in city's history gathering and exhibiting both the perceptual series of its images (leading to conscious understanding) and linked memories (leading to unconscious thought) while being themselves disrupted by historic change and significant events like for example physical disasters or moments of social and economic crisis. I used earlier the term "*timely displaced characteristics*" to mean this kind of information from such linear time-based contexts that produce the city, being structured along coherent timelines. The timeline is a mental way of ordering the recollected memories of similar chronological frames revealing the mechanisms of the unravel. It facilitates the generation of the broader framework, eased of its links with the mnemonic residues of lost pasts, creating the conceptual relationships between the perceived forms and the abstract associative thought found behind the forms. In other words, the timeline retrieves the temporal patterns of the perceived information by establishing the same dialectic as is found in the Lefebvrian reconciliation of place and space: its internal structure is developed out of simple chronological elements to order the mnemonic activities extracted from the city fabric as dialectic references of time, space and value.

Thus, what we can term "embodied timelines"⁹ is a set of mental referents that come into existence while experiencing given clusters of traces; chronic units representing the deployment of time and place over the image of the city in given periods while juxtaposing against each other. In this sense, the spatial and configurational order of the city echoes like an index of past historic moments linking objects to thoughts and meanings along linear timelines. Gaps are expected between the timescapes of the index considering the city's tendency to erase the spatial evidences of its past in the attempt to redefine its contemporary image. However, the historic content of such an index is not a content of the memory of the index itself, but something associated to it by reflective thought. This essay maintains that its study should be investigated

through a *studia humanitatis* of the act of restoring the city: a way to enculturate¹⁰ the technical dimension of the act and to encourage a more prevalent reasoned discourse between internally associated dimensions like configuration, time, scale and memory.

We will not set forth a *psychospacial*¹¹ scenic framework of memory in the historic city, but we will explore two dimensions that may help to analyze such a framework. The first one, on the basis of the perceived connections between image and time, is the hierarchical logic behind the mental activity of structuring the spatial index. The second denotes the timelines as constituted with reference to the traces for sensemaking, considering the mnemonic residue of the visual perception and the associated timescape as the main mechanism through which we understand the narrative logic of city's growth and evolution in a continuum.

Figure 2: The Vågen area, Stavanger, Norway. The city has restored the old wooden houses and warehouses found along the edge of the city on water, offering a continuous experiential promenade from the Old City at the right, to the Holmen area at the left. Source: Stavanger Kommune (Skare, 2013).



3. The structure of the index

The Vågen case (Figure 2) is indicative of the way the embodied timelines are initially structured as “particular entities¹²” that pinpoint to the urban configuration, acting on the observer, while narrating some basic chapters from city's story to be recalled to conscious memory. They participate to the development of the indexical spatial knowledge for the specific setting. However, the logic of the index is not reduced to the play of pure visual inputs, considering them as the source of the narration. It is developed through them; and through excitations emerging from within them. Delineation of the form and experience -through movement- of relations among it, cognitive reference points or the systematic distortions¹³ are such syntactic emergences that also participate to the structuring of the index. At this point where timelines seem to have a Lacanic function, in the sense of evoking mnemonic relations that make the index intelligible, the work borrows from that of Karl Bühler's bipolar semiotic theory.¹⁴ Further, it echoes Pierce's *Division of Signs*¹⁵ and the concept of

the *index* as physically connected to the objects (visual inputs) but with focus to interpreter's attention to them. It is on Bühler's separation between the *index* and the *symbol* field, however, that we come to understand the timelines as frames of reference that direct interpretation¹⁶ and coding of images while pointing and storing the knowledge of the timely displaced characteristics identified on the objects. They are post-products; meta-mechanisms operating by recalling traces of lost pasts. Thus, for the purposes of this study, which focuses on a humanistic understanding of the narrative image of Vågen, the view of the classification of the index through frames of references is adopted. In other words, the parametric classification of an urban image presenting a restored setting with the narrative content of a lost past depends on the degree to which the image is recognized by the episode-like clusters and recalls the displaced characteristics of that past (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Vågen around 1870. Foto: Carl L. Jacobsen.



Within a *studia humanitatis*, the embodied timelines have been thought of as performative structures that use mnemonic traces to recall displaced descriptors in an indexical, labeled form. But then, what is the logic of their organisation? Our own first-hand experience of visited places is often characterized by a dynamic structure: the mind responds to the new input by attempting to situate our existence along different sets of interrelations between material and immaterial cues. For this, it builds specific labeled frames that relate with each other to form greater frameworks of understanding and remembering spaces. Is this attempt mirrored in any way to the referential logic of the index which reveals itself as organizational principle and reason?

2.1 The projected organization: time-based hierarchies

If it happens to visit Stavanger in southwest Norway by approaching the city with the boat you will immediately get introduced with city's main cultural heritage – the restored wooden houses from the 19th century that speak not only of the local traditional building methods but also of a retrospective manifestation of city's imagery formed out of colorful facades, small volumes, characteristic roofs, and linear configurations coming from different building phases of the coastline. While still on boat, just move your head around and you will soon grasp the grouping logic of the wooden structures, a logic in which you can trace both the origins and the evolution of the city. The superimposition or combination of the right and left-hand grouping is narrative in nature: at you right hand, the small white houses of the Gamle Stavanger (the Old City) unfold the living pictures and patterns of the local fishermen

during the late 1800s signifying an autonomous geometrical territory (Figure 4). Visually recognized as a spatial configuration originating from a past period, it allows the knowledge transfer of city's initiatory location by simply engaging the observer in the task of reviewing its distinctive formations, materials and building techniques. At the left, the composition of a long row of forty wooden warehouses introduces a syntactical interval that separates the perceptual sequences found in city's surrounding structure without, at the same time, altering the signification of the wooden city (*trehusbyen*). This is an interpretation of the coastal image through which the memory trace of a lost commercial activity, this of the fish and the tin industry that prevailed in the city until the late 60's, comes into existence as reminiscence of a specific time and place (Figure 5). The trace of the past economic activities, at their pick during the 1870's, is thus a presence, as opposed to the modern fabric of the city that lies some meters behind.

In an influential article published in the *The Oxford Handbook of Memory*¹⁷, Barbara Tversky explores the issue of remembering spaces through a section termed "the space of navigation". Primarily, Tversky's study approaches the way spatial cognition for a setting is developed and the role of deep aspects (traces) to what is represented and remembered in the mind. In accordance with Hendrix, and as given by language, the previous or possible presences contained in the setting are described as organized mnemonic residues. "Unlike actual space", she writes, "but like memory for words, sentences, and discourse, memory for space is organized hierarchically."¹⁸ Following the Lynchian reading of the cityscape that relies on the structuring of cognitive maps

Figure 4: The perceived Gamle Stavanger (the Old City) becomes identified with the conceptual process of judging and evaluating the delineation and experience of the right part of Vågen. Sensemaking occurs through the impacts of the references to the old times: spatial configuration, physical cues, thoughts of past activities and living conditions.



to bring unfamiliar settings and representations into an intelligible discourse that can be recalled, Tversky's critical study of different frames of references emerges in the attempt to capture the way people incorporate spatial descriptors in order to organize the incoming information from the scenes experienced. Here we can add that the categorical index inaugurated by the urban image becomes both a register of the necessary consequent conceptions of space that man gradually develops as well as the starting point for critical thinking, understanding and remembering. Like other stimuli, she argues,



“...organized scenes are remembered better than unorganized. That organization is primarily vertical, constrained by gravity. Like objects, scenes fall into natural categories. At the first level is indoors and outdoors, with house, school and restaurant as subcategories of the former and beach, mountains and city as subcategories of the latter.”¹⁹

Browsing the case of Vågen through such a vertical organization process occurs in a linear fashion and by perceiving from right to left hand or vice versa one historic cluster after the other. The nearly 180 wooden houses of the Old City and the series of restored warehouses along the Vågen are organized in similar vertical chronological subcategories: first by reference to physical characteristics (color, size, volume, building technique), then by reference to configuration (delineation based on the linearity of the form or the enclosed group formation), and finally by reference to individual conceptions that correspond to the perception of the image and its associated residues (past activities, collective memories, city’s evolution in time). For example, by asking²⁰ tourists visiting the city for the first time and with cruise boat, the memory of the immediate identification of the outstanding group of small white volumes at the right side of Vågen was found to be attributed to the hierarchical coding of the recalled traces and not simply on the distinctive traditional architecture. That is, instead of aesthetically judging the visual input as a distinction in style, observers’ descriptions tended to employ resurfaced traces of historical times, enriching the visual perception with sets of meanings, mostly with the recurrent concepts of time, people and past activities. In the narrative form of the locals, on the other side, it was found that the shared beliefs and experiences of the tin industry and past living conditions were pieces of a mnemonic play resisting in time. Because most descriptions were presenting traces of past living patterns –residues structured in the mind due to the humility and the interiority of the spatial configuration, the thoughts it was triggering, and not the configuration itself- the memories of the Old Stavanger were found to be piecemeal, subjectively contradictory, or related to imagined scenes. But they were clearly revealed in judgment of a prioritized over the form index made of dislocated affects in consistency with a memorable episode-like timeline.

Studying the Vågen through Tversky’s term of hierarchical organization that proposes a broader system for developing the Lynchian²¹ spatial knowledge, it seems to appear further supplied by indexic subcategories. These allow to describe itself as a system for the “mental division of space into categories” implicating the “adoption of the central tendency of the categories as referents”²² The time-based labeling of similar to

the old city clusters along the Vågen emerges from the effects of grouping the restored setting within or between concepts that take the place of representation, becoming thus mnemonic residues. However, before accepting the urban image as a hierarchical mental order ruled by how time is being projected on city's objects, the *embodied timelines* model implied that the observer must have sufficient and contextual inputs to compare, judge and index for later memory retrieval. Other frames of references, like the narrative continuity, participate in his/her judgment about space and therefore affect the amount of the cultivated or anticipated residues. This indicates that the structuring of the timelines is not simply bounded to the metrics of one autonomous spatial unit internally organized through interrelated series of material (architecture) or immaterial (collective events, activities, values) references.



Figure 6:
The spatial configuration of the left side of Vågen presents a narrative continuity: it negates the differences between volumes, colors and activities "so that the sum of all the parts of space and all its contents are absorbed into a single "quantum continuum" (Panofsky, 1997, p. 31)

Approaching the issue as episode-like inputs, it is not enough to delineate a

single formation and negotiate with the narrative behind the formation. It is critical to approach the formation in the narrative as part of a continuous storytelling along the timeline. Holistic protection of city centers or restorations of historic places manifest

the benefits from perceiving the urban image in such a continuous and evolutionary manner. This involves the displacement of space from the sum of the dispersed individual visual inputs to something that corresponds to the coexistence of the inputs and their meanings in a concise continuous form.

3.2 Sense and Reference: Building concise timelines

The restored linear warehouses along the Vågen coastline is a significant part (or chapter) of Stavanger's image (or book) on water, comprising individual episode-like "subchapters" in a continuous spatial arrangement. It is also a labeling system that indexes in a rather chronological manner the coastal objects beginning with the most central cluster (marked "A" in Figure 6) and ending with the last restored sea houses unit (sjøhusrekken, marked "H" in Figure 6). Walking along the Vågen offers a peculiar contemplation of the mind balancing between sense and reference of city's past. Through the aligned clusters of the coastal buildings, the past of the city is represented as a series of nodal points on a continuous linear narration (Figure 7) where the possibility of reading multiple meanings calls for a re-negotiation between the subject and the setting. As mentioned earlier in Bühler's index field, contrasting that of the symbol field, the mental mechanisms of remembering involve a physical connection with the object with focus to interpreter's attention to it. This connection generates new backgrounds for the embodiment of the timelines. And it does, in a way, transmute the storytelling behind the act of preserving the old coastal heritage into something performative and intelligible.

At a denotational level, however, there are questions about the narrative of the Vågen image that cannot be answered without resorting to the theory of mind. A linguistic approach to the study of the mental concepts derives from the research of Josef Perner²³ whose work titled *Memory and Theory of Mind* provides for us the basis for a humanistic perspective of the urban image. While his work investigates the general conceptual system that underlies the human ability to affect the mental states by recalling functions that the represented information is to fulfill, we will focus here on his distinction between sense and reference. He draws an example from literature saying that

"...Oedipus knew and married Iocaste (referent: a particular person), but he did not know or marry her as his mother but as an unrelated queen (sense: how Iocaste was presented to Oedipus' mind). Thus, in third person parlance we can say that Oedipus married his mother if we use the expression "his mother" to pick out (refer to) the individual whom he married without implying that he knew Iocaste under that description. In first person description of the event Oedipus would not have used the descriptor "my mother"²⁴

Given some indirect correspondences of the textual rhetoric with the experiential imagery in relation between sense and reference, this example explains the role of the inherited subjectivity in the structuring of the timelines. The observer perceives the parts and bits of the coastal story along the Vågen by the restored facades and configurations (referents) but he/she is not always aware of the shared memory and history that these structures carry on until nowadays. The sense of the past and its continuity with the present emerges from encountering the series of the objects and

contrasting them with the new ones, not from having conscious knowledge of the detailed background information. But the continuous visual images are suggestive of specific contexts of place, time and building techniques. As evidence, we found that people's statements when describing their experience of the area were often demonstrating the retrieval of contextual information based on the old/new relation but without using descriptors like specific building periods or correct indexing of the objects to their chronic categories. After all, something like that would have been impossible for people unfamiliar with the study of city's evolution (Figure 7). It is according to Perner, however, that whenever such memory traces of events are to be demonstrated, we can say that the events can be recognized and recalled in memory. However, we cannot conclude that the events are to be remembered as corresponding to the particular ones, but instead as traces.

This work is not tempted to read far too literally into Perner's distinction as a means to inquire how the mind builds concise timelines. But we can suggest that the presentation of the traditional architecture in people's descriptions establishes a relation of pointing to the index field, whereas the background reference details do not seem to participate since the observer is not always aware of the *when*, *how* and *why* of these objects.



Figure 7:

The mind detects the key characteristics of the restored environment that function as time-based organizing frameworks. The individual buildings are nodes of the contextual clusters that define the narrative behind the setting. Source: Stavanger Kommune (Skare, 2013).

The extracted time-based and context-based cues from Vågen was proved to be some recurring and simple reference structures²⁵ that people tended to use as a base in their attempt to develop further the sense of navigation in the restored environment. This consequential act, using reference to direct attention to grouping principles rather than to the metrics of the individual parts for sensemaking, was recognized by Karl Weick²⁶. In his book he goes to great lengths to emphasize that sense, contrary to reference, involves properties like identity, retrospect, enactment, cues or plausibility. He notes for

instance that the language of an organization, being that of continuity or fragmentation, linearity or intermittency, has important effects on our sensemaking even if we cannot consciously use these exact descriptors to refer to the organization itself. In our mind, active references, he insists, turn the sensible to sensible by placing them into some kind of framework. “When people put stimuli into frameworks, this enables them to comprehend, understand, explain, attribute, extrapolate and predict”²⁷ For this work, the embodied timelines seemed to have been used by people as a framework that involves manipulation of the displaced information due to the act of restoring the Vågen in such a way as to index the dispersed meanings of the past into intelligible entities.

In this work we used the expression “dislocated characteristics” to refer to the cues identified and coded without implying of course that observers knew the exact time period or the contextual details to which they pinpoint. Browsing through hundreds of restored wooden houses along the Vågen proves difficult for the mind in terms of being able to refer to particular contexts. After all, in their descriptions, terms related to the history of the place like “before or after the fire in Holmen”, “houses for herring packing” or “storage places for sailing ships” were not significantly present. Instead, the narrative continuity of the experienced clusters was proved rather evocative: it allowed for the association of the sum of the referents into larger groups (timelines), introducing the observer with the sense of time (the various past images of the colorful sea houses presented in his/her mind) while cultivating the memory that the sensory quality of Stavanger’s past is in fact experienced.

4. A connection between the *Humanities* and the *Built Environment*

The acts of preserving historic parts in cities are sometimes accused of being light on the humanistic study of both the setting and the perceiving subject *within* the setting; and architects have not escaped this criticism, sometimes deserved. The question, of course, is how close a connection between the humanities and the built environment can be. Beyond the multidisciplinary underpinnings of the connection, this work suggested a more complicated phenomenon. The spatial knowledge and judgment of the restored architecture do not only refer to surface aspects like its style, character and presentation as a collection of images. Most often it goes into the transposition of deeper parts of the spatial understanding that take place in human mind, in desire, in mental patterns and conscious or unconscious organizational mechanisms. These are the deeper aspects that traditionally bound space with the subject/object relation. They are responsible for the possibility of the mind to implicate in transformational processes from abstract cues to concrete and perceived relations. And in a sense, these are the main aspects from within architecture enacts as a dialectic activity between subject and object and begins to exist as a reflecting product outside the physical or Euclidean space. But then still how this interiority of the narrative urban image can be studied through the perceiving subject?

The Embodied Timelines that we proposed for Vågen, then, suggest a departure point to discuss this apparent difficulty and the oxymoron that brings in: the temporal and mental unfolding of something that is meant to be stabilized into built form. This work was not at all about “mere navigation” and “material representation” of the local architecture; it proposed something beyond the actuality of place. It was about how to

turn, momentarily at least, a past into thoughts and how to pass and organize the traces of perception into memory. In this sense, the *studia humanitatis* described here, whether the visual rhetoric of the restored setting or the plot structure within the story of the coastal cityscape, was a tool to correlate the cognitive morphologies of the timelines with the spatially narrative ones.

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¹ Eisenman, 2004, p.207.

² Boyer, 1996, p.21.

³ Ibid., p.377.

⁴ Hendrix, 2012, p. 4

⁵ See Halbwachs, Maurice. (1980). *The collective memory*. New York: Harper & Row.

⁶ Hendrix, 2006, p. 57

⁷ See Tversky. (2000). Remembering spaces. In Tulving and Craik (Eds.), *Handbook of Memory* (pp. 363-378). New York: Oxford University Press.

⁸ See Halbwachs, Maurice. (1980). *The collective memory*. New York: Harper & Row.

⁹ This term is inspired by Ruth Conroy Dalton's idea of the "embodied diagrams" that are structures "imbued with a manifold set of meanings pertaining to the experience of being embodied within an everyday spatial context". It is used here in a similar way to exemplify the participation of the user-interpreter to the structuring of the episode/like timelines. See Dalton. (2005). Space syntax and spatial cognition *World Architecture* (Vol. 185, pp. 107-111).

¹⁰ Enculturation entails the complex learning processes that emerge during the interaction between the user and the visual input. Further understandings of the dialectical dimension between the subject and the input are to be found in the studies of the visual rhetoric. However, it is used here as a distinctive feature of our humanistic study on the narratives of the urban image. For more see Slator. (2006). *Electric Worlds in the Classroom: Teaching and Learning with Role-based Computer Games*: Teachers College Press. See also Hill and Helmers. (2004). *Defining Visual Rhetorics*: Taylor & Francis.

¹¹ See Ioannidis, Konstantinos. (2011). *Designing the Edge: An Inquiry Into The Psychospatial Nature of Meaning In The Architecture Of The Urban Waterfront*. Stockholm: KTH.

¹² See Peirce and Hoopes. (1991). *Peirce on Signs: Writings on Semiotic*: University of North Carolina Press. Peirce, Houser and Kloesel. (1992). *The Essential Peirce, Volume 1: Selected Philosophical Writings? (1867-1893)*: Indiana University Press.

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¹⁶ See Weick. (1995). *Sensemaking in Organizations*: SAGE Publications.

¹⁷ Tversky. (2000). Remembering spaces. In Tulving and Craik (Eds.), *Handbook of Memory* (pp. 363-378). New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.366.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.365.

²⁰ Fieldwork visits and three causal unstructured interviews have been performed during June 2013 in the area. Both tourists and locals have been approached and asked to recognize and recollect by description memorable experiences from walking or living along edge of Vågen.

²¹ As related to the development of spatial memory based on Kevin Lynch's distinguished reference frames.

²² Tversky, 2000, p.366.

²³ See Perner. (2000). Memory and Theory of Mind. In Tulving and Craik (Eds.), *Handbook of Memory* (pp. 297-312). New York: Oxford University Press.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.298.

²⁵ Providing individual and piecemeal descriptions of the restored clusters visited with a subjective interpretation of their projected past, visitors' and locals' accounts were seemed to be indexed according some recurring key concepts like "distinctive", "interesting", "linear", "colorful", "small", "wooden" and "old".

²⁶ Weick. (1995).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.4.

Tokyo's Ueno Station in Japanese Cultural Memory

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Abstract

Ueno Station is one of a small and constantly shrinking number of pre-World War II Tokyo buildings that has survived both the apocalyptic bombings of the war, and the city's relentless post-war demolition and construction industry, a mute witness to Japan's wrenching and tumultuous twentieth century. Rising from the ashes of the 1923 earthquake and fires, the new station was a marvel of modernism and itself a tourist destination. The fire bombings of WWII made Ueno a refuge for the bombed-out lower city and soon after a shelter for countless homeless soldiers and returnees from the defeated Empire. In the booming post-war decades Ueno was the entry point to Tokyo for millions of migrants pouring in from northern Japan. As such, the station has not only architectural importance, but also much significance as a site of Japanese social history.

Significant knowledge of a given building's historical importance, even among architectural writers and editors, cannot be assumed. This study is one approach to gauging Japanese cultural memory of Ueno Station and its historical importance as reflected in two types of publications, namely architectural guidebooks and historical photography books. These types of publications have wide circulation and can be influential in teaching the public about important architecture. Authorial and editorial decisions of inclusion, and decisions about what is focused on, and to what extent, all give strong indicators of the state of cultural memory and point to areas where work may be done to raise awareness in the service of preservation efforts.

The average lifespan of a Japanese person is among the highest in the world, in the mid to high 80s. On the other hand, the average lifespan of a building in Tokyo, according to one architect blogger, is something around 17 years, which must be among the lowest in the world (Van Ackere, 2011). Whether or not this is the precise number, it is certainly not far from the mark. In Tokyo an 80-year-old building is very old. Older buildings, even ones engendering great critical praise, are regularly demolished to make way for something new, usually at a massive scale, that will maximize the city's astronomically expensive real estate. For whatever reason, demolition of important Tokyo architecture seems to engender very little public resistance. In fact, very few Tokyo buildings are allowed to get to an age where they have what might be called historical patina of the type that lends character and charm to cities with strong preservation sensibility.

This paper considers the case of Ueno Station, an 82-year old building in the *Shitamachi* --"low city"-- area of eastern Tokyo. The station, which has played key roles in several eventful epochs of Japan's twentieth century, provides a good opportunity for considering if and how a given building may or may not enjoy the public recognition that might be used to elicit public pressure in support of its preservation. In addition to its social-historical importance, Ueno is also a building of some importance in Japanese architectural history, and might be recognized for its architectural character as well.

The measure of such historical awareness on a societal level is part of the field known as cultural memory. The study of cultural memory was first developed by Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s and has evolved into a wide-ranging interdisciplinary approach that attempts to understand a culture's collective memory, comprised of social (people), material (artifacts and media), and mental aspects (mentalities). In this study I attempt to take a simple measure of Japanese cultural memory of Ueno Station by looking at two types of media, namely architectural guidebooks and photographic books, as a means of gauging the extent and degree of Japanese cultural memory of Ueno Station. Media is only one aspect of cultural memory, but in the case of historical architecture it provides a good starting point for understanding whether, and what aspects of, a building's history are considered important enough to write about, and thus be reinforced as cultural memory. Understanding and cultivating cultural memory could be part of preservation strategy. As Erll points out, cultural memory is not fixed. Rather we continually create "versions of the past according to present knowledge and needs" (Erll, 2008). By understanding Ueno Station's historical importance, and measuring the cultural memory of its history, preservationists may be able to use this information to build and activate public support against the very likely future plans to demolish a building that should instead be restored and promoted, along with its primary transportation functions, as a rich site of cultural and social history.

After outlining the major "epochs" of Ueno Station's history, and discussing its architectural qualities, I attempt to gauge how the station is understood in guidebooks and photobooks, and draw some conclusions about what this may mean for potential efforts to preserve Ueno Station and historical architecture in Tokyo more generally.

The First Ueno Station

Ueno Station was first opened in 1883 to serve as the terminus of a new line from the capital serving the northern half of Japan. In its first 40 years, the station steadily grew in importance and engendered visual and literary representations, such as Ukiyo-e wood block prints, and a famous poem by Ishikawa Takuboku (1886-1912), now prominently engraved at the head of one of the original lines, which sings of the loneliness of a migrant from the north, who visits the station simply to hear the cadences of his native dialect as passengers walk the platforms.

Ueno's role both in and outside of Tokyo continued to expand as new lines fanned across the north, while in 1925, it became a station on the recently completed Yamanote Line looping around Tokyo. In 1927 Ueno also became a station on Tokyo's first subway, the Ginza Line, linking Ginza with Asakusa. However, the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake and fires destroyed the first Ueno Station building, along with much of *Shitamachi*, and plans were set in motion to build a new station commensurate with the expanded role Ueno was expected to play in Japan's continuing development.

The Second Ueno Station

Completed in 1932 the new Ueno Station rose like a modern phoenix, a tripartite symmetrical arrangement with a large central hall flanked by two lower wings, a familiar configuration both east and west. Given a completely clean slate, Saichi Sakami and Toshiyoshi Asano of the Ministry of Railways were able to design a station that reflected the new realities of modernized early Showa Tokyo where automobiles were starting to crowd the streets, and increasingly large crowds were packing the still developing train system.

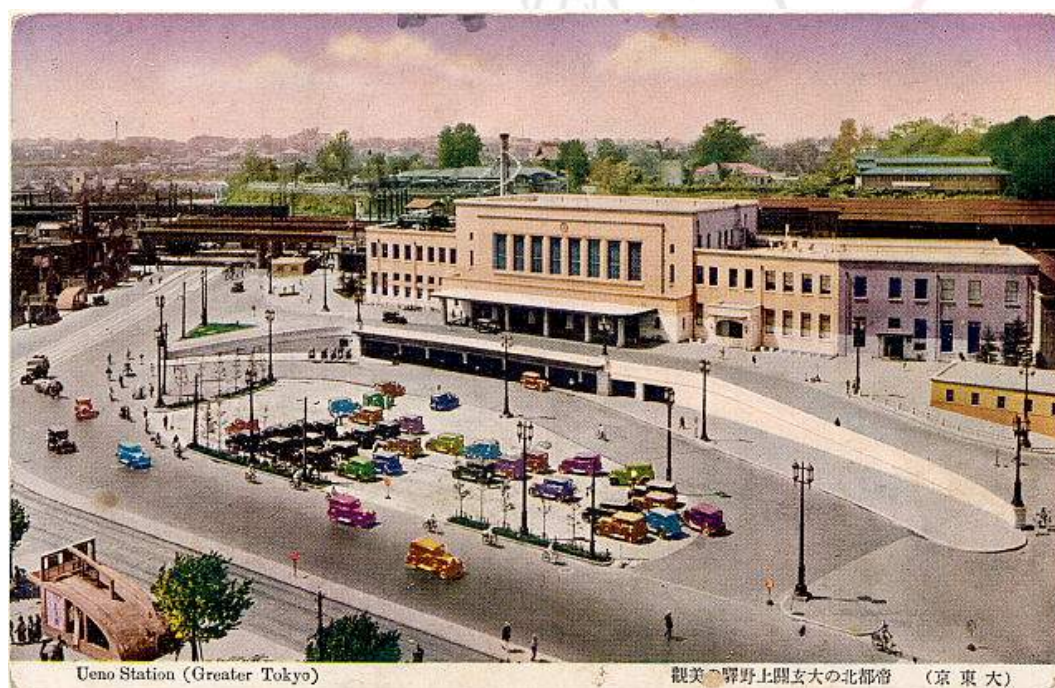


Fig. 1 Postcard view of pre-war Ueno Station. (LyleInTokyo, 2013)

The new station was a modern marvel of its day, and its innovations included separation of vehicular traffic from pedestrians, and of departing passengers from those arriving. Sakami looked at stations around Japan and overseas before devising his own novel plan for a multilevel separation of departures and arrivals (Onoda 2013). Other features included vending machines, and tunnels connecting to the new Ginza line. In addition to its role as terminal for the huge northern area, and rail hub for north and northeast Tokyo's expanding urban network, Ueno Station became the gateway to the city's principle cultural and recreation complex of museums, concert halls and zoo in Ueno Park on the hill above the station to the west. The new station also became a *meisho*, or famous place in Tokyo for tourists to visit, its iconic form appearing on tourist maps. As a paragon of Japanese modernity, Ueno Station's form was emulated in smaller and larger form by several other stations around Japan and the empire, including Okayama, Otaru in Hokkaido, and Dalian, the capital of Japan's puppet state, Manchukuo, and was thus reflected as an important symbol of the latest modern development imperial Japan intended for its colonies.



Fig. 2 Postcard of Dalian, Manchuria Station, late 1930 (Mijima, 1984, p. 111)

The new station design was also remarkable for what it was not. In the early 1930s, a nationalistic Japanese architectural movement known as the *teikan*, or imperial style, sought to develop a form of modern architecture augmented with supposed Asian characteristics. The National Museum in Ueno Park, also rebuilt after the earthquake, and several other city and prefectural halls around the country are good examples of the style. However in Ueno Station, the national railroads instead followed a modernism that would not have been out of place in any American or European city, a model projecting unadorned, stripped down modern efficiency.

As Japan's expansionist activities on the Asian continent developed and finally exploded into war in China in 1937, and with the US and its allies after 1941, Ueno Station had an integral role in these efforts, both in terms of supporting the war economy, and in troop and materiel movements. Pleasure travel, which had been well developed in prewar times, was severely curtailed, as were most express trains and services such as sleeping and dining cars, to focus all resources on the war effort. As bombing of Japanese cities loomed, the station was also a key embarkation point for sending children to the relative safety of rural areas.

Bombing of Japan started in earnest from November 1944 with the objective of crippling the country's infrastructure, and its major industrial areas in particular. Ueno was a principle transportation node into *Shitamachi*, the lower city, which fanned out from the station to the north, east and south. *Shitamachi* is a distinct traditional cultural area of Tokyo, and during and after the war, was also the northern reach of Japan's largest industrial area, known as the Keihin District, which stretched south from *Shitamachi* along Tokyo Bay to Yokohama. During the war thousands of small and medium sized *Shitamachi* factories were integral to supplying the war industries, a fact not lost on American war planners. The importance of destroying this industrial feeder system, integrated amongst mile after mile of densely situated wooden family houses, was the rationale given for bombing and burning this vast area.

The initial high altitude American bombing raids were inaccurate and largely ineffectual, but on March 9-10, 1945, around 300 U.S. B-29 bombers visited a hellish nightmare on *Shitamachi*, dropping 1600 tons of incendiary, turning an area of nearly 16 square miles into an inferno, burning and killing some 90,000 people in one night. The fires burned right up to the eastern side of Ueno, but somehow missed the station. With something on the order of a million people made homeless, Ueno entered a new role as shelter for those lucky enough to be able to squeeze into its tunnels, while the areas around the station filled with thousands more seeking any kind of shelter and trying to eke out some kind of subsistence.

While Ueno is not central to accounts of the March 9-10 bombing, it became integral because it was a rare surviving *Shitamachi* public structure, and it played a key role for the multitudes struggling to survive the years of hunger and homelessness of the bombing's aftermath. Among the many horrific first hand accounts of survivors we can find some whose memory centers on the station and its role. Photos from the time show destitute masses crowding the station in hopes of finding some shelter in the scorched landscape. One photograph shows hundreds of homeless survivors of the bombing sleeping in the station's main concourse. The station was also now packed with desperate crowds hoping to get a train out of the city before the next raid.

Largely blacked out from media coverage at the time, *Shitamachi's* misery was not long on the country's mind, as the now spectacularly proven incendiary bombing campaign went into immediate nightly rotation over more than sixty other Japanese cities, and soon came back to visit other parts of Tokyo as well. After the war, even though the March 9-10 death toll was similar to that of the Hiroshima bombing inferno, the Tokyo bombing was overshadowed by the shock of the new class of suffering ushered in by the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

With the war's end in August, 1945, Ueno Station and the area around it took on a central role in *Shitamachi's* several-year struggle to climb out of grinding poverty, homelessness, and physical devastation, and the station can be seen in numerous photos and accounts of a hardscrabble existence centering around the major black market that formed along the tracks in the burned-out areas south of the station, now known as *Ameyoko*. Adding to the crush of homeless at Ueno's doorstep, another huge influx of returnees—some of the around six million decommissioned soldiers and expelled ex-colonialists returning from Manchuria and elsewhere—joined the huge number of homeless crowded into public *Shitamachi* areas like Ueno. Many of these were transiting through Ueno on their way back to their hometowns, but others, destitute, and with nowhere else to go, joined the crowds who filled the passageways under Ueno and any available space in the infrastructure around the station, while the streets teemed during the days with the ragged and hungry, including a large contingent of war orphans. Death from hunger and disease was a daily occurrence in and around the station in these years. A few photographs show scenes of the homeless crowds who filled the station's underground tunnels and bedded down in the station's grand entrance at night.



Fig. 3. Postwar homeless in the entrance to Ueno's underground passages (Morooka, 1972 p. 121)

As grim as it was, some interviewees who lived through this period around Ueno exhibit a certain pride in having worked their way out of destitution, an apt metaphor for the country itself, as it struggled to remake and lift itself out of misery and defeat (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2000). Japan's resurrection was on the back of hard work and

entrepreneurial hustle, and illustrations of this are well known, such as photographs of a virtual army of women trudging through Ueno Station on their way to



Figure 4. Homeless boys near Ueno Station, ca. 1946. (Hayashi)

the *Ameyoko* black markets with huge duffels of produce from the hinterland. Young shoeshine boys, many of them orphans, are another common image. There was also a fair amount of organized crime, pickpockets, and many driven to prostitution in order to survive.

After several very hard years, in the early 1950s, with Japan's economy a beneficiary of the American supply needs for the Korean War, the country began to climb out of its post-war gloom. By the mid-1950s the boom had begun—the era of “high speed growth”—which saw a rebuilt and expanded industrial capacity in the Keihin area, including *Shitamachi*, and a huge concomitant demand for labor. This need was answered by great migrations to Tokyo, notably from the north, to work in the factories, and help build the highways, *shinkansen* (bullet train) lines, and facilities for the coming Tokyo Olympics of 1964. These migrants were notably represented by legions of high school graduates—*shudanshushoku*—recruited by the class, to work in the factories and workshops of the capital, a trend that continued through the sixties until the economy finally cooled in the early 1970s. These trainloads of new workers, still in their school uniforms, pulled into Ueno and were met by representatives from the businesses to which they were contracted. Of the various chapters in Ueno's history, even though now well in the past, this period continues to have great resonance in contemporary Japan.

Ueno Bypassed and the Nostalgizing of *Shitamachi*

Even as the era of high-speed growth cooled, Ueno continued to be the terminus for internal migration from the north, though the era of the *shudanshushoku* was over. Music videos from the 1980s and 90s now depict the story of a solitary young woman or man leaving Aomori or Akita, arriving at Ueno, and then in the course of the workday, or in a college classroom, daydreaming about friends, mother, and *furusato*—hometown.

Ueno continued to be the destination from the north, but after 1985 the migration would no longer typically be by steam or electric locomotive, but by the speeding *shinkansen*, as the bullet trains are known. And from 1991, this trip might equally end at Tokyo Station as the Tohoku *shinkansen* line was extended and Ueno lost its position as the terminal station for northern Japan. Despite its diminished role as a mere through station for the northern train network, Ueno continues to be central to the regional system of the northern Tokyo area, and its current role can be partly understood as a division between two contrasting cultural identities; the teeming *Shitamachi* off-markets and watering holes of *Ameyoko*, on the one hand, and the art and classical music venues bringing thousands of high-culture seeking visitors to the park's museums and concert halls, on the other, each with its own exit from the station.

From the 1990s a *Shitamachi* nostalgia craze generated interest and awareness in aspects of the area's history, which is invoked in the popular 2005 movie *Always San Chome no Yuhi*, showing life in late 1950s *Shitamachi*, and featuring Ueno Station in a scene depicting an arriving steam locomotive full of recent high school graduates coming to work in Tokyo.

Even in its now diminished role as just one of a handful of key nodes in the still expansive and intensive Japanese train system, Ueno still has great significance in Japan's internal movements of people and goods, and also as one of the capital's key stations.

The Architecture of Ueno Station

Now over 80 years old, in spite of significant modifications, Ueno Station nevertheless maintains much of its original architectural integrity, and offers an increasingly rare opportunity for the public to experience a unique example of the modern architecture of the early Showa period. The station can be described as a mix of several prevalent trends in architecture of the post World War I period. The signature boxy concrete façade of the station's main building blends the modernist, art deco, and even Japanese "secessionist" ideas of the time—symmetry, simplicity, rectilinear geometrical massing, and discrete ornamentation—offering a simple, iconic expression of a modern, efficient and reliable train system. The primary expression of the façade is its slightly projected bank of towering vertical windows that light the main hall, each window flanked by gently flaring capital-less half-columns with dentilated trim that give the slightest exotic hint to the otherwise sober façade. Other expressions on the façade are limited to diminutive modernist molding, and a clock, that functional symbol of modernity and railroads. A porte-cochere, originally with a streamlined grooved edge and rounded corners, is held up by gently flaring, striated granite clad square columns. The even simpler wings of the building with their rows of punched vertical windows defer to the superior central block, but work together to create a grand horizontal sweep. The starkness of the boxy program is pleasantly relieved by the gentle ramps that curved slowly up to the entrance, and did the same, from the opposite direction, down to the pick-up point. Saichi and Asano were apparently enamored of ramps, and they put another gently sloping one for pedestrians leading down to the underground passages.

Even with the numerous modifications over the decades to other parts of the front of the building, many incongruent with the design, Ueno's façade has nonetheless retained its simple grandness and dignity. The original lower level exits and the great elegant plaza that used to sit in the sweeping wings of the driveways is now an unsightly hodgepodge of chop-offs and additions and this once grand open space is now dominated by an unfriendly amalgam of elevated pedestrian bridges, a highway overpass, and a relentless torrent of speeding cars, motorcycles, taxis, and trucks.

The interiors of the station have also been significantly modified, but the similarly modest and subtle decorative scheme is still in evidence. Rounded corners and horizontal grooves streamline staircases and hallways. While the main hall is given over to some moderate ornamentation, the concourse, having lost a fair amount of its original sweeping space to numerous addition, is still a simple exposed steel-framed arched skylight evocative of the great train sheds of Europe. Everywhere the scale is moderate and appropriate to the business-like mentality of *Shitamachi*. Over the decades the station has been greatly expanded into the areas above and to the north into the vast sprawling complex of today, but the new additions lack the iconic, and sensitive expressiveness of the old station.

As important a role as Ueno played in its short pre-World War II period, its newness and elegance were soon stressed and quickly faded in the brutal realities and aftermath of war and defeat. Through the harsh postwar struggle for survival, followed by intense impetuses to recovery and growth, many areas of the station began to take on unsightly, ill-fitting additions, and in many of the photos from the 1960s and 70s it has a worn and tired aspect. Fortunately, much work has been undertaken in recent years to restore some of the original design's more elegant aspects, and the charm of the early building is very much on display at various points.

In the final section I look at how Ueno and its history are remembered in two common types of contemporary publication, namely architectural guidebooks, and photobook compilations of historical photographs.



Figure 5. Ueno Station Main Hall, 2014

Contemporary Cultural Memory and Forgetting of Ueno Station's History

Architecture Guidebooks

Japanese publishers produce an impressive number of guidebooks devoted to Tokyo architecture. For this survey I consulted more than fifteen Tokyo related architectural guidebooks published in the past 25 years, as well as other more general guidebooks covering non-architectural subjects. Architectural guidebooks generally survey a country, region, or city and provide varying levels of description of important architecture. Some guidebooks are dedicated to the entire span of the city's history, while others focus on modern, or contemporary architecture. Given the vast scale of Tokyo's built environment, authors and editors are faced with severe constraints of space, and each guidebook by necessity omits buildings an author deems less important. Ueno Station is left out of a significant number of such recent publications, but it is included in enough of them to indicate that it clearly has some standing among architectural writers and publishers. This study attempts to discern what contemporary Japanese guidebook writers remember or forget about Ueno's history. Inclusion in a guidebook tells us first that the writer thinks the building has some merit, architectural or otherwise, while the entry itself reveals what, if anything, the writer considers most significant about the building, which may or may not include its historical background.

Most guidebooks, if they include Ueno Station, do little more than provide a photograph and mention one or two features of the contemporary building without giving much historical background other than the year of construction and the architect's name. While there is variation in what architectural guidebook writers do include about Ueno's history, in general the focus is on its importance as *genkan*—or

entryway—to and from the North, and in particular, the worker migrations of the 1950s and 60s. Although the station's original design features and the circumstances of its construction may be recounted, the periods leading up to, during, or just after the war are rarely mentioned. Recognition of Ueno Station's aesthetics is also usually muted. Typical is the *Tokyo Architecture Guide, 1868-1979*, in which the station gets a short uniform four-sentence entry under a small photo of its comparatively mundane southern Hirokoji entrance façade. The brief entry mentions, without any elaboration, the station's design qualities such as the separation of traffic and arrivals and departures, and its importance as the gateway to the north, while the six pages of text discussing the area around Ueno ignore the station completely in favor of the museums, zoo, pond, and nearby university buildings. A significant number of the guides consulted did not include the station at all (Kawagoe, 1994; Goto & Mifune, 2000; Suzuki, 1998; Matsuda, 2011; Watanabe, 2001; Yoneyama & Ito, 2010).

A smaller number of the guidebooks surveyed did recognize the station's aesthetic qualities and offer some substantive information. Kusakabe for example, praises the station's "stately" façade, as well as the peculiarity of its design among Japanese stations. Shimura focuses on aspects of the station's design, noting the subtle aspects of its proportions, line, and divisions of space. As mentioned above, the *shudanshushoku* work migrations of the late 1950s and 60s, perhaps because they are in living memory for so many readers, is the most common historical theme mentioned in guidebooks, with at least one writer invoking a sadness and drama that attended the migrations (Yamaki, 2007). None of the guidebooks surveyed discuss Ueno's role as a model for other stations in Japan and the empire, or the war years and difficult times that followed.

While this survey focused mainly on architectural guidebooks, more general tourist guidebooks also occasionally have something substantive to say about Ueno station. For example Izumi observes that while the building externally always seems to evoke the same feeling, internally it is in a constant state of change. For him the façade always brings memories of the *shudanshushoku* of the 1950s and 60s, while inside there is a constant turnover of shops along the concourse, which in his listing seem ironically out of place in down-market *Shitamachi* – shops named *Jyugaoka*, and *Aoyama*—both *Yamanote* place names. Another striking characteristic he notes is the burgeoning Americanization in the station—the presence of Starbucks and Hard Rock Café, for example.

As noted, a significant number of the architecture guidebooks of modern architecture in Tokyo considered in this survey completely ignore Ueno Station. One should not, fault their judgment, which is their own, for thinking that Ueno is not great or even worthy architecture, but it is surprising that they often cover a substantial array of far less historically important buildings which do not have Ueno's advantages of being precisely in the crosshairs of public transportation, and at the same time completely open and accessible to the public, who are in most cases going to be in the building as a matter of course. They thereby miss an excellent chance to educate the public on an important phase of Japan's architectural history, and one heavily laden with historical importance that many readers would undoubtedly find of interest. Of course Ueno's history is well covered in the several histories and anthologies devoted to the station, (Shioda, 1982; Yomiuri Shimbun, 2000) and titles devoted to major episodes, such as the bombing (Saotome, 2003) and postwar (Dower, 1999), include discussions of the

station, but the concern of this paper is whether a wider, more casual reader is getting any of this information, a role that would certainly be within the purview of guidebook writers.

Photobooks

Japanese publishers also produce a prodigious number of historical photograph collections on all aspects of life in modern Tokyo. A common focus of such books is historical photographs of the city, or part of the city, during some historical time frame. Photobook makers give much more consistent recognition to all aspects of Ueno's history, including its pre-war, war, and postwar histories, than do architectural guidebook writers. Ueno Station is featured in almost all of the photo books surveyed, usually with one or two photos. In particular the work of two photographers working before and after the war, Kuwabara Kineio and Hayashi Tadahiko, is often anthologized in photobooks about the period, the former depicting the station's relatively elegant pre-war years, and the latter, its post-war dislocation. Another photographer whose work is less often found in anthologies is Morooka Koji, who produced powerful photos of the tenuous and tense existence of those living in the underground passageways after the war.

Photobooks cover virtually every phase of the postwar period in and around Ueno, including the arrival or departure of immigrants, the affects of "high-speed growth" on the station and area, and not least, the hard life of the significant number of homeless who continued to be attracted to the station, even after prosperity had returned to Tokyo in the late 1950s.

Re-photography is a subgenre of photobooks that show a photograph of a place in an earlier period, and then later re-photograph it from the same vantage some years later. Otake and Hayashi both do this for several areas in and around the station, showing the effects of the war and rampant development that followed. Such work has gained popularity in recent years and has great potential for preserving cultural memory and relating it to the area's present changed state.

While historical photobooks often lack significant context or textual description, they nevertheless provide invaluable information and historical background accessible to even those with the most casual interest in history or architecture. Such books can greatly help in raising general interest and awareness of Ueno's architecture, providing in one glance great amounts of historical background, and showing the building as it looked and functioned before neglect and later effacements made it an object of indifference.



Figure 4. Ueno Station at night, 2014

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to partially gauge Japanese collective memory of Ueno Station, as reflected in two types of contemporary publications likely to provide information about the station. The indication is that most contemporary architectural guidebooks, in the case of Ueno Station, are not being used to preserve and transmit important cultural memories of the building. On the other hand many photobooks are providing signal service in keeping such memories alive. The question of cultural memory about the station is coupled with one gauging architectural interest in the building, because aesthetic characteristics as well as historical significance will likely inform decisions about whether a building should be preserved.

While some of the writers whose job it is to teach the public about important architecture recognize Ueno Station's architectural and social-historical importance, a significant number of contemporary publications completely ignore the station. This neglect has implications in terms of informing and educating the public about important architecture, but also for public understanding of Japanese social-history and issues related to the effects of the country's involvement in World War II.

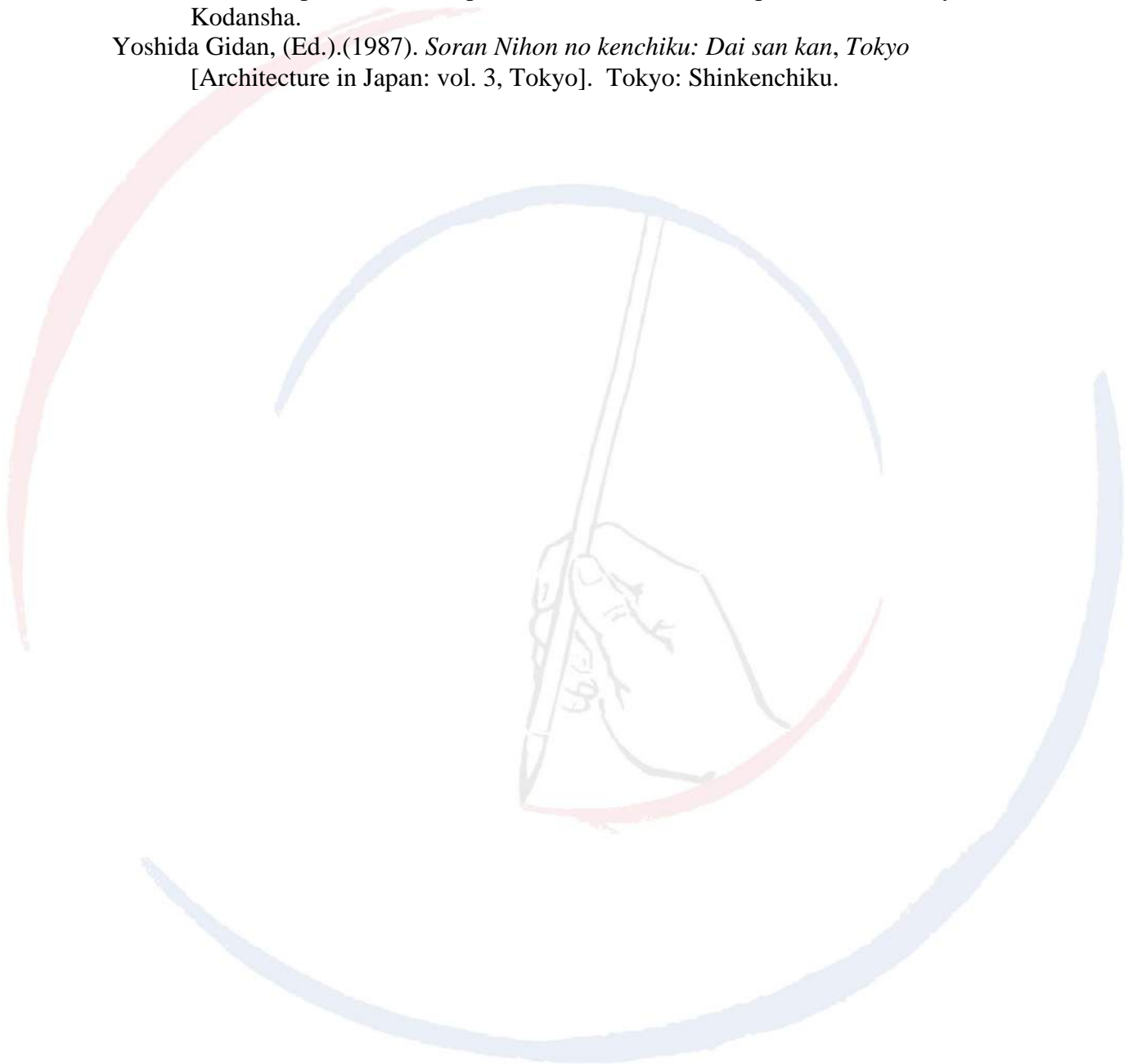
For those who believe that historical architecture is important, it is clear that much needs to be done to develop public support for preservation in Tokyo. In my view if architectural preservation is to succeed, it must try to activate cultural memory of important buildings like Ueno Station, and there is clearly an important role for writers of architectural guidebooks in keeping this memory alive. When citizens appreciate important buildings for how they help tell the stories of the past, quality of life in the city improves. On the other hand, when such buildings are lost, quality of life is often impoverished. Ueno Station is an excellent candidate for preservation, and its story needs to be more fully told. It is in many ways architecturally important,

completely adequate to its functional demands, and as importantly, it is, and should continue to be developed, as one of the richest sites of cultural memory in Tokyo.

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Synergizing Common People and Government Responders towards Crowdsourcing for Disaster Management Preparedness

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Abstract

In disaster situation, it is common that specific government agencies are obliged to manage response and recovery, whereas, the participation of common people are somehow limited only if the people in the community are affected by disaster. The ubiquity of technology has empowered common people to become human sensors by providing voluminous information. They often deliver information and situational updates during the mitigation, response, preparedness and recovery phases in disaster. This paper presents viewpoints and thoughts from i) university students who represent the common people and ii) emergency institutions' representatives as the disaster situation experts, towards synergizing crowdsourcing for disaster management preparedness. Structured interviews with university post-graduate students' focus groups, Open-ended questionnaire with two institutional experts and Facebook Application data collection were conducted. Several agreements were acquired from the data collection such as kinds of information, organization responsible to acquire and report information, methods to capture information, motivation of volunteer as crowdsource and impact, risk and challenges in crowdsourcing for disaster management preparedness. Such settings are very valuable to synergize the two parties towards crowdsourcing for disaster management particularly preparedness phase.

Introduction

Government agencies are normally responsible to act in response of a disaster; this is due to their professional characteristics to perform their duty. Civilians or common people may somehow become involved particularly if the people in the community are affected by disaster. However, common people at presence will be of help and assistance as they could act as information supplier and provide situational updates during the mitigation, response, preparedness and recovery phases in disaster. This is due to the availability of Information Technology and the ubiquity of mobile technology, which transform common people into Crowdsourcing.

The term synergy has been used for many purposes. Based on Dictionary.com, synergy is defined as “the interaction of elements that when combined produce a total effect that is greater than the sum of the individual elements”. The word synergy originated from ancient Greek, which means, “joint work, assistance, help,” from *synergos* “working together” (synergy, n.d). The operational definition of synergy, which is used for this paper, is grounded on connections and agreements that fountained the collaboration among Government Responders and Common People.

This paper presents viewpoints and thoughts from i) university students who represent the common people and ii) emergency institutions’ representatives as the disaster situation experts, towards synergizing crowdsourcing for disaster preparedness management.

1.0 Crowdsourcing

Crowdsourcing is a new model that relies on the intelligence of people whom are called “crowds” to complete a task or solve a pre-determined problem (Tingxin Yan et. al. 2009). The term “crowdsourcing” was first coined in 2006 by Jeff Howe. His definition of Crowdsourcing is, “the act of taking a job traditionally performed by a designated agent (usually an employee) and outsourcing it to an undefined, generally large group of people in the form of an open call.” (Howe, 2006)

The model is enabled by advancements in information and communications technologies (ICTs) such as web 2.0 and the social web, which highlights communication and interactivity between the user and the internet, and mobile devices and technologies, and through this engagement contextual information is captured. It is a compound word containing of words “crowd” and “outsourcing” that highlights competition and collaboration (Narvaez, R. W. M., 2012).

In crowdsourcing, tasks or problems are outsourced to an unknown public or participants, while in outsourcing the task is distributed among particular entities. An institution or a company that wishes to collect information on a specific problem or project broadcasts a request in forms of a problem or a question to the targeted audience or the “crowd” (ObizMedia, 2011). Those in the crowd who are interested to send their ideas or probable solutions through a predefined channel or medium are part of what is called crowdsourcing.

2.0 Disaster Preparedness Management

The United Nations department of Humanitarian Affairs defines Disasters as “A serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society causing widespread

human, material, economic and environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected community/society to cope using its own resources” (UNDHA, 2001).

The concept of disaster preparedness encompasses measures aimed at enhancing life safety when a disaster occurs, such as protective actions during an earthquake, hazardous materials spill, etc. It also includes actions designed to enhance the ability to undertake emergency actions in order to protect property and contain disaster damage and disruption, as well as the ability to engage in post-disaster restoration and early recovery activities.

As a phase of disaster management that takes place before a crisis occurs and as a part of what is collectively termed “disaster risk reduction,” which focuses on the identification, assessment and reduction of disaster risks, disaster preparedness is often considered alongside *mitigation*, which are measures pursued for the purpose of avoiding or reducing disaster-related damage. Mitigation comes in the form of *structural* measures (e.g. elevating homes for flood protection, and moving neighbourhoods’ or communities to less hazard-prone locations) and *non-structural* measures (e.g. enforcement of building codes and land use regulations). It also implies that while it is possible that some disaster effects can be prevented, other effects will persist but can be controlled or reduced through appropriate action (Carter. W. N., 1991).

While technically different, there are activities that encompass both phases – such as the development of warning systems, public education and awareness, formulation of evacuation and disaster communications – which are viewed as mitigative because they are implemented before a disaster occurs and considered as preparedness measures because their purpose ultimately is to make people aware of how to respond when warnings are issued (Sutton, J., & Tierney, K., 2006). The concept of disaster preparedness is composed of dimensions, which are the various objectives or end-states that preparedness aims to achieve, and their respective supporting activities, which are the concrete measures done to achieve such objectives. The dimensions of preparedness include, i) Hazard Knowledge, ii) Management, Direction & Coordination, iii) Formal and informal response plans and Agreements, iv) Supportive Resources, v) Life Safety Protection, vi) Property Protection, vii) Emergency Coping and Restoration of Key Functions and viii) Initiation of Recovery (Sutton, J., & Tierney, K., 2006). We believe crowdsourcing is seen as a new approach contributing to these dimensions.

3.0 Methods

In this study, primary sources are gathered through three methods, which are Facebook application, Open-ended questionnaire and Focus Group Meetings. The construction of questions for the data collection instruments were based on a systematic literature examining more than 70 sources mostly dated between year 2005 and 2013 from a variety of journals, white papers, blogs and web sites. Topics under consideration are those which have keywords such as Crowdsourcing, Disaster Management, Crowdsourcing in Disaster, Crowdsourcing Volunteer, Volunteered Geographic Information, etc.

Facebook User Requirement

Using Social Media Network as an instrument for data collection has been practiced by many researchers. However, with the huge volume of information being discoursed, caution should be practiced in order to increase the accuracy and reliability of the information posted (Abdesslem et al., 2012).

To minimize these issues, our questions were only visible to our Facebook friends and only they were allowed to leave their comments (Fig.1). The question posed was, “What information would you like to – share/see – on a digital map before a DISASTER?” The reason to pose this question is to gather user requirement for what information to be published in a Digital Map.



ICTs are now seriously being considered as viable tools for better humanitarian operations – *this research hopes to confirm and bring value to use of ICTs and the power of crowd for a better disaster preparedness strategy and information distribution.*

Fig.1: An image that was posed as a question in FB application

Open-ended Questionnaire

The open-ended questionnaire was presented to the representative of two Government responders groups. One representative was selected from an institution known as PAGEMA- Pasir Gudang Emergency Mutual Aid, which conducts its operations on effort for managing an emergency in a huge industrial area called Pasir Gudang in the state of Johor, Malaysia. PAGEMA is currently aiding their coordination effort with 47 high risk industries covering from Chemical, Petroleum, Polymer, etc. Another representative was selected from UTM OSHE- Universiti Teknologi Malaysia Office of Safety Health and Environment, whom are responsible for handling and controlling any type of disaster events within UTM area.

The open-ended questionnaire was designed to cover several subtopics. This includes; Institution related questions, Crowdsourced Information & its Role and Volunteers (Table 1).

Table 1: Questions posed in Open-ended Questionnaire

No	INSTITUTION RELATED QUESTIONS
1	What does your institution do in terms of preparedness?
2	We acknowledge that PAGEMA/UTMOSHE is working close with other agencies, how does your organization coordinate/collaborate with other relief organizations?
3	What is the existing infrastructure you are working with? What ICT infrastructure do you use/work with?
4	How does governance play a role? Is your work supported by government /other entities in any way?
No	CROWDSOURCED INFORMATION AND ITS ROLE QUESTIONS
6	Do you receive any crowdsourced information? What kinds of crowdsourced information are they?
7	What/why led to the use of crowdsourcing for the particular operations? How did it start? Where does the funding come?
8	How do you use the information you receive (in case of preparedness)?
9	What is the information flow of crowdsourced data? Who is it for?
10	How does crowdsourcing improve/complement the identification of risks? How do your information sources complement each other?
11	What should be the other types of information that you would need? From whom?
12	What is the impact of crowdsourcing to your operations or in pursuing your directives? In your opinion what are the advantages and disadvantages of crowdsourced information?
13	How do you think crowdsourcing for disaster preparedness could be further improved?
No	VOLUNTEERS RELATED QUESTIONS
14	What user profiles do you usually confront? Do you know what motivates them?
15	What is your experience with volunteers? Are they easy/difficult encounters?
16	What are the advantages/disadvantages of using volunteers as sources of information?
17	Are there any advantages or benefits with using volunteers in the pre-disaster phase?

Focus Group Interview

Open-ended Structured interview that contains written list of open ended questions and appropriate for group of respondents, such as this Focus Group Interview (Kumar, 2005) were performed. Two sessions of focus group interviews were conducted that lasted for 4 hours and 30 minutes. There were 14 persons participated where seven individuals in every each of the session. All the members are Post Graduate students coming from different nationalities, except one local senior lecturer. The views from the members of this focus group represented the Common people as differentiated to the government responders group stated in section 4.2.

Questions are comprised of Situation, Sharing, Preference, Trust & Reliability, Validation, Security & Privacy, Entity Responsible and Usefulness of the Crowdsourced data and information. Detailed questions are shown in Fig.2.



Fig.2: Questions posed in Focus Group Interviews

4.0 Analysis & Discussion

From the three methods of primary data collection, Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) was performed. QDA is the processes and procedures that involve understanding and interpreting the people and situations, which examine the meaningful and symbolic content of qualitative data (Taylor, C. and Gibbs, G. R., 2010). As there are three sources of information, we are examining and explaining the interpretations from every each of the documents.

To foster understanding and interpretation of the data, an established and pragmatic analysis known as “5W1H” is a useful tool to investigate the actual responses taking place within a community where new media for Disaster Management Crowdsourcing are introduced. The 5W1H model consists of 6 questions (What, Where, When, Who, Why and How) for analysing particular qualitative information as responded by subjects (Yoshioka, T., Herman, G., Yates, J., and Orlikowski, W. (2001), Abd Rozan, M. Z & Yoshiki, M., 2006).

4.1 Facebook User Requirement

Generally, the feedback gathered from the questions posed in the Facebook application is mostly short phrases, consisting up to a maximum of four phrases per message. This is also due to the nature of the question, which was very direct.

The question was first posted on the 24 Oct 2013, and on the same day there were 17 responses, two persons on the 25 Oct and one person each on the 26 & 31 Oct 2013. Three people responded twice, either to add in new information or to strengthen their opinion. From the timestamp, the difference of the posting time between the two messages from one person was from 9 minutes to a maximum of 1 hour 24 minutes.

The results of the classification for the raw information (message phrases) collected from respondents are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Classification of Type and Group of Message Phrases

No	Type	Message Group Before	Message Group After
1	Where	6	0
2	What	3	0
3	Where & Who	2	1
4	Where & What	7	0
5	Where & When	1	1
6	What & When	1	0
7	What, Where & Who	2	1
8	What, Where & When	1	1
	Total	23	4

However, after proper processing of the message phrases, the information are reclassified into their proper type and the number is shown in column Message Group After. Reclassification involves regrouping and omitting duplicates. The reclassification procedure has successfully integrate information into “Where & Who”, “Where & When”, “What, Where & Who” and also “What, Where & When”. The detailed reclassification and its contents are displayed in Fig.3.

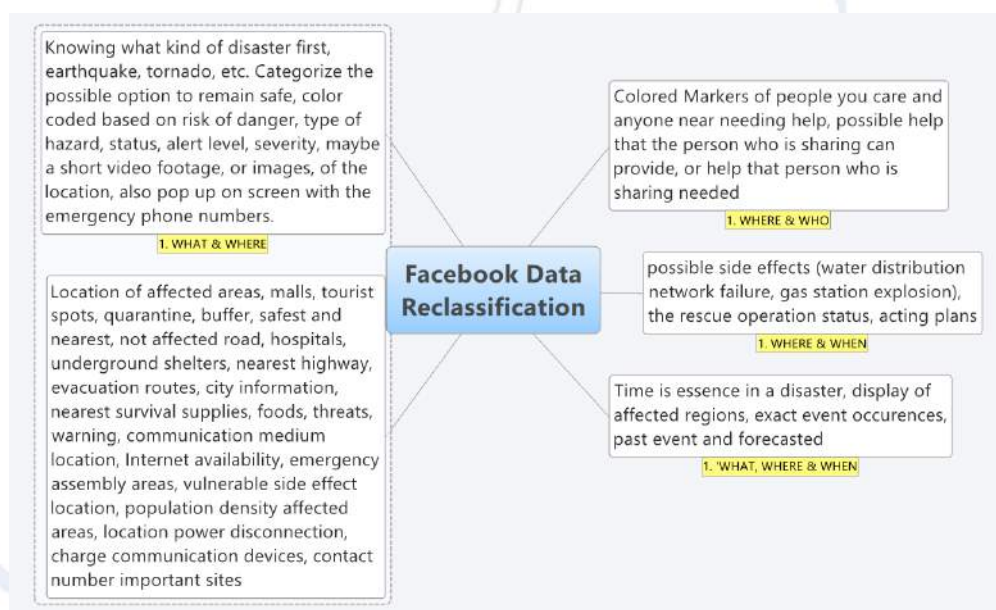


Fig.3: Facebook Data Reclassification

From Fig.3, the data reclassification focuses towards type of disaster, multiple information for a specific location affected or not affected by disaster, identifying volunteers, possible side effects, rescue plans and information on the map should be linked with time variable such as real-time, past and possibly future.

4.1 Open-ended Questionnaire & Focus Group Interview

Both the data from the Open-ended Questionnaire and Focus Group Interview are analysed using QSR NVivo 10 Qualitative Analysis Tool. The findings from the analysis reveals several themes; i) Kinds of Information such as Hazards, Important Infrastructures, Additional Preparedness information, ii) What organization responsible to collect and report Crowdsourcing Information, iii) Methods to Capture Information, iv) Motivation of Crowdsourcer Volunteers, iv) Impact Risks and Challenges in Crowdsourcing for Disaster Preparedness.

i) Kinds of Information

UTM's OSHE unit representative supports the above stated fact by telling us that:

“The kind of information that needs to be collected and disseminated for the purpose of disaster preparedness differs according to each disaster type or scenario.”

PAGEMA also reinforces the diverse information sets by indicating the variety of information they might receive from the citizens or they like to have in future:

“The information are in forms of reports, accidents, emergency, rubbery, etc. They (local citizens) will like to know about disasters such as fire, gas leakage, oil spillage, flood and others.”

Findings from focus group sessions also reveal similar results. Everyone in our focus group indicated that there are various information that could be provided depending on the institution in charge. To backup this statement, we have collected some of the information needs pointed out by participants:

“depends on the kind of disaster, ...safe places, shelters, hospital and food supply locations, emergency roads, weather changes, structures”

ii) Who is the organization responsible to collect and report Crowdsourcing Information

Our findings regarding participants of crowdsourcing projects and the people who may be involved in data collection and dissemination exposed that depending on information needs, organizations might want only a targeted group(s) of individuals to participate, and in other occasions any data coming from volunteers would be valuable. Listed below are a handful of the responses we received in interview and focus group sessions:

PAGEMA:

“Volunteers can give information that PAGEMA does not have because they are locals. Information from local citizens might not be correct. Information needs validation and verification.”

OSHE:

“So far we have not asked for any information from outside the department. Usually we only ask from people who have information. So only people who are involved and have knowledge. Usually they are identified previously through programs we have.”

Focus Group:

“I think experience counts. If u had the encounter u would want to share.”

“It depends on the information and who u want to give access to.”

“People are resistant to change but when u let them know about the advantages and benefits increase quality of life they will participate”

Both PAGEMA and OSHE unit were concerned whether the information received by anybody (local citizens) would be useful, because they might not have the knowledge about the field that they are sharing information about. That is why they rather call for people and have a brief training or use volunteers with special knowledge or expertise. Yet again, they also emphasize the fact that information coming from local citizens is also valuable because there is always a gap or data that cannot be covered by small group of trained volunteers and so it is better to listen to the ordinary citizens instead of having no information at all, however accepting information from grass roots depends on the sensitivity and the degree level of information required to be collected.

Turning to our focus group sessions, which cover the view of common people. It was collectively agreed that as long as people recognize that the information they could share has positive effect and would be useful, they are willing to share. It was also argued that for the sake of privacy, credentials of users who are sharing should remain anonymous.

iii) Methods to Capture Information

As mentioned in 2.0 and the use of crowdsourcing in disaster response, the information that is produced by the volunteers is mainly gathered through the available and existing technologies.

According to the focus groups conducted with the students of UTM, many prefer the use of popular social media such as Facebook and twitter to report information, however it was also mentioned that a dedicated platform for reporting information is much more suitable because the data would eventually be aggregated and centralized instead of being lost and later difficult to find in social media websites.

“Most people use twitter to report using HASHTAG, easy to communicate it’s like text”

“In Malaysia specially when it comes to reporting disasters accidents we have this line for road disaster management PLUSLINE”

“I receive or share information from social network and media.”

“Twitter cannot store the tweets it keeps on getting updated;
Facebook you will get lost because posts will get old. Using map or dedicated platform is better and u won’t get lost”

For example PAGEMA uses their Facebook front-page to collect some information from public citizen but they face difficulty in archiving, generating reports and organizing the data. SMS is also widely used in collecting text data from citizens because it is easy, accessible and cheap to use.

The case with UTM OSHE unit is the frequent use of telephone and mobile SMS and the community can only retrieve information from their website or their Facebook page. However they have also mentioned that they prefer using

a platform that could keep track of the information for future references and be accessible by the community.

“Currently we are using our website and social networking page on Facebook to distribute information. No other system is currently at use. We also use mobile phones and telephone. However we would really like to make use of new technology.”

iv) Motivation of Crowdsourcer Volunteers

Crowdsourcing initiatives cannot exist without support from volunteers and the effort they make to submit information. The experience shared by our participants in the focus group sessions and interview meetings reveal that volunteers' intent to sharing information before a disaster is similar to that of during a disaster. Nonetheless, as the key foundation of crowdsourced information, it would be useful to become familiar with the motivations and the profile of the potential volunteers and appreciate their contributions.

As discussed during our interview meetings, majority of volunteers come from different backgrounds. PAGEMA notes that their volunteers is usually from RELA; Malaysia's volunteer directory, who are people with different backgrounds ranging from no experience at all to trained professionals.

“Our volunteers are from RELA, collected through committees that compel them to get information on oncoming disasters.”

UTM's OSHE unit deals more with students of the university whom also come from different disciplines and backgrounds. However, only those who are concerned about their own and other's safety are willing to volunteer.

“We had several cases with student colleges and hostels. Normally they are people that know a bit about risks and hazards. People that have no background will not come and they don't bother. They are usually safety minded and public minded.”

In terms of motivation, participants of our focus groups had the saying for themselves. Majority of them are motivated because of altruistic reasons. They think if the simple act of sharing information may save lives then why not get involved in doing good. A bulk of our contributors stated that money does not incentivizes them, and that if they have the information and medium they are willing to share information. Some also mentioned that because of their knowledge and expertise related to a particular disaster scenario, they see themselves as responsible to help out.

However the case was a bit different with our interviews. It was pointed out that volunteers are difficult to work with, because many expect some kind of a reward to continue participation.

v) Impact, Risks and Challenges in Crowdsourcing for Disaster Preparedness.

We wanted to have an idea of the various impacts and issues experienced or that could affect crowdsourcing for disaster preparedness. Moreover, the

results of this curiosity could serve as improvements for a better crowdsourcing initiative for disaster preparedness. Hence some of the findings such as advantages, risks and challenges that are related to crowdsourcing for disaster preparedness is illustrated in the following sections.

As explained by our interviewees, PAGEMA and OSHE unit, crowdsourcing can be used as a means to promote resilience since it deals with capturing a phenomenon that is in progress, which may have been unnoticed. This is how the representatives explain:

OSHE:

“Since time frame for collecting information is OK, different information from people could be discussed. There might even be some issues that seem with little concern but could be key points. These information could generate awareness and create networks”

PAGEMA:

“Volunteers can give information that PAGEMA does not have because they are on the ground and locals. And due to availability of time, information could be validated and verified.”

The members of our focus groups also had their perspective on the advantages of crowdsourcing:

“People are resistant to change but when u let them know about the advantages and benefits and how it increase quality of life they will participate. It shows that there is someone who cares and that they are not alone. It is useful because it will create awareness.”

“The culture of awareness can happen eventually. At first you might not know anything but after u learn and get engaged. You can introduce the culture. It is useful in creating awareness and resilience.”

Although our discussion during the interviews and focus groups pointed out many advantages and benefits that crowdsourcing could fabricate, there are still issues and concerns that make the topic challenging and risky for complete deployment without hesitation.

These risks and challenges come from both sides: disaster relief organizations and the participating volunteers. Following our discussions it was found out that organizations have hard time verifying and validating the quality and integrity of the information they are receiving. Although they believe information coming in from volunteers could be trustworthy, but from time to time unwanted data is received from those with politically motivated and malevolent intent.

PAGEMA:

“In the case of oil spillage at Tg. Langsat Terminal. When it happened, there were a lot of rumours on toxic overflow from Titan and IRM tanks. As a result, all the Pasir Gudang community were panic-stricken and wanted to move out from Pasir Gudang, worrying about their family and own safety. As a result, the entire roads leading out from Titan were congested. This is caused by incorrect information via SMS.”

OSHE:

“The information might be irrelevant and maybe only a few of the information is useful”

Since most crowdsourcing projects are built around the participation of volunteers, another issue would be sustainability and continuous involvement.

Volunteers have their own daily activities and obligations and finding free time dedicate towards voluntary work is of major problem.

Another issue that seemed to be common and accepted by all of our focus group participants was the problem of privacy and authority of the information being shared or user identities.

“Maybe I will get disturbed or my work will be in danger.”

“Personal information should not be accessible by public”

5.0 Conclusion

We have presented in this paper our attempt to identify agreements between the two parties; Government Responders and Common People. These include the types of information, organization responsible to acquire and report information, methods to capture information, motivation of crowdsourcer and impact, risk and challenges in crowdsourcing.

As mentioned in the earlier section of this paper, “the interaction of elements that when combined produce a total effect that is greater than the sum of the individual elements” is what synergy is all about. By ruminating both parties views and opinions, we hope that we have addressed the proper connection that would produce greater effect and could synergize Government Responders and Common People for the preparedness phase in disaster management through Crowdsourcing.

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***Construction of the Garden house:
The Scene the DIY Text Does Not Describe***

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0550

Abstract

General DIY texts nowadays illustrate how to create garden furniture and facilities. We chose to build a “garden house” from a text. We constructed it as a laboratory activity. This paper describes our experiences during the construction, particularly focusing on aspects that the textbook does not explain. We describe our failures before fixing the problem, and things we had to guess in terms of construction methods that the text did not explain. Since we are not the pioneers of such a building, the description below should be beneficial for people in the same situation. Apart from the differences between our actual construction and the descriptions in the text, we also discuss our experiences of teamwork.

1. Introduction

In the course of their landscape gardening studies, members of our laboratory have created new scenes in the small woods of our university's campus. Three years have passed since these activities began. For the 2013 graduation work, we decided to construct a small garden house. The author's main academic interest is in the delight humans take in deciduous forests¹. While natural deciduous woods give us occasion for aesthetic appreciation, if we build a small house in the woods, the scene might become more approachable for us. In the campus woods, we have already created a paved space with a small fireplace, planting space, and small brick entrance.

To build a garden house, we referred to a do-it-yourself (DIY) text². This text appeared to be written for beginners. Since we are landscape gardening majors, this was our first experience with constructing such a building. Constructing buildings is thought to be outside the field of design-oriented landscape gardening. Such opportunities are rare on campus³. Recently, I came to realize that we had an opportunity for just such a project in our program. Constructing a real space requires physical cooperation with other members. Such cooperation surely produces connections among members. In the light of educational effect, it will be helpful⁴. Images from the construction are shown in the text.

In the following sections, we describe aspects that the DIY text does not cover and how we solved such problems. This will help clarify some points that may pose difficulties for beginning builders. Even if a DIY text is written for beginners, it will still contain gaps; this was true in our case. The following will illustrate these points with reference to pages 1 to 20 of the DIY text.

This paper seeks to clarify the difficulties that beginners experience in the construction process. Our text below will complement the DIY text, page by page.

2. The reason for the plan choice

We chose one model among the several small houses presented in the book. The first reason was that the selected model was simple and modern. There were large images of the house on pages 1 and 20 (Fig.1). Second, the cost of the construction materials was given as 15,000 Japanese Yen (US\$150) on page 2. Third, the text said it would take seven skilled adults 2.5 days to build the house. Taken together, these factors made me choose this house. In our case, construction team included three inexperienced people: one faculty member and two students.

3. Construction process

The contents of the DIY text are shown in Table 1. Each page corresponds with the progress of the construction.

longer than what the text estimated. It took 41 total days, between October 2013 and March 2014, to complete the project. The working hours were not same each day. Sometimes we worked for an hour, while other times we worked all day.

Pages 5–6

Foundation 1

The DIY text shows a picture of the ground where the sample house was built (Fig.1-1). It was almost flat, while our site was uneven and had a slight slope. In the text, the foundation stones are simply placed on the surface of the ground; we could not recreate this. Gravel was buried and flat concrete stones were set (Fig.1-2). The surface levels of the flat concrete stones were adjusted.



Fig.1-1 Text Foundation



Fig.1-2 Our Foundation

(Two flat concrete stones were used on the lowest level.)

Foundation 2

The text shows how to make a rectangular floor joist (Fig.2-1). They did this on the ground, while we did it in the lobby of a building (see Fig.2-2). The floor of the lobby seemed flat. The problem here had to do with the exact length of the component and the twist of the lumber. We had to correct the twist when we put in the screws. As shown in Fig.2-2, we coated the lumber with paint before combining it; we coated the wood three times. Fig.3-1 shows the completed foundation. One piece of plywood was connected to the floor joist for structural use. The thickness of the plywood was 12mm, as specified in the text. One month later, however, when we built the roof using the stepladder, we found a broken part in it. We added one more layer of plywood to the previous one. The thickness thus became 24mm, which made it firm.



Fig.3-1 Text



Fig.3-2 Broken part and solution



Fig.2-1 Text



Fig.2-2 Our way

Page 7-8

Fig.4-1 shows the structure of the side panel as shown in the text. No special explanation is provided. In a sense, it is the same as making the floor joist panel. This framework has to be built in an exact rectangle. We had to connect this structure to the plywood panel. If the frame was not built at the correct angle, the structure and panel would not match, which would make it difficult to combine the four sidewalls on the foundation. We corrected the slightly distorted frame using the right angle of the plywood. In Fig.4-2 (left), we are screwing the plywood panel to the frame. To build it at the right angle, it is helpful to stand



Fig.4-1 Text



Fig.4-2 Structural frame and plywood together form a wall



the frame and plywood up together and adjust them by pushing the frame. Frame lumber has a certain twist. We had to correct for this when connecting the materials.

Page 9-10

In Fig.5, we are connecting the acrylic panel to the truss with a screw. Here, the text says that a 2mm hole must be drilled through the acrylic before driving in the 65mm screw to avoid breakage. Though we completed this, the result is shown in Fig.5-2 (left). The screw is 4.2mm in diameter; a 2mm hole is not enough to avoid breakage. Fig.5-3 shows the form of the screw. Near the head, it becomes large. The length "a" in Fig.5-3 is an important part. In this area, the diameter changes from 4mm to 8mm. To bury this head in the acrylic, hole needs to be bigger than 8mm. A different type of screw (Fig.5-4) can work better here. Fig.5-2 shows our repair. We attached the other wood with binding material and connected it to the acrylic with screws.

Page 11-13

Fig.6-1 shows how we affixed the lumber. In the text, Fig.6-1 (right) is shown following Fig.6-1 (left). Fig.6-1 (left) shows how to affix 2×6 lumber as the frame for roofing. One person in the middle grabs the lumber while the other person outside the wall picks up the lumber. The middle person stands in a higher place than the person outside. Making marks on the ridge beam was thought to be necessary before

connecting new 2×6 pieces to the beam (Fig.6-2(1)). In our case, one person was on top of the wall frame (Fig.6-2(2), (3), (4)). We began to think a higher stepladder, or some other means, was needed to work safely. Next, the text says to cut the edge of the 2×6 with a circular saw (Fig.7-1). Perhaps the person in the photo is standing on a stepladder. The circular saw has to move horizontally. This urged us to create a more comfortable foothold. We connected a gangway to the stepladders (Fig.7-2 (left)). The stepladders themselves were connected to support stakes.



Fig.7-1 Text
(sawing the edge)



Fig.7-2 Fixed gangway



Fig.5-1 Text



Fig.5-2 Breakage and repair

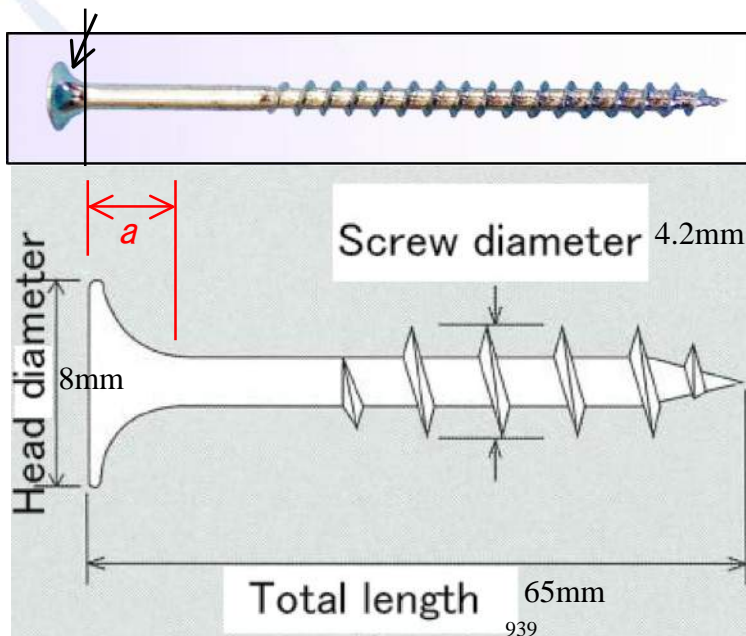


Fig.5-3 Screw detail



Fig.6-1 Text



(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)



(5)



(6)

Fig.6-2 Our way

Plywood for the structure was set on the surface of the 2×6 lumber. Waterproof sheets had to be attached to the plywood with staples (Fig.8-1). Here, five people are working. By this time, we had collected five stepladders. Asphalt shingles had to be affixed to the waterproof sheets. Fig.9-1 shows how to do this. Shingles were affixed from the lower part to the higher part with special nails. The text recommends using support lumber to stand on. The text did not show the detail for the last part of affixing the shingles. We used a thread line to ensure a horizontal line (Fig.9-2 (left)). Working on a 45-degree slope is not safe. We tried to connect lifeline rope to the nearby trees (Fig.9-2 (right)).



Fig.8-1 Text



Fig.8-2 Stepladders



Fig.9-1 Text
(thatching the roof)



Fig.9-2 Our way
(Stretch a line thread and use a lifeline)

Page 14

To maintain the same spacing between one piece of siding and the next, the text recommends using a “jig” (Fig.10-1). This did not work well for us. This method will cause small errors to accumulate. To create 2cm spacing, it is better to use a long ruler and mark 0cm, 2cm, 4cm, 6cm, 8cm, and so forth (Fig.10-2 (middle and right)). The same is true for other stages of construction

in this project. We applied this method to Fig.4-1 (frame of the wall) and Fig.5-2 (placing 2×6 lumber).



Fig.10-1 Text
(Using a jig for siding)

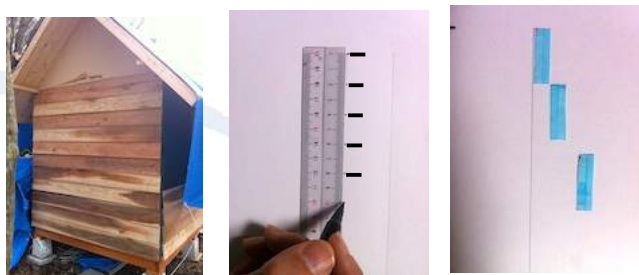


Fig.10-2 Siding and spacing

Another thing

The text offers no suggestions for protecting against rain. While the 2×4 method is often used in the US, it rains less there than in Japan. In the text, construction was completed in only 2.5 days. They did not have to deal with rain, but we had found some means of protection (Fig.11). Wrapping the house with a big blue sheet (left) was inconvenient. It was heavy and difficult to get over the roof. We eventually came to use combinations of small and light sheets.



February 5th



February 21st



February 28th

Fig.11 Cover

Completion

Fig.12 and Fig.13 show the completed house, which was finished on March 11, 2014.



Fig.12 Completion



Fig.13 View of the woods

4.Consideration

If we look back at the above description, the role of the text was to present a scenario for the players. Many pictures and concrete explanations indicate the achievability of the project. The text is an outline for the construction. The outline is like the syllabus of a university course; it helps the participants prepare for the next thing. Like a map, it tells us where we are situated and how far we have to go. If there are gaps, the builders have to fill them in. If a builder makes a mistake, he or she has to solve the problem. After solving it, the person can go back to the outline. As described above, our process revealed about 10 points not in the DIY text. These are not all the points; rather, they are points the author directly saw and photographed. The text illustrates a successful example; it does not show the failures. We found that constructing a small building is a matter of physical treatment. If one fails in one step of the process, or feels he or she might fail with the given instructions, then new methods are developed. We can judge whether it is a success

or failure by the construction. If the work is connected with comfortable future usage, it is successful. If not, it is a failure.

If one person can solve every problem, there is no need to cooperate. That situation does not warrant the participation of different people. In the construction process, each member's role became clear. In the text, the construction plan was roughly illustrated. Detailed drawing was necessary; this became person B's role. Fig.14-1 displays the illustration from the text. To cut lumber, one needs concrete lengths (Fig.14-2). Such information was not provided in the text. Person B was not good with power tools while person C was (see Table 4).

The rough information in the text created an undesirable situation in our construction. Fig.15-1 shows the side view of the building from the text. In

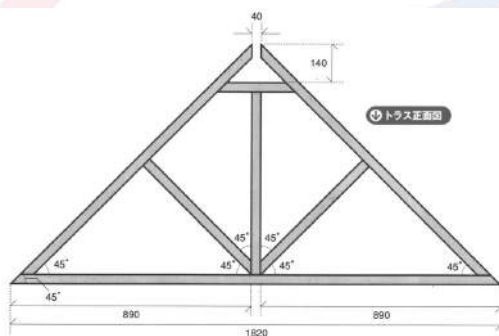


Fig.14-1 Text

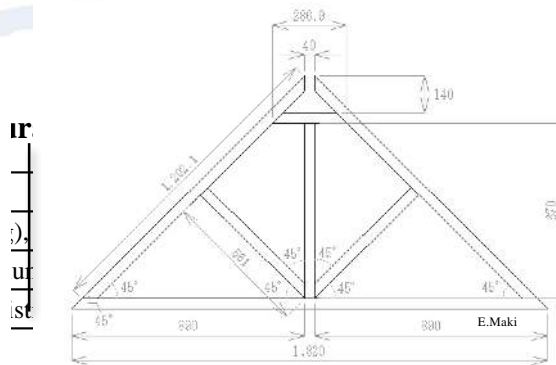
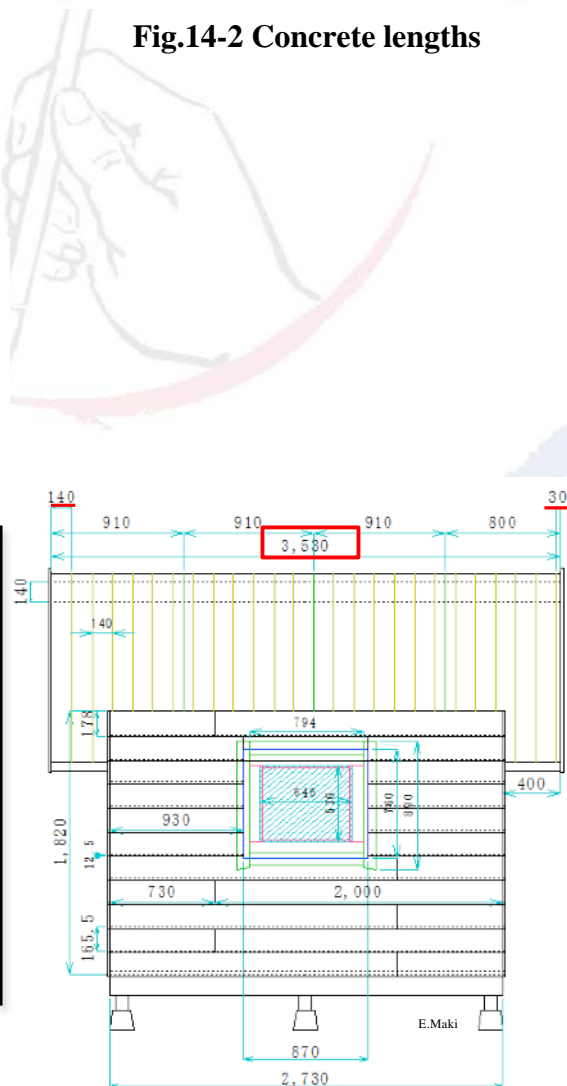
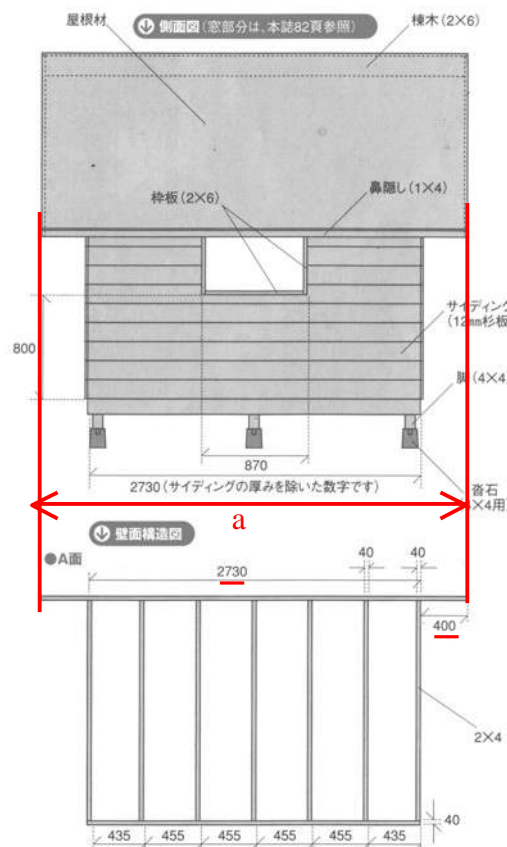


Fig.14-2 Concrete lengths



our construction. Fig.15-1 shows the side view of the building from the text. In the figure, the length of the ridge beam appears to be “X.” X seems to be 3,530mm ($400 + 2,730 + 400 = 3,530$). Two by six lumber is 140mm wide. If we arrange 25 pieces of lumber, it becomes 3,500mm; 30mm remains. Person B knew this, but did not notice or point it out. As a result, small openings occurred (Fig.6-2(6)). If the text had added notes about this, beginning builders would not have to face this problem.

5. Conclusion

We constructed a small building in the woods on our campus. A DIY text was used as the guide. This paper shows what the text fails to describe. In certain areas, we developed our own methods.

Acknowledgment

I appreciate all the people involved with this project. It was very helpful that our university had a big storehouse with many tools; this made it possible to construct the small building.

Notes

1. Okajima, Naokata, Petrova, Elena, Petrova, Anastasia (2010): “The Influence of Russian Literature on Two Japanese Literary Figures and Japanese Scenic Beauty,” Proceedings of the Hawaii International Conference on Arts & Humanities, pp.3135–3150.

In this article, the author describes the estates of Russian literati Tolstoy and Turgenev, and the Japanese literati Tokutomi and Kunikida. They all loved the scenery of deciduous woods. Tolstoy’s literature taught these Japanese writers about the beauty of deciduous forests.

2. ドゥーパ！編集部：『我が家に手作りガーデンハウスDIYで建てよう！”小さな家” (GAKKEN MOOK)』, 学研マーケティング (2005), pp.68–86.
3. In many countries, builders are considered mere laborers. Their social status might not be very high. (“Landscaping” is job #98 in “The 100 Best Jobs” according to the website “US News.”) Specialization is advancing in the Western world. Viewed from a different angle, however, knowing the characteristics of materials used for constructing real spaces will be of great use. Drawing and making models is a part of the entire experience of constructing real spaces.
4. Realizing a building based on an original design has its merits and drawbacks. On the one hand, it may develop creativity in form and in the selection of materials. On the other, it requires professional confirmation regarding structural strength. Concrete

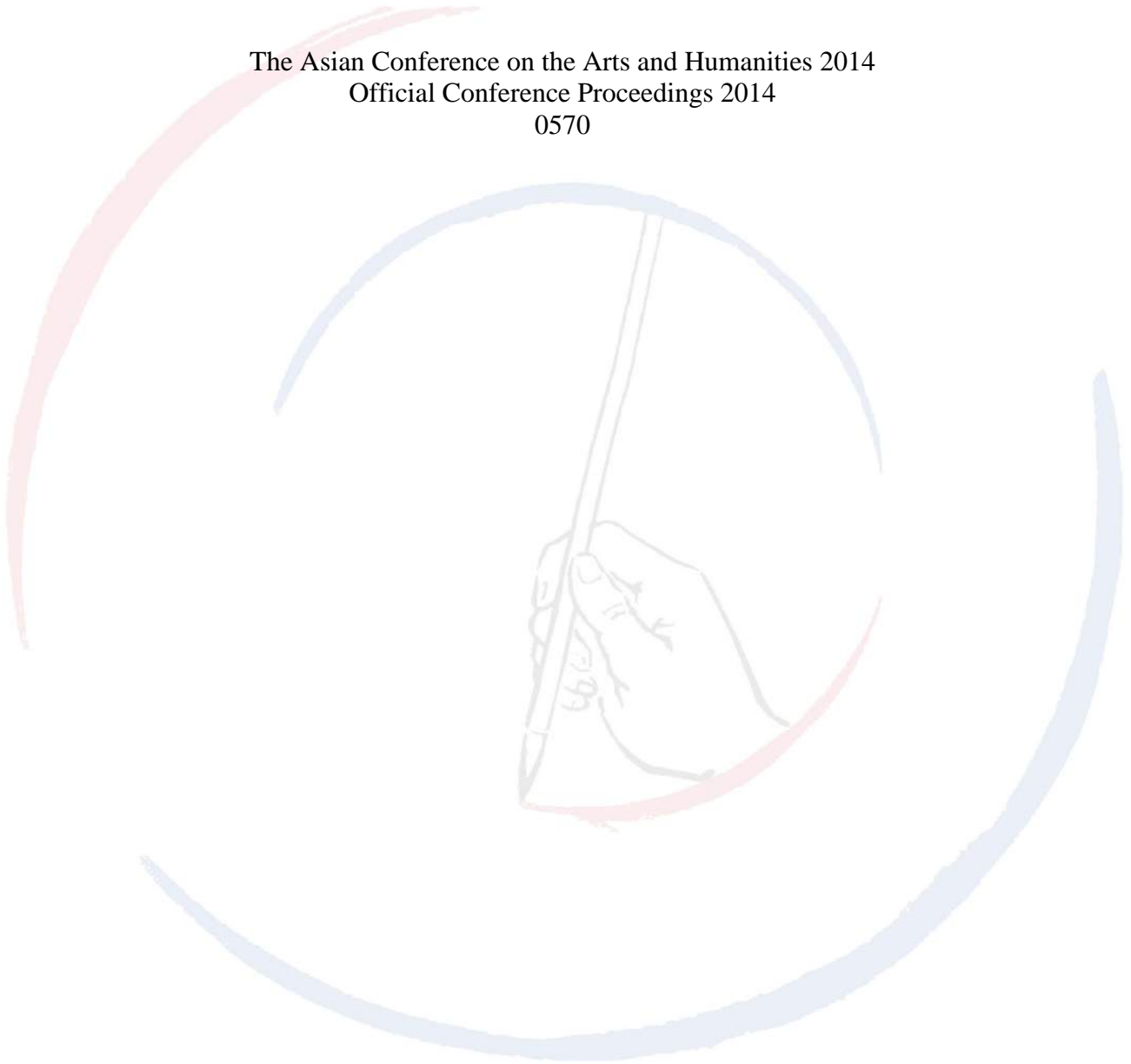
means of construction have to be decided in advance. Estimates are needed to understand the project's feasibility.



***Resolving Conflict through Emotional Unity:
Bihu Songs as a Cohesive Force of Assamese Subnationalism***

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Singing the conflict

History has been witness to songs performing emotional cohesion among communities in conflict situations, something which official diktats or forced dictums of law often cannot. As narratives, these songs are characterized by their effectiveness in producing strong effusions of nostalgia in people, perpetuated by a shared history and memory. This, along with accompanying music, accelerates the breakdown of mental borders created by ideals of individual and communal assertions of identity in a 'modern' situation.

In a land that breathes difference, cohesion and conflict stand hand –in-hand. Assam, the state in the northeastern corner of India, often displays such a conundrum of conflict-cohesion scenario among its different 'tribes' and 'sub-tribes'. While the reasons for conflict rests on variegated issues that are more often than not difficult to comprehend in the scheme of a single analysis, cohesion among the different communities has been sparked by cultural narratives that carefully restore the pride which fuels a sense of communal belongingness. On the flipside, however, it also induces an acknowledgement of the land and its people's difference from the rest of the country, subtly telling of the secessionist tendencies throughout the years. In this paper, attempts has been to study how *Bihu* songs, sung during the spring festival of *Bihu or Bohaag*¹ *Bihu* in Assam, serve as a major cohesive factor in forging an emotional bond amongst the various 'tribes' and 'sub-tribes' otherwise caught in narratives of communal distinctiveness and autonomy.

A Cultural Melting Pot

It is perhaps imperative to keep in mind that Assam consists of a composite society of people who were put together under the umbrella of statehood by the British colonizers after their annexation of the region in 1826 with the Treaty of Yandaboo signed between the Burmese intruders and them. There were the Aryans coming from the Indo-Gangetic plains, the Tibeto-Burmans, the Ahoms who were descendents of the Shun community from China's Unan province and had ruled the greater part of the land for six hundred years and many other stocks which made it a melting pot of sorts² concocting an 'Assamese culture'. Whereas the hills and the plains of the region had interacted earlier, the colonial policy of administrative segregation resting on economic and political benefits, lead to gradual transformation of relationships between the people. Albeit earlier included within the state of Assam, three hill regions - Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya – therefore went on to become separate states. On September 12, 1874 the East Bengali district of Sylhet – historically unconnected to the region – was included in Assam³ and which is now a part of Bangladesh. Colonial geography and political aspirations had changed forever the demographics of Assam. Immigrant communities added heavily to this changing demography. Inevitably, struggle for land and economic benefits fueled the need to claim land rights with questions of indigeneity. While an emerging intelligentsia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century inculcated a one-nation theory

¹ Assamese month that starts in the middle of April and is the beginning of a New Year.

² Deka, Harekrishna. "The Assamese Mind: contours of a landscape". *India International Centre Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 2/3, Where the Sun Rises When Shadows Fall: The North-east (MONSOON-WINTER 2005), pp. 189-202. Web. 30 March, 2014

³ Baruah, 2013: 25

to stand tall against this ‘uncomfortable’ diversity and vouch for a society which was content and happy being ‘one’ and which therefore could exercise a greater push towards sovereignty, it did not take long to realize that the idea of a single state to practice such inclusiveness was based on a faulty and short-sighted legitimizing narrative. As and when the communities thrived for greater control and autonomy, two pertinent questions have arisen and had been long survived as a bone of contention: a) Who are the Assamese? and b) Is there a way out to sustain a peaceful residence of differences bound together by the idea of one-nation?

To answer these questions, the paper shall look at narratives that *Bihu* songs engage in, in the scheme of national integration and how these succeed in overthrowing anatomical and psychological barriers that compound much of the divides existing between people. At the same time, it shall also try to map how these function as counter discourses to the autonomous movements which thrive on differential constructs, implicitly driving home the point that as discourses of alternative narratives these can, nevertheless, create emotional cohesion under conflicting scenarios.

Under *Bihu*’s spell

The state observes three *Bihus* throughout the year, corresponding to the three cycles of harvesting that takes place. *Bohaag Bihu* or *Rongali* (literally ‘colourful’) *Bihu* associated with the vernal equinox, commemorates the New Year and the crop-planting season at spring time, *Kati* or *Kongali* (literally ‘impoverished’) *Bihu*, is observed with prayers for a good harvest during October and is of little festive significance and *Magh Bihu* is celebrated to mark the end of harvest season. Something akin to thanksgiving, the evening prior to *Magh Bihu* is the communal feasting. *Bohaag Bihu*, the *Bihu* associated with mirth and lyricism of spring and where we essentially encounter the songs is identified as ‘*Bihu*’ by most non-Assamese⁴. ‘*Bihu*’ hereby is to be understood to be referred to the *Bohaag* or springtime *Bihu*.⁵

Bihu songs trace an elliptical path, from being personal expressions of love and longing, to be regarded as vulgar renditions by the newly emerging rationalists of the late nineteenth century and then becoming symbols of Assamese nationalism in the changing political scenario of the succeeding decades. The songs have travelled from being intimate assertions of the fertile landscape and of love, sung under trees and in the woods adjoining villages, to becoming cultural performances demanding an

⁴ Chatterjee, Debjani.

“ An Aesthetic Assessment of Bihu Songs /Ramaniyo Bihu Gaan by Susmita Bhattacharya”. *Indian Literature*, Vol. 48, No. 6 (224) (Nov-Dec 2004), pp. 197-201. Web. 30 March, 2014.

⁵ It is also to be understood, however, that celebration or observance of *Bihu* does not remain constricted to the dominant Sanskritised Assamese society. Parallel forms of *Bihu* takes place amongst the various tribes and sub-tribes of the region. The *Mishings* (spelt variously as Mising or Mishing), for example, celebrate *Ali-ai-Irigang*, a parallel form of *Bohaag Bihu*. Within the space of three *Bihus*, religion and ecology merges to produce a historicizing of the changing contours of society. It should be noted, however, that it is neither observed with any religious fervor nor does it have a pan-Indian character.

audience. This also initiated a streamlining of lyrics, by removing out 'obscene' contents and placing the onus more on being 'social' repertoires.

Nostalgia and the Nation

With the emerging national consciousness in the late nineteenth century, sparked among other reasons by the threat to linguistic and cultural colonialism by the forceful induction of Bengali⁶ in 1836 as the official language of Assam by the British colonizers, nationalists such as Lakshminath Bezbaroa, Jyotiprasad Agarwalla, Rajani Kanta Bordoloi and others nurtured all things *Assamese*⁷ and *Bihu* thereafter moved up the culture ladder. They vouched for a cultural unity forged through *Bihu* songs in the Assamese language, understandable and relatable by all communities. On the face of it, this looked like a plan that would suffice the growing need of bringing people under one awning by meticulously reiterating nostalgia through lyrics and music. However, it also revealed the loopholes of trying to define a single memory, that of a unitary Assamese society speaking the Assamese language. There are societies here, and this plurality has differential belief systems and aspirations, that were tapped more forcefully by efforts to create a distinctive border for an 'Assamese' homeland. Bringing Assamese language narratives to the forefront also meant a suppression of other parallel narratives speaking about home. Half the problem, therefore, lies in the problematic of the question of "whose version of home shall be the official narrative?"

Home as an imaginary unit consisting of the comforts of a history and memories inevitably also attempts to define identity/ies. When we try and find whose home it is that we are talking about by throwing the question at a mix-bag of people, two narratives would emerge: one that speaks of a collective feeling towards their homeland and another that speaks of this collectivity's difference from the larger Indian home. The latter serving as a catalyst for the former. This is also true when we consider the whole of Northeastern India with its seven states. And these two narratives have survived and are agreed upon unanimously even with the various conflicting discourses that aim at constructing solid boundaries among the various communities. In the larger picture of homogenising efforts by pan-Indianism, Assamese-ness has survived and evolved to be only a little stronger among the inhabitants. An emotional pull towards the land, distinct and diversified by its people and geography, becomes a defensive wall against autonomy movements within the state when faced by a larger threat of being colonized by the Indian polity. It becomes a home then to every Assamese. Harekrishna Deka writes:

Independent India, except in recent years, appears to have adopted a symmetrical federal approach to governance that blurs the asymmetrical character of its different units. The Assamese mind already carried a form of proto-nationalism; so when it also found itself economically backward compared to others and felt pressured by the burden of migrants, it erupted in a conscious wave of an emotive *Jativotavad*⁸

⁶ Bengali is the language native to the region of Bengal which also includes present day Bangladesh.

⁷ Understood here things or symbols signifying the cultural and linguistic notations of the state of Assam.

⁸ To be understood as Assamese sub-nationalism. Deka, Harekrishna. "The Assamese Mind: contours of a landscape".

India International Centre Quarterly, Vol. 32, No. 2/3, Where the Sun Rises When Shadows Fall: The North-east (MONSOON-WINTER 2005), pp. 189-202. Web. 30 March, 2014

Building another home

Music, as they say, speaks larger than words. In the fight for Assamese micro-nationalisms⁹ and the world littered with guns and bullets serving minds that are hurt and minds that are manipulated by hegemonies, emotions ride high in the wings of music. In the *Bihu* songs, lyrics and music create a symbiosis that recreates memories of everyday life, the everyday's that shapes and re-shapes our identities. The songs include a plethora of things available in the landscape, an ensemble of local specificities and variations or customs associated with cultural ecology, enabling a space which cannot be ghettoized by feelings of communal self-sufficiency. There lies inevitably a dependency on the landscape that gives shape to the culture, and that landscape, its birds and fishes, belong to nobody. The songs give birth to a home that lies outside the confines of ethnic differentiations. By being closely related to the land and its ecology, the songs draw a line of connection, one that underscores people's relationship to their land, irrespective of their ethnic differences. The lyrics of the songs become persuasive in their ability to contextualize the physical setting with the cultural paradigms¹⁰. Lyrics, it has been argued, affect not ideas in people but expressions.¹¹ In *Bihu* songs, expressive as they are, we see such an assertion and hence their ability to interact with people emotionally.

*“Sotor Mahor Monor Anondot Potharot Gaisil,
Habir Majot Gaisil, Mohor Pithit Uthi Gaisil”*

(Translated roughly as: “*In the restless mind of Sot¹², they sang in the fields / in the forests, sat atop a buffalo and sang*”)

Above lines translate a mind which soaks in the season's restlessness, tacitly asserting a spirit that calls on everybody's participation. It makes for “a” cultural particularity that can be only be felt and internalized by inhabitants culturally and emotionally perceptive to the changes that the season implicates in their lives.

The synthesis that *Bihu* is can be understood in one of Anil Saikia's description:

An open meadow, a hump – may be a small hillock capped by a huge sheltering tree. A perfect platform for a young man to hum the spring song. The month of *Aaghon* and *Puh*. The harvest spell is almost complete - according a bald look to the fields. The cattle move around, as dusk beckons. As the twilight sky welcomes the cows home, a few young men go out seeking for the ones who have not yet returned. The granary bleeds with grains as hearts sink in happiness and emotions emerge. Vocal chords take over and the spring song reverberates. Slowly, the ‘*nora*’ shed themselves and fall to the ground. The latter acquires a paper like smooth appearance. The winters are long dead. The favourable winds start to move. *Faagun* has arrived. Words take shape.

⁹ The word micro-nationalism borrowed from Baruah, Sanjib.

“Ethnic’ Conflict as State—Society Struggle: The Poetics and Politics of Assamese Micro-Nationalism”. *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Jul., 1994), pp. 649-671. 30 March, 2014

¹⁰ Barua, Maan (2009) “*Ecological Basis of the Bihu Festival of Assam*”, *Folklore*, 120:2, 213 — 223 < <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00155870902969400> > 3 February, 2014

¹¹ Everman, Ron. *Social, Movements, Music and race* < <http://press.princeton.edu/chapters/s9210.pdf> > (September, 2013)

¹² Month in Assamese between March and the beginning of April when the winters come to an end and the land prepares for the coming Monsoons. ⁹⁵¹

Meanwhile nature continues with its magical play. Rivers, Lakes, forests, *Konhuwa* bushes garlanding the river shores dance in tandem providing the delicate hearts a touch of amazement. Cuckoos, *Ketekis* and other winged beings sing in unison. This chorus, when picked up by the poetic caliber of an adolescent heart is expressed as – “*Hai oi!*” This joyful mood of the hearts gave birth to poems, in couplets. This became ‘*Bihu*’¹³

The coming out of *Bihu* from forests to public spaces and corrective measures being employed thereafter to its lyrics was influenced and paralleled the development of Neo-Vaishnavism in the state. The latter’s method of using religious faith to emotionally unify the diverse communities and give prospects of an egalitarian civil society ramified also on the songs. This integration also speaks about the usefulness of making Vaishnavism easily acceptable among the masses.

If earlier lyrics were like –

“*Joydoul Shivadoul O’/Rang Ghar, Kareng Ghar O’*

Asomor Bijoy Kiriti/Roiya Ki Roi Ena O’”

(trans.....)

Post the Vaishnavite revolution, these very lines changed to –

“*Joydoul Shivadoul Oi ‘Ram’/Rang Ghar, Kareng Ghar Oi ‘Ram’*

Asomor bijoy kiriti ‘Hori’/Gopal Gobindo Ram’”(Saikia, Anil)

(Trans....)

Incorporation of expressions such as ‘*Ram*’, ‘*Gobindai Ram*’ or ‘*Gobindo*’ entered the *Bihu* lexicon.¹⁴ Such religious expressions, of an order which based its thesis on equality, reproduced lyrics that contained intimate dialogues with the landscape entwined with devotion. What this, perhaps, does is to intensify the emotional attachment of the mind with the larger picture of the land and its ensuing typicality?

Culture exists as a form of recurring activity that gives shape to our outlooks, individual and collective consciousness and enables a charting of our histories. It includes a whole panorama of identifiable objects/artifacts, their oral lores and customs that locate a particular historical group, their facticities as also their myths and mysteries. The artifacts of culture have clear rhetorical functions that imprint upon people’s imaginations and makes for what is known as collective thinking, possible. Building a collectivity here rested on the possibilities of an intense emotional connection with all things cultural, including the landscape from which the cultural identities develop.

Breaking boundaries

¹³ Saikia, Anil “Rongali Bihu and Its Journey Through Time: Dr. Anil Saikia” <<http://enajori.com/rongali-bihu-and-its-journey-through-time-dr-anil-saikia/>> 24 January, 2014

¹⁴ Saikia, Anil “Rongali Bihu and Its Journey Through Time: Dr. Anil Saikia” <<http://enajori.com/rongali-bihu-and-its-journey-through-time-dr-anil-saikia/>> 24 January, 2014

Bihu songs show a conscious effort at creating a liminal space that contains such an amalgam which tries to understand what it means to be an Assamese or who is an Assamese. Bipin Chaowdang, a lyricist and composer of the state, pens an award winning *Bihu* song, “*Toi Nagini ne Noga Sangor*” having a narrative which rests on the creation of an Assamese mind out of the compositeness that the state is made up of. Whipped up in the emotions of a love duet, it says:

Boy: “*Toi nagini ne noga sangor*
Toi meghali ne Jorabaator
Toi khaamti ne Aurachalor
...Toi henu nasoni Bohaagor”

Girl: “*....Toi henu haluwa hajuwa*
Toi henu Rongali bihure dhuliya---”

(Translated roughly, it says,

Boy: “*Are you a Nagini¹⁵ from the Noga sang¹⁶?*

Are you a Meghal¹⁷i from Jorabaat¹⁸?

Are you a Khamti¹⁹ from Arunachal²⁰?

...You are but a dancer in Bohaag

Girl: “*You toil hard, you plough the fields*

You are the dhuliya²¹ at the celebration of Rongaali bihu”

In trying to find the partner’s identity and failing to concretise it, the song enforces a powerful deconstruction of the call for strict racial, linguistic and cultural boundaries vouched by warring communities. It is as a dancer and a singer or as a plough-man (“*Toi henu haluwa hojuwa*) that they identify each other. More so, they connect and acknowledge each other within the space of *Bihu* that does not demand essentialised identity markers.

In the ongoing context of Assam-Nagaland border disputes and its ensuing violence, in places such as Mariani, Geleki and Merapani in Upper Assam, the same words that were once acceptable and understood in good humour have now become offensive. One such is the Assamese word *Nagini*, being used to refer to a Naga woman. Monalisa Changkija, poet and editor of a daily in Nagaland, and who also has Assamese-Naga parents, has commented in a news report of daily called The Telegraph: “It is time both the communities sat down, without an agenda to win but to know each other’s hearts”²²

Traversing such an idea of acceptance and tolerance, Bhupen Hazarika’s songs, which are said to paint almost single-handedly Assam’s postcolonial history and culture,

¹⁵ Nagini is referred to a Naga girl, inhabitants of Nagaland, Assam’s erstwhile neighbor and once a part of the state.

¹⁶ Noga sang is referred to the raised platform on which houses are usually built by the Nagas traditionally.

¹⁷ Referred to a girl from Meghalaya, once the capital of British Assam.

¹⁸ Jorabaat is a village in Ri-Bhoi district of Meghalaya but its greater part is in the Kamrup metropolitan district of Assam.

¹⁹ Khamti is a sub-group of the Shan people found in the Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh, the latter again had been an important administrative sub-division of Assam.

²⁰ Referred to Arunachal Pradesh, in northeast India and bordering Assam.

²¹ Traditional drummer who plays the drum, *dhul*, in bihu dances in accompaniment of songs.

²² <http://www.telegraphindia.com/1130604/jsp/northeast/story_16968924.jsp#.UzplqgiSya8> 1 April,

remains an influential axis on which to channel people's imagination towards an emotional unity. He brings the ordinary to the centre; the everyday's that actually count and which make up our immediate surroundings. These every day's make a call to a heterogeneous humanity and making, therefore, a tacit condemnation of provincial parochialism, countering the depravity of fighting for seclusion, because such an idea remains redundant in the context of the land and its people. What he did was to employ a more populist approach to identity building, something that almost all communities and social strata could communicate with. In his renditions of the *Bihu* songs, there remains also a re-interpretation of them in their situational paradigm: In his "*Mor Gato Dekhun*", lines such as:

“...*baanpaani ahile o' makon*
Xupai uti gole o' makon
*Xopot khai e lolu o' makon*
Nodi khon bandhimei o' makon
Xomaaj khon gorhim o' makon....”
 (Translated roughly as:
 “...*the floods have come, o' makon*²³
Have washed away everything, o' makon
*I take a pledge, o' makon*
I shall build an embankment, o' makon
I shall consolidate the society, o' makon”)

The floods here speak not only about the environmental maladies but also the larger picture of societal tribulations. These lines gain significance in the overwhelming parallelities of conflict and disaster. He takes a 'pledge' not only for himself but for the entire population for whom he speaks.

A perceptive observer, he no wonder plays on the regional distinctiveness that adds nevertheless an understanding and attachment to the land and an emotional attachment with *Bihu*.

“...*Moinajaan, moinajaan Tezpuror borali*
Moinajaan, moinajaan, lalukore kanduli
Moinajaan, Moinajaan, kenekoi nu miholi hoi
Moinajaan, Moinajaan, tumi nu Negherial
Moinajaan, Moinajaan, aami nu Jurhotiya
Moinajaan, Moinajaan, kenekoi nu sinaki hou...”
 (Translated roughly as:
 “...*Moinajaan*²⁴, *Moinajaan, the Borali of Tezpur*²⁵
*Moinajaan, Moinajaan, the Kanduli of Laluk*²⁶
Moinajaan, Moinajaan, how will they meet?
*Moinajaan, Moinajaan, you are from Neghriting*²⁷
*Moinajaan, Moinajaan, I am from Jorhat*²⁸

²³ A term of endearment to a girl.

²⁴ Term of endearment addressed to a girl.

²⁵ Borali is the species of catfish known as *Wallago attu*. Tezpur is a city in Sonitpur district of Assam. the reference made here is to the Borali fish of Tezpur, known for its special variety and taste.

²⁶ Laluk is a place in Lakhimpur district of Assam. Kanduli again is a fish variety of the species *Notopterus notopterus*, and this reference is being made to the specialty and better taste of the Kanduli found in Laluk.

²⁷ Place in Upper Assam, in the Golaghat district of the state.

*Moinajaan, Moinajaan, how do we know each other?”
Moinajaan, Moinajaan, how will we meet...?*

Just as the two specificities of Tezpur and Laluk remain situated within the conundrum of the larger understanding of the land and its ecology, similarly, the lovers here come from two culturally distinct places, although separated only by a distance of 25 km (roughly), and yet connected in the rhythm of a larger cultural space of *Bihu*.

The identity and its flipside

Assam's tryst with identity and language debates creates a certain proclivity towards the propagation and creation of songs that deal with the sentiments of Assamese sub-nationality. 1980s Assam saw the rise of a militant sub-nationalism with the birth of United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) which successfully garnered support from the indigenous people and for the most part the state government's. Failure to achieve economic and political similitude with the rest of the nation states and Indian government's inability to put a stop to the rising index of migrations taking place from East Bengal intensified the growth of secessionist attitudes. This was the time when Hazarika introduced the 'mother' motif to catalyse sentiments of belongingness and the idea of a 'common womb'²⁹ for all. The territory of Assam is imbued with the significance of the body of the mother (Baruah, 88). Hazarika powerfully sings: "*Bohaag mathu eeti ritu nohoi/Axomiya jatir ee ayukh rekha*" (Translated roughly as: "*Bohaag is not just a season/It is the lifeline of the Assamese community*").

Jose Colemeiro says that identity construct can be twofold: by locating an event within a 'defined time and space' which can make an individual to feel part of a social group and to chronicle past events that have led to the formation of a particular group identity. It comes as no surprise that historical memories are often spruced up to meet the demands of a particular ideology. A common example would be the constructions of nationalist consciousness using historical references that induce feelings of commonality, especially familiar experiences of struggle and nostalgia.

Studying the links between social movements and culture, Mark Mattern discerns: "By expressing common experiences, music helps create and solidify a fund of shared memories and a sense of "who we are".³⁰

While there had been sympathizing narratives, parallel contrasting narratives also emerged. Following decades saw a downward spiral for ULFA with its inability to keep up with the changing ethos of cultural politics and corruption creeping in. Forceful induction of the Assamese language and corruption failed to sustain sympathizers. ULFA became paradoxically one of the forces for separatist sentiments amongst the various communities.

²⁸ Jorhat is in Upper Assam, considered the second major city in the state of Assam and main administrative centre of the Jorhat district.

²⁹ Baruah, 2013: 88

³⁰ Quoted in Street, John. " 'Fight the Power': The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics", *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 38, Issue 1, (January 2001), pp. 113-130

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1477-7053.00007/pdf> 16 October, 2013

Bihu songs, on the flipside, changed course accordingly and intelligently. What the official narratives failed to successfully make the masses listen to, *Bihu* did. If there had been troubles and voices raised against stricter land reforms and political rights, *Bihu* songs create a home that thrives in the land's heterogeneity. This home is one that shows the inability to dislodge regions and neighbours based on cultural differences, because the cultures are inevitably constructed with their interaction with another's cultural ethos.

On the evening of April 17, 2013, Zubeen Garg, a popular singer refused to buckle to ULFA's diktat to ban performances of Hindi songs across the state. He sang a Hindi song 'Ya Ali' from the Bollywood flick *Gangster* at Guwahati, the major commercial and educational hub of Assam. ULFA's immediate reaction was to apply force through coercion, threatening 'conflict' with the singer.

What followed was a failed attempt by the ULFA to play the contentious issue of Assamese nationalism without a befitting try at understanding the politics of it as it stands today. Arunoday Duhotia, ULFA's assistant publicity secretary called the singer's vehement display of rebellion a failure of his 'national responsibility and consciousness'³¹ towards the state and called him 'an agent of Indian cultural aggression'³². Garg immediately played on the apparent loophole in the outfit's claims of nationality by declaring before a press meet that he would play a Hindi song composed by Jyotiprasad Agarwala, already regarded as one of the greatest cultural icons of the state, in his next stage appearance. Tapping on music's universality, Garg defended his stand claiming *bihu* not confining itself to the Assamese. It is a 'people's festival', and hence boundary-less. In a scene of unity and unanimity, both the government and the people backed him up. The point here is to understand how a folk medium, the *bihu* songs have been used to direct thought processes and steer cultures. The songs may verbalize a particular incident or might be utilized metaphorically to include encoded political discussion or sentiments which are decoded by society.

The songs give way for the inclusion of a wide corpus of people who, together, carry these songs in their reminiscences and who, together with the collector, writes or rewrites their histories.

Yasmin Saikia in the Preface to her book, *Assam and India: Fragmented Memories, Cultural Identity, and the Tai-Ahom Struggle*³³, reveals her interesting encounter with a man named Domboru Deodhai one of the few persons alive to know the Tai-Ahom language³⁴. Although skeptical of the author's intention behind studying the language, arguing henceforth that she should rather research her 'own history and culture', he immediately accepts her as one of his own when she tells him her paternal grandfather's name and he follows it up by telling her about her 'clan'. He seals this connection and common heritage later by singing *Bihu* songs to her. An encounter such as this speaks of the strong footing that *Bihu* has in resolving differences and

³¹ < <http://www.tehelka.com/zubeen-hits-the-wrong-notes-for-ulfa/>> 22, October, 2013

³² Ibid.

³³ Preface x, xi

<http://books.google.co.in/books?hl=en&lr=&id=1uOtYajARpEC&oi=fnd&pg=PR6&dq=assam+bihu+emotional+unity&ots=zBCh9Gkwfe&sig=K19UY2iOmhojAhhJwOR5OuVh2W0#v=onepage&q&f=false> 30
March, 2014

³⁴ An almost extinct language spoken by the Ahoms⁹⁵⁶ in Assam.

perform an emotional reconnection that the author's otherwise narrative performances failed to.

Jan Vansena :

No one in oral societies doubts that memories can be faithful repositories which contain the sum total of past human experiences and explain the how and why of present day conditions...whether memory changes or not, culture is reproduced by remembrance put into words and deeds. The mind through memory carries culture from generation to generation. (qtd. in Misra, 171)

Remaking of folk songs with modern electric music allows it to become tastefully affective for modern listeners. Not to forget here the recent television musical series named Coke Studio, produced by MTV had *Bihu* songs amalgamated with other folk patterns or modern renditions that are live accounts that songs can communicate to each other and function in a typical way of evoking borderlessness.

Hidirellez : A Synergy and Integration of Different Cultures in Istanbul

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Abstract

Hidirellez is a tradition dating back to the summer -on 5 to 6 night of may- continues from bc pagan traditions to christianity traditions and also continued after ,islam, like some of other feasts. Different cultures celebrate this feast by their own traditions in their own districts.

Inthe year 2002, some tourism operators organized a celebration in –ahırkapı discreet- which is located in the historical peninsula of istanbul and where majority of roman people living in. Because of an intense participation from different ethnic groups (turks, kurds, arabs, armenians, assyrians/syriacs, azerbaijanis, chechens, circassians, georgians, albanians and many more).as a very strong synergy had occurred in this celebration, it was started to repeat every year by getting more and more participation.

By years there were thousands of people exceed the capacity of place and the organization.and the celebration started to live some detrimental incidents because of crowded.in the year 2010, organization comity declared that they won't organize the celebration anymore.

This paper provides to present information on the background and historical development of the “hidirellez” tradition in turkish culture, and to approach the period between 2002-2010 when hidirellez was feasted together and recommend some solutions on sustainability of hidirellez feast in istanbul-ahırkapı.

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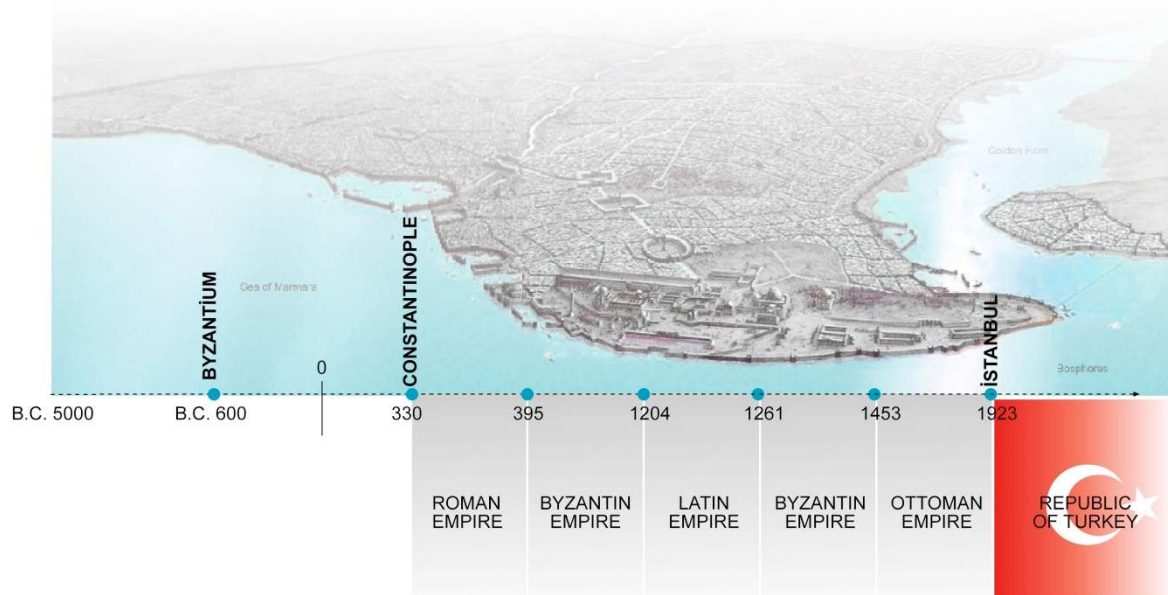
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“HIDIRELLEZ”: SYNERGY AND INTEGRATION OF ISTANBUL

Different Cultures in Istanbul

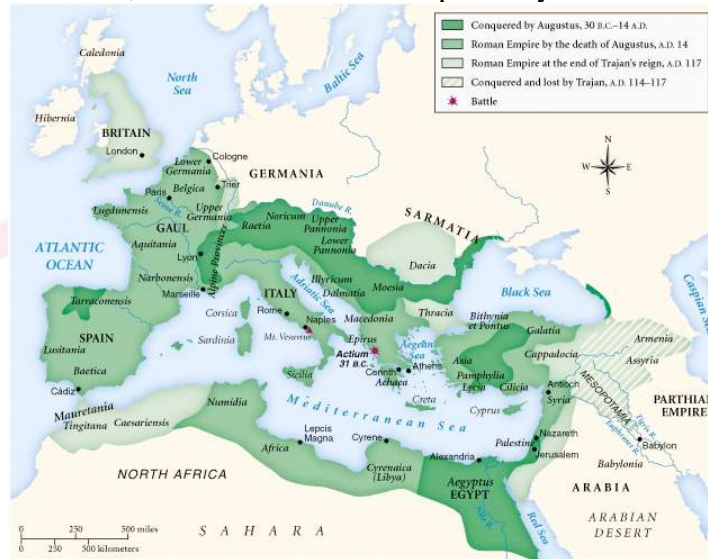
The history of Istanbul goes back to 300 thousand years ago. The first traces of human culture were discovered in the excavations carried out in Yarımburgaz Cave on the banks of Küçükçekmece Lake. It is thought that Neolithic and Chalcolitic people had been living around there. In the excavations made in the various periods of time, some instruments belonged to the Epi-paleolithic period have been found within reach of Dudulu and a few instruments and materials belonged to the Middle and Upper Paleolithic Period have been found near Ağaçlı. It is estimated that starting from 5,000 B.C a concentrated settlement activity started in Çatalca, Dudullu, Ümraniye, Pendik, Davutpaşa, Kilyos and Ambarlı, led by Kadıköy Fikirtepe. On the other hand, the foundation of Istanbul is dated to 7.000 BC. Istanbul was rebuilt by the Constantine the Great (306–337) in the 4th century, after that it became the capital of the Byzantine Empire. In its long history, Istanbul served as the capital city of the Roman Empire (330–395), the East Roman (Byzantine) Empire (395–1204 and 1261–1453), the Latin Empire (1204–1261), and the Ottoman Empire (1453–1922). In addition, the city became one of the the Christian center and after the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmet II on 29th May 1453, it also became the most important muslim city.



Time and Empires located In İstanbul

Since being the capital of these three Empires, many important constructions had been built in time. Istanbul had been always the center of government, religion, military, commerce and education. In time, while the borders of empires enhanced,

the population and the types of cultures in the population increased. In the figures it's seen the changing borders of these three empires in time. Being the center of these changing big dominance, made Istanbul a cosmopolit city since the beginning.



The Byzantion Empire borders between 30 B.C. - 117



The Latin Empire (In red), Latin Principalities (red dots), and Byzantine possessions in blue.



The Ottoman Empire Borders between 1481-1683

Today, Istanbul is the most crowded city of Turkey, with 13.624.240 population.(2012) And is the economic, cultural, industrial, educational center of Turkey. And at the same time the various culture types in Istanbul. As is known, Istanbul is only the one city which located between two continents, in other words its a bridge between two continentals. (Belge, 2010, s.300) . Napoleon Bonaparte is quoted as saying, "If the Earth were a single state, Constantinople(Istanbul) would be its capital."



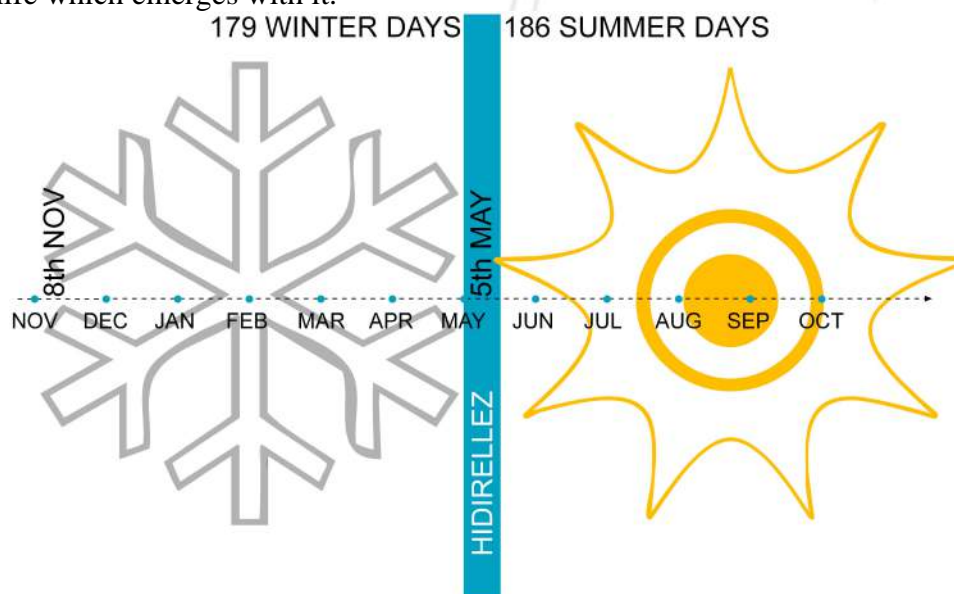
Different Cultures in Istanbul

Today many different cultures seen as figure 5, living in Turkey, like Ermenians, Chechnians, Alawites, Kurds, Circassians , TatarsBosnians, Sunnis, Jews, Assyans, Albanians, Laz and etc.These different cultures have their own traditions, habits and isolated social life even if being under integration effect of İstanbul.

This paper will discuss about one celebration,called “Hıdırellez”, which all these different cultures come together and celebrate it in a big synergie.

WHAT IS "HIDRELLEZ"?

"Hıdırellez", is one of the seasonal festivals of all Turkish world which is celebrated as the first day of the "early summer". It is also "day of Hızır", the day on which prophets Hızır and İlyas met with each other on earth. The words Hızır and İlyas have since fused together pronounced as Hıdırellez. Hıdırellez Day falls on May 5-6. There are various theories about the origin of Hızır and Hıdırellez. Various ceremonies and rituals have been performed for various gods with the arrival of spring or summer in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Iran, Greece and in fact all eastern Mediterranean countries since ancient times. One widespread belief suggests that Hızır is a prophet who has attained immortality by drinking the water of life (ab-ı hayat), and who has reached God, and wanders around among people from time to time, especially in the spring, and helps people in difficulty and distributes plenty and health. The identity of Hızır, the place and the time he lived in are not certain. Hızır is the symbol of spring, and the new life which emerges with it.



The year divided by Hıdırellez

Hıdırellez is the beggining of summer period conjectured that finishes on 8th november.And divides the year to two like 186 days summer and 179 days winter.

Spring feast Hıdırellez is the first day of this 186 days period. On the other hand, its a blessing the green and freshness coming with green. Its believed thet on the day Hıdırellez, guards of lands and sea-marine are coming together. On that day, no one can damage nature as a tradition.Its believed if someone damages the nature on that day, it brings a very bad luck .

In the past, Hıdırellez had been celebrated by different small groups of cultures. There were some traditions coming from Turkish culture. These traditions were like;

- To wear white
- Not to destroy nature
- To get together near water springs and make picnic
- To cook traditional dishes and to eat by listening music
- To jump over a fire to purify from the sins
- To pray and wish
- To write to model or to draw something symbolizing what is wished and hang it on a rose tree.



Fire during Hıdırellez

In this tradition, fire has a spiritual meaning and importance. Because in old Turkish culture, it is believed that fire is holy and a gift from God Ulgen. And the ambassador of fire in life is the sun. According to the old Turkish beliefs, fire dissolves evil and illness. Because of this, people incense or jump over the fire when somebody has illness.

One of the other holy elements is water in old Turkish culture. It is believed that especially, running water or spring has a positive effect on human spirit. There are many beliefs and applications about water, remain today.

Because of the respect to the fire and water, during Hıdırellez, being near a water or jumping over the fire became a tradition for protecting from evil, bad luck, illness, etc.

Hıdırellez in Ahırkapı

Ahırkapı is a district which is located in historical peninsula and near Sultanahmet. This district is mostly owned by Roman people. Since the area is in archaeological sites, there are not so many good qualified residences. Already the Roman people have not good economy, the buildings and streets are not well built or used.



Ahırkapı discreet and Historical Peninsula



Life of Roman People in Ahırkapı

In 1994, a four stars hotel was opened in Ahırkapı with the name “Armada Hotel” In the begining it was believed that security and safety can be problems fort he hotel because of Roman people. But the owner of the hotel, tried to be integrated with the social environment and provided employment and added functions from roman people. For example he supported their music, and helped them to organize a music group which is very famious in Turkey now. By time this integration between roman people and hotel brought a success to hotel and increased the touristical attraction.

In 1997 The Armada Hotel has first started to organize a semi-contemporary “Hidrellez” at Ahırkapı streets and invited all of Istanbul’s citizens to come and participate. For the last couple of years “The Hidrellez at Ahırkapı Streets” event has been turned to a collective civil community activity. Each year the activities begin on Ahırkapı Street and spread to the adjacent streets on 5th of May. Towards midnight the traditional fires will be jumped over and the wishes will be attached on the traditional Nahils. -The individual wishes are written on a piece of paper and attached on the Nahil’s that you will find in front of the Armada Garage.-Nahil is a symbolic "wish-tree" and an ornament from Ottoman culture.



The wish tree

Each year after 1997 hotel organization repeated Hıdırellez celebration. And each year more people joined to this crowded form different cultural groups. The difference of the celebration is to make together all the cultures without any exclusion.

With the power of peace and synergy between different cultures, the celebration which started in 1997 with only 300 people, increased to 50.000 in 2007, 70.000 in 2008 and over 100.000 people in 2009. Also the celebration area had been enhanced at first by roads but finally with Ahırkapı Park Which is 70.000m².



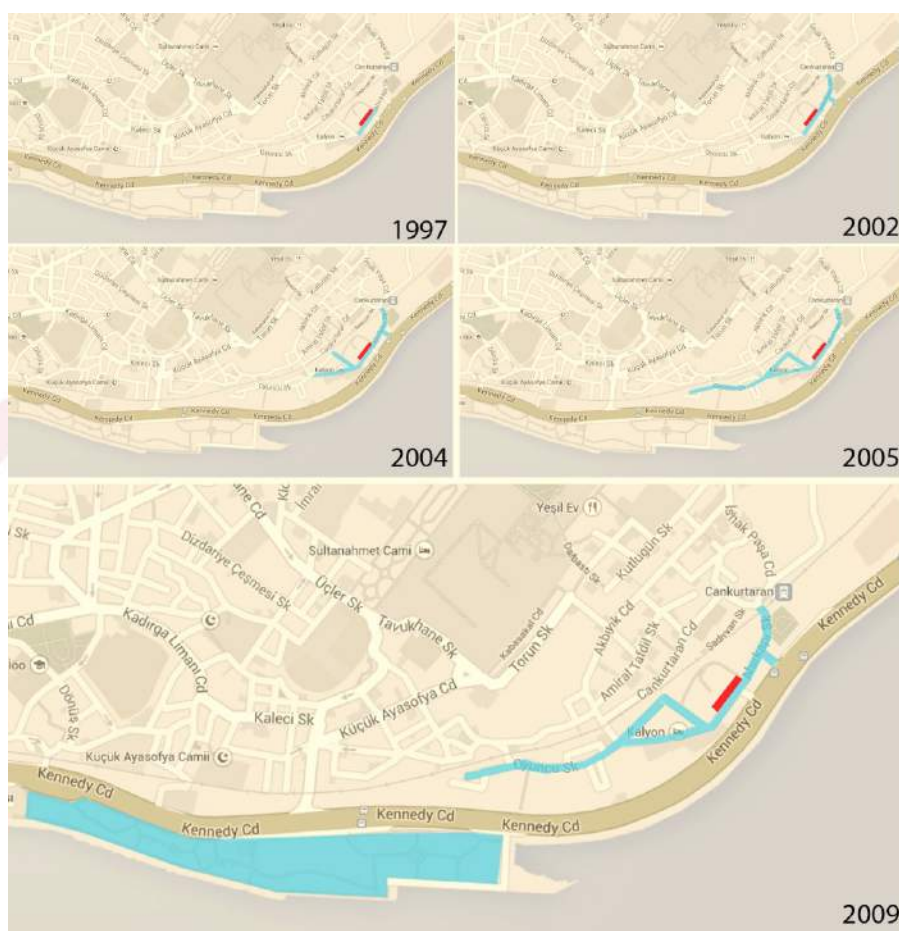
In 2002 Hıdırellez Celebration



In 2009 Hidirellez Celebration



In 2009 Hidirellez Celebration



The growing celebration area in Ahırkapı

In the years 2009 and 2010 celebrations continued by still growing and getting more crowded. It became impossible to move between people and some safety and security problems had been started to live. And also the area and nature had started to be destroyed.

At the end of 2010 the organization committee suggested to make celebration with ticketing to reduce the problems. It would have meant less people and less problem! After this suggestion, lots of press authority and other social organizations reacted against ticketing a tradition.

In 2011, the committee declared that, there won't be any Hıdırellez Celebration in Ahırkapı anymore because of the security, safety and capacity problems.

But it could be the worst suggestion for Celebrating Hıdırellez. Because it has an indispensable importance to integrate different cultures, and create synergy between them.

As a conclusion of this paper, the organizations, celebrations, traditions which creating synergy between different cultures should be supported by the government, public and the promoters.

And especially for the problem of Hıdırellez in Istanbul, solution could be to analyze some new areas to make the people together again. So, to celebrate Hıdırellez in more than one centers, can provide peace, sustainability and synergy.

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Primordial Intuition In The Sundanese Local Culture Branding

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Abstract

Marketing phenomenon nowadays has transformed from the objective level of ratio to the subjective level of desire, which psychologically relates to intuition, one of the 4 primary functions of the human mind. Hence, intuition could serve as a means of connecting a brand designer to the target audience in which the designer could understand the preference of his audiences, so that he could create a brand that appropriately suits them. Intuition develops naturally and becomes, in a human being, the primordial element, which also involves in the creation of a local culture. The purpose of this research is to learn the correlation between the Sundanese restaurant branding as a product of local culture and the rational pattern of the Sundanese primordial culture, the *Tritangtu*, with focus on both the tangible and the intangible factors of the corporate identity of the Sundanese restaurant. This study applied the research method of the qualitative, descriptive analysis. The data was obtained through observation, review, and interview in the form of FGD and analyzed using the *Tritangtu* pattern and the *Emotional Branding* theory that involves the consumers in selecting a brand. The result shows that the *Tritangtu* pattern had been and is still applied on corporate identities of Sundanese restaurants until now. It happens since the brand designer owns that primordial intuition within, which greatly influences him in creating those corporate identities. The foregoing reveals that primordial intuition could serve as a means of designing a brand of a local culture.

Keyword: Primordial Intuition, Local branding, Sundanese culture

Preface

Nowadays Indonesian culinary industry has been bombarded by a variety of modern and instant cuisines whose flavors are a mixture of the local and foreign flavors from inside and outside of the country. As a result, many Indonesian cuisines have lost their original flavors. This phenomenon makes people long to again find and taste the original Indonesian flavors. This longing for original identity has inspired the culinary marketers to create a brand that sells culinary locality, which contains primordial Indonesian value existed since ancient time. The marketers create the branding strategy to fulfill the consumer's desire for the nostalgic authentic cuisines offered, not only for the taste, but also for the atmosphere at the time the cooking are served. Welch revealed that a culinary authenticity is presented through the tradition of the cuisine and its activity offered through medias, such as magazines, televisions, websites, travel books, and everything that could be categorized as lifestyles. In contemporary gastronomy, the uniqueness of the authenticity and the locality of a food product is a local identity fashionably appealing to visit (Welch cited in Gyimóthy & Mykletun, 2008).

Two of the above statements imply that a local culinary uniqueness could become an aspect of interest to visit by maintaining its authentic identity while at the same time keeping it fashionable and suitable to the modern lifestyle. The current society has a different lifestyle from the one of the ancient time. Today people has a desire to be served much more personally, so the selling activity strongly focuses on what it takes and serves to cope with what becomes the consumer's restlessness. It does not merely focus on the excellence and quality of the product as it used to be. The marketing phenomenon currently happening is the displacement of the ratio to the desire level, the objective to the subjective area. It refers to the psychological aspect.

Talking about psychology in marketing is inseparable from anything related to intuition. According to Jung, intuition is one of the four main functions of human mind. The process of intuition is not logical although it is a logical analysis conducted under the conscious mind of a human being. Scientifically, the brain performs computations that lead to the decision that encourages someone to choose doing one thing instead of doing the others. The brain stores a collection of emotion-related experiences in Amygdala, and they settle there along with time. If certain stimulus happens, those experiences would send signals every time someone will make a decision, both simple and complex. (Kartajaya, 2006, p. 48-49). Croce revealed that logical knowledge is a conceptualization of a series of intuitive processes that occur in human beings, so the relationship between logical knowledge and intuition are both interdependent and dependent. Intuition is a primordial element that develops through the sensation that someone experiences. The sensation occurs naturally (Croce cited in Sutrisno, 2005, p. 112-114).

The above explanation reveals that a human being has a primordial intuition in his mind, which the marketers try to exploit in designing a branding strategy. In order to prove this assumption, it is necessary to conduct a research by doing a case study of local product brandings: Sundanese restaurants. The analysis of those restaurants will be focused on their tangible and intangible corporate identities.

Methods

This study used qualitative research method of Descriptive Analysis, was divided into 4 phases; **Phase I:** Observing and documenting corporate identity of three Sundanese restaurants. **Phase II:** Interviews with consumers in the form of Focus Group Discussion to recognize the implementation of Emotional Branding on the object of research. **Phase III:** Object Analysis Study by applying the rational pattern of Sundanese primordial culture, *Tritangtu*. **Phase IV:** Further analysis to understand the correlation of *Tritangtu* pattern with the application of Emotional Branding corporate identity in Sundanese restaurants.

Categories of case studies

As a case study, 3 Sundanese restaurants were selected based on their years of establishment, expansion of the restaurant business, and native Sundanese owners.

The objects of research I: Restaurant Sindang Reret

Established since 1973, Sindang Reret Restaurant has 4 branches. They expand their supporting facilities, such as a function hall, resorts, and outbound arena. They position themselves as a premium Sundanese restaurant intended for upper-middle and upper class customers, whose ages range from 35 to 50 years old, who wish to enjoy the banquet tradition of *Sunda Menak* (Sundanese aristocrats).

The object of research II: Bumbu Desa

Established since 2004 Bumbu Desa has 30 branches spread locally and internationally. They position themselves as a restaurant intended for middle and upper middle class tourists, whose ages range from 35 to 50 years old, who wish to taste the modern Sundanese cuisines with "*kampung*" taste (foods usually available only in Sundanese villages).

The object of research III: Warung Nasi Ampera

Established since 1963, Warung Nasi Ampera, formerly known as the "Warung nasi 2 tak" located around bus stations, was intended for the lower class workers. However, in 1984 Warung Nasi Ampera began to expand and implement the franchise system. In 1994 they have had 50 branches, with wider market segmentation, from the bottom to upper-middle class whose ages range from 25 to 40 years old, depending on the location. They position themselves as restaurants that sell everyday Sundanese cuisines.

Identity in branding

Branding cannot be separated from the role of corporate identity. Corporate identity has an important role for a company to establish and enhance its image and to create added values, which will distinguish the company from its competitors. Henrion (1990) defines corporate identity in some sense, among others: Corporate identity is a vehicle that projects the organization brief and concise in the form of communication and clear visualization. Anything owned, made, done and said by the company is an expression of its corporate identity. (Henrion cited in Lukman, 2004, p. 63)

The identity of the ethnic culture by Jacob Sumardjo (2011) is the harmony between the elements of varying, symmetry and balance between them seemed varying, that create order in wholeness. This trait becomes identity if the same abstract relations system repeatedly manifested in the quantity appears. In fact, each region has its own ethnic cultural identity. The identity can be recognized by translating the tangible cultural

artifacts in which intangible abstract thinking pattern is contained. The reading of the pattern can be seen from the tangible culture in which the relationships between the system elements are mutually interdependent in a fixed pattern structure. This is exactly what can be defined as an identity. Displays of an identity may not be the same. Yet, if there is a similar pattern in the displays, it could be assumed that they have the same identity. This pattern exists in the subconscious territory of both the collective and personal mind inherited by tradition from generation to generation and eventually forms a system that has its own characteristic. The explanation above implies that an identity is the overall tangible and intangible characteristics that provide a unique offering.

Emotional Branding

Emotional branding is a tool for creating a personal dialogue with consumers (Gobe, 2001). Marc Gobe introduced Emotional branding as a branding strategy based on emotional, dialogue can be interpreted as a way for a brand inspires feelings and emotions of consumers; dialogue can be interpreted as a way for a brand inspires feelings and emotions of consumers. The food is no longer about cooking, but more about a lifestyle and an experience of the senses, intangible assets are more valuable than tangible assets. Creativity is more important than physical capital. Creativity is conducted means understand the needs and desires of the human emotional. This strategy is effective because in everyday life we all respond to the emotional experience of life and naturally projecting emotional values into the objects around us.

Four factors that form Emotional Branding

a. Relation

It should not be forgotten that the consumers of a product has a varying background. Therefore, in creating a brand, must know very clearly who the consumer of product or service, because it is an impact on efforts to foster a deep connection to the consumer. Brand relationship with consumers will be seen from the perspective of the generation characteristics, segmentation and implementation adjusted to culture of Indonesian society.

b. Sensory experience

Providing consumers sensory experience on a brand is a key to achieve the kind of emotional connection with the brand that will lead to memories that will create brand preference. (Gobe, 2001, p. 91)

c. Imagination

Imagination is an attempt to make the process of Emotional branding becomes apparent that realized through design and innovative marketing tools, designed with a global approach, sensitive to cultural eclecticism.(Gobe, 2001, p. 113-251)

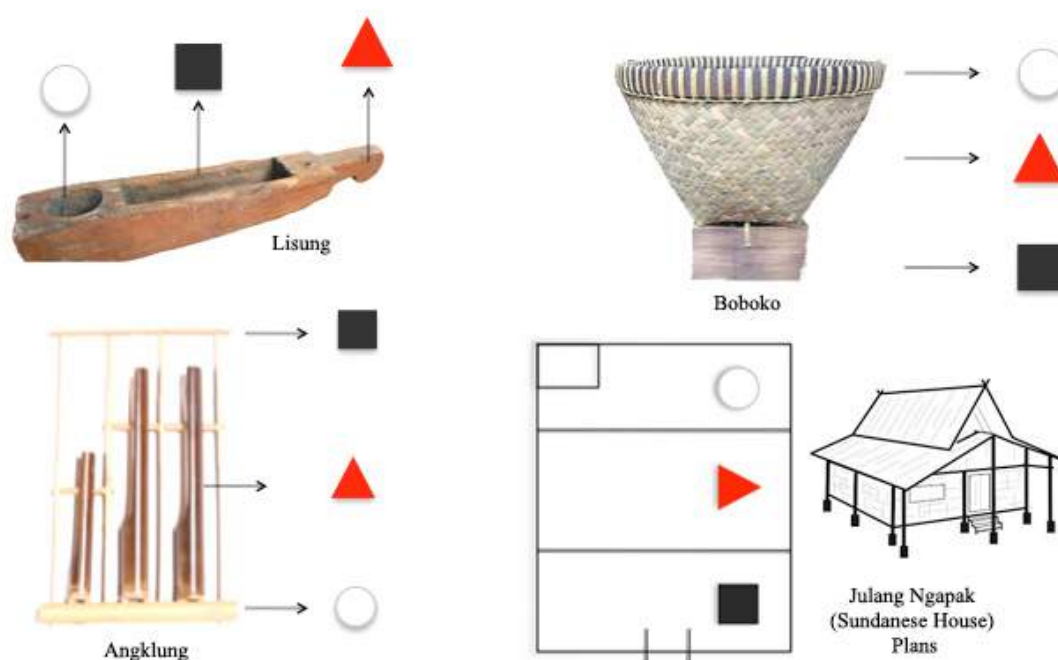
d. Vision

Gobe explained that, vision is the primary factor success a brand in the long term, the brand evolved as a natural life cycle in a market that is constantly renewing itself. Brand must have a strong vision to be in one direction and a cohesive brand that focuses on the emotional resonance for today's consumer. In this case the brand of a company needs to adjust itself to the existing trends, one trend that according to the case study is a nostalgic trend, yaitu Branding strategy is done by utilizing the nostalgic elements of the past with an innovative way adjusted to the present, which is a look that is fresh and insightful recycling process conditions of the past. Choosing a trend that corresponds to

the product and the target consumer is a vision of the future for a brand to survive. (Gobe 2001, p. 299-312).

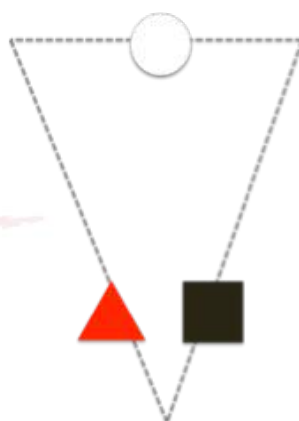
Tritangtu Patern

Philosophically, the identity of the Sundanese originated from the appearance of the first empirical existence, Sang Hyang Tunggal. It is the unification of the three potentials: Keraesa, Kawasa, Karana (the will, the power, the cause). The Ciptagelar community in South Sukabumi calls the three potentials as Tilu Sampula, known as Tritangtu. Tritangtu pattern is found in Sundanese artifacts such as the rice pounder - Lisung, the cutlery - Boboko, the musical instrument - Angklung, the traditional house and other artifacts that have become the identity of the Sundanese.



Sumardjo revealed Tritangtu is a contradiction of two kinds of cultures, premodernism and modernism, united in the method 'I am him as me' or a 'premodernism is the modernism as Sundanese'. (Sumardjo, 2011, p. 280). Tritangtu is "tilu tangtu", likely derived from the Sanskrit "Tantu". The term comes from the word "Tan", which means cobwebs and Tantu, which means yarn or a bond. Thus, the Tangtu paradoxically connotes an expansive motion into, fused into, firm and one. Hence, Tritangtu can be explained as follows: Tritangtu is paradoxical unity, which separates and unites. The separator means a distinction due to the dualism of all things, for example, old-new, male-female, heaven-earth, day-night, etc. The unification means dualism harmonized, so that a third entity appears. The third entity contains both of the dualistic natures, the paradoxical nature. The three entities are dualistic & paradoxical and form a unity called Tritangtu. Tritangtu pattern can be seen from the existence of the system repeatability relationship visible from the structure of the object or artifacts that show a consistency that establishes the Sundanese identity. The point is that Tritangtu is a medium of presence of the transcendent to the immanent. If it is implemented, it would become a goodness, whose manifestation could be in any way. (Sumardjo, 2011, p. 12,13, 31-42, 80)

Significance of Tritangtu



Circle	Determination, will, top, water, sky, deep, dark, female, white, yellow.
Square	Power, deeds, down, rock, man, outside, light, earth, man, black.
Triangle	Said, thought, soil, middle, dark and light, male and female, wet and dry, red.

Discussion

Results of Focus Group Discussion on the application of Emotional branding on 3 study case object :



EMOTIONAL BRANDING	SINDANG RERET
RELATION	Most of the corporate identity design of Sindang Reret is in accordance with its generation and segmentation.
SENSORY EXPERIENCE	Sindang Reret has been providing sensory experiences through its corporate identity shown visually by the restaurant's name, waiter and environmental graphic design, audibly by Sundanese music and sound of the water in an artificial pond, deliciously by the taste of the cuisine.
IMAGINATION	Design of corporate identity of Sindang Reret Restaurant is innovative and functional. It features a classy Sundanese culture, but inconsistent.
VISION	The corporate identity of Sindang Reret has followed the nostalgic trend in Emotional Branding.
EMOTIONAL BRANDING	BUMBU DESA
RELATION	Design of the corporate identity of Bumbu Desa is in accordance with its generation and segmentation.
SENSORY EXPERIENCE	Bumbu Desa has been providing sensory experiences through its corporate identity, shown audibly through the greeting

	when coming in and out, and Sundanese music, visually through the restaurant waiter, environmental graphic design, and the presentation of the food in the clear Modern Warteg style (simple Indonesian eatery) taste, deliciously by the taste of the food.
IMAGINATION	Design of corporate identity of Bumbu Desa is innovative, functional, modern, and eclectic by featuring traditional Sundanese culture packed contemporarily.
VISION	The corporate identity of Bumbu Desa has followed the nostalgic trend in Emotional Branding.
EMOTIONAL BRANDING	WARUNG NASI AMPERA
RELATION	Design of the corporate identity of Warung Nasi Ampera is in accordance with its generation and segmentation.
SENSORY EXPERIENCE	Warung Nasi Ampera has been providing sensory experiences through its corporate identity shown visually by presentation of the food, emotionally by stronger bond caused by the taste of the food flavors and the restaurant's existence from earlier time.
IMAGINATION	Design of the corporate identity of Warung Nasi Ampera has used a global approach in its marketing. However, the design is not innovative because they merely prioritize the functional side.
VISION	The corporate identity of Warung Nasi Ampera has followed nostalgic trend in Emotional Branding.

All the objects of study have applied Emotional Branding in their marketing products by selling the value of Sundanese locality, packed through customized marketing according to their segmenting & generation. This strategy makes the product acceptable and favored by consumers.

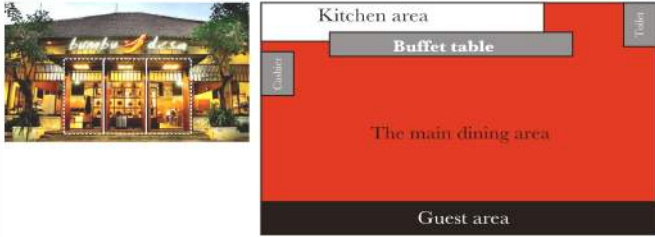
Reading Tritangtu Application on Case Study



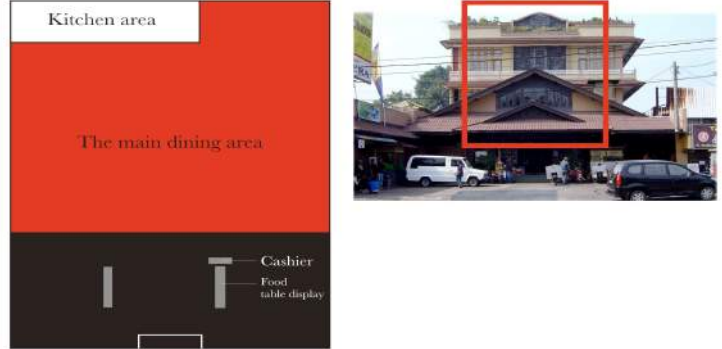
READING TRITANGTU ON SINDANG RERET RESTAURANT CORPORATE IDENTITY	
	<p>Sindang Reret Restaurant logo design contains the Tritangtu colors. It can be interpreted as the following: White: sky; Red: human; Black: earth.</p>
	<p>The uniform is a blend of traditional (<i>Samping, Blangkon, Kebaya</i>) & modern clothes (pants, shoes) and has become a modernized traditional uniform.</p>

	
	<p>The floor plan indicates that the guest area is at the outside and the kitchen is at the inside. Both are adjoined by the main dining area, the meeting place of both.</p>

READING TRITANGTU ON BUMBU DESA CORPORATE IDENTITY

	<p>Bumbu Desa logo design contains the Tritangtu colors. It can be interpreted as the following: Cream which could be represented by White: sky; Red: human; Black: earth.</p>
	<p>The different colors of the employees's uniforms are dualism pairs incorporated to reflect the Tritangtu colors. White: sky, Red: human, Black: earth.</p>
	<p>The floor plan indicates that the guest area is at the outside and the kitchen is</p>

	<p>at the inside. Both are adjoined by the main dining area, the meeting place of both.</p>
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<p>READING TRITANGTU ON WARUNG NASI AMPERA CORPORATE IDENTITY</p>	
	<p>Warung Nasi Ampera logo design contains the Tritangtu colors. It can be interpreted as the following: White: sky; Red: human; Blue, which could be represented by Black: earth.</p>
	<p>Warung Nasi Ampera uniform design contains the Tritangtu colors. It can be interpreted as the following: Red: human and Black: earth.</p>
	<p>The floor plan indicates that the guest area is at the outside and the kitchen is at the inside. Both are adjoined by the main dining area, the meeting place of both.</p>

Tritangtu principle can also be found on the menus of the three restaurants:

Soup dishes such as Oxtail Soup, Sayur Asem (WET)



The Dishes which wrapped in leaves and steamed, called bais, such as fish bais, Bean curd bais, etc. (WET DRY)



Fried dishes such as fried chicken, fried fish, Gebuk fried bean curd, etc. (DRY)



The whole corporate identities of the object study can be interpreted by Tritangtu pattern. The Pre-modern concept reflects the Tritangtu (something is meaningful and true if it contains the pattern of three) expressed in modern life. Pre-modern culture presented in modern life has become an identity that is Sundanese.

Conclusion

1. Tritangtu pattern created either consciously or not by the designers or marketers, is contained within the entire corporate identity of the three restaurants with a diverse segmentation and marketing concepts.
2. The fact that the three restaurants use Tritangtu pattern in their entire corporate identities is the evidence that local value is applied in branding strategy. In addition, there is also the involvement of primordial intuition in applying the local culture with logical knowledge.
3. Logical knowledge and intuition found in human beings are interdependent and dependent. They evolve through the sensation by natural processes, the primordial elements found in human beings.

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Uncovering the Voices of People: Spatial Conflicts in Taiwan's Urban Public Areas after Martial Law

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Abstract

Dominant political powers exert authorities over their subject people in multiple registers, for example, education and spatial constructions, which foster the subjugated people's identification with the power centre. Racial and local cultures of subject people are thus systematically distorted and the transmission of memory through material culture is obscured. Focusing on contemporary Taiwan, this paper intends to explore how spatial and ideological strategies were employed by the dominant authorities to consolidate the power centre and explores possible means for re-shaping Taiwanese spatial subjectivity in the historical aftermath of such situations.

The political spatial dominations in Taiwan could have been presented not only in the Japanese Governor's Office (it is now the Presidential Office of the ROC), Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and many public buildings, but also in the reconstruction of street systems and the renaming of the streets. After the lifting of martial law in 1987, local political parties and Taiwanese people could have chances to project their voices and cultural subjectivity through various activities and events, as well as proposals for re-naming these memorial buildings and street names. The paper will examine how these events and proposals have stimulated the autonomy of urban public spaces as well as the uncovering of people's voices and memories. By discussing some selected public buildings, Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Centres for example, the paper will finally discuss how Taiwanese spatial identities are formed through on-going events and related spatial discourses.

Introduction

The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.¹

The colonists' viewpoints on the colonized and their imaging of the colonized country were fabricated on the basis of their ruling policies. In other words, dominant political powers exert authorities over their subject people in multiple registers, for example, education and spatial constructions, which foster the subjugated people's identification with the power centre. For example, in the period of Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek's rule over Taiwan, it was a priority for the subjugators to control the colonised's knowledge of history and native cultures through unified educational materials, and to eradicate native mother tongues, so as to build up an ideological consensus and a consolidated national identity. Racial and local cultures of subject people are thus systematically distorted and the transmission of memory through material culture is obscured. Focusing on contemporary Taiwan, this paper intends to explore how spatial and ideological strategies were employed by the dominant authorities to consolidate the power centre, and explores possible means for re-shaping Taiwanese spatial subjectivity in the historical aftermath of such situations.

The spatial discourse of political domination in Taiwan could have been presented not only in the Japanese Governor's Office (it is now the Presidential Office of the ROC), Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and many public buildings, but also in the reconstruction of street systems and the renaming of the streets. Through the study of early city maps and the location of these memorial buildings in urban public areas, the spatial discourse of dominant political powers in the island can be perceived. During the period of Japanese domination and the control of Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalist government over Taiwan, local people could not fully propose their voices regarding political autonomy and cultural subjectivity to the governors. While after the lifting of martial law in 1987, local political parties and Taiwanese people could have chances to express their voices through various activities, as well as organising events for re-naming these memorial buildings and street names. The paper will examine how these events and proposals have stimulated the autonomy of urban public spaces as well as the uncovering of people's voices and memories. By discussing some important memorial buildings, Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Centres for example, the paper will finally discuss how spatial conflicts occurred in Taiwan's public areas because of related events and spatial discourses that were proposed by Taiwanese people and political parties.

The forming of colonial spatial identity in Taiwan's public spaces

Having been educated by the colonial teaching materials and exclusive language policies, the colonised school girls and boys would identify themselves with the colonial power centre, i.e., governor and political leader, as well as the colonist's culture. As the discussions on 'situations of the colonized', Albert Memmi states that '[t]he memory which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people' and '[t]he

¹ Bhabha, Homi K. (2006), *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge Classics), p. 101.

history which is taught him is not his own'.² With regard to the teaching materials that the colonised has learned, Memmi stressed that '[e]verything seems to have taken place out of his country' or '[h]e and his land are nonentities or exist only with reference to...what he is not'.³ To Taiwanese children, the situation is similar in that many things that were implanted in their minds are not related to the island and their people. Moreover, the past of the island should have been erased or destroyed by the colonial powers, and 'the future remnants' will carry less and less of the traces of the colonised group. For instance, the traditional residences of the islanders or the naturally developed living spaces and street system would have been replaced by colonisers' modern planning or spatial models that are transferred from their mother countries.

With respect to the formation of colonial spatial identity, it can be argued that the colonists might project their spatial ideology onto the colonised people and their living environment through various means, so as to engender the colonised people's spatial identification with the colonist's home country. For example, as Memmi mentions that '[t]he buildings are patterned after the colonizer's own favorite designs; the same is true of the street names, which recall the faraway provinces from which he came.'⁴ Furthermore, the colonised people's spatial identification with the colonial power can be forged by replacing local spaces with foreign spatial patterns and by setting the commemoration to the colonial leadership through the buildings of memorial hall or life size statue of the political leader. In the Japanese colonisation of Taiwan, the colonial spatial declarations in Taiwan were presented in the planning of urban structure and street name, as well as the building of some important public buildings, the Japanese Governor's Office (it is now the Presidential Office of the ROC), some governmental buildings and train stations for example. Similarly, when Taiwan was governed by Chiang's Chinese Nationalist Party, most street names were changed into city names in China, and several memorial buildings and governmental institutions were constructed through the style of traditional Chinese palace to re-shape Chinese identity in the island.

The dominant spatial identities that were implanted by Japanese government and Chiang's KMT authority into the islanders' living environment can be discussed through the following two categories:

1). Spatial modernisation and the elimination of local spatial characteristics:

The Japanese colonisation in Taiwan can be thought of as a process of transferring Western modern civilization that was developed in Japan after the Meiji Restoration into the shaping of a colony model. From the viewpoint of the Japanese coloniser, Taiwan's early urban spaces and 'streets are very narrow, and the drainage system is defective,...'.⁵ On that account, within the early stage of ruling over Taiwan, the Japanese government considered that it was necessary to improve the sanitary

² Memmi, Albert (1991), *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press), p. 105.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Memmi, Albert (1991), *ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵ Aoshima, Shozoku (青島勝三) (1993), 'Du Shi Ji Hua Gai Kuang Yi Ban Diao Cha (都市計畫概況一般調查, A General Investigation of the Outline of Urban Plan)', in Huang, Shi-meng (黃世孟) (ed.) (1993), *Du Shi Ji Hua Jiang Xi Lu (都市計畫講習錄, Lecture and Study Records of Urban Planning)* (Taipei: Hu Shi (胡氏)), 247-271, p. 249.

conditions of the island and further to set up a scheme of urban planning for the colonisation of the island.

Under the governance of Japanese colonists, the island's narrow and tortuous roads had been straightened and widened as well as being transformed into a modern perpendicular street system. Within the process of urban regeneration, the order and systematisation of city streets could be regarded as a fundamental task for other infrastructure constructions. However, as the colonists would intend to project spatial images of their mother countries or their favorite Western patterns to the construction of the colonised country, local spatial characteristics of the island would be eliminated or erased. For example, with respect to Hua-lien city, it can be seen that the system of grid structure was applied to the city's urban planning, and furthermore the streets were given Japanesque names. (Fig. 01) From the illustration 01, it can be stated that as the three main streets, i.e., Hei Jin Tong (黑金通), Zhu Zi Qiao Tong (筑紫橋通) and Gao Sha Tong (高砂通), are fifteen meters wide, the city's original spatial sense and scale have been transformed into a modern and Japanese style. It is clear that not only did the original narrow and crooked roads disappear but also native buildings were destroyed by this modern planning. It thus would be difficult to perceive local spatial characteristics and historical memories through walking on the modern street. A similar phenomenon can also be discovered in many cities of the island, such as Da gou (打狗, now is called Kaohsiung city) and Taipei city. In respect of Kaohsiung city, the system of grid structure was employed to the building of the city's early centre, namely Hamasen (哈馬星), whereby the urban spaces were systematised and the city's cross ventilation could be improved. (Fig. 02.)

In addition to the city planning, Japanese-style residences and Western-style public buildings were established and could be seen in many places in the island. The Japanese-style residences in the island were built normally for the purpose of accommodating the Japanese migrants and for answering their nostalgia for the home country, whilst, the construction of Western style buildings – which were generally neo-classical – was mainly for public institutions and for railway stations and which stemmed from Japanese people's preference for and learning from Western civilisation. These Japanese Neo-classic buildings include the Japanese Governor's Office (Fig. 03) and the Provincial Museum of History, etc., which are possessed of symmetrical plans and high towers. Thus, it can be stated that in the Japanese colonisation of the island foreign culture and foreign spatial identities were stressed, while local culture was disregarded by colonial authority. In other words, the modernised urban street system and the construction of foreign architectures in many important spots of the island not only signify the power of Japanese colonial forces but also suggest that Taiwanese spatial identity would have been eliminated or could have been hybridised with foreign characteristics.

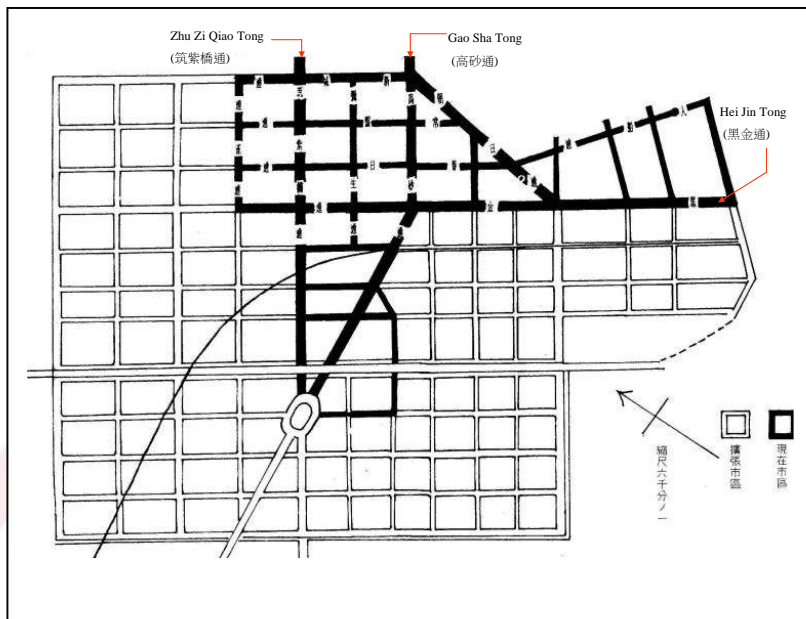


Fig. 01. The extensional map of the City District Plan of Hua-lien Harbour Street (花蓮港街市區計畫擴張圖) (1916), in Zhang, Jia-jing (張家菁) (1996), p. 62.

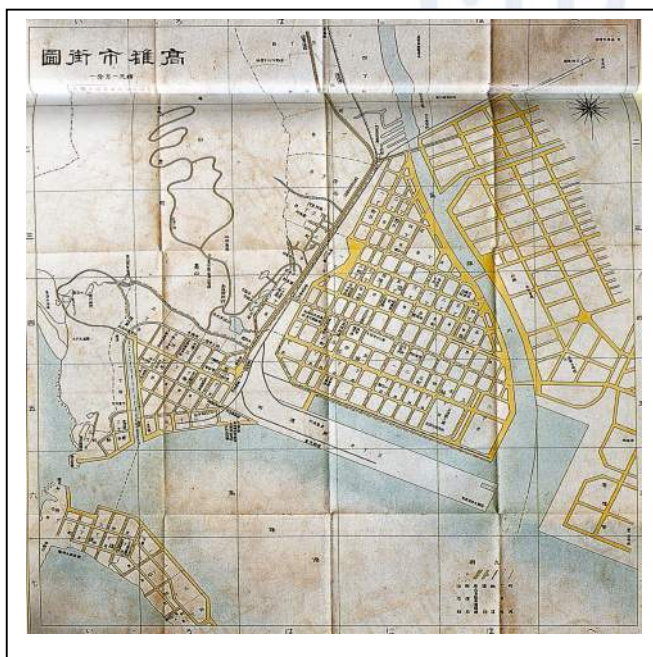


Fig. 02. The map of Kaohsiung City (1932), in Zheng, De-qing (鄭德慶) (ed.) (2001), p. 38-9.

In terms of the spatial modernisation shaped by Chiang's KMT government, it would be necessary to discuss the spatial discourses suggested by the government's modern urban planning and the building of public institutions that were established for demonstrating the KMT's cultural policy and spatial ideology. However, in the KMT's early governance of Taiwan, the island's post-war city planning and urban policies were based on the Japanese planning. With respect to the spatial discourses suggested by the KMT's city planning, it is essential to discuss the historic core of Taipei city, in that through reviewing its historical complexity and the existing government buildings the spatial ideology forged by the dominant authority can be revealed.

With respect of the development of Taipei city, after the retreat of the KMT government from China to Taiwan, the city was regarded by the authority as a war-time provisional capital, and close to half of the sections of the old town were declared within the city's restricted zones.⁶ Hence, under the restriction of construction and use, buildings such as the Governor's Office (now is the Presidential Office of the ROC), Chung Shan Hall (中山堂), the Executive Yuan (行政院) and the Provincial Museum of History were all reserved and thus have become landmarks in the city. That is, the geometrical patterns of the street networks, i.e., the chessboard pattern, radial traffic circuses and T-shaped intersections have been preserved, and many Japanese colonial buildings and Chinese traditional buildings can still be discovered in the historic core. (Fig. 04) Nonetheless, the street names and these buildings had been renamed in Chinese way such as Zhong Hua Road (中華路, Chinese Road) and Chung Shan Road (中山路) etc., and the core district is entitled as Zhong Zheng District (中正區, Chiang Kai-shek District). In respect of the city features, many monumental signs and temporary ceremonial archways that were decorated with Chinese symbolic patterns were erected over these Japanese colonial government buildings during every major festival, so as to recall Chinese official culture through spatial forms.⁷

This renaming of Japanese street names in Chinese names can be seen in many cities in Taiwan. For example, the streets of the old town of Hua-lien city were renamed in a Chinese way, namely the city's main road Zhu Zi Qiao Tong (筑紫橋通) was renamed as Zhong Zheng Road (中正路, Chiang Kai-shek Road), Gao Sha Tong (高砂通) as Zhong Hua Road (中華路, Chinese Road) and other roads were named as Nanjing Street (南京街) and Shanghai Street (上海街) etc. I would state that the modernised city planning and the renaming of the streets had disregarded the city's historic context and local spatial characteristics; especially the renaming of the old town's streets by the names of China's main cities suggests the KMT government's intention to strengthen Taiwanese people's spatial identification with the mother land in China. Moreover, a complex spatial conflict among local spatial characteristics, Japanese spatial identity and Chinese spatial ideology can be perceived.

⁶ Too, Patrick (涂平子) (1997), 'The Development of Taipei Old City', *Dialogue (建築)*, 2, 83-91, p. 86.

⁷ Too, Patrick (涂平子) (1997), *ibid.*, p. 88.



Fig. 03. Nagano Eihezi (長野宇平治) (1919), The building of Japanese Governor's Office (臺灣總督府 (it is now the Presidential Office of the Republic of China)) [Aerial view], in Li, Qian-lang (李乾朗) (1995), p. 40.



Fig. 04. The map of the historical district of Taipei city, in *Dialogue (建築)*, 2, np. The buildings coloured in black are Japanese colonial buildings and traditional Chinese style buildings.

2). Spatial memorialisation and its representation of political power

In order to consolidate the leadership of the colonial power the colonist would have built up the colonised people's identification with the political leader and colonial culture through teaching materials. For example, the greatness of Chiang Kai-shek's deeds were highlighted in teaching materials and textbooks so as to imprint the ideology that Chiang is 'the saver of the nation' and 'a great man of the world' into modern Taiwanese people's mind. In so doing, it can be stated that the sublime image of 'Chiang Gong (蔣公, Lord Chiang)' could have been engraved on the memories of many young Formosans. From the KMT's point of view, the spirit of 'Chiang Gong' not only is the power centre for directing Chinese and Taiwanese people to retrieve mainland China, but also is a spiritual leader of ROC. In order to strongly remind Taiwanese people of the greatness of Chiang, after his death in 1975, Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall was planned and constructed in a military site in the core of Taipei city in order to consolidate people's wills for regaining China. Moreover, a Chiang Kai-shek Culture Centre was built in Kaohsiung city and more than one hundred statues of Chiang were erected on many important locations in many cities and towns of the island.

In addition to the building of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Centre and his life size statues erected in the island, the spatial memorialisation that had been established by the KMT authority for memorialising the great men in Chinese history also includes the design of Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall (國父紀念館), in which Chiang's Chinese ideology plays an important role. Thus, it is also significant to mention the spatial discourse suggested by Sun's Memorial Hall. In Chinese history, Sun is regarded as a great man of the world and the National Father of the ROC, who overthrew the Ching Dynasty and established the ROC government in 1911. To memorise Sun's greatness and revolutionary deeds, this Memorial Hall was designed by an architect Wang Dahong (王大閎), whose work was selected by the competition committee, and was constructed from 1965 to 1972. After the official competition, the design of this Memorial Hall was revised according to Chiang's preoccupation that 'it is necessary to emphasise the characteristics of Chinese architecture in terms of the building's outer appearance'.⁸ The style of Chinese palace architecture, especially the form of roof, was adapted and transformed into the design of this Hall through Wang's creative interpretation. (Fig. 05) Although the building of this Memorial Hall in Taipei is, in name, to memorialise Sun's centenary, it might actually be involved with the complex political confrontation between the KMT and the Chinese Communist Party in China.⁹ Thus, the adaptation of the form of a Chinese palace to the Hall would suggest the KMT

⁸ Zeng, Yi-shi (曾一士) (ed.) (2002), *Guo Li Guo Fu Ji Nian Guan San Shi Zhou Nian Guan Qing Te Kan* (國立國父紀念館三十週年館慶特刊, The Special Issue for Celebrating the Thirtieth Year Anniversary of National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall), (Taipei: Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall), p. 17, as cited in Wang, Chun-hsiung (王俊雄) (2006), 'Xian Dai Xing De You Yu: Wang Dahong Yu Taiwan Jian Zhu De Xian Dai Xing, 1950-1970, (現代性的憂鬱：王大閎與台灣建築的現代性, 1950-1970, Melancholic Modernity: Dahong Wang and the Modernity of Taiwanese Architecture, 1950-70)', *Taiwan Architect* (建築師), 382, 86-93, p.91.

⁹ Shyu, Ming-song (徐明松) and Wang, Chun-hsiung (王俊雄) (2008), *Cu Guang Yu Shi Yi: Taiwan Zhan Hou Di Yi Dai Jian Zhu* (粗獷與詩意：台灣戰後第一代建築, *Rustic & Poetic: An Emerging Generation of Architecture in Postwar Taiwan*) (Taipei county: Mu Ma (木馬)), p. 133.

authority's intention to propagate internationally the Chinese legitimisation of Chiang's ROC government.

In relation to the spatial memorialisation of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, it is essential to discuss mainly the building style of the Hall, the associated National Concert Hall and National Theatre along with the spatial setting of the Plaza, as well as these buildings' relation to Chinese palace architecture. The design of this project can be regarded as a physical representation of Chinese culture in that the form, spatial structure and decoration of Chinese palace architecture are directly applied to these buildings. The design strategy and the authority's spatial ideology are closely related to the Chinese Nationalist Government's policy for reviving traditional Chinese culture and to political propaganda for consolidating the ROC government's ruling legitimisation in Taiwan and their intention of restoring mainland China. In addition, in order to proclaim that Chiang's ROC regime was the only legitimate vehicle of Chinese culture, many modern Chinese buildings with the style of palace architecture in northern China had been constructed in Taipei city in the 1960s and the 1970s. For example, the National Palace Museum (故宮博物院), the Taipei Grand Hotel (圓山大飯店) (Fig. 06) and the Taipei Martyrs Shrine (忠烈祠) were built by adopting the forms of Chinese palace architecture, by which the cultural identification with the great China tradition is shaped. Moreover, such a trend of building Chinese palace architecture was widely distributed throughout the construction of public institutions in Taiwan afterwards.

Similarly, Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, National Concert Hall and National Theatre are composed of basic elements of Chinese palace architecture, such as tiled multi-inclined roof, red colonnades, great staircases, decorative motifs and interlocking wooden brackets (斗拱) that are reproduced by the material of reinforced concrete. The pointed and double-eaves roof of the Hall might originate from Qi Nian Palace (祈年殿) in Tian Tan (天壇, the Temple of Heaven) in China. The double-eaves roof symbolises dignity and the pointed roof suggests the intersection of Heaven and Earth. (Fig. 07) Furthermore, the main body of the Hall is fashioned into a square shape and is located on the centre of the base, by which 'the spirit of Zhong Zheng (中正)',¹⁰ which means 'impartiality' and 'righteousness' in Chinese ideographic writing, can be suggested.¹¹ Obviously, the above design concepts suggest the correlation between the spirit of Chiang and the essence of Chinese culture.

In addition to the Memorial Hall, the design of the National Theatre and the National Concert Hall also feature traditional Chinese palace structure. In other words, chong yan xie shan ding (重簷歇山頂, the double gable roof), wu dian ding (廡殿頂, hip roof), Chinese red colonnades and interlocking wooden brackets are adapted for these two buildings by using reinforced concrete and modern technology. The double gable roof, which is employed in the National Theatre to express a sense of resplendence, originated from Bao He Palace (保和殿) in the Forbidden City (Palace Museum) in China; while the hip roof, which is used in the National Concert Hall, stemmed from Tai He Palace (太和殿), and by which dignity can be expressed (Fig. 08). It is

¹⁰ Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石) is also named as Chiang Zhong-zheng (蔣中正).

¹¹ Ibid.

apparent that these spatial forms and architectural elements could be associated with the symbolisation of ancient imperial palaces, by which the cultural orthodoxy that was inherited from Chinese ancient emperors and sages to Confucius could be spatially concretized.¹² For the purpose of reviving Chinese culture and demonstrating the ROC government's political legitimacy, the KMT authority would eagerly carry out the policy of cultural construction through the Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Centre and through other cultural centres in the island. The National Theatre was originally built for the performance of traditional Chinese drama, so as to achieve Chiang's political goals, and through the promotion of Chinese cultural activities to demonstrate a different approach from the Cultural Revolution executed by Mao's Communist Party. Accordingly, the building of National Theatre and National Concert Hall could be thought of as a connection between cultural symbolisation and political propaganda, not only because of their architectural forms but also for the performance of Chinese cultural activities and art in these two buildings.

With respect to the construction of spatial memorialisation, these buildings are located symmetrically on the site and a central axis is set between the main gate and the Memorial Hall. In order to reinforce the far-reaching sense of space, a grand plaza together with a long 'Respect Boulevard' (瞻仰大道) is set from the main gate to the Hall, whereby the visitor would be able to perceive the sense of solemnity and spatial majesty of the buildings. (Fig. 09) Accordingly, through the design of the grand plaza and Respect Boulevard, not only an authoritative ceremonial space is formed but also the state of Lord Chiang has been apotheosized. The spatial memorialisation and symbolisation might thus suggest sacred, inviolable and splendid experience as well as historical perpetuity through spatial domination and formal grandeur, by which the purpose of subduing visitors and spatial users can be achieved. Before the lifting of martial law in 1987, these solemn spaces were presented in association with its memorial activities, i.e., people could mainly celebrate the late President Chiang's commemoration day on the plaza and salute his bronze statue in the Hall, as well as having some limited activities.¹³ Moreover, under rigid security, people could only perform in certain ways and act at certain places, and thus the visitor's behaviour was shaped in accordance with ceremonious spaces and dominant authority.

¹² Hsia, Chu-joe (夏鑄九) (1990), 'Kang Zheng Yu Kong Jian: Jie Du Zhong Zheng Ji Nian Tang (抗爭與空間：解讀中正紀念堂, Conflict and Space: An Interpretation of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall)', *Arch (雅砌)*, 4, 52-55, p. 53-54.

¹³ Huang, Chia-chi (黃嘉琪) (2004), *The Transformation of Urban Public Space: An Analysis of Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall (都市公共空間的歷史轉化 - 台北市中正紀念堂的分析)*, Ma. (Taipei: Shih Hsin University), p. 32-34.



Fig. 05. Wang, Dahong (王大閔) (1972), Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, Taipei, in Jiang, Ya-jun (蔣雅君) (2006), *Taiwan Architect* (建築師), 382, p. 101.



Fig. 06. Yang, Zhuo-cheng (楊卓成) (1973), Taipei Grand Hotel (圓山大飯店), Taipei. Photograph, Hsu, Chia-Wen (許嘉文) (2010).



Fig. 07. Yang, Zhuo-cheng (楊卓成) (1980), Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, Taipei, in Shi, Ri-fu (石日富) (1990), p. 18.



Fig. 08. Yang, Zhuo-cheng (楊卓成) (1987), National Concert Hall, Taipei, in Li, Qian-lang (李乾朗) (1995), p. 104.



Fig. 09. Yang, Zhuo-cheng (楊卓成) (1980), The main gate of the plaza, Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, Taipei. Photograph, Tseng, C-p (2007).

Spatial Conflicts and the Revelation of people's Voices after Martial Law

When Chiang's heir Chiang Ching-kuo was the President of The Republic of China, the government gradually became open and tolerant of political dissent, and governmental controls on the media and speech also became loosened. After the lifting of martial law by Chiang C-k in 1987, Taiwanese people could express their voices through various channels, such as holding meetings or publishing papers. Accordingly, the utilisation of public spaces of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall was gradually changed and become more flexible than before. For instance, in 1990 the Wild Lily Student Movement (or March Student Movement), a student demonstration for democratic reform, took place through a sit-in at the Memorial Plaza for six days. (Fig. 10) The Student Movement is not only widely considered to be the turning point in the process of Taiwan's democracy but also its occurrence and the participation of over 300,000 demonstrators can be regarded as a confrontation with the inviolable spatial sense of the Hall. In addition, more and more demonstrations and young generations' hip hop dancing as well as local citizens' multiple leisure lives have been occurring at the Plaza and in the Park. Thus, it can be

argued that various actions of demonstrators, dancers and skateboarders, and the public's everyday activities have engendered new spatial meanings in the public spaces of the Hall. The declaration of Chinese national identity by pan-KMT party and the reclaiming of Taiwanese local identity by pan-DPP party especially, as well as the appearance of graffiti on the public spaces, have forged dynamic and changing spatial characteristics in these memorial spaces. Nevertheless, it can be stated that because these various activities and multiple functions performed in the Plaza are caused by complex social facets and natural process, the existing spatial content of the Hall and its cultural representation would need to be re-interpreted. Moreover, the visitor and the user could have diverse ways to re-interpret the related historic context of the Memorial spaces. Following the development of political autonomy, in Taiwan's contemporary society, the trend of reclaiming Taiwanese cultural subjectivity and local spatial identities would have become more and more important.

One of the significant events regarding the claiming of spatial democracy after the lifting of martial law is the argument about the renaming of 'Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall' as 'National Taiwan Democracy Memorial Hall' and its square as 'Zi You Guang Chang (自由廣場, Freedom Plaza)', which was issued by the Executive Yuan of the previous DPP government on May 10, 2007 and was carried out in the first week of December in 2007.¹⁴ This plan brought about an opposing viewpoint and disagreement from the Chinese Nationalist Party, which had also obstructed the actions of removing the name 'Chiang Kai-shek' from the Hall and the name's representative praise Da Zhong Zhi Zheng (大中至正, Great Justice, Extreme Upright) from the gate of the Memorial Plaza. (Fig. 11) Despite the renaming of the 'Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall', which could have triggered the germination of Taiwanese people's voices on spatial autonomy, the Hall has been reinstated by the current president Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九), who is now the chairman of the KMT party, on July 20 2009. It is apparent that the renaming of the Memorial Hall signifies the spatial deconstruction of the symbol of autocratic power whilst the restoring of the title of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall indicates the irresistibility of the power of Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT party as well as the irreplaceability of this symbolic building along with its cultural representation.

From successive events and conflicts regarding the contradiction between two opposite ideologies in the minds of Taiwanese people, it can be realised that on the one hand many modern Formosans have realised Chiang's political persecution over the people, and on the other many people insist on idolising Chiang and treasure his 'dedication' to the island. Even though the removal of Chiang's name from the Hall cannot actually achieve its spatial autonomy, the act may indicate that many people in Taiwan intend to replace the subject of the Memorial Hall with the process and achievement of Taiwan's democratisation. However, the re-forming of contemporary Taiwanese spatial identities could have been confronted with a dynamic conflict with the retrieval of the KMT's political power and implanted Chinese ideology in the mind of Taiwanese people. It can thus be argued that the political events about the Memorial Hall suggest the power struggle between Great China ideology that is

¹⁴ Li, Wen-yi (李文儀) et al. (2007), 'Da Zhong Zhi Zheng Jin Zao Feng Yuan Chai Chu (大中至正 今早封園拆除, Da Zhong Zhi Zheng Was Closed and Dismantled in this Morning)', *The Liberty Times* (自由時報), 6 December, 2007, 1.

shaped by the KMT authority and Taiwanese local identities that can be forged by other forces or political parties.

Recently, there have been a lot of events holding for protesting against governmental policies or political issues occurred in public spaces or plazas in many cities in Taiwan, especially Taipei. In addition to Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Centres and Taipei train station, Katagalan Boulevard (凱達格蘭大道) has been a popular place or forum for Taiwanese people to project their dissent from the ruling government. The protests that held in these public spaces signify Taiwanese peoples' eagerness for demonstrating their democratic standpoints and for revealing the peoples' multiple voices regarding politics, education and economic affairs of the islanders. For example, the 318 Sunflower Student Movement is a protest movement driven by a coalition of university students and civic groups that started on the 18th of March, 2014 in the Legislative Yuan, and later Executive Yuan of ROC as well as the Katagalan Boulevard. (Fig. 12) The movement protested against the KMT ruling government's intention of passing the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) at the Legislative Yuan without clause by clause review. It marks the first time that the Legislature has been occupied by students and citizens in the history of ROC. Although there are around 500,000 people massed in the later rally in the Katagalan Boulevard, President Ma and the KMT party have not sincerely responded to the student protests' demands. From the 318 Sunflower Student Movement and current Anti-nuclear Movement, it can be stated that Taiwanese people intend to demonstrate their voices in the Katagalan Boulevard for the government's irrational policies, so as to express their dissent from the President Ma. The spatial conflict between Taiwanese people and the dominant authority is stronger and more direct than the one in the plaza of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall.



Fig. 10. The Wild Lily Student Movement at the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Plaza. Photograph, Cai, Wen Xiang (蔡文祥) (1990), available from Digital Island (數位島嶼), http://cyberisland.teldap.tw/graphyer-item-view_1.php?album=4457&id=125991630417, [view 27 March, 2014].



Fig. 11. The action of removing the title of Da Zhong Zhi Zheng (大中至正) from the main gate of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Plaza. Photograph, Chen, Yi-chen (陳易辰), in Chen, Zhi-hua (陳智華) and Zeng, Xi-wen (曾希文) (2007), 8th December, 2007.



Fig. 12. The 318 Sunflower Student Movement, A demonstration occurred in the Katagalan Boulevard. Available from TVBS (2014), <<http://news.tvbs.com.tw/entry/526218>>, [view 30 March 2014].

Conclusion

To summarise the discussions in the paper, it can be stressed that colonial spatial identity is formed by the colonised people's identification with the colonists' culture, spatial ideology and the power centre of colonial authority. In other words, colonial spatial identity is closely related to the colonists' control over the spatial behaviours of the colonised people or to the consolidation or spatial memorialisation of the colonial power centre. This spatial domination could be achieved through introducing the colonists' spatial symbolisation or foreign architectural style and modern planning to the 'uncivilised' places on the one hand, and by means of erasing local spatial identities of the colonised country on the other. Following the regaining of political autonomy of formerly colonised country and the respect of cultural subjectivity of marginal people, the dominant spatial identity would need to be reconsidered and the contradiction between the superior spatial ideology and the diverse spatial context in the post-colonised society could be discerned. Following the development of political autonomy, in Taiwan's post-colonial and contemporary society, the trend of reclaiming Taiwanese cultural subjectivity and local spatial identities would have become more and more important.

After realising the modern history of Taiwan and Chiang's governance over the island, it may be possible to perceive the contradiction between the noble cultural representation of the architectural style of the Hall and Chiang's military rule over the island. In considering the development of spatial de-colonisation in Taiwan and the disclosure of the concealed historical truths, the silent victims who strove for Taiwan's political autonomy might need to be commemorated and be regarded as the subject of the Memorial Hall. Nonetheless, the awareness of the erased Taiwanese history as well as the identification with the Formosan native cultures and local people's mother tongues are still underdeveloped and need to be cultivated through various channels. In fact, my understanding and the imagination of Formosa are characterised as discontinuous and fragmented, or have been constructed partly in my mind. Accordingly, it can be argued that the more historical events and incidents are disclosed, the more contradictions Taiwanese people may perceive between the implanted 'delusion' and the ever-shaping 'truth'; especially when this ambivalence is coincident with the ideological confrontations and irreconcilable spatial conflicts occurring in Taiwan's society at present. The paper would conclude that demonstrations and spatial conflicts in the Katagalan Boulevard, the plaza of Chiang K-s Memorial Hall, and other public spaces in Taiwan suggest Taiwanese people's everlasting struggles for establishing Taiwanese cultural subjectivity and political autonomy. People's voices could be uncovered by the negotiation among varied peoples and ideologies as well as through the resolution of spatial conflicts.

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